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HATE GROUPS IN AMERICA

A RECORD OF BIGOTRY AND VIOLENCE

New Revised Edition

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

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This report has been published through the generous support of the estate of Ben Massell, Jr. of Atlanta, GA in memory of Mr. Massell's lifelong commitment to combating all forms of extremism and bigotry.

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INTRODUCTION

Since 1982, when the ADL published its original edition of **Hate Groups in America**, dramatic patterns of change have marked America's hate movement, and the changes—reflected in numbers, in leadership, and most significantly in tactics—have made the present revision of this definitive study necessary.

The broad aspects of change lie in a paradox: (1) the membership of hate groups, overall, declined during the past six years, while (2) the movement became more dangerous and troublesome, with certain elements resorting to a policy of open violence against society, these elements achieving a spectacular preeminence over older and larger factions.

Since 1982, Ku Klux Klan membership has slipped from between eight and ten thousand down to 4,500-5,500, with other traditional segments of the movement losing strength proportionally. And yet these six years have been among the more violent periods in the history of American hate groups. Some such groups (particularly those more or less related to the so-called "Identity" church movement) have shown an inclination to regard violent confrontation not merely as acceptable but as inevitable. Some, taking their cue from **The Turner Diaries**, a neo-Nazi terrorism manual in the form of a "novel," committed during these years a series of criminal acts including murders, bombings and armed robberies. In addition, these self-styled revolutionaries were conspiring to commit sabotage on an enormous scale by destroying certain dams which supply water and electric power to major American metropolitan areas.

The paradox of a decline in strength and an increase in danger is no mystery. Militants resorted to violence precisely because they were losing ground, seeing that the old methods of propaganda had not worked. The hope was that dramatic acts of violence would encourage "Aryans" to rise from a perceived apathy and join the ranks of would-be revolutionaries. One leader even spoke of the necessity of "propaganda of the deed"—an old anarchist expression meaning terrorism and sabotage. The result thus far has been a crackdown by the federal government and police, and a series of trials bringing long prison terms to many who had engaged in criminal acts.

The threat has not been wiped out. The present report shows that there are at least 67 hate organizations active in the United States today, many with a history of involvement in violence. They range from those whose roots are native (e.g., the 5,000-member Ku Klux Klans) to those of alien derivation (neo-Nazi), to the "Identity" groups and other pseudoreligious paramilitary movements, to the youthful racist "skinheads." Some 50 periodicals of hate continue to publish. And a setback in the fight against extremism occurred in April, 1988 with the acquittal of 13 of its foremost activists in a federal sedition trial in Ft. Smith, Arkansas.

America's hate movement is not monolithic, and yet despite splits and divergences there are common ideologies and goals, and even significant interconnections. It would be a logical error to subdivide the overall danger. Violence bred of racial and religious hatred is, in the long run, a single conflagration.

A danger, therefore, extends beyond the fact of organization itself. A by-product of organized hate activity that has increased disturbingly in recent years is imitative behavior on the part of other, non-affiliated persons. Instances among this expanding effect include cross burnings in front of homes and places of worship, the painting of swastikas and hate slogans on public and private property, and even arson and firebombing against minority group targets. While the record indicates that only a small number of such incidents can be attributed to persons enrolled in hate organizations, the traumatic effect on the victim of any incident of violence based on bigotry is no less severe. The twisted cross of Nazi Germany and the flaming cross of America's faceless night riders, kept visible by organized hate groups today, retain a certain attraction for other individuals as symbols for their own hate, and thus the infection spreads.

Hate Groups in America should prove a useful resource for those in search of reliable information on hate groups which have demonstrated a propensity for violence.* In publishing it, the Anti-Defamation League seeks not merely to catalogue the promoters of violence, but aid all concerned with combating their destructive agenda. Chapter VII details suggested ways that readers can take part in such efforts—a programmatic and legal action agenda through which a democratic society can counter those who would undermine or destroy it.

*Black and anti-Semitic hate organizations which do not advocate or commit violence are not included in this volume. Information about such groups is available in other ADL publications, a list of which is provided in Appendix E.

Chapter I: THE KU KLUX KLAN

Section 1: The Ku Klux Klan Today

Introduction

Today's Ku Klux Klan is the latest manifestation of a grim tradition of organized, costumed hate and violence that has darkened American life for more than a hundred years. Following a period of modest resurgence during the late 1970s and early 1980s, Klan membership in the last several years has declined steadily and significantly. (Klan history is summarized in Appendix B at the end of this report.)

Events leading toward the Klan revival of a decade ago can be traced to 1973, when the young former neo-Nazi activist David Ernest Duke traded his swastika armband for a Klan robe in the hope that it would provide more acceptable cover for his racist doctrines. Capitalizing on the shock value of a Klan Grand Wizard prepared openly to defend his views, Duke solicited radio and television appearances. Leading talk-show hosts and producers featured him in interviews in which their lack of background research was matched only by Duke's lack of candor about the doctrines of racist and anti-Semitic hatred that he expounded in the inner circles of his Klan organization. On camera, he delivered a toned-down line about how the "new Klan" eschewed violence and bigotry. Aided by mail responses from listeners around the country, Duke began to put together his new Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (KKKK). His media appearances also sparked new recruitment by other Klan organizations, some of them dormant for several years.

Duke's Role Grows—and Fades

Duke incorporated his Klan in Louisiana in 1975 with papers giving him, as the "founding member," absolute power to decide policy. That same year, he organized the largest Klan rally the nation had witnessed since the 1960s—the estimated attendance was 2,700—in Walker, Louisiana. Subsequently, Duke was most successful in building local organizations in Louisiana, Florida, Texas, and California. During his term as Imperial Wizard, Duke professed nonviolence and encouraged members to become politically active. In 1975, he received one-third of the votes cast for a seat in the Louisiana State Senate. His moderate-sounding approach to racism attracted audiences; his relative sophistication allowed him to couch his bigotry in pseudo-scientific and sociological terms.

In 1980, Duke's days as a Klan leader ended abruptly. Bill Wilkinson, who had left Duke's organization five years earlier to form a rival Klan faction called the Invisible Empire in Louisiana, told the press that he had forced Duke's resignation from the Knights of the KKK by secretly videotaping a meeting during which Duke offered to sell Wilkinson his membership lists for \$35,000. Duke denied the incident but left the Klan soon after to establish the National Association for the Advancement of White People (NAAWP). It is interesting that two years later, Wilkinson's career as a Klan leader also turned sour, when he was revealed as a government informant.

Duke continues to propagandize white supremacist positions through the NAAWP, an organization that is, in effect, a Klan without the robes. In 1987, Duke was arrested and fined for disturbing the peace, in connection with racial confrontations in Forsyth County, Georgia. An edition of NAAWP News proclaimed, "Victory in Forsyth County." Although Duke says he has hung his KKK sheets out to dry, the 36-year-old former Imperial Wizard's bigoted stance is unwavering and he continues to attract sympathizers. Duke has announced his bid for the 1988 Democratic Presidential nomination and promptly received the supportive attention of such anti-Semitic groups as Liberty Lobby and the National States Rights Party.

Current Klan Census

The Anti-Defamation League's surveys of Klan membership during the mid-to-late 1970s measured steady but unspectacular growth. However, in the early 1980s, with an administration in Washington reflecting a more conservative atmosphere in the country, the Klan apparently became less appealing to some of its potential supporters. In addition, Klan groups were further weakened by the organizational ferment, rivalries, and leadership changes that have often characterized the hooded order throughout its violent, checkered history (see Appendix B). These factors, plus a series of successful prosecutions of Klansmen and other violent extremists, have rendered most of this decade a period of steady and marked decline in Klan fortunes.

Today, ADL estimates the combined strength of the various Klans currently operating at 4,500—5,500, a drop of between 15 and 25% since our 1984 report, and its lowest total in 15 years. The membership estimates over that period are as follows:

1973—5,000
1975—6,500
1978—6,000—8,000
1979—8,000—10,500
1981—9,700—11,500
1982—8,000—10,000
1984—6,000—6,500
1987/88—4,500—5,500

Current Klan membership is broken down as follows:

United Klans of America	- 1,500
Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	- 1,500-2,000
Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (Tuscumbia faction)	- 500-750
Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (Don Black faction)	- 250
Southern National Front ¹	- 250-300
Christian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	- 200-500
Klan organizations unaffiliated with the above groups	- 300-450.

These unaffiliated groups include: Florida White Knights, Ohio Knights, Independent Order Knights (Maryland), Confederate Independent Order Knights (Maryland), New Order Knights (Missouri), Invisible Empire Knights (New Jersey), White Unity Party (Pennsylvania), American Knights (California), Knights of the White Camellia (Texas), Southern White Knights (Georgia).

A detailed description of Klan organizations follows on page 6.

Fluctuations in Klan Growth: Why?

It can be discerned that the Ku Klux Klan has fallen into decline and stagnation; it has never been in the nature of the movement to stabilize itself as an institutional fixture in American life. Like other such hate movements, the Klan is fueled by fervor and excitement, emotions easily exhausted without a regular infusion of success.

Though its expansion from 1975 through the early 1980s had not been spectacular, the KKK underwent certain changes that made it yet more sinister a force. Episodes of violence and lawlessness escalated; and inseparable from the trend was the introduction of paramilitary training activities which Klan spokesmen justified as necessary in preparation for "coming" racial warfare.

This increase in violence may be attributable to organizational fragmentation that from time to time gives rise to new Klan groups. There is less discipline in the ranks and sharp competition for the limelight; shock tactics are often the result.

Another basic reason for the current Klan's failure to sustain even its modest comeback of 1975-1982 has been an inability to find a viable means to achieve segregationist goals, or even influence the course of events in that direction. Legal segregation is dead in the United States and neither the Klan nor any other force is capable of resurrecting it. The key segregationist battle was waged and lost in the 1960s, when the combined forces of a much larger Klan, the Dixiecrats and the White Citizens Councils were unable to prevent the passage of our major civil rights laws.

The KKK's limited revival of the 1970s and early 1980s was an effort to exploit discontent over such racially charged issues as court-ordered school busing, quotas in employment and university admissions and illegal immigration, in the hope that America's progress in race relations could be reversed. That hope, it is abundantly clear, was a pipe dream.

Two possible routes toward their goals were attempted by Klan leaders—political action, on the one hand, and violence and intimidation on the other. Neither succeeded. While a number of Klansmen have run for public office in recent years and a few even made a credible showing, the fact is that for some time now there has not been a

¹ The Southern National Front was absorbed in late 1987 into the National Democratic Front, a white supremacist group (see Chapter III).

single elected public official in the entire country who is an acknowledged member of the KKK. What is more, any identification with the Klan is seen by politicians—even by the few who may secretly sympathize with the organization—as a distinct liability and therefore to be avoided.

The other route—intimidating civil rights activists; terrorizing racially mixed families; attempted bombings of churches and synagogues; and other violent crimes involving the use of deadly weapons—has, as noted, led to numerous arrests and convictions, which have seriously hurt the Klan. In 1985, for example, Assistant Attorney General William Bradford Reynolds announced that more than 150 people, including at least 84 Klan members, had been prosecuted for racially motivated violence during the previous six years. This trend of effective law enforcement action against racist criminality, fueled by the creation by President Carter in 1979 of a Special Task Force on the issue, has continued and even accelerated in more recent years. Where once the hooded night riders were able to get away with wholesale lawlessness, especially in rural Southern areas, today they generally confront vigorous law enforcement by federal, state and local government agencies. (See Chapter II and Appendix A for listings of violent crimes for which Klansmen and other hate movement figures have been successfully prosecuted in recent years.)

In addition, the KKK has been stymied by the adoption by eighteen states of ADL's model legislation outlawing paramilitary training for civil disorder. Since its passage around the country there has been a noticeable decline in the number of paramilitary camps run by the Klan and other hate groups. Civil lawsuits by some victims of KKK violence have also caused a number of former Klan activists to drift away from the organization (see Section 2).

Finally, some sympathizers who formerly saw support of the KKK as a way of "sending Washington a message" concerning busing, quotas and the breakdown of traditional values, found other, non-extreme vehicles for expressing their feelings on these issues in recent years, in the form of mainstream conservative and religiously-oriented groups that were respectable and effective.

Even though the recent downward trend in the long life of the hooded empire is encouraging, it would be a mistake to assume complacently that the organization is about to expire. The continued attention of law enforcement agencies is needed to confront the possibility that the Klan may attempt to implement plans some members may still harbor of a campaign of terror and assassination. Beyond that, because the KKK has in the past shown such resiliency, a constant watch on the organization is required.

A Recent Gathering of the Movement

In 1987, 13 Klan organizations met on Stone Mountain, Georgia² on Labor Day weekend for what Klansmen termed the "All Klan Congress." This congress was sponsored by the Southern White Knights of Georgia. Two hundred to 300 Klan members marched through a nearby town and an additional 100-200 rallied at the property of veteran Klansman James Venable, 83. While the Georgia Bureau of Investigation reported no incidents of violence, the Stone Mountain gathering exemplified that certain major groupings continue to function, and that numerous independent KKK units have arisen, splinters from the larger, more established organizations.

At the same time, there has been a recent trend to unify hate groups. The lines separating certain Klan, neo-Nazi and "Identity" groups have been blurred during the past several years. The Aryan Nations World Congress (see Chapter IV) brought together representatives of like-minded organizations. Similarly, former Klan leader Robert Miles has held bi-annual gatherings at his Michigan farm where he has tried to promote unity among hate group activists. Interestingly, some of these Miles-organized activists have expressed support for the anti-Semitism and racial separatism of Minister Louis Farrakhan of the Nation of Islam, whom they apparently consider their like-minded counterpart.

² Stone Mountain, Georgia had been the site of the Ku Klux Klan's revival in 1915 after more than four decades. On Thanksgiving night that year, atop the towering mountain outside Atlanta, William Joseph Simmons, an Alabama native who had failed both as a medical student and as a Methodist minister, brought the Invisible Empire back to life by calling thirty-four Georgia residents to Atlanta where they resolved to launch a new organization. That resolve was sealed on that Thanksgiving night in 1915 when Simmons and some of his followers stood below a burning cross and swore allegiance to their new Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. (See also Appendix B, "History of the Klan.")

Today's Major Klan Organizations

The three largest national Klan organizations of recent years have been the United Klans of America, based in Tuscaloosa, Alabama; the Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, headquartered in Shelton, Connecticut, the first Klan group with a national office in the North; and the Knights of the KKK, with its office in Tusculumbia, Alabama. Additionally, Don Black of Birmingham, Alabama, still asserts claims to leadership of a faction of the Knights of the KKK; the Knights split in two while he was in prison from 1982 until 1985 for violating the U.S. Neutrality Act. In December 1982, he was sentenced to three years in a federal prison camp in Texas for conspiring with several fellow extremists to overthrow the government of the Caribbean island of Dominica.

A detailed description of each major Klan group follows.

The United Klans of America, Inc. (UKA), was the largest Klan organization of the 1960s and 1970s, and had more members than any of its newer rivals, although its membership was older and less active. Headquartered in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, it was led by Imperial Wizard Robert Shelton, who had spent time in federal prison in the late 1960s for contempt of Congress. (He refused to produce Klan membership lists for the House Committee on Un-American Activities. See also Appendix B, "History of the Klan.") The UKA of recent years was much smaller than it was in the 1960s, when it had tens of thousands of members, but it had some success in picking up disaffected "klaverns" (units)³ of several smaller Klan organizations. The UKA has had its largest concentration of klaverns in Alabama, Florida, South Carolina, North Carolina, Kentucky, Virginia, and Indiana. The official UKA organ is **The Fiery Cross**, published in Swartz, Louisiana.

Because Shelton avoided publicity and retained the old concept of the Klan as a clandestine order, there was for many years little mention of the UKA in the press. Occasional publicity was unavoidable, however, as it was in the spring of 1979, when twenty members of the UKA were indicted by a Birmingham federal grand jury in connection with violent racial episodes in Talladega County, Alabama. Three of Shelton's members pleaded guilty and ten others were found guilty and sentenced to terms in federal prison.

Even greater notoriety attached to the UKA following the \$7 million damage award in 1987 in the Alabama civil suit against the organization (see also Section 2). Included as defendants in that case were six past and present UKA members involved in the 1981 slaying of a Black teenager, Michael Donald, whose body was left hanging on a tree. As a result of the verdict, the teenager's family, whose legal representation was provided by the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), has taken possession of the United Klans' 7,200-sq. ft. national headquarters on 6.5 acres in Tuscaloosa with an estimated market value of \$225,000. Erected in 1978, the two-floor building was held in the name of the Anglo-Saxon Club, Inc., a UKA front, and included meeting space, dormitories, and the private office of Imperial Wizard Shelton.

James Knowles, a member of the UKA's Klavern 900 in Mobile and one of the two men convicted for the 1981 murder of Michael Donald, testified at his 1984 trial that he and Henry Hays, now awaiting execution for the act, had killed Donald "in order to show Klan strength in Alabama." At the more recent civil trial, Knowles testified that he was "carrying out the orders" of UKA "Titan" (regional leader) Bennie Jack Hays, Henry Hays' father and a long-time Shelton lieutenant.

At a klavern meeting at the Hays home two days before the murder of Donald, Henry Hays, who served as the chapter's "Exalted Cyclops" (presiding officer), said that "a nigger ought to be hanged by the neck until dead to put them in their place." The Anti-Defamation League provided SPLC's Morris Dees, counsel to Michael Donald's mother and the NAACP, a grisly cartoon from **The Fiery Cross** which proved to be a key piece of evidence in the \$7 million judgment ultimately rendered against the UKA. The illustration showed a Black man about to be lynched, with the caption "White people should give blacks what they deserve." Knowles testified that the cartoon did indeed influence his decision to commit the murder, vividly illustrating the UKA's agenda of violence. Robert Shelton, not himself a defendant, sat with the defendants at the trial.

Based on evidence revealed during the civil trial, indictments were also recently brought in Mobile, Alabama against Bennie Jack Hays and his son-in-law, Frank Cox, for the murder of Michael Donald. The trial was scheduled to begin in February, 1988.

In another important case, in April, 1985, five members of the United Klans of America were arrested by the

³ For a glossary of Klan terminology, see Appendix C.

St. Petersburg, Florida Police Department and the Pinellas County Sheriff's office and charged with planning and training for terrorist acts against minorities. One year later, two pleaded guilty and were the first to be convicted by a jury for violating Florida's paramilitary training statute (based on an ADL model bill—see Chapter V). The goal of the group, according to a police informant, was to incite Blacks to riot so that whites would turn to the Klan for leadership. In addition to training with guns intended to be used against minorities, members of the group were instructed in the making of incendiary devices.

The Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, was led from 1975 to 1982 by Bill Wilkinson and headquartered in Denham Springs, Louisiana. Its membership level fluctuated through the early 1980s, growing at first and then—by 1982—declining, due largely to suspicions centering on Wilkinson; the **Nashville Tennessean** revealed that documents in its possession showed the Imperial Wizard to have provided information about the Klan to the FBI.

Although Wilkinson claimed that he had revealed nothing that could not have been learned by reading the newspapers, his claim apparently was widely disbelieved by fellow Klansmen, and the fact of his cooperation with the FBI led to one of the familiar factional and leadership disputes of the KKK. Other complaints against the Invisible Empire were that the national headquarters siphoned off too much of the funds of local klaverns and that Wilkinson's encouragement of media exposure, especially of Klan paramilitary activities, was inviting a crackdown by law enforcement authorities.

The Invisible Empire was born in 1975, shortly after David Duke incorporated his Knights of the KKK. Wilkinson, a Navy veteran and former electrical contractor who was then a Duke lieutenant, bolted Duke's organization and formed his own group which included a periodical, **The Klansman**. At first Wilkinson also made a bid for the leadership of a loosely-knit Klan organization with several thousand members, under the name "Confederation of Independent Orders of the Invisible Empire, Knights of the KKK." He was rebuffed, however, by wary Confederation secondary leaders who viewed him as an overly ambitious neophyte and chose, instead, an Imperial Wizard, Don Black, from their own ranks.

Wilkinson then set out to acquire a tougher and more militant image by deliberately engaging in the tactics of confrontation and by encouraging his members to openly carry and display weapons. His tactics demonstrated the role that violence played in the competition for primacy among the rival Klans. And he succeeded: by 1979, Wilkinson had overtaken Duke, his former chief. His organization had become larger than either Duke's KKKK or the Confederation.

Confrontation Over the Hines Case

The Invisible Empire grew during its first several years through a series of confrontations with Black civil rights demonstrators that resulted in violence, arrests, and wide media coverage. These tactics were used in 1978-1979 in the towns of Tupelo and Okolona, Mississippi and were brought to a peak in Decatur, Alabama. In 1979 Wilkinson's Alabama Grand Dragon Roger Handley and several other members of the Alabama Ku Klux Klan were involved in a bloody confrontation with Blacks protesting the initial conviction of Tommy Lee Hines. Eighty robed Klan members tried to stop a march sponsored by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, with shotguns, .45 caliber pistols and several clubs. Hines, a severely retarded Black man, was convicted of raping a white woman, and given a thirty-year jail sentence.

Two Blacks were shot in the head, one Klansman was shot in the chest, and another in the leg. Several others sustained minor injuries. In May of 1984, Handley and nine others were charged with federal civil rights violations. Handley was specifically charged with conspiracy to disrupt the march and to obstruct the FBI's investigation of the incident. Hines' conviction was eventually overturned on an appeal, and at a retrial, he was declared mentally incompetent and sent to a state hospital.

As of this writing Handley and six other Klansmen still await trial in connection with the incident. Two others have pleaded guilty and the conviction of the tenth has been overturned.

By 1982, Wilkinson's appeal had ebbed. An August, 1982 rally and cross burning in Danbury, Connecticut drew considerably fewer than 100 members and supporters. An anti-Klan rally in another part of the city that same day was also sparsely attended. Police outnumbered attendees at both events, and Wilkinson charged police "harassment" of the Klan.

A New Leader

Wilkinson's Klan eventually relocated to Connecticut and is now the only national Klan with substantial membership outside of the South. In 1986 James W. Farrands of Shelton, Connecticut, a Roman Catholic, was chosen as its Imperial Wizard. The selection of Farrands was notable in light of the Klan's traditional anti-Catholic bigotry. Farrands assumed the leadership of the Invisible Empire at a national gathering of the organization on the 1986 Labor Day weekend. The organization, which has some 1,500 to 2,000 members, has klaverns in Alabama, Arizona, California, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Michigan, Mississippi, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia and West Virginia.

The revelation of Wilkinson's role as an informant for the FBI had led to a substantial membership loss. ADL also revealed in 1985 Wilkinson's ties to convicted Soviet spy John A. Walker, Jr. Walker was Wilkinson's chief Klan organizer in the Norfolk area during the time he was providing the Soviets with U.S. Navy secrets.

Prior to Farrands' assuming the position of Imperial Wizard, Wilkinson's immediate successor was James Blair of Alabama. Blair had some success in rebuilding parts of the organization, particularly in Alabama, Georgia, Indiana and Pennsylvania. However, he was forced to resign due to poor health.

Farrands, 54, is a tool and die maker. He became the Invisible Empire's Connecticut Grand Dragon in 1981, during the period when the organization held several well-attended rallies in the state. The Klan unit he presides over in Connecticut has dropped from 300 active members in 1981 to no more than 40-50 in 1987-88. Farrands' selection as Imperial Wizard was due largely to the support of other state leaders outside the South, and there have been reports of discontent in those Southern states, particularly Alabama, where the Invisible Empire has had some recruitment success during the past few years.

In Georgia, Ed Stephens, an electrician in his mid-30s from the Atlanta area, resigned his position as the state's Grand Dragon in hopes of running for political office. His successor, Daniel Carver, was convicted in September, 1986 of making "terrorist threats" during an Invisible Empire foray into a Black neighborhood in Gainesville, Georgia. He is appealing part of his sentence mandating a 4-year probation, during which he cannot wear Klan robes or participate in public demonstrations. He is currently represented at Klan rallies by his wife, Darlene Carver.

Upon his appointment Farrands said that Bill Wilkinson "brought us into the twentieth century. Blair organized us. I'm gonna refine us."

The future success of the Invisible Empire may depend upon whether the geographical and sociological gaps separating the "Connecticut Yankee" Farrands from most of the Klan's followers can be bridged.

The unusual selection of Farrands as the first Catholic leader of the Klan led the administrative board of the United States Catholic Conference to proclaim that:

Every person and every institution that bears the name Catholic should proclaim to all that the sin of racism defiles the image of God and degrades the sacred dignity of humankind.

The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan was led during the 1970s by David Duke. After struggling for several years to build and maintain his organization, Duke finally quit in 1980 and turned over the reigns of leadership to his Alabama Grand Dragon, Don Black.

Duke had been more successful as a media spokesman and "front man" than as an organizer and administrator. He had alienated many of his followers, including a succession of lieutenants who, like Duke himself, had originally come from the ranks of neo-Nazi groups. Prior to abandoning leadership of the Knights, Duke lost his California organization, which opted for an independent existence as the California Knights of the KKK under the leadership of Tom Metzger. Metzger now heads the White Aryan Resistance, a group that shuns Klan-like ritual, advocates a "white rights stance" and has National Socialist (i.e., neo-Nazi) leanings (see Chapter III).

As previously noted, Duke's days in the spotlight as a Klan leader ended in humiliation at the hands of his rival, Bill Wilkinson, when Duke allegedly offered to sell Wilkinson his membership list for the sum of \$35,000 along with a statement resigning from the Klan and recognizing Wilkinson as "the most effective and capable" Klan leader. Wilkinson agreed, and in July, 1980, a secret meeting to implement the transaction was arranged at a remote farmhouse near Cullman, Alabama. Just before the money was to change hands, Wilkinson, accompanied by his Alabama Grand Dragon and a group of armed bodyguards in military-style fatigues, repudiated the "agreement" while secretly videotaping the meeting.

As noted earlier as well, Duke resigned from the Klan and began a new career as the founder and leader of

the National Association for the Advancement of White People. Its subsequent record has evidenced little success except as a platform for Duke's racist pronouncements.

Don Black's Leadership

Like David Duke, Don Black was a young man with a neo-Nazi background. Black, a medical aide, moved the national headquarters of the KKKK to Tuscumbia, Alabama, where one of his most successful activities was the mobilization of a large group of Klansmen to confront President Jimmy Carter in the opening rally of his 1980 reelection campaign. The President denounced the Klansmen, saying: "These people in white sheets do not understand our region. . . They do not understand what our country stands for."

Black was able to prevent the KKKK from disintegrating after Duke's departure. He even managed to recruit new klaverns, mainly from disaffected Wilkinson supporters. Black's first national conference, in Birmingham in 1980, was poorly attended. One of the curious aspects of the conference was the presence of Edward R. Fields, the National Secretary of the National States Rights Party (NSRP) (see Chapter III). Fields claimed he had organized a substantial Klan movement in northern Georgia, which he implied was part of the KKKK. But at a later date, the NSRP leader referred to his new Klan as the "New Order, Knights of the KKK." Fields' appearance in the Klan movement was an ominous sign, since he and his NSRP co-leader J.B. Stoner are among the most extreme anti-Black, anti-Semitic hatemongers in the U.S.

Black's KKKK has attempted to unite with other Klans. Its irregularly published organ, formerly **The Crusader**, is now **The White Patriot**.

The "Other" Knights

Stanley McCollum of Tuscumbia, Alabama heads the other, and larger, of the KKKK factions. McCollum maintains strong ties to "Identity" leaders⁴ through his association with self-appointed national Ku Klux Klan "chaplain," Thom Robb. In addition to his "pastoral" responsibilities, Robb edits McCollum's paper, also called **The White Patriot**.

In May, 1987 McCollum spoke at a rally on Robert Miles' farm in which he vowed to fight federal charges of sedition against Miles, Aryan Nations leader Richard Butler and others. In that same speech McCollum lauded the efforts of fellow Klansmen who had been organizing a national protest objecting to Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday as a national holiday. McCollum also participated in the 1987 Aryan Nations Congress (see Chapter IV).

One of the most visible and active affiliated factions of the Tuscumbia-based Knights of the KKK is located outside the South. Led by Ed Novak, the group is located in the greater Chicago area. It has organized a number of demonstrations, including a 1986 rally last summer in the Marquette Park section of the city, the scene of some ugly racial incidents in past years. The rally, at which Thom Robb was a speaker, attracted national news media as well as a crowd of over 500 sympathizers. A Klan leader formerly active in the Chicago area, Kim A. Badyński, has relocated to the State of Washington, where he has set up a group called the Northwest Knights of the KKK. Badyński has also participated in Aryan Nations activities.

Smaller Klan Factions of the South

Klan activity and membership continues to be centered in those states of the Old Confederacy where the Klan was born following the Civil War. The most active state in recent years has been North Carolina, scene of an impressive recruitment campaign on September 1, 1982 by White Patriot Party leader Glenn Miller of Angier, North Carolina, who has been in prison on a variety of state and federal charges (Miller recently turned state's evidence in another case—see Section 2 and Appendix A).

The White Patriot Party regrouped and called itself the Southern National Front (SNF), led by Cecil Cox. In 1987 the group announced plans to merge with the Maryland-based white supremacist group, the National Democratic Front (NDF). Led by Gary Gallo, NDF, espouses what it calls "Democratic Nationalism" (see Chapter III).

⁴ See also Chapter IV, "The 'Identity Church' Movement."

In a letter dated September 1, 1987 Gordon Gray, a/k/a Gordon Ipok, Southern National Front's Director of Publications, announced that the Southern National Front was disbanding "so we can be free to work for a political movement we believe is superior both ideologically and organizationally to the SNF—and that organization is the National Democratic Front led by Gary Gallo." Former SNF principals indicated they intend to establish NDF chapters in the North Carolina region.

North Carolina has also served as the base of operations for the North Carolina Klan faction known as the Christian Knights. Like Glenn Miller's former organization, the Christian Knights have sought recruits from other Southern states with some limited success. (There are only small remnants in such once-active states as Florida, Texas and Tennessee.)

Longtime Klan activist Virgil Griffin, a 41-year-old textile worker from Mt. Holly serves as the group's Imperial Wizard. Griffin has tried to recruit and to stage rallies outside of North Carolina, and has been modestly successful.

The Christian Knights frequently seek permits for marches throughout the South and did so in Greensboro in 1987—the first in that city since the 1979 incident in which a group of Klansmen and neo-Nazis shot and killed five Communist Party Workers Party demonstrators. Griffin was also a participant in that earlier bloody encounter.

Many of Griffin's rallies have taken place in South Carolina, where there has been a slight upturn in Klan activity after several years of dormancy. His Grand Dragon has been Horace King, a 54-year-old carpet installer who lives in Lexington County. King's predecessor reportedly pleaded guilty in December, 1985 to a charge of hiding 750 sticks of dynamite stolen from a construction company. Although most of King's "marches" consist of 15-30 robed Klansmen handing out propaganda, he did attract a larger robed contingency of 50 to a march in Orangeburg in February, 1987. King and 40 of his members marched through four South Carolina towns in July, 1987. The group had originally planned to march in Charleston, where King has built a local organization, but were denied a permit to do so.

Other Klan Factions Around the Country

Many small independent Klan organizations exist throughout the country, some formerly affiliated with national Klan groupings, others arising spontaneously.

In Texas, Grand Dragon Charles Lee of the Knights of the White Camellia of the Ku Klux Klan tried to boost Klan visibility in the state by conducting a write-in campaign for governor. Although he attracted only 531 votes of some 3½ million cast by the electorate, he managed to receive the desired press attention. His group, based in the Pasadena area, has 40-50 members. The Texas Klan (currently numbering under 300), is down to its lowest level in a decade. The decline is due in part to the departure of Knight's Grand Dragon Louis Beam. Beam, who had become a fugitive, was captured in Mexico in November 1987 to face charges of seditious conspiracy (see Chapter IV).

A small independent group in California which calls itself the American Knights of the KKK has been led by Bill Albers of Modesto. Albers, who gave several newspaper interviews at the Aryan Nations Congress in Hayden Lake, Idaho in 1986, has been closely linked to that organization.

In addition, there are unaffiliated Klan organizations operating in Florida (Florida White Knights), Maryland (Independent Order Knights and Confederate Independent Knights), Missouri (New Order Knights), New Jersey (Invisible Empire Knights), Ohio (Ohio Knights), Pennsylvania (White Unity Party), Georgia (Southern White Knights), and New York (White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan).

Status of Today's Klan

By November, 1984, it was evident that the KKK had experienced a falling off, during the previous two years, of both hard-core members and sympathizers, and that it faced a crisis of leadership and growing fragmentation. These trends have continued to plague the hooded order. One response to their beleaguered state has been for hate groups of various stripes to put aside doctrinal differences and try to coalesce around common themes. Thus, for example, various Klan and neo-Nazi groups staged a joint rally in Chicago in June of 1986 in a neighborhood which has been the scene of racial tensions. Similarly, the much-publicized 1987 "counter-demonstrations" in Forsyth County, Georgia which resulted, on one occasion, in violence against civil rights marchers, were the product of inter-group cooperation. Yet these rallies have provided only brief periods of enthusiasm for activists rather than any lasting build-up in the ranks of the Klan and neo-Nazi groups involved.

There have been a few exceptions to the overall pattern of decline. In North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia,

the Klan experienced temporary spurts of growth. In the greater Chicago area, some small gains have been registered by KKK and neo-Nazi groups. For a time, the farm crisis threatened to become a potential source of growth for hate groups.⁵ But none of these events has proven lasting or significant. The overall pattern of decline has been steady and has brought the hate movement generally—and the Ku Klux Klan in particular—back down to where it was before it began its mid-'70s effort at resurgence.

Section 2: The Ku Klux Klan: Continuing Violence

Introduction

As noted earlier, one of the largest Klan factions, the United Klans of America, was stunned in February, 1987 by the verdict of an all-white Alabama jury that awarded \$7 million in damages to the family of Michael Donald, a Black teenager murdered by members of the organization in Mobile, Alabama in 1981. (Two Klansmen had been convicted of the crime in 1984.) The jury held that the organization itself must share responsibility for the act, a ruling which may cripple the UKA treasury and deter hate group leaders faced with a new standard of accountability for the deeds of their followers.

This long and tragic case illustrates two important facts about today's Ku Klux Klan: (1) that—contrary to the public relations oriented denials issued by some Klan leaders—violence and hate remain integral to the Klan agenda, but also (2) that creative legal strategies, as well as vigorous law enforcement action, have effectively countered the lawless and manipulative behavior of the hooded order.

Overall, the Ku Klux Klan's activities during the past few years have generated some notoriety, but criminal prosecutions and private lawsuits have encouraged the steady pattern of decline that has characterized the movement for most of the 1980s. (For a detailed description of the major Klan groups and their leaders, see Section 1, "The Ku Klux Klan Today.")

Chronology of Major Klan Incidents in the 1980s

The record of Klan-related violence and lawlessness throughout the country from 1980 to the present includes the following incidents:

January, 1980, Alabama—Two Klansmen pleaded guilty to charges of intimidating and injuring two Black ministers who were patrons of a restaurant in Muscle Shoals. Ricky L. Creekmore and Charles J. Puckett were sentenced to a year in prison.

February, 1980, New Jersey—Rifle shots were fired into the Barnegat Township home of a Black couple, Joseph and Shirley Sanders. In January, 1981, former KKK organizer Aaron Morrison and former Klan member Karl Hand pleaded guilty to attempting to cause bodily harm with a weapon. Morrison later changed his plea to not guilty. Morrison's step-brother, James, pleaded guilty to a lesser offense, was fined and given a brief jail term.

March, 1980, Alabama—Dulon Doug Hogeland, an Alabama KKK member, was indicted for participating in a raid on a house in Hayden, Alabama, occupied by a racially mixed couple, and for injuring a Black man. Hogeland was subsequently sentenced to eighteen months in prison (twelve months suspended) and five years probation.

March, 1980, California—In a street clash between Klansmen and anti-Klan demonstrators, in Oceanside, the Klansmen dressed as riot police, armed with guns, shields, knives, and mace. Heckled by bystanders throwing rocks and bottles, the Klansmen flew into the crowd in riot formation. When the police moved in, the Klansmen used their clubs against the police. Seven persons were reported injured.

April, 1980, Tennessee—Three KKK members were arrested in Chattanooga for wounding four Black women by shotgun blasts from a passing car. Two of the three were acquitted; the third was convicted and sentenced to twenty months in jail.

July, 1980, Tennessee—Larry Owens, National Titan of the United Empire, Knights of the KKK, was arrested with two other Klansmen after they were seen discarding explosive materials from their car in a Chattanooga area

⁵ See also "The American Farmer and the Extremists," ADL Special Report, January 1986, and "Extremist Group Outreach to Rural Americans," ADL Special Edition, June 1986.

already tense from the earlier shootings of four Black women. Owens and one of the others, Rocky Coker, were subsequently found guilty of possessing explosives and conspiring to commit an illegal act. Owens was sentenced to three to six years on each charge. Coker received two to four years on each charge.

September, 1980, Missouri—James McKinney, Illinois Grand Dragon of the Invisible Empire of the Klan, and Klansman Robert Scott Hansen were charged with burglary after police seized explosives, guns, gasoline, and items believed stolen in at least a dozen burglaries in seven Illinois counties. McKinney was sentenced to two concurrent three-year terms for burglary and theft. Hansen was ordered to serve six months in jail, placed on four years probation, and fined \$4,000.

November, 1980, New Jersey—James Ralph Slater of New Egypt was arrested on a weapons charge after ammunition, a grenade, a loaded pistol, and KKK paraphernalia were found in his car. He was convicted and received a prison sentence.

November, 1980, Michigan—Three Klan members—Ronald R. Bishop, Jr., Raymond Echlin, and Donald Johnson—pleaded guilty to conspiring to shoot a Black man for drinking in a “white” bar in Detroit. A fourth, Richard Johnson, pleaded guilty to conspiracy in harassing and intimidating a Black family to drive them from their Romulus home. The four subsequently received jail terms of from one to four years.

November, 1980, Utah—Joseph Paul Franklin, a former member of the Ku Klux Klan and the American Nazi Party, pleaded not guilty to charges that he deprived two young Black men of their civil rights by killing them as they jogged in a park in Salt Lake City. Franklin was later convicted of the federal civil rights violations.

February, 1981, Texas—The Knights of the KKK sponsored a rally on a tract of land near Santa Fe, Texas, in support of Galveston Bay shrimp fishermen involved in quarrels with Vietnamese refugee shrimpers. Several hundred persons attended and watched as two dozen Klansmen armed with rifles and shotguns set fire to a 30-foot cross. Texas Grand Dragon Louis Beam, who described the cross-burning as a holy Christian ceremony, climaxed his speech by raising his hand in a Nazi salute and shouting, “White Power! We will fight!” In an obvious gesture of intimidation, the Klansmen also burned a mock Vietnamese fishing boat. Three weeks later, Houston radio station KTRH reported that some 50 Texas fishermen were planning a four-day military training exercise with Klansmen at the invitation of the Grand Dragon.

In March, 1981, a number of the local fishermen, including a number of Klansmen, equipped one of their shrimp boats with a small cannon and a figure hung in effigy. Several of the men were armed and wore Klan robes and hoods. The boat sailed around Galveston Bay, firing the cannon and stopping at the house of one Vietnamese fisherman. The Vietnamese Fishermen’s Association (“VFA”) alleged that some of the Klansmen set fire to boats owned by Vietnamese and burned crosses at or near their docks and homes. In addition, a dock-owner testified that she received threats, one signed by the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, that her dock and house would be burned and that she would die if she continued to allow Vietnamese fishermen to use her dock. Members of the VFA testified that Klansmen also threatened them and their families with guns.

On April 16, 1981, the VFA filed suit against the Klan and other individuals asking the court to enjoin the Klan from continuing its harassment and lawless behavior. On May 4, 1981 the VFA amended its complaint and asked the court to enjoin the Klan’s operation of paramilitary training camps in Texas. On May 14, 1981 Judge McDonald of the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Texas issued a broad preliminary injunction ordering the Klan to cease engaging in unlawful acts of violence or intimidation against the plaintiffs, including the burning of crosses and gathering in Klan robes in the presence of the plaintiffs. On September 17, 1981 Judge McDonald approved a final resolution of these matters which had been agreed to by the parties and which forbade the Klan from committing violence and intimidation against the Vietnamese.

February, 1981, Tennessee—William Seward, a former Klan member, reported that he had been kidnapped by a group of Klansmen, covered with yellow paint and feathers and pushed from a car after the Klansmen had accused him of being a government informer. A week later Seward was secluded under police protection after police officials received a tip that a “contract” had been issued on the ex-Klansman’s life. Two Klan members were arrested and charged with kidnapping.

March, 1981, North Carolina—Six neo-Nazis and Klansmen were indicted by a federal grand jury in Asheville on charges of conspiring to blow up portions of the city of Greensboro. The indicted were accused of planning to conduct the bombings if their comrades, who were tried on charges of murdering five Communist Workers Party members on November 3, 1979, were convicted. Sites to have been blown up included a shopping mall and other downtown public places. All six defendants were subsequently convicted of the charges and sentenced to five years

in prison, but the sentences of three were suspended. Those ordered incarcerated were Frank L. Braswell, Joseph G. Pierce and Raeford M. Caudle.

April, 1981, Louisiana—Don Black, successor to David Duke as Imperial Wizard of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, was one of eight Americans and two Canadians—at least six of them Klansmen—arrested by federal authorities in Slidell, Louisiana, and charged with plotting to invade the Caribbean island republic of Dominica and overthrow its government. The ten men were apprehended as they were about to embark on their mission. Seized also was a vanload of weapons, mostly automatic rifles and handguns, and 20 sticks of dynamite. The government of Dominica charged that a number of persons on the island, including the former prime minister, were involved in the plot. In addition to Imperial Wizard Black, another of those arrested was Wolfgang Droege of British Columbia, who has been the West Coast director of the Canadian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (affiliated with Black's KKKK) and also has been active in the Western Guard, a Canadian neo-Nazi group. Four others were identified as Klan members or were involved in Klan activity, and at least three had been active in neo-Nazi organizations. The ten were held for a total of \$4.6 million bail and were indicted on seven counts of violation of federal law. Seven of the defendants pleaded guilty; two, including Don Black, were convicted, and one was acquitted. Sentences of three years were meted out to all nine guilty defendants.

May, 1981, Maryland—A series of raids by Treasury agents in Maryland, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and New Jersey resulted in the arrest of 10 persons on firearms charges in connection with an alleged plot to firebomb the Baltimore headquarters of the NAACP. Charles William Sickles, leader of the small Adamic Knights of the KKK, was indicted by a federal grand jury in Wilmington in June on 20 counts involving firearms violations. Others indicted included Alfred Charles Weakland, a county leader of the Adamic Knights, and Paul Stillings, a New Jersey Klansman. Sickles was convicted in a U.S. District Court in October, 1981 and sentenced to five years in prison. Weakland, who pleaded guilty, was sentenced to four months. In a separate trial which grew out of the same group of Treasury Department raids, the leader of another Maryland Klan, Richard Lee Savina, was convicted on three counts of attempting to bomb an NAACP office. He was sentenced to fifteen years in federal prison.

May, 1981, Tennessee—Six persons were arrested following an attempt to plant dynamite in a Jewish house of worship, The Temple, in Nashville, and in connection with an additional alleged conspiracy to blow up a television tower and a number of Jewish-owned shops. One of those arrested was Gladys Girgenti. Mrs. Girgenti and another defendant, Klansman Bobby Joe Norton, were found guilty and sentenced to prison terms of 15 and 5 years, respectively.

January, 1982, Michigan—Three Detroit Klansmen were found guilty of attempting to murder a Black man, Gordon Stewart, who frequented a predominantly white bar in Detroit. The three, Ronald Bishop, Raymond Echlin and Donald Johnson had pleaded guilty in January of 1981 to charges that they violated Stewart's civil rights.

January, 1982, Mississippi—Two Ku Klux Klan Klansmen, Kenneth Painter and Larry Walker, were charged with "shooting into a dwelling that is usually occupied." Painter shot more than 100 rounds of ammunition into the offices of the *Jackson Advocate*, Mississippi's major Black newspaper. Painter pleaded guilty and was sentenced to 18 months in prison. Walker was sentenced to ten years in prison.

February, 1982, California—The founder of a KKK unit in Richmond, Michael Mendosa, was sentenced to six years in prison for engaging in a shooting spree in a predominantly Black housing project. His actions, said the presiding judge, were part of a pattern in "which he seeks to advance one group over another through violence." The shooting episode occurred after Mendosa led a truckload of Klansmen through the housing project.

February, 1982, Tennessee—In the first private lawsuit initiated under the Civil Rights Act of 1870, an anti-Klan terrorism statute, five elderly Black women were awarded \$535,000 in damages in connection with a 1980 shooting. The background of this important case is worth detailing:

On the night of April 19, 1980, four Black women walked home from a tavern in Chattanooga. As they turned a corner shotgun blasts suddenly boomed out from a passing car. The shots struck all four women. Two of them, Opal Lee Jackson, 46, and Viola Ellison, 64, were treated at a local hospital and released. The other two, Lela Mae Evans, 66, and Kathryn O. Johnson, 48, required further hospitalization. Three blocks before, one blast from the same shotgun shattered three windows of a parked car, spraying glass slivers into Fannie Crumsey. Arrested that night and charged in the shootings were three members of the Ku Klux Klan, all of whom had been riding in the car from which the shotgun was fired. Each was charged with five counts of assault with intent to commit first-degree murder.

News of the shootings quickly spread through Chattanooga's Black community. The president of the local chapter

of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, George Key, received phone calls urging retaliation but he urged calm and told the callers to trust the courts to do their job. "The NAACP believes in the American system," Key said. "We believe it can work." He praised the police department for its quick action in making the arrests.

In July of 1980 a criminal court jury found two of the three Klansmen not guilty and convicted the third, Marshall Thrash, on three counts of assault and battery. Thrash was sentenced to twenty months in the workhouse and fined \$225. Testimony at the trial revealed that on the evening of the shooting, the three men had attended a Klan meeting and then lighted crosses in the Black section of town. Chattanoogans generally were dismayed at the verdict, and the Black community was outraged. The **Chattanooga Times** editorialized: "This community was shocked by the incident and had every reason to expect a different outcome."

On the night of the verdict, a riot erupted in Chattanooga's Black community and continued for several days, leading Mayor Charles A. Rose to impose a curfew. (Local Black leaders said that while the outcome of the trial had triggered the riot, underlying grievances over jobs and housing had fueled it.)

Into the conflagration rode Bill Wilkinson, Imperial Wizard of the Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Speaking in Chattanooga while the riot was still raging, Wilkinson announced: "If the police aren't aggressively trying to stop the rioting, then the Klan will stop it." He added that local officials were "scared to death of Negroes," and said of the Black community, "We're a threat to their happy-go-lucky burning days." Several hours after Wilkinson's arrival in town, three men wearing Klan emblems and carrying weapons and bomb-making equipment were arrested by the police.

In the aftermath of these events, organizers for various KKK groups roamed through Tennessee, Alabama, and Georgia, soliciting new recruits by urging whites to join the Klan and put an end to Black rioting. The initial incident and its long aftermath pointed to typical Klan operation and strategy—violence and the subsequent exploitation of counterviolence.

April, 1982, Maryland—Former Ku Klux Klan member William Aitchison was ordered to pay \$26,000 in damages to three cross-burning victims—a Black family in College Park, and two Jewish organizations in Prince George's County.

February, 1983, Tennessee—Two Klansmen were arrested for assaulting a 71-year-old Black man in Knox County. According to the victim, a retired janitor, the two put a pistol to his nose and threatened to kill him because "they just didn't like my color." Defendants Douglas Wagner Solock and Carl Edwin Solock were convicted of aggravated assault and given suspended sentences with four year probations.

February, 1983, Colorado—Charles Howarth, a self-proclaimed Klan leader, pleaded guilty to a single count of unlawful possession of explosives and incendiary devices. Howarth, at that time a Colorado Springs resident, was sentenced to two years in prison.

May, 1983, North Carolina—Two members of Miller's Carolina Knights were reported to have burned a cross in front of the Moore County house of a Black prison guard who had filed a discrimination complaint against prison officials. According to the prison guard, Bobby Person, this was but the beginning of a series of harassments which included physical threats to him and his family and vandalism of his property.

November, 1983, North Carolina—Following a rally near Silver City, Klan activist James Holder shot and killed another Klansman; Holder was convicted of second degree murder and sentenced to life in prison.

February, 1984, Colorado—A Black family settled a lawsuit out of court for \$40,000, that resulted from a 1980 incident in which the family rented a townhouse across the street from Klansmen Fred Wilkins. They sued for "emotional horror" caused them by Wilkins.

February, 1984, Alabama—Henry Hays and James Knowles, members of the United Klans of America (UKA) klavern in Mobile, were convicted of the 1981 murder of 19-year-old Michael Donald. (An expanded discussion of this case is found earlier in this chapter.)

April, 1984, Georgia—A robed and hooded member of the Knights of the KKK assaulted Tim Carey, an 18-year-old Black man, at a Klan roadblock in Cedartown. No arrests were made.

August, 1984, Georgia—Klansmen associated with the Knights of the KKK were arrested on federal charges of breaking and entering into homes in Tallapoosa and Waco to attack William Cokley, a Black man married to a white woman, and a white woman Peggy Jo French who they claimed was associating with Blacks. Indicted were Mailon Paul Wood, a former Invisible Empire Kleagle in Paulding County; Kenneth E. Davis, of Tallapoosa; Winford Wood of Mableton; and William Deering of Bremen. The Knights were associated with Edward Fields, a longtime

hate monger who has been a Klan organizer and a leader of the Georgia-based National States Rights Party (see Chapter III). Mailon Wood and Kenneth Davis were convicted of conspiracy. William Deering was convicted on state burglary charges in connection with the Cokley attack and also convicted on perjury charges. Deering was sentenced to 15 years in prison and fined \$30,000. Mailon Wood was sentenced to forty years in prison and fined \$40,000. Winford Wood was sentenced to twenty years in prison and fined \$20,000. Kenneth Davis was sentenced to forty years in prison and fined \$40,000. The Wood brothers and Davis were also ordered to pay the \$1,082.97 in medical costs Cokley incurred from the injuries related to the beating.

February, 1985, Alabama—William P. Riccio, Alabama State Organizer for the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and an Aryan Nations member, was arrested for firearms violations. (Two others were arrested on drug charges.) At the time of the arrest, deputies also confiscated a cache of weapons, terrorist literature and a “hit list of officials.” In April, 1985, Riccio was convicted on two federal firearms charges and was sentenced to two concurrent 2-year sentences.

Possession of the firearms was a violation of Riccio’s parole. Prior to his arrest he had served another federal prison term for illegal possession of firearms.

February, 1985, Alabama—Two Ku Klux Klan members and a sympathizer pleaded guilty in a Montgomery Federal Court to a two-count charge accusing them of conspiring to threaten, oppress and intimidate members of a Black organization represented by the Southern Poverty Law Center.

April, 1985, Florida—Five members of the United Klans of America were arrested by the St. Petersburg Police Department and the Pinellas County Sheriff’s office and charged with planning and training for terrorist acts against minorities. One year later, two pleaded guilty and two were convicted by a jury for violating Florida’s paramilitary training statute (based on ADL’s model legislation). The goal of the group, according to a police informant, was to incite Blacks to riot so that whites would turn to the Klan for leadership. In addition to training with guns intended to be used against minorities, members of the group were instructed in the making of incendiary devices.

June, 1985, New York—The Anti-Defamation League revealed that John A. Walker, Jr., later convicted of spying for the Soviet Union, participated in a Klan recruitment drive among Navy personnel in the Norfolk, Virginia area in 1980.

June, 1985, North Carolina—Dr. Martha Nathan, widow of Dr. Michael Nathan who was shot to death in a 1979 anti-Klan rally in Greensboro, was awarded \$355,100. Three Ku Klux Klansmen, three neo-Nazis and two Greensboro policemen were ordered to pay Dr. Nathan. Four of the defendants were also ordered to pay \$38,360 to Paul Bermanzohn, wounded in the demonstration and two of the four to pay \$1,500 for assault and battery to a clerk also wounded.

August, 1985, Florida—Barry Robinson, a Ku Klux Klan member, was ordered to pay approximately \$100,000 to three Black men for injuries they sustained when they were attacked in the Escambia County jail in 1980. Robinson was accused of engineering the November, 1980 attack. In a plea bargain, Robinson pleaded no contest to three misdemeanor counts of battery.

September, 1985, Ohio—A federal grand jury indicted Ohio “Grand Dragon” Dale Reusch on 10 counts of illegal purchases of and interstate transportation of 83 pistols and rifles. Government officials alleged that Reusch was stockpiling weapons for KKK activity.

In April, 1986 Reusch pleaded guilty on one count of illegally transporting firearms across state lines. The 9 other gun violation charges were dropped. Reusch was fined \$5,000, sentenced to three years’ probation, given a suspended five-year prison sentence and ordered to destroy his cache of weapons at his own expense.

September, 1985, North Carolina—Nine Ku Klux Klan members were indicted on federal charges involving cross burnings and shooting into the homes of interracial families in 1982 and 1983. During December, 1986 and January, 1987, the defendants pleaded guilty to federal civil rights violations

March, 1986, Georgia—Daniel Carver, a “Grand Titan” of the Knights of the Invisible Empire, was charged with making “terroristic threats” against a Black man as the Klan protested alleged drug dealing. Consequently, Carver was fined \$1,000, sentenced to jail for thirty days and has been prohibited from donning Klan regalia or attending rallies for four years.

June, 1986, North Carolina—Three United States Marines stationed at Camp LeJeune were discharged for participating in paramilitary exercises of the White Patriot Party.

Highlights of Klan Activity 1987

Forsyth County

On January 17, 1987, a demonstration honoring the birthday of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. in the all-white community of Cumming, Georgia, located in Forsyth County, turned violent. The 75 marchers were met by 400 Klansmen and Klan sympathizers who threw rocks and bottles and overwhelmed the 70 law enforcement officers charged with keeping peace. The following week 56 anti-civil rights demonstrators were arrested for trying to disrupt a brotherhood march which attracted 20,000 supporters.

David Duke and Don Black, longtime allies in hate group activity, used the occasion of a counter-demonstration organized by several Klan groups in Forsyth County, Georgia to seek publicity for themselves by getting arrested for obstruction of traffic. Eventually, Duke and the others were fined \$50 for disturbing the peace. An edition of *NAAWP News*, the publication of Duke's group, the National Association for the Advancement of White People, proclaimed "Victory in Forsyth County."

A Forsyth County Defense League led by David Duke and Mississippi attorney Richard Barrett tried to exploit the racial tensions created by these confrontations by staging several rallies in the area.

There is little sign that Klan membership has grown substantially as a result, but two Klan groups most heavily involved, the Invisible Empire and Southern White Knights, a Georgia-based independent group led by Dave Holland, continued to seek recruits in the wake of the bitterness created by the two confrontations.

Duke also came to New York City in February, 1987 for several media appearances and a press conference in Howard Beach in an effort to exploit the tensions centering around the much publicized racial incident in that Queens neighborhood. His efforts received little attention, but Duke has been positioning himself for a return to the spotlight. His recent media appearances have characteristically projected a "clean" image, and he has deceptively portrayed himself as a political conservative. On June 9, 1987, standing on the steps of the Georgia State Capitol, Duke announced his bid for the Democratic nomination for the presidency.

Glenn Miller's Conviction

One of the most active Klan organizations in recent years, the now-defunct White Patriot Party (formerly the Confederate Knights of the KKK) changed its leadership following the 1986 conviction of its founder, Glenn Miller, on charges of engaging in illegal paramilitary training exercises contrary to a federal court order. His appeals exhausted, Miller went underground in early April, 1987 in violation of his probation. He then issued a "Declaration of War" to his claimed mailing list of 5,000 followers in which he encouraged them to stage violent acts against minorities and federal officials. ("All 5,000 White Patriots are now honor-bound and duty-bound to pick up the sword and do battle against the forces of evil. . . . Let the Blood of our enemies flood the streets, rivers and fields of the nation in Holy Vengeance [sic] and justice.")

Miller and three heavily armed White Patriot Party followers—Douglas Sheets, Robert Jackson and Anthony Wydra—were arrested shortly thereafter by federal agents in Missouri's Ozark region. They faced a variety of state and federal criminal charges. The charges against Wydra were dropped. Sheets and Jackson were indicted for murder in connection with a shooting incident at an "adult" book store in Shelby, North Carolina in January 1987.

Glenn Miller began his career in the hate movement as a neo-Nazi "stormtroop commander" in the National Socialist Party of America. He was involved in the shootout in Greensboro, North Carolina in 1979 which left five Communist Workers Party members dead. He built his Carolina Knights of the KKK (as it was originally named) into a paramilitary force, trading in their robes and hoods for combat fatigues. At its peak in 1984, the organization could boast of a number of well attended jackboot-type marches held in various North Carolina cities with over 300 battle-garbed participants. It also ran a number of telephone call-in hate messages in cities and towns in North Carolina, South Carolina and Virginia.

A guest appearance by Miller in 1985 on a radio program in West Palm Beach, Florida inspired the formation of a chapter of the White Patriot Party in neighboring Belle Glade which promptly went out on a racist crime spree. Eight members of the group were found guilty and placed on probation for three acts of violence in which Blacks were targeted, including the attempted running down of a Black man with an automobile. Police said there was discussion of firebombs at one of the group's meetings, and the chief described the group as "the most potentially dangerous. . . I have seen in this community."

Miller's second-in-command, Stephen Miller (no relation), who held the title of "chaplain," has been convicted of a plot to purchase weapons stolen from a military arsenal reportedly to be used, among other purposes, against civil rights attorney Morris Dees. An arms dealer testified he had been offered \$50,000 by members of the White Patriot Party for the weapons. It has been suggested in news reports that this money was part of the stash stolen by the underground terrorist group The Order (see Chapter IV) with which Glenn Miller and Stephen Miller were reportedly involved.

Miller's hand-picked successor was Cecil Cox, a marine veteran and relative newcomer to North Carolina, who renamed the organization the Southern National Front. The group held several successful demonstrations without combat fatigues in an effort to rally Miller's supporters, albeit in less boisterous fashion. Cox lacked the charisma and flair of his mentor, and in September, 1987, the group disbanded and merged with the National Democratic Front, a white supremacist group operating in Maryland (see Chapter III).

In September, 1987, Glenn Miller entered into a plea bargain in which he agreed to testify against several other hate-group figures indicted by a federal grand jury in Fort Smith, Arkansas (see Appendix A). Miller pleaded guilty to charges of mailing the "Declaration of War" and to possessing illegal hand grenades.

The past year also saw these developments:

April—Following their arrest in connection with a cross-burning incident, thirteen Georgia Klan members publicly apologized to Augusta's Black community.

October—Roger Kelly, "Grand Dragon" of Maryland, was indicted on cross-burning charges. His trial was scheduled for February, 1988.

December—Ending a two-year legal battle, Alex Young, a former Jefferson County, Kentucky police officer, revealed the names of members of the Confederate Officers Patriot Squad (C.O.P.S.), a Klan faction whose members reportedly are mostly police officers.

Young was dismissed in November, 1985 from the county police department for allegedly lying to his superiors and distributing more than 10,000 pieces of "hate" literature. According to published accounts, Young told his superiors that he had resigned from the Klan in July of 1985.

Young was originally ordered by a U.S. district judge in November of 1985 to reveal names of C.O.P.S. members. The order came in connection with a civil rights lawsuit in which a Black couple claimed that two incidents of arson they suffered in the summer of 1985 were committed by unknown Klan members and others who conspired to drive them from their predominantly white neighborhood.

In December, 1987, the order to reveal the names was upheld by a federal court of appeals. Under that order the names were sealed and available only to the parties in the case.

Finally, as of January, 1988, due to lengthy procedural delays, seven members of the Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan still await trial in Alabama on charges of violating the civil rights of a group of Black marchers in May, 1979. The Klansmen allegedly attacked the group on a march through downtown Decatur, Alabama, sponsored by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, to protest the rape conviction of Tommy Lee Hines, a mentally retarded Black man. (That conviction was overturned. See also Section 1.) The defendants still awaiting trial are: Roger Handley, IEKKK Grand Dragon of Alabama, Bill Riccio, Ray Steele, Lenwood White, Johnny Mason, Terry Tucker and David Kelso. Two other defendants, Jack Mize and Derane Godfrey, have already pleaded guilty. The conviction of yet another, Ricky Creekmore, was overturned.

Section 3: Klan Ideology and Strategy

Introduction

The Klan agenda of hatred, scapegoating, and terrorism is guided by several traditional propaganda themes that recur throughout the speeches and publications of the various KKK factions. The Klan mentality interprets issues in terms of race and ethnicity. The fundamental theme of Klan ideology is the racist doctrine of "white supremacy," a concept that has motivated the hooded orders since their inception. It still serves as the Klan's basic justification for bigotry and violence against Blacks, Jews, Hispanics, Orientals and other minorities.

Klan groups currently operating adhere to the tenets of white supremacy. To illustrate with a few typical examples: In the first of its statements of purpose, James Farrands' Invisible Empire declares "Racial purity—we believe that all civilizations were the result of creativity of the **White Race** and that the fall of civilization in the past resulted

because of the decline of the racial purity of the culture creating race—the WHITE RACE.”

Seizing upon the 1987 demonstration in Forsyth County, Georgia, the front page of the January/February, 1987 issue of the Invisible Empire tabloid, **The Klansman** proclaimed, “Civil Rights Army Invades Forsyth.” In another article in that same issue, entitled, “Klansmen Provide Fireworks as Blacks Invade All White Community,” the actions taken against the “invading black agitators” were described as a “heroic” and those participating were designated as the “white line of defense.” The article accused the “Zionist Occupation Government” of destroying “any and all attempts to oppose forced integration and social change as well as any and all pro-white organizations.”

Early in 1987, David Duke’s publication, **NAACP News**, proclaimed “Victory in Forsyth County” and described that Georgia racial confrontation as “the first glimmer of white resistance and eventual victory.” In connection with the events at Forsyth County, Duke declared in an editorial that “White people have Civil Rights, among them the right to associate with whom we desire, the right to preserve our culture and heritage, the right for our children to a good education, and the right of all our people, young and old, men and women, to live in communities without the black plague of crime, murdering and terrorizing our citizens. . . the sleepy white giant, the founder and backbone of America, is finally stirring.”

Robert Shelton’s UKA seized upon a 1980 Florida race riot to expound its racist philosophy. An article titled “Miami Held Hostage” in **The Fiery Cross** stated: “If there was ever a case for segregation of the races, this should be it. . . [T]here will never be peace in this land as long as Whites are forced to live among the colored savages of Africa and Asia that are among us. The one and only solution has always been and shall always be AMERICA for the WHITEMAN [sic]—Africa for the black man and Asia for the Asians! We are at war in America! Look at the color of your skin—that is your uniform!”

A related theme perceives the “superior” white race as itself the victim of discrimination by the government and distortion in the media. The Klan appeals to prejudice by characterizing civil rights laws, school integration, and other social policies as threats to white people.

“The American people,” the UKA’s **The Fiery Cross** has asserted, “did not voluntarily make the choice to sacrifice their country, their welfare, and their posterity for the sake of a gigantic social experiment in ‘equality’; they were railroaded into that choice by a small but powerful minority. They will suffer the consequences of the choice, however, until they rise up in organized might and reverse it.”

Klan Anti-Semitism

Another central theme of Klan propaganda is anti-Semitism. The importance attached to anti-Semitism by the Klans is not always perceived at first glance because hostility toward Jews doesn’t receive the same public emphasis as anti-Black racism. But, the closer one gets to the center of the organization, the more stress one finds on “the Jewish question.” Typically, a raw recruit will join the Klan in response to its anti-Black propaganda, but as he becomes more deeply involved in the inner life of the order, the more he will be taught that “behind the blacks lurk the Jews,” who are the more “dangerous” enemy. The following excerpt from a recorded telephone message by the Invisible Empire in Pensacola, Florida, vividly illustrates the point.

Listen Whitey, the Jews have taken over America and you are too damn ignorant to see it. They are pouring out your tax money to the niggers and you are too damn brainwashed to know it. The Jews are pouring out pro-nigger, pro-Jew poison to you over the Jew-owned TV and you are so damn stupid that you swallow it. The Christ-killing Jew has seized the reins of government and passed laws to imprison you if you raise your hand against the nigger, and you don’t have the brains to do a damn thing about it. . . . He has filled your schools with stinkin’ niggers and you have taken it laying down. You are now reaping your reward. . . you no longer have what it takes to hunt down the white-hating instigators who are destroying you.

In 1984 telephone hate messages recorded by Glenn Miller’s group, then called the Carolina Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, were accessible in a dozen cities and towns in North Carolina. Stephen Miller (no relation), Glenn Miller’s second-in-command, recorded the following excerpt:

The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan is a group of individuals working collectively to get something done. We believe that the old white American social structure

has been irreparably shattered by the satanic Jewish one world conspiracy. In fact we know it because all control points of our nation are in Jewish hands. They have put the white American ship of state on the rocks and we see our nation being . . . overthrown by aliens.

An article in issue number 22 of **The Fiery Cross**, stressed the view that, "Today, we see Jew big business . . . promoting race-mixing in every White Christian country."

The May, 1985 issue of **The White Patriot** (published by the McCollum faction of the KKKK) warned in "an open letter to the American Farmer" that "The Jew plan is to steal your land." An article by Ku Klux Klan "National Chaplain" Thom Robb in that same issue claimed that "the combined power of Jewish Communism and Capitalist Bankers captured that once powerful nation [the Soviet Union] and placed it in the pocket of Jewish anti-Christ one-worlders."

Klan publications have carried booklists that regularly feature such titles as **Mein Kampf**, **The Jews and Their Lies**, and **The Protocols of the Elders of Zion**, as well as books denying the reality of the Holocaust.

Klan Xenophobia

The appeal to xenophobia is another aspect of Klan ideology's racist perspective. Antagonism toward "foreigners" in general has been a Klan theme for decades. In addition to claiming that America is being subverted from within by what **The Fiery Cross** called "the Marxist government in Washington" and by Blacks and Jews, the Klan found a significant issue in the influx of immigrants, both legal and otherwise, from Mexico, Cuba, Haiti, Cambodia, and Vietnam.

A 1979 issue of **The Fiery Cross**, under a headline reading "America Invaded," stated:
These illegal aliens will take even more jobs away from Americans and create more welfare for the working American to support! . . . and unless our government returns to sane politics regarding illegal aliens America will soon be overrun with these coloreds from the Caribbean and Mexico.

In one notable case, Texas Klansmen were involved in conflicts between fishermen from the local area and Vietnamese immigrants. In 1981 Vietnamese fisherman won an injunction barring Texas Klan members from harassing them. Consequently, in 1982 a federal judge prohibited the Texas Emergency Reserve, a paramilitary arm of the Klan, from operating in Texas.

Earlier, in June, 1979, then California Klan leader Tom Metzger organized a "border patrol" to capture illegal Mexican aliens. The activity turned into a "media event," with journalists and cameramen far outnumbering the few Klansmen who took part.

In a July, 1986 letter to NAAWP subscribers, David Duke's description of the 100th anniversary of the Statue of Liberty epitomized Klan xenophobia. The celebration, he said, was "one of the most disgusting spectacles ever put on in the United States. . . to stage a huge propaganda rally for continued massive non-White immigration into the United States. . . . Jewish scriptwriters from Hollywood were recruited. . . to put on a show that would emotionally promote an image of America as a multi-racial melting pot of the world. . . . The Liberty Celebration is a cold calculated attempt to make White people think that it is good if our people, those who create and sustain this country, become outnumbered and overwhelmed."

'Public Relations'-Strategy

In the April, 1987 edition of **White Patriot**, the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan described themselves as a "legal Alabama-incorporated Christian fraternity who seeks to teach and awaken our kinsmen to the need of returning to the laws of our God for national and personal deliverance."

Such public-relations rhetoric was an attempt to shed what the group claimed was their undeserved violent image. The Knights of the Klan explained the supposedly unwarranted reputation as a result of mistaken identity because the Ku Klux Klan name is in the "public domain," and other self-proclaimed Klan groups are misappropriating it. In a "public statement," the group condemned any violence or "unlawful activity either publicly or privately" perpetrated by a member of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. According to the statement, any member who does engage in violence will be tried by a Klan court and, if found guilty, dismissed from the Klan.

But what Ku Klux Klan leaders say in public is frequently far different from the message they give their own members. This point is graphically demonstrated by David Duke's warning at his Klan group's September, 1979 national convention that only designated spokesmen should deal with the news media.

"Not everyone," he said, "is to get on a soap box. Some say the wrong things." Continuing, Duke supplied an illustration. " 'Why did you join the Klan?' 'Well, I want to hang some niggers, you know.' " At this, a delegate shouted "right on!" "Yeah," replied Duke, "and that may sound good, but that's not exactly what we're trying to get over to the American public. . . There should be a 'media line' that everyone adheres to."

Another example of the Klan's deceptive tactics is its exploitation of legitimately controversial political issues to attract new members and sympathizers—issues, often race-related, such as affirmative action. In 1980, Wilkinson's Invisible Empire held a demonstration near the Kaiser Aluminum plant in Gramercy, Louisiana, in support of Brian Weber. Weber had sued Kaiser, claiming he was discriminated against as a result of the company's affirmative action job training program. Articles condemning affirmative action programs have also appeared in *The Crusader*, Duke's NAAWP News, and *The Fiery Cross*.

Exploiting yet another controversial political issue, *The Crusader* of January, 1981 carried an editorial titled "No Gun Control," which stated: "The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan trusts the American white majority with guns and urges our people to arm and defend themselves from fast-approaching racial and Communist conflicts."

Other contentious issues exploited by the Klan in recent years include South Africa; the economic woes of American farmers; and the welfare system.

Indoctrination of Youth

An insidious aspect of Klan activity has been the establishment of programs and facilities for inculcating bigotry in teenagers and children. Materials with a calculated appeal to young people—emotionally charged literature, KKK T-shirts, rings, and belt-buckles—have been used by adult members to instill the Klan's racist and anti-Semitic doctrine in tender minds. "The Klan Youth Corps" was the earliest element of this campaign and became a central feature.

The Youth Corps was largely the handiwork of the David Duke (now the Don Black) KKKK faction, although the Wilkinson Klan used the same method to seek school-age adherents. Such recruitment efforts first took place several years ago in Buffalo, New York, under the guidance of Karl Hand, then Duke's chief lieutenant in that city. Later, as "national organizer" for the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Hand increased the scope of these activities. (Hand returned to the neo-Nazi movement of which he and Duke were products and is currently serving a 15-year prison sentence in Louisiana for attempted murder. See Chapter II.)

Over the past few years Klan Youth Corps activity has been seen in several states including: Alabama (Birmingham, Decatur, Tuscaloosa, and Tusculumbia); California (Los Angeles, San Bernardino, and San Diego); Colorado (Denver); Connecticut (Scotland); Florida (Pinellas County); Illinois (Chicago and Peoria); Indiana (Jeffersonville and New Albany); New Jersey (Milville); and Oklahoma (Oklahoma City). A small number of high school students in suburbs of Washington, D.C. (Montgomery County, Maryland, and Annandale, Virginia) were also reported to have joined Klan groups.

A widely-used propaganda and recruitment vehicle for the Youth Corps was a now defunct tabloid hate sheet called *The White Student*, published by the Noontide Press⁶ of Torrance, California, a notorious publisher of racist and anti-Semitic books. In promotional literature, Lewis Brandon, then "office manager" of the Noontide Press, was identified as the person to whom requests for copies of *The White Student* were to be sent. *The White Student* trumpeted such headlines as "White Students Have Had Enough" and "America Is a White Man's Country." Copies of the publication were mailed to thousands of San Diego high school students. Lewis Brandon of the Noontide Press was also at that time (i.e., the early 1980s) director of the Institute for Historical Review (IHR), the propaganda organization spreading the theme that there was no Nazi Holocaust against the Jews. "Brandon" was subsequently revealed by the Anti-Defamation League to be David McCalden, a British neo-fascist working incognito in the United States. McCalden currently publishes his own monthly Holocaust-denying newsletter.

⁶ Noontide Press is the publishing arm of the extremist network run by Willis Carto, who heads the anti-Semitic Liberty Lobby.

Other Youth-Oriented Activities

A more concentrated effort to recruit youth was exemplified by the now defunct special Klan camp for children in Alabama. Combining racist indoctrination and weapons training with sports and recreation, it was set up near the town of Decatur by former Invisible Empire Imperial Wizard Bill Wilkinson. Here teenagers were taught to fire guns and were given lessons in racism. "I don't mind admitting we want to brainwash these kids," Wilkinson said. And the effects of such brainwashing can be seen in this statement by a Youth Corps member at the camp:

"It [the Klan] stands for white supremacy. You know, fight the Communists, fight the niggers and the Jews and the Vietnamese, you know, all the Jews that's come into America. And it means, you know, white supremacy."

Local youngsters were also the targets of organizing activity by the Wilkinson Klan for several years. In the summer of 1979, the Invisible Empire mobilized a group of about a dozen teenagers to put a torch to an old school bus, while several hundred assembled Kluxers whooped and hollered. The children were dressed in Klan T-shirts. In California, during his unsuccessful 1980 campaign for a Congressional seat, former state Klan leader Tom Metzger (who had broken with David Duke to form his own organization, WAR—White Aryan Resistance) stated that he favored having marksmanship classes conducted in elementary and secondary schools to teach children to use guns.

Metzger said he started his youth organizing when he discovered that 85% of the telephone inquiries he received were from young people. The result was the 1984 formation of the White Student Union (WSU) then headed by Greg Withrow of Sacramento. WSU came to public attention in 1985 when leaflets it had distributed charging that the Holocaust was a hoax were discovered in student lockers at 14 junior and senior high schools in the Los Angeles and San Diego areas. (Withrow has since repudiated such activity. See Chapters II and III.)

'Advice' to Students

In an October, 1985 issue of the *Klansman*, a "5-point program" of the Klan Youth Corps provocatively advised white students to:

- 1) Organize White Youth in every school along racial lines. .
- 2) [Adopt a] 'Get tough' policy with arrogant non-Whites.
- 3) Force school administrators to drop their appeasement policy to minorities by threatening public exposure followed by possible boycotts.
- 4) Implement a 'tit for tat' policy by demanding equal rights for White students. If minorities have a Minority Cultural Class, Whites should have a White Cultural Class (etc. . .).
- 5) Segregation of classes, followed by eventual segregation of schools.

Like its "parent group" the Klan Youth Corps

recognizes that there are fundamental and biological differences between the White Race and the other races. It also recognizes that integration has been responsible for much of the racial strife in America, and most of the strife in our schools. Furthermore, the Klan Youth Corps is aware that integration is a prelude to miscegenation (race-mixing) which will lead to the down breeding of the White Race.

The *Klansman* also outlined a "plan of action" for the Invisible Empire's Youth Corps in which Youth Corps members would campaign "to build racial pride through a program of white racial courses."

Other Klan efforts have sought to involve children in family-centered social and fundraising activities—cookouts, flea markets and raffles—that may include pledges of loyalty with Nazi-like salutes and often end with a "cross-lighting" by adults in Klan ritual garb. In January, 1981, the *San Jose (California) News* reported just such an event as the "climax to a daylong rally" of several local klaverns in Rio Linda: "Fifteen white-robed Ku Klux Klan members burned a 30-foot cross at a farm house. . .while small children shouted 'White power' against a background of rock music."

More recently, in March of 1987 the *Atlanta Constitution* reported from a rally in Bethlehem, Georgia on a "new generation perpetuating Klan tenets [who] remembered the lighting of crosses by their fathers as they stood in child-like fascination."

At that March, 1987 rally Darlene Carver spoke on behalf of her husband Daniel Carver. The Carvers' four children have been members of the Klan Youth Corps. According to Carver his children have distributed Klan literature clandestinely and periodically report "offensive" activities in their schools. Describing Mrs. Carver to be like

a "diminutive petitioner for the PTA," the *Constitution* reported that she "urged mothers in the crowd to get involved with their children and their schools."

Infiltration of the Armed Forces

During the past ten years, Klan groups have attempted to infiltrate the armed forces and establish cells at military camps and bases. An early indication of such infiltration had occurred in 1976 at the Camp Pendleton U.S. Marine Corps base in California. After a violent racial disturbance took place there, it was learned that a group of white Marines had joined David Duke's Knights of the KKK and were actively recruiting new members. Following an investigation by the Marine Corps, some of the Klan leaders at Pendleton were transferred elsewhere.

In 1979, a larger Klan unit at Fort Hood, Texas, was discovered. Some of the Fort Hood soldier-Kluxers, dressed in military-style fatigues and armed with rifles, pistols and bayonets, stood guard at a Klan rally attended by more than 200 persons, featuring David Duke and his Texas "Great Titan," Louis Beam, in Euless, Texas. A group of Fort Hood Klan members also served as security guards at a 1979 national Klan convention in New Orleans.

That same year saw the beginning of Klan activity in the Navy, and this led to a Navy crackdown on the organization. The U.S.S. Concord, a supply ship operating out of Norfolk, Virginia, reportedly had a unit of some twenty Klansmen aboard. Subsequently several of them were transferred. Another incident involved three white sailors, two of whom were admitted Klan members, who were reported to have donned Klan robes and confronted Black shipmates. In addition, a cross burning was reported on an aircraft carrier.

Concerned about these developments, ADL communicated with Secretary of Defense Harold Brown on July 26, 1979. The late Nathan Perlmutter, then ADL's National Director, wrote that "it is contrary to the spirit of the Uniform Code of Military Justice. . . and the express policy of the Department of Defense's Equal Opportunity Program. . . to allow undemocratic, violence-prone organizations like the Klan to infiltrate the armed forces for the purposes of promoting racial disorder." ADL pressed its view at meetings with officials of the Department. The Navy subsequently issued an order to all ship and shore commanders to prevent such active-duty racist activity.

Former Klan leader Bill Wilkinson later chose the Norfolk area as the site of a recruiting campaign clearly aimed at sailors in the area. He scheduled a rally in Virginia Beach. The Navy's response was to transfer a sailor involved in organizing the rally and to issue an announcement through the commander of the Norfolk Naval Base declaring the rally off-limits to Navy and Marine personnel. Four U.S. Navy men who attended were subsequently tried and convicted.

The problem of the Klan's penetration of the armed forces had diminished but not disappeared. Early in 1981, an enterprising television journalist, Dan Molina of station KPRC-TV in Houston, Texas, took a camera crew into a Klan paramilitary camp in Texas, where they filmed guerrilla warfare training. Texas KKK leader Louis Beam, in his interview with Molina, claimed that the training was supervised by off-duty commissioned officers of the U.S. Army.

Defense Department Policy

At that time, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense M. Kathleen Carpenter defined Defense Department policy in a letter to ADL. She wrote:

While Department of Defense and military service regulations generally prohibit KKK activity on Federal property, we are restricted by First Amendment Constitutional considerations, from interfering with KKK or other organizational activity which takes place on private property. Legally, we cannot prohibit military personnel from joining the KKK. We can, however, take action to insure that their KKK activities do not materially interfere with our military mission or otherwise pose a clear danger to the loyalty, discipline or morale of military personnel. Consistent with these standards, service regulations now restrict the distribution of literature on military reservations and provide Commanders with the authority to place 'off-limits' sanctions on any facility in the surrounding civilian community which adversely affects the health, welfare or morale of the troops. These are some of the tools that Commanders can use to restrict the influence of the KKK.

The federal government has called a halt to the use of military bases as recruiting areas for hate groups. In

September, 1986, the Defense Department issued a directive to field commanders giving them the authority to prevent military personnel from engaging in activities sponsored by racist groups, including fund-raising, public demonstrations, recruiting and training members. The Department was responding to an appeal by the Anti-Defamation League in the face of evidence that military personnel based in Camp Lejeune, North Carolina had participated in illegal paramilitary training exercises of the White Patriot Party. The ultimate goal of that paramilitary training, stated the extremist group's leader Glenn Miller, was to have "an all-white independent Southern republic just like our forefathers had."

In May, 1986 Nathan Perlmutter asked Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger to investigate "the particularly troublesome. . . possibility that U.S. marines could be providing this gang with weapons or explosives to which they have access. . . . We feel that steps should be taken to insure that military personnel are not allowed to participate in the activities of the White Patriot Party or other hate groups, particularly those that have a paramilitary component."

In June, 1986 Secretary Weinberger responded in a letter to the ADL National Director explaining the decision to dismiss three members of the United States Marine Corps who had been involved in the activities of the White Patriot Party. "In our view," wrote Weinberger, "prejudice and intolerance are incompatible with accomplishment of our military mission."

Evaluation

Is the Ku Klux Klan a significant force on the American scene? A simple "yes" or "no" would do little to enhance understanding of the real dimensions of today's hooded "empire." Viewed in the perspective of several decades, the Klan's estimated 1987-1988 membership of between 4,500 and 5,500 is far below its post-World War II peak of 55,000 members in 1967. Similarly, its year-by-year growth between 1975 and 1982 while initially steady, was modest compared with the net gain of 30,000 members it achieved in 1966 alone. In terms of numbers and overall impact, the Klan of the 1980s is far less formidable than that of the 1960s.

The combined dues-paying membership of the Klans of today represents only a minute segment of the total U.S. population, but there are other dimensions to examine. There is, for example, the periphery of followers and sympathizers—those who generally share the Klan's racial attitudes, applaud its activities, attend its rallies, contribute to its fund solicitations, and subscribe to its journals—but do not become members. And beyond this circle of visible sympathizers may lie an even larger mass of relatively silent supporters. Clearly, the small numbers involved in actual membership do not justify dismissing the Klan organizations as insignificant.

At the same time it would be wrong to regard the Klan itself as a major political or social force in American life in the 1980s. The hooded racists tap a disturbing well of support from some alienated segments of society, but they themselves present no substantial peril to the Republic. The Klan's significance today is not numerical. It is largely one of effect, and the effect is essentially localized and episodic. Within these limits it has shown itself worthy of continuing concern.

The dangerous effect is the community damage that can be and has been done by practitioners of violence and lawlessness. It has been said that "It doesn't take a mass movement to kill people." A relatively small number of violent racists can have an inordinate impact. Often the community reaction to incidents of Klan violence, or even to reports of other Klan activity, has been a climate of fear. Where there are previous community problems, race relations can be severely polarized. Similarly, the Klan's demagogic exploitation and distortion of certain legitimate controversial issues—affirmative action, busing, welfare reform, immigration, the homosexual rights movement, the farm crisis, etc.—has often tainted the atmosphere, making civilized discourse more difficult. In such a climate, reason and compromise will be endangered if extremist views are allowed to take center stage.

Chapter II: THE NEO-HITLERITES

Introduction

We believe that Adolf Hitler was the gift of an inscrutable Providence to a world on the brink of a Jewish-Bolshevik catastrophe, and that only the blazing spirit of this heroic man can give us the strength and inspiration . . . to bring the world a new birth of radiant idealism, realistic peace, international order, and social justice for all men.

These words of praise for the Führer of Nazi Germany were not written by a member of Hitler's National Socialist movement in Germany in the 1930s and 1940s. They were written by an American, the late George Lincoln Rockwell, perhaps the most notorious neo-Nazi propagandist in the United States in the past thirty years. Rockwell launched the post-World War II neo-Nazi movement in the United States in 1958 when he founded the American Nazi Party (ANP), later renamed the National Socialist White People's Party (NSWPP) and currently known as the New Order.

Today, neo-Nazis in the United States are at their lowest ebb since Rockwell founded the movement. American neo-Nazis can claim no more than 400-450 members, reflecting a shrinkage of 10-20 percent during the past three years, and a drop of over 50 percent since ADL's 1978 survey of the movement. A detailed description of neo-Nazi groups in the U.S. follows on page 26.

Rockwell's 'World'

In his autobiography, *This Time The World*, published in 1961, Rockwell declared: "All at once, I had the answer! By being an OPEN, ARROGANT, ALL-OUT NAZI, not a sneaky Nazi—with the swastika, storm-troopers and open declaration of our intention to gas the Jew-traitors (after investigations, trials and convictions), I would . . . make an end of this filthy silent treatment, for they could never ignore NAZIS with swastika armbands and talk of gas chambers. . ."

Rockwell's ANP headquarters in Arlington, Virginia became a shrine to Hitler and Nazism. It contained a photograph of the Nazi dictator against the background of a large swastika flag flanked by candles on each side. A swastika shaped neon light hung from the ceiling, with a hangman's noose dangling from it. A Jewish altar cloth was used as a doormat. Guns and ammunition were in evidence. Recorded music blared Nazi marching songs. Storm troopers in attendance wore Nazi uniforms and regalia, held drills, and generally conducted themselves along military lines.

All this was in marked contrast to the Ku Klux Klans, with their century-old pretension to roots in native American soil. Rockwell's neo-Nazi movement brought an alien form to American extremism, evoking memories of the all-too-recent slaughter of millions of innocent men, women and children in Europe. The American nation had gone to war to defeat Nazism; hundreds of thousands of American men and women were casualties of that war. For Americans, Rockwell's slogan of "White Power" was inextricably linked with memories of Nazism's genocidal past. The result was that Rockwell—skilled performer though he was in gaining national notoriety—was never more than the "Commander" of a small and tattered demagogic group. The ANP consisted of three dozen hard-core uniformed regulars at the party's Arlington headquarters and at a second house nearby that served as a barracks. A few hundred sympathizers or supporters were scattered around the country.

At the American Nazi Party barracks, an ever-changing number of drifters stayed for a time and then moved on. Some of them had criminal records, and a majority of them had no visible means of support. A report by the Anti-Defamation League in 1963 disclosed that ANP storm troopers and former storm troopers in the District of Columbia area and elsewhere had been charged with dozens of crimes.

Rockwell's party derived its meager income primarily from small contributions and the sale of published materials, as well as from the distribution of its publications *The Rockwell Report* and *The Stormtrooper*. In fact, Rockwell found it necessary to ask his troopers to find jobs and to hand over their earnings to the party.

In spite of its transient constituency and minimal finances, Rockwell's party avidly sought, and received, widespread press coverage for its activities. ANP members engaged in picketing and numerous other street actions, to which they marched in military formation wearing Nazi uniforms. They thereby provoked angry confrontations and occasional violence, which generated publicity. More significant, however, was the attention Rockwell received from curious students at American colleges and universities. They extended to him a stream of invitations to address them on the ideology of Nazism.

Rockwell on Campus

Speaking appearances on U.S. campuses served as a morale booster for the American Nazi Party and its "Commander," for Rockwell drew some fairly large college audiences. His appearances resulted in a hubbub of controversy and publicity, as did the occasions when he was denied a platform. When an invitation was cancelled Rockwell used the occasion to focus attention on himself, claiming denial of freedom of speech. Thus, once a student group invited him to its campus, whether he actually spoke or not, Rockwell gained the publicity and attention he sought.

Campuses also provided the respectable surroundings Rockwell craved for the presentation of his ideology. Because university officials forbade his appearance in Nazi uniform, he dressed in conservative garb and carried an attache case. In addition, he toned down the blatant bigotry and violent Nazi philosophy that suffused him and his movement, and adopted a pseudo-academic pose. Rockwell's message, however, was unchanged: eighty-five percent of American Jews must be killed because they are "disloyal," and American Blacks must be sent "back" to Africa because they are inferior. Although Rockwell and his message were generally hooted and jeered, there were occasions when he received polite attention. On one occasion, in May, 1963, he addressed an audience of 3,000 students at the University of Colorado in Boulder.

Death . . .

Rockwell had become a national figure, but he was never able to marshal a significant following. Indeed, the small, ragtag American Nazi Party had already begun to decline prior to Rockwell's assassination by a party dissident, John Patler, in August, 1967. Rockwell was then 49 years old.

After its leader's assassination, the American Nazi Party was racked by deep splits and financial difficulties. Leadership soon was taken over by Matthias (Matt) Koehl, a Rockwell intimate (he was executor of Rockwell's estate and a "Major" in the ANP) and a veteran activist who had been one of the founders of the anti-Semitic and racist National States Rights Party (NSRP) in 1958 (see Chapter III). Addressing the decline in the fortunes of the American Nazi Party, "Commander" Koehl wrote to members that "the Jew-controlled propaganda media have threatened to smother the movement with silence."

. . . and Transfiguration

Comparative silence nevertheless fit the new phase of party operation Koehl envisioned: Rockwell's publicity-seeking "shock" tactics were to be replaced by a program of training a strong professional cadre and disseminating less frivolous and more ideological published materials on the Nazi philosophy. The ultimate aim was to build a mass movement to achieve political power.

In 1968, the party, by then renamed the National Socialist White People's Party (NSWPP), moved into a new headquarters building in Arlington, Virginia. For all the party's difficulties, however, predictions that it would die with its founder proved inaccurate. As under Rockwell, the NSWPP appeal continued to be directed primarily at youth, and its goal remained the establishment of a Nazi-style regime in the United States.

The movement soon suffered numerous defections and became entangled in leadership struggles that led in the 1970s to its splintering into diverse, even hostile, fragments. The early 1970s splinter groups (now defunct) included the National White People's Party, led by Charles White from Asheville, North Carolina; the White Party of America, in the Washington D.C. area, headed by Karl Allen, a former Rockwell deputy; and an American Nazi Party, headquartered in Davenport, Iowa, led by John Robert Bishop.

A Shrinking Movement

The splintering—and steady decline—in the neo-Nazi movement has continued to the present. In 1984, the Anti-Defamation League estimated that all neo-Nazi groups combined had a total of no more than 500 members, and—as noted earlier—the current membership numbers no more than 400 to 450. Thus, to an even greater extent than before, the American people have spurned the neo-Nazis. So clear has been this message that over the years a steady stream of neo-Nazi activists have shed their swastika armbands and donned the robes of the Ku Klux Klan

or other symbols of a more native identity. Among Klan leaders and white supremacists who were originally neo-Nazis are David Duke, now head of the National Association for the Advancement of White People; Don Black, the leader of a Knights of the Ku Klux Klan faction; and Glenn Miller, who headed the White Patriot Party.

Today's American Nazis

Today, the neo-Nazis consist of a number of very small, isolated sects. A leading organization continues to be the **New Order**, formerly the **National Socialist White People's Party**. As the present-day successor to Rockwell's organization, the New Order is more than just the oldest neo-Nazi group; it is also the most stable and is ahead of others in organization, discipline, and experience. It has refined its activities in nearly twenty years under the direction of Matt Koehl and is both more cautious in its tactics and more inflexible in its fidelity to original Nazi dogma than its derivative competition. To be sure, it has sought to adapt its "Aryan" doctrines somewhat, emphasizing white racism as much as anti-Semitism. Still, the New Order is the most direct descendant of Hitler's party among the American neo-Nazi groups.

For example, Koehl's organization in the past has sought contacts with some of the "Old Fighters" in Germany and with international neo-Nazi groups. Koehl has headed the so-called World Union of National Socialists (WUNS), which was set up by the late George Lincoln Rockwell to attempt a liaison with neo-Nazi groups in other countries. In 1975, Koehl was personally welcomed in Germany by Hans-Ulrich Rudel, a former Luftwaffe ace with world Nazi connections, and other major unrepentant Hitler followers. In 1986, Koehl traveled to Upper Bavaria to visit 88-year-old Hans Baur, who was Hitler's personal pilot.

Koehl's Nazi group has an active hard core cadre of about 25 and a membership of about 100 who pay dues and receive its publication, the **NS Bulletin**. In the past, the group also published a tabloid called **White Power**. In addition, the New Order has offered for sale a variety of pro-Nazi books, principal among them Adolf Hitler's **Mein Kampf**, pamphlets, such as Koehl's writings on **The Revolutionary Nature of National Socialism**, and recordings. The group also has operated automatic telephone answering messages that provided callers with a pro-Nazi recording called a "White Power Message."

Toward the end of 1982, Koehl's group concluded that Washington area residents were "not people looking to join revolutionary organizations." Announcement was made at the time of a change in the group's name to the New Order and its relocation to the Midwest. However, it was not until October, 1985 that the New Order's headquarters building in Arlington was sold and not until January, 1987 that use of the group's traditional Arlington post office box mailing address was discontinued.

In the meantime, the group purchased property in New Berlin, Wisconsin, a suburb of Koehl's hometown of Milwaukee where the New Order now has a post office box for its mailing address. There, the New Order seeks to form a "National Socialist community called 'Nordland'" to serve as "a base for the future growth and expansion of the movement." A circular announced that the group was seeking "qualified young couples" to join the community. Koehl, who is now 51 and has spent his life in extremist activity, envisions the community resurrecting National Socialism as "a religious movement." He has called his Nazi group "the vehicle for the fulfillment of Adolf Hitler's great mission on this Earth."

The National Alliance

Another active anti-Semitic group with neo-Nazi ideology (but without the Third Reich symbols) is the National Alliance. Like the New Order, the National Alliance was based in the Washington, D.C. suburb of Arlington, Virginia. Toward the end of 1985, the group relocated to rural Mill Point, West Virginia. Formerly known as the National Youth Alliance, the group came under the control of anti-Semite Willis Carto of Liberty Lobby⁷ but subsequently broke with Carto in 1970, only to be reorganized, according to the *Washington Post*, "in part by defectors from the old American Nazi Party."

The leader of the National Alliance is William L. Pierce, a native of Atlanta, Georgia. Now 51, Pierce is a one time physics professor at Oregon State University who prefers to be called "Doctor." In the late 1960s he became

⁷ See also "Liberty Lobby and the Carto Network of Hate," *ADL Facts* (Winter, 1982); "Holocaust 'Revisionism': A Denial of History—An Update," *ADL Facts* (Winter, 1986); "The Liberty Lobby Network," *ADL Special Edition* (October, 1987).

editor of **National Socialist World**, a scholarly-looking neo-Nazi quarterly aimed at intellectuals and the academic community that was published by Rockwell's World Union of National Socialists. Rockwell praised Pierce at the time as "an idealist" and said that he was "working for what he believes in rather than for money."

Pierce was one of the principal leaders of the NSWPP after Rockwell's death, serving as assistant executive officer and ideological officer of the party. He also prepared and presented the party's taped telephone messages. In 1970, Pierce left the then Koehl-led group and affiliated with the National Youth Alliance as its editor-in-chief. He formed the present-day National Alliance in 1974.

For more than a decade, Pierce has run the National Alliance and has edited its bi-monthly magazine, **National Vanguard**, formerly titled **Attack!**. The publication's banner has proclaimed: "Toward a New Consciousness; a New Order; a New People." In the past, the group also published an internal party periodical called **National Alliance Bulletin**, which was formerly known as **Action**.

The National Alliance has distributed thousands of copies of a flyer entitled **Who Rules America?**, which charges that "the media masters have become the de facto rulers of America." It declares that "Jewish control of the American mass media is the single most important fact of life, not just in America, but in the whole world today." The National Alliance also has offered for sale an extensive array of books on "Western History," "Communism & Zionism," and "Race," which include Hitler's **Mein Kampf**, **The International Jew**, and materials denying the reality of the Holocaust.

'The Turner Diaries'

The principal book recently promoted by the National Alliance has been **The Turner Diaries**, by Andrew Macdonald, a pseudonym used by William Pierce. It is a novel about revolutionary guerrilla warfare and violence against Jews and others; the National Alliance has called it a "Handbook for White Victory." The book served as a blueprint for The Order, an underground terrorist group founded principally by members or former members of the National Alliance and the anti-Semitic and racist Aryan Nations (see Chapter IV).

Pierce was the mentor of Robert Mathews, a National Alliance activist who founded The Order and died in a shootout with law enforcement authorities in December, 1984. Mathews used Pierce's 1974 novel **The Turner Diaries** as the blueprint for his attempted revolution against the U.S. Government which resulted in a spree of criminal violence in 1983 and 1984, including armed robberies which netted more than \$4 million. A statement given to the FBI by one of The Order's leaders (later recanted) indicated that Pierce received \$50,000 of this money. Pierce denied receiving any money.

It was shortly after this alleged transfer of stolen funds in 1984 that Pierce, using the name of a "church" he had incorporated in 1978, established a 346-acre compound in Pocahontas County, West Virginia. Known as the "Cosmotheist Community Church," Pierce gained tax-exempt status for it from the IRS the same year (1978) that such status was denied the National Alliance. Although Pierce has claimed that the Cosmotheist church and the National Alliance are separate entities, in speaking to a gathering of hate group activists in 1986 Pierce described the establishment of the West Virginia compound as being among "the things we've been doing at the National Alliance." (In its 1983 decision upholding the IRS decision to deny tax-exempt status for the National Alliance, a federal appeals court noted that the organization "repetitively appeals for action, including violence. . . to injure persons who are members of named racial, religious, or ethnic groups.")

Pierce described his West Virginia project in the January-February, 1986 issue of **National Vanguard**, stating: "The aspect of our racial situation which has concerned me more than any other, from the beginning, is that of fitness—specifically, the fitness of our race for survival!"

The NSDAP-AO and 'Gerhard' Lauck

The largest distributor of neo-Nazi propaganda in West Germany, where the circulation of such material is a criminal offense, is an American, Gary Rex Lauck, who uses the name Gerhard Lauck and calls his organization by the German name National Sozialistische Deutsche Arbeiter Partei-Auslands Organisation (National Socialist German Workers Party—Overseas Organization), or simply NSDAP-AO. Although Lauck, 34, maintains a Lincoln, Nebraska post office box address as his organization's headquarters, he has acknowledged that his group "has few Nebraska members, nor is it active in Nebraska," and that "Largely it's a front here—a mailing address."

Lauck has been living in Chicago, where he moved in the late 1970s to work with the now defunct National Socialist Party of America (NSPA). In the 1970s the NSPA was a rival of the NSWPP. It was founded and led by Frank Collin, who had been expelled from the NSWPP in 1970 after the party learned of his part-Jewish ancestry. (Collin's father, from whom he was estranged, was a Jewish refugee from Germany who had been in the Dachau concentration camp.) In March, 1980, Collin, 35, pleaded guilty to charges of taking indecent liberties with a number of boys aged eleven to fifteen; he was sentenced to seven years in prison. Internal bickering over leadership, in which Lauck was involved, soon brought an end to the NSPA.

Lauck has claimed strong organizational ties with secret neo-Nazi cells in West Germany. He has boasted that his major activity is smuggling printed neo-Nazi publications and posters into West Germany, where he once spent four-and-one-half months in prison for doing so. Authorities there have threatened him with immediate imprisonment if he returns. In the past, Lauck was arrested for distributing Nazi literature in 1972, was ordered expelled by the Hamburg state government after a pro-Hitler speech in 1974, and was arrested by West German police for possession of Nazi posters in 1976. In 1979, he testified for the defense in West Germany's first major trial of modern-day neo-Nazis.

Lauck claimed in 1985 that with the waning of the New Order (the former NSWPP), his NSDAP-AO, dedicated to promoting "a world-wide, National Socialist-led White Revolution for the restoration of White Power in all White nations," was the "dominant" force of Nazi philosophy in America. That "philosophy" has been promoted through the NSDAP-AO's bi-monthly tabloid, **The New Order**, which Lauck edits, and a German language counterpart called **NS Kampfruf** ("NS Call to Battle"). In addition, the NSDAP-AO offers for sale materials which include pro-Hitler and pro-Nazi books, swastika emblazoned flags, armbands, stickpins and decals, cassettes of Nazi war songs, and videos of Nazi films. Other materials include anti-Semitic books and stickers, and publications denying the reality of the Holocaust.

The Propaganda Mill: 'Liberty Bell'

The largest publisher and distributor of pro-Nazi publications in the United States for more than a decade has been Liberty Bell Publications, of Reedy, West Virginia. Unlike the other neo-Nazi groups described in this chapter, Liberty Bell is solely engaged in publishing and promoting hate literature; it is not a membership organization seeking recruits and engaging in street demonstrations. Liberty Bell supplies many of the materials offered by neo-Nazi, Klan, and other extremist groups.

Liberty Bell Publications is operated by George P. Dietz, 59, a prosperous farm broker and commercial printer in Reedy who was raised in Nazi Germany and came to the U.S. from Germany in 1957. Dietz has stated: "I was in the Hitler Youth as was my wife. I and my associates live and breathe National Socialism, every waking moment (and sometimes sleeping, for that matter) of our lives."

In recent years, Dietz has published a long list of rare and current items of neo-Nazi and anti-Jewish hate propaganda in English as well as German, French, and Spanish. He has used two corporate names: White Power Publications, publisher of the now defunct **White Power Report**, whose brochures bore the swastika emblem, and Liberty Bell Publications, publisher of **The Liberty Bell**. The latter uses the historic American bell as an insignia in place of the swastika—presumably to appeal to "patriotic" racial and religious bigots who might be repelled by the Nazi insignia.

Since 1979, with the demise of **White Power Report**, Liberty Bell Publications has offered for sale Hitler's **Mein Kampf**, along with such other titles as **Germany's Hitler**, **Hitler Was My Friend**, **The Hitler We Loved and Why**, and **Adolf Hitler's Testament**. In addition, Liberty Bell Publications has offered for sale Third Reich flags, medals, pins, badges and medallions, videos of Nazi films, and tapes of Nazi German speeches and marching songs. Dietz's outfit also has continued to peddle a large collection of anti-Jewish books, old and new, such as **The International Jew**, **The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion**, **The Talmud Unmasked**, and **The Myth of the Six Million**, as well as anti-Semitic envelope stuffers and stickers.

Liberty Bell Publications, moreover—like Lauck's NSDAP-AO—has been a source of Nazi propaganda that in recent years has been smuggled into West Germany, where, as noted, distribution of such materials is illegal. Dietz' (and Lauck's) publications were among materials seized by West German police in a raid on the homes of neo-Nazis in 1981. Dietz, in addition to publishing a wide variety of Nazi and anti-Jewish books and materials, was the first

extremist to establish a computerized bulletin board of hate propaganda which can be accessed through use of a home computer and telephone hook-up.⁸

Other Neo-Nazi Groups

In addition to the New Order, the National Alliance, the NSDAP-AO, and Liberty Bell Publications, a number of other small neo-Nazi sects have existed in recent years around the country. Their number reflects the fractured character of the movement. These splinter groups include the National Socialist Liberation Front, in Louisiana; the Social Nationalist Aryan People's Party, in Idaho; the American Nazi Party (not related to Rockwell's old group) and the America First Committee, in Illinois; the SS-Action Group, in Michigan; the National Socialist American Workers Party, the National Socialist White America Party, and World Service, in California; the National Socialist Vanguard, in Washington; the Euro-American Alliance, in Wisconsin; the American White Nationalist Party, in Ohio; the American Workers Party, in Oklahoma; and the New Order Legion, in Oregon.

Two of these neo-Nazi sects not likely to survive the incarceration of their leaders are the New Orleans-based National Socialist Liberation Front (NSLF) and the Social Nationalist Aryan People's Party, of Post Falls, Idaho.

The National Socialist Liberation Front, which originated in California in the early 1970s, has been the most violent of the Nazi splinter groups. The NSLF was founded by Joseph Tomassi, a former West Coast leader of Rockwell's party who was killed by an NSWPP member in 1975. Following Tomassi's death, the NSLF was headed by David C. Rust of Panorama City, California, who subsequently was sentenced to prison after being convicted on a federal firearms charge.

The NSLF claimed responsibility for the bombing of a West Coast office of the Socialist Workers Party, an American Trotskyite group, in February, 1975. It also engaged in violence against the rival NSWPP, and carried out recruitment efforts in California prisons.

In 1981, Karl Hand, Jr. affiliated with the NSLF. Hand is a hate movement veteran who once served a prison term in New Jersey for shooting a weapon into the home of a Black family and who later tried to commit suicide by drinking anti-freeze. He termed the NSLF "a revolutionary movement that has repudiated mass tactics and has instead embraced armed struggle and political terrorism." Hand moved to Metairie, Louisiana and assumed the title of "Commanding Officer" of the NSLF, whose insignia combined a swastika with an M16 rifle.

Hand ran the NSLF with his wife Mary Sue, whom he married in a 1985 ceremony presided over by Robert Miles, a self-described racist who heads his own "church," the Mountain Church of Jesus Christ in Cohoctah, Michigan. In December, 1986, Hand was convicted of attempted murder and sentenced to 15 years in the Louisiana State Prison.

The Social Nationalist Aryan People's Party has been led by Keith Gilbert, who once served a five-year prison term in California's San Quentin for possessing 1,400 pounds of dynamite which he planned to explode at a B'nai B'rith dinner honoring the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Gilbert, who described himself as a disciple of Adolf Hitler, engaged in anti-Jewish and racist activities, including the harassment of local Black children. In 1985, Gilbert was convicted on 35 counts of welfare fraud and one count of tax evasion and is serving a nine-year prison term in Idaho State Prison. In April, 1987, a U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals reinstated criminal charges against Gilbert for allegedly mailing threats to Idaho's director of adoption and threatening several local Black children.

Honoring Hitler's Birthday

Neo-Nazi sects, on occasion, have sponsored activities designed to boost morale. One such event was a gathering in Chicago in April, 1987 to honor and celebrate Adolf Hitler's birthday. The celebration was sponsored by a small Chicago-based splinter group called the **American Nazi Party (ANP)**, a reconstituted branch of the defunct National Socialist Party of America. The ANP has been headed by "Colonel" James Burford, owner of a military surplus mail-order business in the Chicago area. The Nazi group publishes two periodicals, **The Public Voice** and **ANP Newsletter**, and offers for sale pro-Nazi and anti-Jewish books, videos, and other materials, including swastika-emblazoned T-shirts calling for "White Power!"

⁸ See also, "Computerized Networks of Hate," **ADL Fact Finding Report** (January 1985) and "Electronic Hate," **ADL Special Edition** (July, 1987).

The "keynote address" at the April ANP meeting in Chicago was given by neo-Nazi activist Arthur Jones who has run unsuccessfully for various political offices in the Chicago area. In 1976 Jones ran unsuccessfully for Mayor of Milwaukee on the ticket of the National Socialist White People's Party (NSWPP). Jones has headed a tiny group called the America First Committee, which he founded in 1980 after leaving the NSWPP. The group's publication is called **The American Lancer**.

The ANP gathering included representatives from a Detroit neo-Nazi group who call themselves the **SS-Action Group**. Consisting of a rag-tag collection of young adults, the SS-Action Group achieved notoriety locally for several street demonstrations in recent years that involved clashes with leftist antagonists. The SS-Action Group, whose members have used false names in public, lists a Dearborn Heights, Michigan post office box as its address. The box has been rented by Edward (Ted) Dunn, who has used the name "Mark Heydrich" in his role as state organizer of the group. Dunn has stated: "As National Socialists, we are the No. 1 enemy of the Jews." The SS-Action Group has been active since 1977 and produces a periodical called **Michigan Briefing**, with such headlines as "Whites Must Arm!" and "White Victory." Another publication, called **Aryans Awake!**, has declared: "We wish to wipe out Zionism and every Jew who supports it throughout the world."

Another neo-Nazi group in the Chicago area uses the name **Romantic Violence**. This menacing-looking youth group, which has patterned itself after the "skinheads" involved with the National Front, a neo-Nazi group in Britain, took part in a June, 1985 march organized by the American Nazi Party to protest the annual Gay and Lesbian Pride Day. Led by Clark Martell, the group has attended several meetings of hate movement activists at the Michigan farm of Robert Miles (see Chapter IV). It also has promoted a "white power" rock group called The Final Solution. The Romantic Violence leader has contributed other talents to the movement; the introductory issue in 1984 of the ANP publication, **The Public Voice**, listed Martell as its cartoonist.

Neo-Nazi 'Skinheads'

"Skinheads," or "skins," such as Chicago's Romantic Violence, are gangs of shaven-headed youth sporting neo-Nazi insignia who espouse white supremacy and preach violence against Blacks, Jews, and other minorities.⁹ Skinhead groups with neo-Nazi leanings (there are young people who adopt skinhead hair or dress styles but are not racists or neo-Nazis) have operated in or around Chicago, Cincinnati, the San Francisco Bay area, and in central Florida, Los Angeles, Dallas, Denver, Detroit, Oklahoma City and Portland, Oregon. The number of skinhead activists has been small but growing, and they have been viewed by leaders of established neo-Nazi and Ku Klux Klan groups as potential recruits.

Skinheads first surfaced in the U.S. in 1984 when Romantic Violence, then operating from a post office box in Cicero, Illinois, began promoting a "Death's Head Muscle T-Shirt." The group's leader, Clark Martell, was arrested that September in Oak Park for painting swastikas on village property. Chicago area skinheads also have operated under the acronym CASH (for Chicago Area Skinheads). In the Cincinnati area, a group called the White American Skin Heads, or WASH, affiliated with a local branch of the SS-Action Group, has used the public-access channel of a TV cable system to run recruitment advertisements. Skinheads associated with WASH also have engaged in some violent clashes with punk rockers and a Black street gang in downtown Cincinnati.

Having become a menacing presence in a number of U.S. cities, skinheads have perpetrated some serious acts of violence. For example: In San Jose, California, in July, 1987, a Black woman was terrorized by skinheads who made racial threats and denied her access to a public park. In Sacramento, California, in August, 1987, skinheads assaulted Greg Withrow, a former white supremacist youth leader, following his renunciation of racism. The former neo-Nazi and KKK member stated he was nailed through the palms of his hands to a board, slashed with a razor, and left in a shopping center parking lot. A month earlier, he had been beaten over the head and chest with baseball bats.

Skinheads also have engaged in the promotion of neo-Nazism. In Portland, Oregon, skinheads have distributed neo-Nazi cards printed by Gary "Gerhard" Lauck's NSDAP-AO. In Orange County, California, skinheads have distributed neo-Nazi flyers and vandalized property with spray paint. In the Gainesville, Florida area, a skinhead band known as Jehovah's Sicknesses has raised Nazi salutes and shouted racial insults in its appearances in local

⁹ See also "Shaved for Battle: Skinheads Target America's Youth," *ADL Special Report* (November, 1987), and "Skinheads Target America's Youth," *ADL Special Edition*, February, 1988.

bars. In the San Francisco Bay area, a skinhead group known as BASH has distributed swastika-decorated leaflets advertising Creative Violence, a heavy metal rock group in Chicago.

Splinters Here and There

Other small neo-Nazi sects active in recent years have included the following groups:

—**The National Socialist American Workers Party**, based in Glendale, California, was founded and led by Stanley Witek. In 1987, Witek was convicted of two counts of assault, one count of battery on an Amtrak police officer and resisting arrest as a result of a May 1, 1986 brawl at Los Angeles' Union Station. He was sentenced to four months in jail. Witek, 53, has said that Hitler was the greatest statesman of the 20th century and that the Holocaust is a Jewish-Zionist lie. Witek has been associated with former Klan leader Tom Metzger, of San Diego, who heads a racist and anti-Semitic group called **White Aryan Resistance (WAR)** (see Chapter III).

—**The National Socialist White America Party**, in Pacific Palisades, California, has engaged in the distribution of hate flyers and stickers at schools and shopping centers. One flyer showed a skull-and-crossbones above a swastika and declared: "White Power—Death to Race-Mixing." NSWAP swastika-emblazoned stickers have proclaimed "Niggers Get Out!" and "Quarantine Aids Now!" The NSWAP, the one-man operation of James Karl, also has produced a publication called **The NSWAP Newsletter**. Skinheads in several U.S. cities have distributed NSWAP stickers.

—**The American Workers Party/National Socialist Movement**, in Bartlesville, Oklahoma, has been led by Clifford D. Herrington. The group's stated objective has been "National Socialist control of all white homelands, including the U.S., through national self-determination." It has promoted research on "the truth of Adolf Hitler and Germany." The AWP/NSM has published periodicals titled **Social Justice** and **NS Nationaler** and an internal newsletter called **Brief**. Herrington has promoted his Nazi philosophy on radio call-in/interview shows.

—**The National Socialist Vanguard**, formerly of Salinas, California and recently of The Dalles, Oregon and Goldendale, Washington, has had as its principals Dan Stewart, Fred Surber, and Rick Cooper. Stewart, who is a former member of the National Socialist White People's Party, has said about himself and the group: "I am a National Socialist . . . What we are is revolutionaries in pre-revolutionary times." Rick Cooper has stated: "I am in this Movement for life and I am willing to risk exposure, ridicule and various types of harassment for my beliefs and actions . . ." The group has expressed a desire to build a neo-Nazi community to be called Wolf Stadt. The group's publication, **NSV Report**, has featured articles lauding the aims of The Order.

—**The Euro-American Alliance**, in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, has been led by "Major" Donald V. Clerkin, its "Chairman" and "Commander." Clerkin has propagated Nazi-style notions of white "Aryan" superiority since the mid-1970s. The group has published a monthly "essay-letter" called **The Talon** and the **Euro-American Quarterly**. Clerkin has proclaimed that his group "stands boldly and proudly for the white race" and that "The Aryan today needs a racial reformation." The Euro-American Alliance has offered for sale cassette tapes of speeches by the late American Nazi Party "Commander" George Lincoln Rockwell. Among other cassettes were "Hitler's Victory," consisting of "lively German marches," and "Injustice at Nuremberg," described as "a discussion of the heinous 'war crimes' trials of the post-war period."

The April, 1987 issue of **The Talon** noted that "Commander" Matt Koehl and his New Order had relocated from Arlington, Virginia to the Milwaukee area. It provided readers with the New Order's address and added: "Welcome, Cmdr."

In 1986, the Euro-American Alliance supported an appeal by neo-Nazi Frank Spisak, a murderer on death row in the Ohio State Penitentiary, to receive "Aryanist literature" and the "consolation of visitations with Aryanist pastors." The group also promoted an attempt by neo-Nazi killer Perry "Red" Warthan, incarcerated in California, to publish a "Christian racialist testament."

—**World Service**, in San Diego, California, which promotes itself as a "free association of White people" seeking to reveal "Jewry's sinister intentions and its criminal methods." World Service has said that it has no organizational ties to any other group or party calling itself "National Socialist" or "Nazi." Its prime mover has been Russell R. Veh, 36, who first came to attention in 1970 when he headed the **Ohio White Nationalist Party** in Toledo, a one-man operation engaged in the distribution of racist materials.

World Service formerly was the materials distribution arm of the **National Socialist League**, a homosexual neo-Nazi group with a small membership that was founded in 1974 by several former members of the NSWPP. World

Service has offered for sale such books as Hitler's **Mein Kampf**, George Lincoln Rockwell's **White Power**, **The Protocols of Zion**, and **The International Jew**. It also publishes a quarterly called **Race and Nation**, previously known as **NS Mobilizer**, which is edited by Russell Veh.

—**The American White Nationalist Party**, in Columbus, Ohio, was founded by John Gerhardt II and Edward Gerhardt. The Gerhardt brothers were convicted in December, 1979 for conspiring to bomb an elementary school in Columbus to protest a court-ordered school busing plan. They were sentenced to six years in prison and were paroled in 1983. The AAWN has published a bulletin titled **White Unity** (formerly called **The White Nationalist**), and has offered for sale such books as **Did Six Million Really Die?** and **The Myth of the Six Million**.

—**The New Order Legion**, in Portland, Oregon, has promoted itself as an "eclectic neo-Fascist" organization. The post office box used by the group also was the source of a mailing to Jewish individuals under the name "Gentiles United for Zionist Aims," which claimed "to warn both Khazars and Sephardim of the true danger facing them and to recommend aliyah as a logical solution to this danger." A person associated with the Portland post office box has been "Pastor" David Brock.

—Another organ that has espoused neo-Nazi philosophy is **The New Dawn**, published in Burbank, California. It promotes itself as the "Voice of the New Philosophy." Issues of the publication, which is not affiliated with any group, have pictured swastika-armbanded Nazis on the cover. One article in the publication stated: "There is no future for National Socialism, under that name. . . **The New Dawn** has chosen to call its revelation the New Philosophy and American Socialism. . ." **The New Dawn** also has published a periodical called **The Perilous Times**.

The prime mover behind **The New Dawn** has been Michael Merritt, its "leader." A recent article in the publication stated that "Comrade Merritt has set out. . . to alter fundamentally the way the leadership of the Aryan movement manages the politics of our Folk, starting with relaxation of the rigidly centralized Hitlerian political system." It said that Merritt was "trying to start over—not in the sense of questioning the premise for our movement, which is Aryan self-determination, or by giving up on National Socialism, the driving force and philosophy behind the Aryan movement, but in discarding some of the worst features of the German model. . ."

The Threat of Violence

An insidious aspect of the neo-Nazi movement has been the clear threat of violence on the part of some of the groups and their members. While the New Order (formerly the NSWPP) in the past has sought "good publicity" and advocated participation by its members in electoral campaigns as a means of spreading its propaganda, the encouragement of violence remains an integral part of the neo-Nazi network as a whole. In Houston in December, 1977, for example, a local unit of the now defunct National Socialist White Worker's Party, through its recorded telephone message, offered a prize of \$5,000 "for every non-white killed during an attack on a white person." A spokesman for the group, who defended the award, stated that it was time "for an all-out war for whites against nonwhites, and that includes Jews."

Another group, the Cincinnati-headquartered **National Socialist Movement** (whose activities have more recently diminished), distributed a flyer emblazoned with a swastika and a hand holding a cocked revolver, which stated: "The future belongs to the few of us still willing to get our hands dirty. / **POLITICAL TERROR**. . . It's the only thing they understand. / Build the National Socialist Revolution through Armed Struggle." The NSM also distributed a sticker bearing a swastika and the legend "Off The Jew-Capitalist Pigs." Moreover, a flyer from the group's Ashton, Rhode Island unit pictured a Nazi dynamiting a Jew and his property.

More recently, a 1987 flyer produced by the Michigan-based SS-Action Group proclaimed: "Death to Race Mixers! White America Unite!! Fight Back!"

A Chronology of Violence

The following incidents illustrate the effects of the neo-Nazis' philosophy of violence over the past dozen years: —On June 6, 1976, a Marquette Park rally of 200 white youths, led by members of Frank Collin's National Socialist Party of America, turned into a rock-throwing riot against Chicago policemen. The crowd, spurred on by the presence of NSPA members wearing swastikas and carrying signs reading "White Power" and "Nigger Beware," had rallied

to counter an anticipated demonstration by local Blacks protesting a lack of open housing in the area. When the demonstration failed to materialize, the Nazi youths and their allies began hurling rocks and bottles at the police and at passing automobiles with Black occupants. An off-duty corrections officer was shot and at least 200 automobiles were damaged during the melee. Subsequently, a deputy police chief was quoted as saying that "the Nazi party gathered this crowd and incited the community into this state of behavior."

—In February, 1977, Fred Cowan, a subscriber to Nazi and anti-Semitic publications who lived in New Rochelle, New York, killed five innocent persons including four co-workers and a police officer before taking his own life. Cowan, 33, was a collector of Nazi regalia and had a swastika tattooed on his body.

—In May, 1977, Raymond Schultz, 38, a onetime member of Rockwell's American Nazi Party, killed a Jewish man in Chicago by subjecting him to cyanide inhalation. Schultz then killed himself with a dose of cyanide while handcuffed in the rear seat of a police car.

—On July 23, 1977, an attempted march by Blacks in Marquette Park was confronted by more than 1,500 white area residents, again spurred on by members of the National Socialist Party of America. As a result of the ensuing melee, sixteen policemen were injured. Marquette Park was near the NSPA's headquarters in Chicago.

—In September, 1977, Kenneth Wilson, a 17-year old youth wearing a swastika armband, killed two persons and injured three others at a Labor Day church picnic attended by Blacks in Charlotte, North Carolina. The killer, who then fatally shot himself, was identified by the leader of the now defunct National Socialist Party of North Carolina as an official supporter of his party.

—In 1978, three Midwest members of Matt Koehl's NSWPP pleaded guilty in the beating of a passerby who had heckled them as they themselves counter-demonstrated at a left-wing meeting at the University of Minnesota in December. The victim of the Nazis' ire had no connection with the political meeting.

—In December, 1979, John and Edward Gerhardt, the previously mentioned leaders of the American White Nationalist Party, were convicted on charges of plotting to bomb a public school in Columbus, Ohio to protest court-ordered desegregation. One of the school's students was the daughter of a U.S. District Court Judge who ordered the desegregation of Columbus schools. The Gerhardt brothers were sentenced to six years in prison in February, 1980.

—One month earlier, on November 3, 1979, five left-wing activists at an anti-Klan rally in Greensboro, North Carolina, were killed in a shoot-out with far-right extremists. Two of the defendants identified themselves as members of a local neo-Nazi party. The two—Ronald Wayne Wood and Jack Wilson Fowler, both of Winston-Salem—were among the six defendants later acquitted by an all-white jury of charges of murder and felonious rioting.

—In March, 1981, six American Nazis and supporters were arrested on charges of conspiring to stage a series of terrorist attacks if the above group of Klansmen and Nazis tried in connection with the Greensboro killings had been found guilty. A federal indictment charged the six with conspiring to blow up a petroleum storage facility, a chemical fertilizer plant, a shopping mall, and part of downtown Greensboro. In September, all six were convicted.

—In February, 1982, Frank Spisak, 32, a member of the Social Nationalist Aryan People's Party, shot to death three men and seriously injured a fourth in a rampage at Cleveland State University in Cleveland, Ohio. His victims were two Blacks and a white maintenance worker he mistakenly identified as a "Jewish professor." Spisak testified at his trial that his goal was to kill "as many [Blacks and Jews] as I could before I got caught—one thousand, one million, the more, the better." At the close of his trial, Spisak delivered a pro-Nazi speech which he ended with a Nazi salute and the words "Heil Hitler." Spisak was sentenced to death and has been on death row ever since.

—In September, 1982, Perry "Red" Warthan, the 41-year-old "fuhrer" of the National Socialist Party in Oroville, California, shot to death, execution-style, a 17-year-old "potential recruit" to his neo-Nazi group. Warthan had accused the youth of being "a traitor to the race" and "a snitch." The youth had confessed to police that he helped plant racist leaflets in lockers at racially-torn Oroville High School. In May, 1983, Warthan was convicted of the teenager's slaying and sentenced to 27 years to life in prison.

—In April, 1983, a federal grand jury in Winston-Salem, after deliberating for 29 months, indicted three neo-Nazi members and six Klansmen on charges of conspiring to disrupt the 1979 anti-Klan rally in Greensboro. The nine were charged with conspiring to interfere with the federally protected rights of the demonstrators to participate in a legally authorized parade. All nine were acquitted by a jury in April, 1984. In June, 1985, however, a federal jury in Winston-Salem awarded nearly \$400,000 in damages to the families of the victims of the Klan-Nazi violence. The defendants were found liable for wrongful death and assault and battery.

—In July, 1984, Joseph Paul Franklin, a former American Nazi Party member, was convicted by a jury in Chat-

tanooga, Tennessee of the 1977 bombing of the Beth Sholom synagogue in Chattanooga. He was sentenced to consecutive terms totaling 21 to 31 years in prison. Franklin, a convicted murderer, already was serving two consecutive life prison terms in connection with the sniper slayings of two Black men jogging with white women in Salt Lake City, Utah in 1980.

—In December, 1986 Karl Hand, head of the National Socialist Liberation Front, was convicted of attempted murder and sentenced to 15 years in Louisiana State Prison.

—In November, 1987, Victor A. Malik, 51, a gun dealer and purported “Commander” of the National Socialist Party in San Francisco, was sentenced to six months in jail, a \$300 fine, and 200 hours of community service for possessing a fully-automatic machine gun with a silencer.

—Also in November, 1987, William G. Leinberger, a 22-year-old Chicago member of the SS-Action Group and a local skinheads group, was charged with breaking windows and painting swastikas on the wall of a Jewish-owned market. It was one of eleven Jewish- or Korean-owned businesses and three synagogues on Chicago’s north side that were attacked on the night of November 9 in imitation of Kristallnacht, the night in 1938 when 7,500 Jewish-owned businesses and synagogues were looted, trashed, and burned in Germany and Austria.

Outreach to Prisoners

Several neo-Nazi outfits have engaged in outreach to like-minded prisoners serving sentences in American penal institutions. They have included the SS-Action Group, the Euro-American Alliance, the National Socialist Liberation Front, and Liberty Bell Publications. Such groups have published letters from inmates and have encouraged readers to correspond with prisoners, often referred to as “comrades” and “heroes of their race.” Some of the groups have provided prisoners with free subscriptions to their publications. For further information on this phenomenon, see Chapter VI, “Extremist Activity in Prisons.”

Skokie: A National Controversy

Neo-Nazi activities in the U.S. generally have been obscure and limited. One exception occurred in 1977-78 and it sparked a national controversy. Its instigator was the Chicago-based National Socialist Party of America (NSPA), under the leadership of Frank Collin, which threatened to hold a rally in Skokie, Illinois, a predominantly Jewish town with a large population of Holocaust survivors. The NSPA announced the move after the Chicago Park District required the group to post \$60,000 in insurance prior to the issuance of a permit for the use of Marquette Park. To Skokie’s survivors of Nazism, the rally was seen as an assault upon them and a reliving of the painful past.

The NSPA subsequently received reams of publicity when new local ordinances in Skokie prohibited the group from holding a rally. These ordinances required would-be marchers to obtain \$350,000 in insurance policies and prohibited the wearing of military-style uniforms and the dissemination of hate literature.

In January, 1978, the Illinois Supreme Court ruled that the Nazis had a right to march in Skokie, declaring that the swastika was “symbolic political speech intended to convey to the public the beliefs of those who display it.” In February a federal judge struck down the three ordinances enacted by Skokie to prohibit the NSPA from marching there. In April, the U.S. Court of Appeals lifted a 45-day injunction against the march. And in June, the U.S. Supreme Court refused to issue a temporary stay of the lower court ruling permitting the NSPA’s Skokie rally, and a federal district judge in Chicago ordered the Chicago Park District to allow Collin’s group to demonstrate in Marquette Park. (Collin had said he would call off the march in Skokie if he were allowed to hold a rally in the Chicago park near his party headquarters.)

On July 9 a band of twenty-five brown-shirted NSPA members finally held their rally in Marquette Park, the culmination of more than a year of legal battles. Between 2,000 and 3,000 spectators were present, among them a large number of counterdemonstrators who were kept at a distance and under control by riot-helmeted policemen. There were some arrests on minor charges, but violence was limited to a few fist fights. The confrontations that took place were primarily exchanges of racial slurs and other insults. The Chicago police department estimated that security efforts at the rally had cost the city \$175,000 in overtime pay, equipment, and transportation. As a result of the Skokie incident, the neo-Nazi NSPA received extensive national publicity and its leader made several public appearances.

The Swastika in Politics

Despite its thoroughgoing disrespect for democratic processes, the American Nazi movement on occasion has employed the ballot box to spread the message of Nazi "revolution" and to project a more palatable public image. Generally, the voter support they have achieved has been negligible—but not always.

In 1975, NSPA leader Frank Collin and two other NSPA members ran for city alderman positions in Chicago. All were unsuccessful. Collin, however, polled 16% of the total vote cast in the 15th Ward race in which he ran against two opponents. Thomas McGovern received 10% of the vote in the 18th Ward race in which he ran third in a field of six. And Thomas Goodwin polled 5% in his race for alderman in the 12th Ward.

That same year, Wolfgang Schrodt, an NSWPP organizer, sought election to the City Council in Baltimore, Maryland. Schrodt, a German-born admirer of Hitler who came to the United States in 1950 at the age of twelve, was active in the early 1960s in the **Fighting American Nationalists**, an American Nazi Party front group, and in the early 1970s ran a National Socialist bookstore in addition to organizing for Koehl's party. Schrodt ran fifth in a field of six in Baltimore's First Councilmanic District, receiving 2.5% (1,360) of the total votes cast.

In 1976, NSWPP leader Koehl announced that his party planned to enter candidates in local elections in several cities. One such NSWPP candidate for public office was Arthur Jones, who ran in a February, 1976, non-partisan primary election for Mayor of Milwaukee—one of six unsuccessful challengers to the incumbent Mayor. A "Jones for Mayor Committee" ad in the local press bore a swastika within the "o" in Jones' name, making clear his Nazi affiliation. Nevertheless, of 86,636 votes cast in the Milwaukee mayoral primary, Jones received 4,765 votes, or approximately 5.5%, which placed him fourth in the field of seven.

Also in Milwaukee, in 1977, Sandra Osvatic, 41, and Sandra Enders, 20, both members of the NSWPP, ran as "White People's" candidates for the local Board of Education. Osvatic, identified in campaign literature as a unit leader for the NSWPP's National Socialist Women's Organization (NSWO) affiliate, received 6,304 votes. Enders, identified as secretary of the NSWO, received 7,710 votes. While neither woman was successful, Enders came within a few hundred votes of winning the election. As in the case of Arthur Jones, material promoting both women bore the Nazi swastika, which was described as an "Ancient Symbol of the White Race." In that school board election, nearly one voter in seven cast a ballot for an avowed Nazi.

Another neo-Nazi office seeker was Harold Covington, a former head of the NSPA. In 1978, he ran in the Republican Party primary in North Carolina for a state legislative seat and received 885 votes. The following year he ran for mayor of Raleigh and received only 172 votes out of 24,000 cast. Neither vote was indicative of what was to come.

In May, 1980, the 26-year-old NSPA leader drew an astonishing 56,006 votes in the Republican primary for state attorney general of North Carolina. While he lost the election, Covington won a majority in forty-five of the state's 100 counties and received the vote of 42.8% of those balloting. Afterwards, Covington gleefully spoke of "many closet Nazis." A local Republican official, however, disputed this claim. He called the vote "a freak" and said that many of those who voted for Covington "just didn't know who he was."

Also in 1980, Gerald R. Carlson, a 38-year-old former member of the Nazi party in Detroit who had also been a member of the Ku Klux Klan and the National States Rights Party, won the Republican nomination for the 15th Congressional District race in Michigan. Much to the chagrin of the Republican Party, Carlson received 55.2% of the vote in a two-man contest. Carlson had spent \$180 to his opponent's \$30,000. Subsequently, in the November 4th general election, Carlson was defeated by the incumbent. He nevertheless polled 32%—53,570 votes.

While the respective Republican organizations in North Carolina and Michigan disavowed the candidacies of Covington and Carlson, and the two white supremacists were rejected by the majority of voters, the Anti-Defamation League expressed "deep concern" that "so many Americans considered it acceptable to cast their votes for individuals who have openly proclaimed racist and anti-Semitic views." The ADL said that rather than offering any hope of solving social and economic problems, the candidates' views promised "only fear, disruption and community polarization."

In 1982, Carlson switched parties to run in the Democratic primary for the House of Representatives in Michigan's 15th Congressional District. Carlson ran against the incumbent, Rep. William Ford. He received 7,486 votes, or 17.7% of the votes cast.

In 1984, Carlson once again won the Republican nomination for U.S. Congress in Michigan's 15th Congressional District. He was defeated by the Democratic incumbent (to whom he also lost in 1980) but received 64,332 votes—40% of the vote. This exceeded his respective 1980 totals by nearly 11,000 votes and 8%. A Michigan

Republican Party official said he was at a loss to explain the large 1984 vote for the avowed racist and former American Nazi Party member "since we repudiated his candidacy even before the primary."

In more recent years no known neo-Nazi candidates have emerged.

Conclusion

Based upon past history, the neo-Nazi phenomenon in the United States has little chance of becoming a mass movement. Its origins and philosophy are rooted in foreign soil and in an ideology and system against which the United States fought its most total war. Its appeal to the worst fears and prejudices in mankind, its hatred of democratic ideals, and its teaching of genocide all seem to limit both its outreach and its ability to perceive reality.

Although the American Nazi movement remains small in numbers and is rejected by the American people, it nevertheless has a potential for generating local passions and exploiting tensions, creating disturbances that can have tragic consequences to those caught in the way. Any group or movement with such a potential for harm must be closely watched. Such monitoring is even more needed today with the rise of youthful skinhead gangs who may offer neo-Nazi groups a new base of support and membership.

Chapter III: HYBRID ORGANIZATIONS

Hitlerian National Socialism is regarded by most Americans as a particularly alien form of political fanaticism, and thus a number of fuhrer types who started out on the neo-Nazi road—David Duke, Glenn Miller and Don Black are notable here—have found that they can appeal to a larger constituency by shedding the Nazi image. This is usually little more than a tactical ploy; the Hitlerite doctrines remain.

Similarly, some ambitious extremist leaders have emerged from the klaverns of the KKK and exchanged their robes for combat fatigues or business suits, retaining the Klan's racist program and often its penchant for violence.

The National States Rights Party (NSRP)

The National States Rights Party, which first appeared as an avowed "white racist political party" in 1958, enters its fourth decade in disarray amid bitter factional infighting centered on Dr. Edward R. Fields, the non-practicing chiropractor who founded the party and served as its national secretary through a generation which saw the NSRP become the focal point of racist and anti-Semitic activity in America's Southern states. The factional trouble began in the spring of 1983 following the jailing in Alabama of Edward Fields' chief associate, party chairman J.B. Stoner, the most popular figure in the NSRP and the best known outside of it. Fields was subsequently pushed out of the party and given control only of **The Thunderbolt**, the monthly NSRP newspaper that has long been the favorite hate sheet of the Ku Klux Klans, neo-Nazi bands and other bastions of extremism.

Fields had become associated with J[esse] B[enjamin] Stoner during the late 1940s in the "Stoner Anti-Jewish Party," a small outfit in Atlanta that mailed hate literature in wholesale lots. The aim of his party, Stoner told the **Atlanta Constitution** (July 5, 1946) was "to make being a Jew a crime, punishable by death." By the end of the 1950s Stoner, a lawyer, had joined Fields' NSRP as a "legal advisor," and a decade later he was named its chairman.

Violence . . .

The heyday of the NSRP was the 1960s, the great decade of the civil rights struggle. In addition to nominating segregationist candidates for the Presidency and other offices, the party was involved in street violence in several states. In St. Augustine, Florida in 1964, a mob wielding clubs, bricks and bottles attacked civil rights demonstrators, injuring 40; this had immediately followed the appearance at a nearby segregationist rally of the Rev. Connie Lynch, the NSRP's designated "official policy speaker," who told the 800 assembled whites: "I favor violence to preserve the white race . . . Now I grant you, some niggers are going to get killed in this process . . ." Several nights of violence followed until Florida's governor sent two hundred troops into the city. A state legislative investigating committee reported that the NSRP had played a key role in the riots and specifically named Connie Lynch and J.B. Stoner as having been instrumental in causing them.

In 1966 Lynch and four other party leaders were convicted and sent to prison for inciting a riot in Baltimore. Killings took place in the wake of NSRP rallies in Alabama in 1965 and in Kentucky in 1968.

. . . and Politics

As a candidate for high office in Georgia five times during the 1970s, J.B. Stoner carried the hate program of the NSRP to millions—political candidates being afforded wide access to radio and television to spread their ideas. In 1970 Stoner ran in the Democratic primary for governor, a race eventually won by Jimmy Carter. In 1974, entering the primary for U.S. Senator, Stoner flooded the airwaves with a message that said, in part, that "you cannot have law and order and niggers too." He managed to finish in the top third of 15 candidates, receiving more than 40,000 votes. He polled another 40,000 votes in the 1978 primary for governor.

On May 14, 1980, three months prior to a Democratic primary in which he was again a candidate for the gubernatorial nomination, Stoner was convicted in Alabama of conspiracy to bomb the Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth's Bethel Baptist Church in Birmingham in 1958. Eventually the NSRP leader was sentenced to ten years in prison, served three and one-half years and was released in December 1986.

During Stoner's imprisonment the dissident faction in the NSRP decided the time was ripe for a move against

Edward Fields. The executive committee voted the founder out of the party in August, 1983. They had accused Fields of immorality and of diverting party funds into a Klan organization he had set up under the name "The New Order, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan."

By 1987, the NSRP was moribund, and **The Thunderbolt**, still published by Fields, was in financial trouble. Subscribers at that time received emergency appeals for funds to pay off mounting production debts. Nonetheless, **The Thunderbolt** issue #321 late in 1987 was billed as "the most important in our history," "over one year in the making." It comprised several articles on the theme of alleged control of all U.S. foreign and domestic policies by Jewish bankers, "the most serious menace threatening the future of America as a free nation."

Freed from prison, J.B. Stoner formed an organization early in 1987 called **Crusade Against Corruption**. Trumpeted in an insert placed in **The Thunderbolt**, its announced message was:

PRAISE GOD FOR AIDS

God is intervening in earthly affairs with Aids to destroy his enemies . . . Aids is a racial disease of jews [sic] and negroids that also exterminates sodomites . . . Racial segregation is necessary.

In March, speaking at a rally of the Southern White Knights of the KKK, Stoner named the enemy as "communists, queers, government, Jews and niggers."

White Aryan Resistance

Tom Metzger of Fallbrook, California, is one of the better known peddlers of hate in America; his influence extends well beyond his own small group, White Aryan Resistance (W.A.R.). Metzger joined the Ku Klux Klan in 1975 and eventually became Grand Dragon of the California Klan "realm" that had formerly been affiliated with David Duke's Knights of the KKK. In 1980, Klansman Metzger won the Democratic nomination for Congress in the San Diego area, was disavowed by the Democratic organization and lost to the Republican incumbent.

In the mid-1980s Metzger began producing a videotaped series for cable television entitled "Race and Reason." The program, which features sympathetic interviews with hate group leaders and activists, has been aired on "public access" channels in 15 cable markets across the country including such major cities as Los Angeles and San Francisco, Atlanta, Memphis, and Phoenix. Metzger's W.A.R. also publishes **WAR**, "The Revolutionary Newspaper of Working Class Whites." Writings of Manfred Roeder, a German neo-Nazi imprisoned in West Germany in connection with a fatal terrorist incident, have been featured in **WAR**.

After the 1986 conviction in Seattle of ten members of The Order for various crimes including killings and bombings, Tom Metzger stood on the courthouse steps and declared: "They have given us ten martyrs. A new day is dawning for white people in this country." (In a statement [later recanted] given to the FBI by one of the leaders of The Order, Metzger was named as the recipient of a quarter of a million dollars that had been stolen by that group in its long crime spree.)

The 'White Student Union'

Metzger has initiated the formation of a so-called White Student Union (WSU) in high schools and colleges on the West Coast, along with a publication, **The White Student**. WSU is part of Metzger's outreach effort to youth, which he calls the Aryan Youth Movement.

To the WSU, white means "Aryan." Greg Withrow, a Metzger associate who originally headed the organization, proclaimed at the 1986 Aryan Nations Conference (speaking of the coming "white" society): "Men, women and children, without exception, without appeals, who are of non-Aryan blood shall be terminated or expelled." Withrow threatened violence at Sacramento City College if the WSU was refused a charter by the college.

The WSU has propagated the message: "Communism is Jewish! Boycott Jew Stores. Drive the rats out of town!" In January 1985, the organization distributed several hundred thousand flyers through student mailboxes and lockers in various areas of California declaring the Nazi extermination of Jews a hoax.

In 1986, WSU leader Withrow had a vast change of heart, left the Metzger camp and exposed the work of his past in newspapers and on a local talk show. On the night of August 8, he stated, he was attacked by thugs who slashed him with a razor and nailed his hands to a 6-foot plank.

In 1987, Tom Metzger's 19-year-old son John was appointed president of the White Student Union.

The National Democratic Front

Gary L. Gallo of Montgomery County, Maryland, launched his miniscule National Democratic Front (NDF) in 1985, but it first became worthy of note in mid-1987 when the leaders of Glenn Miller's defunct White Patriot Party (one of America's most active and violent racist groups) urged their members to join Gallo's organization.

The NDF claims to be the instrument of "white revolution," Gallo's aim being to build a "racially and culturally pure" white nation within the U.S. along with a separate Black entity. The leader says his program synthesizes "three essential elements of nationalist ideology" (German Nazism, Italian Fascism and Romanian National-Christian Socialism) and plans "revolution, not reform." He has named Hitler and Ho Chi Minh as among his role models, has said he hates capitalism and claimed that "Jews control the media and promote race-mixing."

Gallo, born in Pittsburgh in 1951, is a West Point graduate (without a commission) and is a lawyer who ran a well-known chain of legal clinics throughout the Washington, D.C. area from 1980 to 1984. The NDF publishes a monthly, **The Nationalist** and a journal called **New America**.

Chapter IV: THE 'IDENTITY CHURCH' MOVEMENT

Ideology and Background

The "Identity Church" in the United States is a pseudo-theological hate movement that emerged as a noticeable presence in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Its ideological roots, however, date back to Anglo-Israelism, a doctrine that developed in Great Britain during the latter part of the 19th Century.

Anglo-Israelism held that white Anglo-Saxons are descended from the Ten Lost Tribes and that England and its former American colony, the U.S., are the true Israel, in which Biblical promises to the "chosen people" were fulfilled.

The Identity movement of recent years, like Anglo-Israelism, holds that white Anglo-Saxons—not Jews—are the Biblical "chosen people," that Jews are children of Satan, and that the white race is inherently superior to others. They further hold that Jesus was not a Jew, but rather the ancestor of the white Northern European peoples. Blacks and other non-white races, according to this doctrine, are "mud people" on the same spiritual level as animals and therefore have no souls. Hatred and hostility towards these non-white races and relentless vilification of Jews are major components of the Identity movement's theology of hate.

Many Identity followers believe that the second coming of Jesus Christ is at hand—but that before the event, a cataclysm will occur: American cities will go up in flames as a result of a gigantic race war that will follow an attack upon the United States by the Soviet Union. They also believe that only members of the Identity movement will survive to build a "new Israel" in America. Therefore they are preparing for the political and economic chaos to come.

The Aryan Nations, the Posse Comitatus, the Christian-Patriots Defense League (CPDL), the Christian Defense League (CDL), The Covenant, The Sword and The Arm of The Lord (CSA), certain elements of the Ku Klux Klans, and some neo-Nazi factions are among the racist and anti-Jewish groups who in recent years have embraced Identity beliefs. These groups have established affiliated Identity "churches" which provide a pseudo-religious rationalization for the bigotry of the groups themselves.

Early Identity Figures

In the U.S., forerunners of the Christian Identity ideology were G.W. Greenwood, publisher of a late 19th Century New York monthly called **Heir of the World**, and the Rev. W.H. Poole of Detroit. The Anglo-Saxon Federation, based in Massachusetts and led by Howard B. Rand, regularly attacked the legitimacy of the infant state of Israel in the late 1940s and the 1950s.

The best-known advocate of the Identity doctrine in the U.S. was the late Rev. Wesley Swift. A West Coast anti-Semitic and anti-Catholic bigot active in the 1940s and 1950s, Swift was a former Ku Klux Klan organizer and a top lieutenant of the late Gerald L.K. Smith, leader of the Christian Nationalist Crusade and for more than 40 years a leading anti-Semitic propagandist and racist.

During the 1950s, Swift, who was also a founder of the Christian Defense League, served as leader of a Los Angeles church called the Anglo-Saxon Christian Congregation and ran an "Anglo-Israel Bible Class" there. Swift was a leading figure in arranging meetings for Gerald Smith, often shared the platform with him at Christian Nationalist Crusade rallies, and helped distribute **The Cross and the Flag**, Smith's long-time anti-Jewish hate publication. Swift also worked with Bertrand Comparet, then the attorney for the Christian Nationalist Crusade, who was another early Identity personality.

Swift's strident anti-Semitism was exemplified by such statements as "All Jews must be destroyed" and "I prophesy that before November, 1953, there will not be a Jew in the United States, and by that I mean a Jew that will be able to walk or talk."

The Aryan Nations

Swift died in 1970. In recent years, his mantle has been claimed by "Rev." Richard Girt Butler, the leader of the Idaho-based hate group known as Aryan Nations, whose affiliated "Identity" church—the Church of Jesus Christ Christian—is, according to Butler, the direct successor to Swift's California church. Butler had attended Swift's

congregation since 1963, having been introduced to the "Identity" movement by Col. William Potter Gale (Ret.), another long-time "Identity" leader who promoted anti-Jewish propaganda through his own "Identity" church in Mariposa, California. During the 1970s Butler moved his operation to Hayden Lake, Idaho.

Although primarily an Identity group, Butler's Aryan Nations organization also reflects a somewhat Nazi-like philosophy; Butler himself has praised Hitler. The Aryan Nations has forged ties to other activists and peddlers of racial and religious bigotry throughout the U.S. and has played host to them and to like-minded racists and anti-Semites from other countries each summer at Hayden Lake—an otherwise peaceful community that Butler has chosen to brand the "international headquarters of the white race."

These gatherings, called the "International Congress of Aryan Nations," or the "Aryan Nations World Congress," are annual festivals of hate, bringing together leaders of the Identity movement and other bigots. (A precursor of these gatherings of Identity-oriented ideologues was the Kingdom Identity Conference, held at Butler's Aryan Nations headquarters in 1979.)

Late in 1987, Butler announced plans to expand Aryan Nations activities into neighboring Utah, with a "branch" in Ogden. And in Salt Lake City in December, a radio personality named Dwight McCarthy began a weekly broadcast called "The Aryan Nations Hour," with Butler's support and cooperation. In mid-December, according to McCarthy, the program had been cancelled because of alleged death threats and a loss of advertisers. In making the announcement McCarthy blamed the "liberal-Marxist-homosexual-Zionist coalition" for the cancellation.

Mentioned in recent years as Butler's heir-apparent has been Louis Beam, 40, formerly a leader of various KKK units in Alabama and Texas until 1981 when he became active with the Butler organization.

Beam became Ambassador-at-Large for the Aryan Nations and has also described himself as the operator of a business in the Hayden Lake, Idaho, area that promoted "survival" gear and camping materials.

At the 1983 Aryan Nations World Congress, Beam was one of the main speakers and told his audience of racists and anti-Semites:

The old period is over and a new period is going to begin . . .

I'm here to tell you that if we can't have this country, as far as I'm concerned, no one gets it.

In November 1987, Beam was captured by police in Mexico, where he had fled rather than face federal charges of trying to overthrow the U.S. government. Beam, who was on the FBI's "Ten Most Wanted" list, was returned to the U.S. after a shootout in which a Mexican officer was critically wounded. The federal indictment, brought in by a Fort Smith, Arkansas grand jury, also charged Butler and eight other extremists with murder, sedition and other crimes perpetrated by a violent, clandestine gang called The Order.

'The Order' and Revolutionary Violence

In October 1983, a revolutionary rightist gang was formed by members of the Aryan Nations, another Identity group called "The Covenant, The Sword and The Arm of The Lord," or CSA (see page 67), and a Washington, D.C.-based organization called the National Alliance. (The National Alliance has been headed by long-time neo-Nazi William Pierce [see Chapter II]).

The new violence-prone band was variously called The Order, **Bruders Schweigen** (German for "Silent Brotherhood"), the White American Bastion and the Aryan Resistance Movement. A chain of violent crimes that took place during 1983 and 1984 gave clear evidence that these far-right extremists were engaged in the initial stage of an attempted revolution aimed at overthrowing the United States government which they labelled "ZOG"—for Zionist Occupation Government.

The series of lawless events by the underground network of armed racists and anti-Semites took place mainly in the West Coast and Mountain states and led to more than two-dozen arrests in 13 states. The crimes—bank robberies, counterfeiting operations, arson, holdups of armored vehicles, shootouts with agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, an assassination, a synagogue bombing—constituted the first attempt by right-wing extremists in this century to launch a violent revolution against the American government. It was aborted by the prompt and effective response of the FBI, the Treasury Department's Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, and other law enforcement agencies.

A Revolutionary Proclamation

Thirteen of the terrorist revolutionaries issued a "Declaration of War" on November 25, 1984. They wrote:
We from this day forward declare that we no longer consider the regime in Washington to be a valid and lawful representative of all Aryans who refuse to submit to the coercion and subtle tyranny placed upon us by Tel Aviv and their lackeys in Washington. . . . Let friend and foe alike be made aware. This is war!

The statement went on to threaten the hanging of members of the U.S. Congress. It also designated as "combatants" in its war—and therefore suitable targets for killing—unfriendly federal agents, local police officers, state patrolmen, members of the armed forces, bankers, journalists, judges and business representatives.

Most of the 13 signers of the declaration ended up in federal custody.

Revolution by the Book

Many of the crimes of which members of The Order were accused resemble the terrorist acts described in a novel which inspired and guided them.

As noted in Chapter II, the novel, **The Turner Diaries**, was written by a leading neo-Nazi, William Pierce, under the pseudonym of "Andrew Macdonald." It is a fantasy, in diary form, about a future fascist revolution in the United States. The book was published by the National Alliance, Pierce's organization, to which some of the actual terrorists belonged.

The Turner Diaries is the fictional memoir of a member of a racist, anti-Semitic underground network, which, through a series of increasingly violent acts from 1991 through 1999, gains power in the United States and eventually in the entire world. In the early stages of the revolution its actions are similar to those undertaken by the terrorists on the West Coast. Subsequent stages of the revolution are marked by the bombing of the FBI headquarters building in Washington, a mortar attack on the Capitol, the crippling of public utilities and telecommunications systems in a number of major cities, the seizure of California with the aid of sympathetic elements of the armed forces, and the "liberation" of the remainder of the country after atomic bombs have been dropped on several Eastern cities.

With domestic victory assured, a nuclear attack is launched not on Moscow but on Tel Aviv. In the end the population of the United States is reduced to a remnant of 50 million "Aryans." All Jews throughout the world are killed in accordance with the promise expressed by diarist Turner: "If the Organization survives this contest, no Jew will—anywhere. We'll go to the uttermost ends of the earth to hunt down the last of Satan's spawn." Appropriately, the book refers to Adolf Hitler as the "Great One."

Most of The Order's most violence-prone members are currently serving lengthy sentences in federal prisons for criminal racketeering. On December 30, 1985, nine men and one woman were convicted after a nearly four-month Federal Court trial in Seattle. They were sentenced to terms of 40 to 100 years in prison and stiff fines.

Bruce Carroll Pierce, 31, of Hayden Lake, Idaho, and Randolph George Duey, 34, of Spokane, Washington, were sentenced to 100 years in five 20-year consecutive terms; Richard Kemp, 23, of Salinas, California, and Gary Lee Yarbrough, 30, of Sandpoint, Idaho, were sentenced to 60 years in three consecutive 20-year terms; Andrew V. Barnhill, 29, of Missoula, Montana; Randolph Evans, 29, of Los Angeles, California; David Lane, 46, of Denver, Colorado; Jean Craig, 52, of Laramie, Wyoming; Frank Silva, 27, of Los Angeles, and Ardie McBrearty, 57, of Gentry, Arkansas, were sentenced to 40 years.

The 10 convicted were among 23 militants originally indicted. Eleven others pleaded guilty before the trial, and all but one testified against their former comrades. Another—David Tate—was convicted, in a separate trial, of murdering a Missouri state trooper and is serving a life sentence. Yet another—one-time CSA activist Richard Scutari—was a fugitive at the time of the Seattle trial. Scutari was on the FBI's "Ten Most Wanted" list when he was arrested in Texas in March of 1986. The next month he pleaded guilty to charges of racketeering and conspiracy in connection with The Order's 1984 multi-million dollar Brink's armored car robbery in Ukiah, California. He received a 60-year prison sentence. More recently, in November 1987, Scutari was acquitted in the Alan Berg murder case in Denver.

In another case related to The Order, in February, 1986, Elden "Bud" Cutler, 60, a white supremacist who served as security chief for the Aryan Nations, was convicted by a federal jury in Boise, Idaho in a plot to contract for the assassination of a key witness against The Order. Cutler was accused of paying an undercover FBI agent

posing as an assassin \$2,000 to decapitate Thomas Martinez, a government informant against The Order. Cutler was sentenced in March, 1986 to 12 years in prison.

The murderous anti-Semitic violence central to The Order's agenda was reflected in a comment by Denver Daw Parmenter, a former Order member who testified against his former associates in the Seattle trial. As noted in the **New York Times**, Parmenter has stated: "The end goal, bluntly, was the annihilation of the Jewish race." And Butler himself has defended the use of violence against Jews, all of whom "by definition," according to Butler, "are anti-Christ."

Other Identity-Related Violence

Criminal violence by Identity activists and other far-right extremists during the past several years was not by any means limited to the activities of The Order. Officials of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms entered the secluded CSA camp on the Missouri-Arkansas border in April 1985 following the surrender of several members of The Order who had sought refuge there. The agents found an arsenal of deadly weapons and explosives, a 30-gallon drum of cyanide, and a shop where automatic weapons, similar to the one used to murder Denver radio talk-show host Alan Berg, were manufactured.

Leaders of The Covenant, The Sword and The Arm of The Lord (CSA) engaged in their own series of criminal activities in the wake of the 1983 Aryan Nations conference, including the firebombing of an Indiana synagogue, the arson of a Missouri church, and the attempted bombing in Missouri of a pipeline which supplies Chicago with natural gas. Former CSA leader Jim Ellison is among those serving prison sentences for criminal racketeering in connection with several of these acts, and he and former CSA spokesman Kerry Noble are said to have entered the federal witness protection program as a result of giving testimony to a federal grand jury in Fort Smith early in 1987.

A 'Seditious Conspiracy'

On April 24, 1987, the Fort Smith grand jury returned a major indictment, charging Butler of the Aryan Nations and nine other white supremacists with participating in a "seditious conspiracy between July, 1983 and March, 1985 to overthrow the government," in the words of the U.S. Department of Justice.

Those indicted were charged with conspiring to assassinate federal officials, to kill members of ethnic groups through bombings, and of plotting to destroy utilities, pollute water supplies, establish guerrilla training camps and procure false identification. The indictment said they planned to finance their conspiracy against the government through armed robberies and counterfeiting.

In addition to Butler, those named in the indictment were:

Robert E. Miles, Louis R. Beam Jr., Robert N. Smalley, David E. Lane, Ardie McBrearty, Bruce C. Pierce, Richard J. Scutari, Andrew V. Barnhill, and Richard W. Snell.

Snell was already in prison, having been convicted of the 1984 murder of an Arkansas state trooper. Snell and four others in the Fort Smith case were charged with conspiring to murder Judge H. Franklin Waters and FBI special agent Jack D. Knox for their involvement in the trial of an Arkansas couple who had been convicted of harboring a fugitive, accused murderer Gordon Kahl (see page 45). Named along with Snell in this conspiracy were William H. Wade, Ivan R. Wade, Lambert Miller and David M. McGuire. Among the five, three were members of the CSA and two were Klansmen. (All the Fort Smith defendants were acquitted in early 1988—see page 71.)

More Violence, More Indictments

On the same day these indictments were announced in Fort Smith, a federal grand jury in Denver returned an indictment for civil rights violations against four members of The Order who "willfully injured and interfered with Alan Berg . . . because he was Jewish, and because he was and had been enjoying employment, and the perquisites thereto, by a private employer, resulting in [his] death by gunfire." Berg, the Denver radio personality and an outspoken critic of extremists, racists and anti-Semitic hate peddlers, was gunned down outside his Denver home on June 18, 1984.

Those named in the Denver indictment were Bruce Carroll Pierce, David Lane, Richard Scutari, and Jean Craig. They went on trial in Federal District Court in Denver early in November, 1987. On November 17, the jury convicted

Pierce and Lane of violating Berg's civil rights: Pierce by shooting Berg, and Lane by driving the getaway car. The jury acquitted Scutari and Craig. On December 3, Pierce and Lane were each sentenced to 150 years in prison. As noted, all four defendants were already serving lengthy federal prison terms for their involvement in criminal racketeering as members of The Order.

In October, 1986, four bombs were set at various places in the town of Coeur d'Alene, Idaho in an effort to divert the attention of law enforcement officials and to facilitate a bank robbery (which never took place). The alleged perpetrators, hoping to pick up where The Order left off, called themselves Bruders Schweigen (Silent Brotherhood) Strike Force II. Earlier, the group exploded a firebomb at the home of a priest who had been outspoken in his denunciations of the Aryan Nations. The two who are awaiting trial for the bombings, David Dorr and Ed Hawley, and another, Robert Pires, who has already pleaded guilty, were active members of the Aryan Nations.

In February, 1987, Pires, 22, also pleaded guilty to first-degree murder for his role in the slaying of an Aryan Nations activist suspected of being an informant. Pires was sentenced to life imprisonment but agreed to tell authorities about his former colleagues and was placed in the federal witness protection program, which will make him eligible for parole in ten years.

Among the 200 participants at the 1986 Congress of the Aryan Nations in Idaho was Thomas G. Harrelson, 29, who had joined the ranks of the organization through its outreach program to prisoners while serving time in California for a bank robbery. Two weeks after leaving Idaho he and a friend robbed an Illinois bank and later ambushed the police chief of a neighboring community. After being placed on the FBI's "Ten Most Wanted" list, Harrelson was arrested in March, 1987 following another bank robbery, this one in North Dakota.

In June, 1987, Harrelson, who had pleaded guilty to the robbery of the Drayton State Bank in Fargo, North Dakota, as well as the robberies of eight other Midwest banks, was sentenced by a federal judge in Fargo to 34 years in prison. Harrelson must serve a mandatory five years without parole eligibility for illegal firearms possession in connection with these bank robberies. Harrelson had been engaged to the daughter of former Michigan Klan leader Robert Miles and worked in Miles' Identity church in Howell, Michigan.

Other Main Components of the Identity Movement

In addition to Butler's Aryan Nations and its affiliated Church of Jesus Christ Christian, the following organizations and leaders have formed important elements of the Identity movement in recent years:

The Covenant, The Sword, and The Arm of The Lord (CSA): Founded in 1971, the CSA has functioned as an Identity-oriented church and as a paramilitary survivalist group operating a "Christian" communal settlement called Zarephath-Horeb on 224 acres of secluded land near the Arkansas-Missouri border. (Zarephath-Horeb was named for a Biblical purging place.) Its inhabitants have numbered one hundred or more men, women and children who believed American society was approaching economic collapse, famine, rioting and a "coming war" —all part of the Identity "theology." In preparation, members of the CSA have stockpiled arms, food and wilderness survival gear and engaged in weapons training.

Kerry Noble, an elder and minister of the CSA "church" has said: "We are Christian survivalists who believe in preparing for the ultimate holocaust." The CSA has operated the "Endtime Overcomer Survival Training School," offering courses in urban warfare, riflery and pistol shooting, military tactics, "Christian martial arts" and wilderness survival under the leadership of CSA leader Jim Ellison.

In line with Identity "theology," the CSA church declared: "We believe the Scandinavian-Germanic-Teutonic-British-American people to be the Lost Sheep of the House of Israel which Jesus was sent for." Members were told that the "Jews of today are not God's chosen people, but are in fact an antichrist race, whose purpose is to destroy God's people and Christianity through its Talmudic teachings, forced inter-racial mixings and perversions." The Jews, CSA members were told, are "the seed of Satan, not the seed of God."

Posse Comitatus: The Posse Comitatus is an Identity organization composed of loosely affiliated bands of armed vigilantes and survivalists that came into existence in 1969, many of whose members have founded and belong to Identity churches of their own. Some such churches have been called Life Science or Basic Bible Churches whose creeds differ from what most Christians would recognize. The Posse churches are based on Identity beliefs, providing members with an alternative to conventional churches and a pseudo-theological basis for their racist and anti-Jewish views.

"Posse Comitatus" is Latin for "power of the county" and the Posse believes that all governmental power is

rooted at the county level. This reflects the suspicions of Posse activists that the federal and state governments are controlled by enemies who cannot be trusted to preserve law and order and the security and purity of the white race. Not surprisingly, Posse members resist paying taxes to the U.S. government.

The Posse Comitatus has had functioning units in as many as 13 states. Posse members combine their extremist views on law and order with belief in the power of the gun and what they describe as devotion to God. In line with their belief that Jews control the financial and political establishments of the U.S., they have published charges about the power of "the corrupt Jew-owned Federal Reserve," "the Jews who create recessions and depressions," and the "Jews who control Reagan."

The Posse has attracted Klan types and other anti-Semites. Among the avid promoters of the Posse Comitatus during its period of development in the 1970s were Arch Roberts' Committee to Restore the Constitution, based in Fort Collins, Colorado; Western Front in Los Angeles, run by collaborators of the late Gerald L.K. Smith; and ex-neo-Nazi and Klansman David Duke, more recently head of the National Association for the Advancement of White People.

The original founders of the Posse Comitatus were Henry L. (Mike) Beach of Portland, Oregon, a veteran of William Dudley Pelley's pro-Nazi "Silver Shirts" in the 1930s, and retired Army Col. William Potter Gale, now in his 70s, a long-time right-wing extremist and anti-Semite who, as noted, was associated with Wesley Swift as one of the early leaders of the Identity movement.

Gale, more recently identified with Richard Butler of the Aryan Nations, has been "Minister" of his own Identity church, the Ministry of Christ Church, in Mariposa, California. As head of the Mariposa church, Gale has published a quarterly, *Identity*, and in 1971 wrote a pamphlet outlining the ideology of the Identity movement called "Racial and National Identity."

Early in October 1987, Gale and four others were convicted in a Federal Court in Las Vegas on charges of threatening the lives of Internal Revenue agents and a Nevada state judge. Gale and the others were members of a right-wing extremist tax protest group called The Committee of the States,¹⁰ formed in 1984 at Mariposa. Gale and the others convicted in Nevada face maximum sentences of 34 years in prison and \$250,000 in fines.

Convicted along with Gale were Fortunato Parrino, an assistant at Gale's Mariposa church; Richard Van Hazel of Arizona; and Patrick McCray and his brother, George "Mike" McCray, of Nevada. Three other defendants pleaded guilty to lesser charges. In January, 1988 Gale, Parrino, and Patrick McCray were sentenced to federal prison terms of one year and one day. "Mike" McCray was sentenced to seven years. Van Hazel's sentencing was postponed.

In January, 1986, Thomas F. Stockheimer, 53, a former Posse Comitatus leader, was convicted by a jury in Milwaukee, Wisconsin on a federal weapons charge—the possession of a firearm by a felon. The conviction stemmed from a 1980 raid by federal agents on Stockheimer's trailer home in the Posse Comitatus' compound in Tigerton, Wisconsin. In February, Stockheimer was sentenced to two years in federal prison.

The Posse Comitatus attracted nationwide attention in 1983 when Gordon Kahl, an active Posse member, murdered two federal marshals in North Dakota and became a fugitive. The marshals had come to arrest Kahl for a parole violation in connection with an earlier conviction for non-payment of taxes. Kahl later died in a shootout with Arkansas law enforcement officials in which a local sheriff was killed; Kahl became a hero to the Posse Comitatus, the Aryan Nations and other extremists.

The Posse Comitatus maintained a low profile during 1984 and part of 1985 following the 1984 imprisonment in Wisconsin of its leading national spokesman, James Wickstrom, on charges of impersonating a public official. Wickstrom was released on parole in May 1985, but his probation was later lifted, renewing the possibility of his resuming a leadership role in the Posse. He has reportedly set up an Identity "ministry" in northwestern Pennsylvania.

Christian-Patriots Defense League (CPDL): Another organization central to the Identity movement has been the Christian-Patriots Defense League, an extreme right-wing "survivalist" group founded in 1977 that has engaged in paramilitary training. Headed by John R. Harrell, an elderly millionaire who had served time in federal prison for harboring a military deserter and jumping bail, the CPDL emerged from an earlier organization headed by Harrell called the Christian Conservative Churches of America, founded in 1959 "to blend Christianity and Patriotism together to effectively oppose Zionism and Communism."

¹⁰ See also "The Committee of the States," an ADL Background Report (October, 1987).

Harrell has also headed the Citizens Emergency Defense System, a private militia, and the Paul Revere Club, a fund-raising operation.

Harrell once proclaimed that the purpose of the CPDL was to awaken and organize "patriots" who found themselves contending against "humanism, modernism, communism, regionalism, Judaism, integration, taxation, gun confiscation" and other "atrocities perpetrated by evil men" among whom are the "Christ-hating International Jewish Conspiracy."

The survivalist activities and paramilitary training of the CPDL—as well as its harsh racism and anti-Semitism—stem from its Identity-oriented belief in "an almost certain and inescapable collapse of the present structure" of the U.S., culminating in racial conflict for which white Americans must prepare.

The main activity of the CPDL has been the "Freedom Festival" held twice annually in most years since 1979 at a 55-acre estate in Illinois owned by Harrell and donated to the movement. "Festivals" have attracted like-minded political extremists and racial and religious bigots; at one such gathering in 1980, more than 1,000 persons attended more than 50 "classes" on weapons usage and combat tactics.

Fears of a law enforcement crackdown on extremists associated with the Identity movement has helped diminish the size of the annual "Freedom Festival." Since Missouri's passage in 1984 of anti-paramilitary training legislation (based on an ADL model bill), the festival has been forced to eliminate its weapons training feature. During Labor Day, 1986, the festival attracted some 500, as compared with over a thousand at previous gatherings, and the number of "classes" was reduced from 60 to 12. Retired Army Lt. Colonel Jack Mohr, who now heads the CPDL's "Citizens Emergency Defense System," has continued to lecture to followers around the country on the need for armed citizen groups for the "defense of white Christian civilization." Mohr conducted workshops on sabotage tactics at the 1984 Aryan Nations Congress, although he has more recently cautioned against violations of law.

Christian Defense League (CDL): James K. Warner's Christian Defense League of Baton Rouge and Arabi, Louisiana, is an extremist anti-Semitic group which has called itself "the voice of true Christianity in America." It has proclaimed that its "ultimate aim must be to organize the White Christian majority, and to forge them into a force or movement that can sweep the anti-Christ from our churches and those that support the anti-Christ Jews from any political positions they may hold."

The CDL is closely allied with the tax-exempt New Christian Crusade Church, part of the Identity movement. The church, based in Metairie, Louisiana, was created by Warner in 1971. Warner also founded a hate periodical called **Christian Vanguard** and operates a mail order book service called The Sons of Liberty which he founded in the mid-1960s.

According to the Identity credo of the New Christian Crusade Church, "[t]he Jews are not the 'chosen people'; they are the physical offspring of Cain, the satanic seed line." **Christian Vanguard** has proclaimed that "the real enemy is Satan's offspring, the Jew." And Warner himself has declared: "Whenever I've seen a chance to move ahead against the Jews, I've been willing to pitch in and do my part." Warner wrote in the February, 1982 issue of the **CDL Report**: "We non-Jewish Americans demand that the Jews living in America keep their big noses out of our racial and religious affairs. Let us pray for the day when the last Jew leaves our shores FOREVER. Let us free America from JEWISH DOMINATION."

In 1984 Warner announced plans to establish a Washington, D.C. lobbying office. The Americans First Lobby was intended to be a joint project with the **World Economic Review (WER)**, a magazine published in Chalmette, Louisiana, and associated with Warner's CDL operation. Warner emphasized in his announcement that his lobby had no intention of "going into competition with Liberty Lobby."

In addition to the monthly **CDL Report**, the New Christian Crusade Church resumed publishing the **Christian Vanguard** in 1987. Publishing had come to a halt in 1985 because of financial difficulties.

In July, 1987, the Christian Defense League sponsored an Identity conference in Tampa, Florida. Those present in addition to Warner included: WER contributor and investment counselor, Walter D. Pearson; "Reverend" Craig Demott, second in command at CDL; David Duke, ex-Klansman and founder of the National Association for the Advancement of White People; and Eustace Mullins of Staunton, Virginia, a longtime purveyor of anti-Semitic materials.

Other Important Identity Figures

In addition to the leaders associated with the foregoing Identity organization, the following personalities have lent their shrill voices of bigotry to promoting the movement:

Robert Miles, 62, a self-described racist, has a long history of militant activism in behalf of violence-prone far-right causes, including the Ku Klux Klan. Miles served a term of nearly six years in Federal prison during the 1970s for his role in the bombing of school buses in Pontiac, Michigan, and the tarring and feathering of a local high school principal, acting out Miles' violent opposition to school integration. Miles is a key defendant in the Fort Smith, Arkansas federal sedition case (see Appendix A).

Around 1970—before his incarceration—Miles began devoting full time to the activities of his Mountain Church of Jesus Christ the Saviour, also known as the Mountain Kirk, in Cohoctah, Michigan where he had settled in 1953. From 1969 to 1971, Miles held the position of Grand Dragon, Realm of Michigan, of the United Klans of America (UKA), the largest KKK organization in the U.S. Later he was UKA Imperial Kludd (national chaplain) and was highly visible in that role throughout Michigan.

Miles' Mountain Church is located on his 70-acre farm in rural Cohoctah, east of Lansing, and the Church has provided a secluded and relatively secure base and meeting place for Miles and his fellow racists. The Mountain Church has published a bi-monthly newsletter, **From the Mountain**, which in turn has promoted other anti-Semitic propaganda publications reflecting Miles' wide range of contacts in the hate movement around the country.

Miles' religion—which he calls “Dualism”—is a coarse amalgam of violence, white supremacy, anti-Semitism, and racism. Miles has stated, “Our nation is the nation of our race, under a white God, for a white people. . .we are in a war for our race's survival.” Like his colleagues in the “Identity” movement, Miles has claimed that “Israel is the white Race” and “Jews are imposters.” In support of this view, Miles has written that Jews are “the product of Eve and the serpent” and were “murderers and liars from the beginning.”

Several notorious hatemongers, including Robert Shelton, Imperial Wizard of the UKA, Dr. Edward R. Fields of the National States Rights Party (NSRP), and Don Black, Imperial Wizard, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, have made speeches in Michigan under the auspices of “Unity Now,” another project whose Michigan operations were directed by Miles.

Miles has been a featured speaker at gatherings of The Covenant, The Sword and The Arm of The Lord and the Christian-Patriots Defense League, and spoke at a summer, 1982 Aryan Nations Congress. Together with Klan leaders, Miles attended a major Klan unity meeting at Stone Mountain, Georgia during the 1982 Labor Day weekend.

Miles' Mountain Church has hosted twice-yearly gatherings at his farm—the most recent in early October 1987—which have attracted some 150-200 hate movement activists. Miles has worked closely with leaders of the Identity movement, especially Richard Butler of Aryan Nations, and conducts a “prison ministry” via a special publication sent to some 2,000 inmates of correctional facilities around the country, plus the regular contacts he maintains with inmates he has personally recruited into the hate movement (see Chapter VI).

Sheldon Emry, who conducted the “America's Promise” radio program, was the leader of the Lord's Covenant Church in Phoenix, Arizona. Emry was a long-time Jew-baiter and a preacher of “Kingdom-Identity” Christianity. His radio broadcasts, in which he promoted his “Kingdom-Identity” beliefs, were sponsored by his church, and were heard on 30 radio stations around the country, primarily in the South and the Southwest. At the time of Emry's death in 1985, his church's annual income was an estimated \$500,000.

In the years immediately prior to his death, Emry was active with the Citizens Emergency Defense System, the far-right survivalist group associated with the CPDL. Emry said that “Identity Christians should be physically prepared to defend themselves and provide leadership in the defense of their community and nation in any emergency.”

Emry's “America's Promise” newsletter is still being distributed to a mailing list of around 1,400, and the “church” continues to broadcast on some 30 radio stations. The organization has been run by “Pastor” Ron Poch. Poch succeeded longtime Emry associate “Pastor” Ben Williams, who has established his own tape and newsletter ministry in Medford, Oregon. Williams calls his group “America's Covenant Church,” and his “services” have begun to attract about 50 families.

Pete Peters, a young Colorado Identity minister, has styled his ministry, which he calls the “LaPorte Church of Christ,” after Emry's. Peters' monthly publication, **Scriptures for America**, promotes his half-dozen radio broadcasts and his audio cassettes, which he considers “our biggest outreach.” Peters' local following in LaPorte, just

north of Fort Collins, Colorado, is estimated at 80-100 and he has claimed that his annual "Rocky Mountain Bible Retreat" attracted 400 in 1986.

Peters gained some notoriety when it was revealed that Robert Mathews, David Lane and Jean Craig, members of The Order implicated in the June 1984 murder of Denver radio personality Alan Berg, had attended services at his church. Peters had made a brief appearance on one of Berg's broadcasts in February of that year along with Jack Mohr, who had come to Colorado to speak to Peters' followers. Peters has not been implicated in the Berg murder. He has been the featured speaker at Identity retreats in other parts of the country.

Dan Gayman has been a leading figure in the Identity movement for about 15 years. A former Missouri high school principal, Gayman, 49, has organized his own Identity-oriented "Church of Israel" on a 123-acre encampment near Schell City, Missouri. (One church member was David Tate, also a member of The Order, who is serving a life sentence for the murder of a Missouri state trooper.) He considers himself a bishop in the movement and has preached the racist, anti-Semitic theology of the Identity movement from his pulpit and on speaking tours across the U.S., and has circulated his sermons in printed form and on cassette tapes. Although Gayman was not charged by the grand jury in the Fort Smith case, he was named in the indictment as having received \$10,000 seized illegally by The Order.

Gayman's participation in the Identity movement dates back to 1973 when he became affiliated with an extremist Identity-oriented group, the National Emancipation of Our White Seed, a Louisiana-based organization headed by Buddy Tucker, a notorious anti-Semite. Gayman assisted Tucker in publishing the organization's anti-Jewish periodical, **The Battle Axe News**, and has been close to Richard Butler's Aryan Nations and James K. Warner's New Christian Crusade Church. Gayman has also been editor and publisher of **Zion's Watchman**, a national Identity monthly.

Localized Identity Groups and Posse Fronts

The crimes and prosecutions of The Order and other Identity movement activists have sharpened the focus of public attention on some lesser-known Identity personalities and on their localized churches and units scattered around the country.

An Arizona Identity group with a Posse-like emphasis on stockpiling weapons and baiting public officials has recently been quiet in the wake of a crackdown by federal authorities. In October, 1986, following a two-year FBI undercover probe, eight members of the **Arizona Patriots** were arrested and charged with various crimes, including a plot to finance a paramilitary base by robbing an armored car in Nevada. The group had engaged in surveillance of the ADL regional office in Phoenix in furtherance of a plan to bomb it, according to the FBI. The group had also planned to bomb a synagogue in Phoenix, an IRS facility in Ogden, Utah, and the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles. In addition, at the time of their arrest, several "Patriots" had in their possession blueprints for the electrical systems of two United States dams and the piping system of a third. In June, 1987, three of these defendants—Jack Oliphant, Monte Ross and Daniel Arthur—were sentenced to four-year federal prison terms, after pleading guilty in May to a conspiracy charge. Two of the other defendants were sentenced to five years' probation. A sixth defendant also received five years' probation, as part of a plea-bargain which involved the dropping of assault charges against his wife, another of the defendants. The eighth defendant remains a fugitive.

The Arizona Patriots has been led by former screen actor Ty Hardin, who played primarily Western roles in television and film. Hardin, who reportedly took part in meetings at which illegal activities were discussed, has left Arizona for northern California; the "Patriots," whose ranks may have numbered around 200 at the height of its activity, has begun to retrench.

A remote Identity encampment known as **Elohim City** was located on the western edge of a rugged tract of land along the Oklahoma-Arkansas border in Adair County, Oklahoma. There were 35 to 40 people living on the compound, including some armed with handguns. They were led by Rev. Robert Millar, who has had ties to the CSA. Millar tried to raise money for CSA leader Jim Ellison's bond following his 1985 arrest. He has described Ellison as a "God-fearing man" with "a pastor's heart." He has also served as a character witness on behalf of Richard Wayne Snell, the CSA member serving a life sentence for the 1984 murder of an Arkansas state trooper.

- Oklahoma has been the headquarters of **Christian America Advocates**, a smaller Identity group headed by Robert Kleuser, a follower of the late Identity leader Sheldon Emry. Kleuser has conducted services at his home in rural Woodward County, distributing his newsletter along with materials from other Identity groups to his mailing list of Oklahoma residents.

- A number of Posse Comitatus chapters using various “front group” names have continued to operate in Midwestern states, notably Iowa and Nebraska, but they have been for the most part unsuccessful in their efforts to attract the support of large numbers of family farmers hit by economic disaster. One deterrent has been the gruesome revelations of a series of torture-murders carried out in the summer of 1985 in Rulo, Nebraska by the leaders of a cult-like Posse cell.
- In Iowa City, Iowa, the **Iowa Society for Educated Citizens**, a group similar to the Posse, has attracted roughly 70 from around the state to its monthly meetings. In April, 1986, Nebraska State Senator Ernie Chambers delivered a speech to the group, in which he championed the cause of Arthur Kirk, a Nebraska farmer who died in an encounter with state patrol officers in 1984. The incident has been used by the Posse and other extremist groups to support their claims against government authority.
- In the West, a Posse-style group in Oregon called the **Oregon Militia** has managed to gain a small measure of support. And in California and western Arizona, loose-knit groups of individuals have proclaimed themselves to be “Freemen.” Their organ is a newsletter called **The Citizen’s Claw**, published in Morongo Valley, California, by someone calling himself “S.A. Freeman.” The newsletter prints attacks on the U.S. Government (“ruled by a secret gang of international power brokers known only to a select few”) and pays tribute to those who confront law enforcement authorities. “Freeman” calls his group “New Nation U.S.A.” The group is alleged by law enforcement authorities in southern California to have engaged in paramilitary training activity.
- One of those once regarded as a potential future leader of the Identity movement has faded from the scene amidst financial difficulties. Larry Humphreys, 34, founder in 1982 of the 265-acre, \$1.3 million Identity compound in Velma, Oklahoma, known as the **Heritage Library**, faces eviction following a sheriff’s foreclosure sale of the property. Humphreys, a former pool hustler, used part of a large family inheritance to establish this combination “retreat” and “research center” for those with similar beliefs.

Humphreys gained national attention in November, 1985, when he led a band of heavily armed vigilantes to central Georgia to confront law enforcement authorities and forcibly prevented a farm foreclosure. Shortly thereafter, he toured the upper Midwest with Georgia “farm activist” Tom Kersey, who once had been aligned with the Posse Comitatus, playing up the event to gatherings of farmers. Humphreys obtained the Republican nomination for a U.S. congressional seat in Oklahoma by default in 1986, and gained some 29,000 votes (of nearly 125,000 cast) in a losing cause. In a videotaped message sent to law enforcement authorities and the news media, Humphreys said that armed but “non-violent” insurgents will meet any law officers seeking to evict him from his compound.

There also are a number of localized Identity churches scattered around the country, many of them located in the states of the Pacific Northwest. These are generally organized around a single pastor who conducts weekly services and often publishes a newsletter. Occasionally, the pastor will manage to build up a sizable local following, as in the case of Dr. Robert McCurry of the Calvary Temple Bible Church in suburban Atlanta. According to a 1985 **Atlanta Journal** report, McCurry’s church has about 300 members with 10 students at its school, where uncertified teachers spread the notion that the American government is the equivalent of the Antichrist and that the Social Security system, the banking system and the courts are evil. Some members of the church are reportedly in a dispute with the IRS over back taxes.

Conclusion: The Identity Movement Today

The wave of criminal violence by right-wing extremists in the early and mid-1980s was the most extensive in two decades. However, the hate movement has been severely damaged by the most sweeping crackdown against the far right since World War II. Not since the Roosevelt administration’s wartime indictments of Axis sympathizers on charges of sedition were so many far-right extremists brought before the bar of justice. While the record of racist violence against Blacks and against civil rights activists during the 1960s was more widespread than the violence of the 1980s, there were fewer federal indictments in those years, and state prosecutions tended to be spotty and were often unsuccessful.

But the Identity movement, and the hate movement of which it is a part, have not been destroyed. The sweeping crackdown against the violence of the Identity activists proved once again that even small numbers of militant radicals, whether of the left or the right, can carry out violence—murder, bombings, arson and mayhem—with an impact far out of proportion to their numbers.

The most distinctive aspect of Identity movement strategy has been the use of pseudo-religious themes as a

rationale for the promotion of bigotry and as a justification for political violence. A related aspect is the tactic of using its “churches” as a device for achieving tax exemptions.

The Identity movement is not the first example in modern American history of the misuse of religion in the service of racist and anti-Jewish bigotry. In the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s, such ostensibly religious personalities as Father Charles E. Coughlin, Gerald Winrod and Gerald L.K. Smith promoted virulent anti-Semitism wrapped in the clothing of Christian religion. But the Coughlin-Winrod-Smith style of religiously-based hatred, by no means extinct, differs from the Identity manifestation. It was derived from more traditional Christian sources of anti-Semitism, which for centuries stereotyped Jews as eternal “outsiders” guilty of deicide and in league with evil forces. These traditional sources of Christian anti-Semitism have been significantly modified by the mainstream Catholic and Protestant churches of recent years.

The Identity movement, while not abandoning some of the traditional religious concepts and the convenient anti-Jewish conspiracy theories to which they lend themselves, has gone a step further: It has sought not simply to scapegoat the Jews but to supplant them, to deny the Jews their rightful historical and religious role by expropriating it. As noted, the Identity movement and its “churches” are a theology of hate whose activists claim that they themselves are the “true Jews.” This doctrine is a particularly insidious—and ironic—form of anti-Semitism that goes beyond the familiar forms of Jew-baiting by seeking to deny the Jews of today their most fundamental human right—their existence as Jews.

When this doctrine is combined with a propensity toward violence—as dramatically reflected in the Identity movement’s recent record—the dangers implicit in this “theology” are clear.

Chapter V: TRAINING FOR VIOLENCE

Introduction

The establishment in the early 1980s of paramilitary training camps by extremist organizations, particularly those which had shown themselves most prone to violence, added a disturbing dimension to the organized hate movement in America. Those clandestine facilities provided advanced instruction in weapons handling, demolition, and guerrilla warfare tactics along with the standard indoctrination identifying the racial and religious "enemies" that might someday be targets. While paramilitary training is not violence *per se*, its appearance early in the decade among the various hate organizations (often employing euphemisms such as "defense" or "survival" training) indicated widespread readiness for violence—even a deliberate planning for violence—as the operators of the camps spoke of a "coming race war" in the United States.

Recent arrests and other setbacks to the forces of racism and anti-Semitism have reduced paramilitary training by hate groups to virtually zero since ADL first reported on these activities in October, 1980. At the time of this writing, eighteen states¹¹ have enacted laws based on model legislation devised and promoted by ADL which provides for criminal penalties for those convicted of weapons training to promote civil disorder. (See the last page of this chapter for the text of this model bill.)

The October, 1980 ADL report documented the proliferation of paramilitary training centers operated by the Ku Klux Klan and other racist groups in camps and clandestine training centers across the country. ADL uncovered camps in Alabama, California, Connecticut, Illinois, North Carolina and Texas. The training at such camps can be of a highly sophisticated nature and quite rigorous. For example, in Texas, the training included tactical maneuvers, military drills, map reading and weapons proficiency. Participants were trained in the use of the Colt AR-15 assault rifle with a special grenade launcher attachment. Louis Beam, at the time Grand Dragon of the Texas KKK, boasted that the Klan training in Texas has been more rigorous than that which is given to members of the U.S. Army stationed at nearby Fort Hood.

As noted, a number of such encampments associated with organized hate and Identity groups have been put out of commission through vigorous law enforcement. A clearer picture of paramilitary activities in the United States today can be obtained by examining where the statutes have had a deterrent effect, and where law enforcement groups at all levels of government have taken seriously the threat posed by such activities:

A good example is the case of the Christian-Patriots Defense League (CPDL), an extremist survivalist group which since 1979 has held "freedom festivals" combining classes in weapons training with others promoting bigotry.

At its 1981 gathering held near CPDL headquarters in Louisville, Illinois, more than one thousand persons attended some fifty-five classes, receiving instruction in, among other subjects, "Guns and Reloading," "Demolition," and "Camouflage," "Anti-Aircraft," "Anti-Tank" and "Knife Fighting." By 1984, the extremist festival had moved to the CPDL base in Licking, Missouri and the contrast with previous such events was striking. As a result of Missouri's 1984 enactment of an anti-paramilitary training statute, no such weapons training occurred. In his letter announcing the festival, CPDL director John Harrell warned invitees about the new law and told them not to bring their firearms to the camp. ADL learned that a number of extremists actually stayed away from the meeting for this reason. The same situation occurred the next time the festival took place during the Labor Day weekend of 1986.

Convictions Under the Statute

In Florida, enforcement of the state's anti-paramilitary training statute resulted in the first convictions under the act and, most significantly, prevented a dangerous situation from escalating into the kind of violence which could easily have led to loss of innocent life.

In April, 1985, five members of the United Klans of America were arrested by the St. Petersburg Police Department and the Pinellas County Sheriff's office and charged with planning and training for terrorist acts against minorities. One year later, two pleaded guilty and two were convicted by a jury for violating Florida's anti-paramilitary

¹¹ Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Michigan, Missouri, Nebraska, New Jersey, North Carolina, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Virginia and West Virginia.

training statute. The goal of the group, according to a police source, was to incite Blacks to riot so that whites would turn to the Klan for leadership. In addition to training with guns intended to be used against minorities, members of the group were instructed in the making of incendiary devices.

In North Carolina, violation of a federal court order not to operate an illegal paramilitary organization led to the conviction of the leader of the now defunct White Patriot Party (WPP), an armed racist gang. The 1985 court order settling a class action civil suit prohibited then-WPP leader Glenn Miller and his organization from harassing Blacks and from violating the state's anti-paramilitary training statute, which is based on ADL's model legislation.

During the jury trial held in federal district court in Raleigh in 1986, witnesses reported that Miller's group stockpiled weapons and conducted maneuvers for an eventual attempt to overthrow the U.S. government and to create a racist state. Miller was sentenced to six months in prison and three years probation. (See also Chapter I and Appendix A). ADL called upon North Carolina's Attorney General to initiate state prosecution of the White Patriot Party and seek criminal penalties as provided for in the state law.

Miller exhausted his appeals and went underground in early April, 1987. In violation of his probation he issued a "Declaration of War" for his followers urging them to rise up against minorities and federal officials.

In September, 1987, after his arrest with three heavily armed White Patriot Party followers, Miller agreed to testify against other members of the WPP and plead guilty to charges of mailing the "Declaration of War" and to possession of illegal hand grenades.

In October, 1986 (as detailed in Chapter IV), a two-year FBI investigation of the activities of the Arizona Patriots, eight members of the group were arrested for various crimes, including a plot to finance a paramilitary base by robbing an armored car.

Also as noted in Chapter IV, federal indictments and convictions in 1987 broke up a group called The Committee of the States—which, according to testimony during the trial, actively participated in paramilitary training activities.

Heavily Armed Camps

In Nebraska, enactment of the model legislation in March, 1986 followed closely on the heels of reports of murder and torture by a cult-like group with links to the extremist paramilitary organization known as the Posse Comitatus. The group was located on a farm in the southeastern Nebraska community of Rulo; its twenty or so members are reported to have slavishly carried out the orders of their fanatically anti-Semitic leader, Michael Ryan, who had exhorted them to prepare for Armageddon.

In August, 1985, the Nebraska State Patrol unearthed two mutilated bodies including that of a 5-year-old child for whose torture and murder Ryan and his son were subsequently convicted. Earlier in the summer, when law enforcement officials raided the compound they collected more than thirty semi-automatic and assault rifles and thirteen fully automatic pistols and rifles, including modified AR-15's. They also found a sawed-off 12-gauge shotgun, numerous pistols, camouflage clothing and 150,000 rounds of ammunition—enough to fill two delivery vans. Also discovered was an underground bunker and Posse Comitatus literature praising Gordon Kahl, a Posse activist who murdered two federal marshals in 1983, and who later died in a shootout with law enforcement officers.

Nebraska's legislature, which had considered the paramilitary bill on two previous occasions without passing it, voted overwhelmingly for passage during the trial of the Rulo defendants.

An Identity Church group founded in 1976 by fundamentalist minister Jim Ellison, The Covenant, The Sword and The Arm of The Lord (CSA), built and lived in a secluded compound on the Arkansas-Missouri border. The camp was a center for paramilitary training activities. It was the scene of a raid by officials of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms who went into it after the surrender of several members of The Order who had been given refuge in the compound. BATF found an arsenal of deadly weapons and explosives, a 30-gallon drum of cyanide and a shop where automatic weapons were manufactured. Several of the wives and children of CSA members later moved back to the site.

Two other encampments which were possible paramilitary training facilities came to light during the past several years. "Elohim City" is located on the western edge of a rugged tract of land along the Oklahoma-Arkansas border in Oklahoma. There were 35-40 people living there, including some armed with handguns. Their leader, Rev. Robert Millar, has had ties to the CSA and tried to raise bond money for the CSA's Jim Ellison following his 1985 arrest. He has also been a character witness on behalf of Richard Wayne Snell, a CSA member serving a life sentence for the 1984 murder of an Arkansas state trooper. Millar and his followers are still living in Elohim City—although there

have been no reports of recent paramilitary activity on their part.

Heritage Library, an Identity compound in Velma, Oklahoma, has been the staging ground for Larry Humphreys and a band of heavily armed vigilantes. Humphreys, who used part of a large family fortune to establish the "Library," led the group to central Georgia to confront law enforcement authorities and forcibly prevented a farm foreclosure.

In a videotaped message sent to law enforcement authorities and the news media, Humphreys, who faced eviction from the compound because of financial reverses, said that armed but "non-violent" insurgents will meet any law officers seeking to evict him from his compound.

The Danger Persists

It is obvious that even with the vigorous law enforcement and the many convictions detailed in this report, the public and the law enforcement community cannot become complacent about paramilitary activity by extremists. The effort to obtain passage of anti-paramilitary legislation in other states remains vital.

ADL MODEL PARAMILITARY TRAINING STATUTE

A. (1) Whoever teaches or demonstrates to any other person the use, application, or making of any firearm, explosive or incendiary device, or technique capable of causing injury or death to persons, knowing or having reason to know or intending that same will be unlawfully employed for use in, or in furtherance of, a civil disorder, or

(2) Whoever assembles with one or more persons for the purpose of training with, practicing with, or being instructed in the use of any firearm, explosive or incendiary device, or technique capable of causing injury or death to persons, intending to employ unlawfully the same for use in, or in furtherance of, a civil disorder—

Shall be fined not more than \$_____ or imprisoned not more than _____ years, or both.

B. Nothing contained in this section shall make unlawful any act of any law enforcement officer which is performed in the lawful performance of his official duties.

C. As used in this section:

(1) The term "civil disorder" means any public disturbance involving act of violence by assemblages of three or more persons, which causes an immediate danger of or results in damage or injury to the property or person of any other individual.

(2) The term "firearm" means any weapon which is designed to or may readily be converted to expel any projectile by the action of an explosive; or the frame or receiver of any such weapon.

(3) The term "explosive or incendiary device" means (a) dynamite and all other forms of high explosives, (b) any explosive bomb, grenade, missile, or similar device, and (c) any incendiary bomb or grenade, fire bomb, or similar device, including any device which (i) consists of or includes a breakable container including a flammable liquid or compound, and a wick composed of any material which, when ignited, is capable of igniting such flammable liquid or compound, and (ii) which can be carried or thrown by one individual acting alone.

(4) The term "law enforcement officer" means any officer or employee of the United States, any state, any political subdivision of a state, or the District of Columbia, and such term shall specifically include, but shall not be limited to, members of the National Guard, as defined in section 101(9) of title 10, United States Code, members of the organized militia of any state or territory of the United States, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, or the District of Columbia, not included within the definition of National Guard as defined by such section 101(9), and members of the Armed Forces of the United States

Chapter VI: EXTREMIST ACTIVITY IN PRISONS

Introduction

Organized extremism in the United States has declined in numbers and influence in recent years, with numerous groups on both the far right and left having lost members, and others having disappeared entirely. The trend has been uneven but the contrast with the turbulent 60s and 70s is evident.

In recent years—as noted previously in this report—Ku Klux Klansmen, neo-Nazis, and members of The Order have been convicted and sent to prison for crimes such as armed robbery, murder and bombings, and consequently many of their most zealous leaders and members are today behind bars. For this reason, ADL investigations show a growing danger arising from increased extremist activity regarding the prisons. They have become an important arena—perhaps the ideal one—for agitation and recruitment.

Inmates are thought to have nothing to lose; their stake in the established order is minimal. Many bear grudges against the legal system and the society it reflects. Prisoners are seen by some extremists as the ultimate victims of racial or class oppression, and therefore likely to be receptive to revolutionary ideas. Consequently, radical groups are turning more and more of their attention to prisoners, both their own comrades and other inmates. The record of certain factions also shows that those of their members who originally were recruited in the prisons are among their most violent activists.¹²

'Captive' Audience

There exists a ready constituency for the extremists in many prisons in the form of violence-prone gangs. A study published in 1985 by the Department of Justice, **Prison Gangs, Their Extent, Nature and Impact on Prisons**, reported a total of 114 gangs in state and federal prisons in the U.S. A state-by-state breakdown showed that gang membership ranged from a high of 5,300 members in the Illinois prisons to a low of 3 in Massachusetts. Membership in the gangs, the study reported, "is based first on race, and is usually connected with racial superiority beliefs." Examples are the Black Guerrilla Family, which "is both political and racial," and the Aryan Brotherhood, which is "both motorcycle oriented and White Supremacist."

Extremist groups have targeted the gangs, with varying degrees of success, for propaganda and recruitment purposes. For example, the Aryan Nations, the Idaho-based, violently anti-Semitic group, has had a measure of success in linking up with the Aryan Brotherhood prison gang. The Brotherhood, according to the Justice Department's study, exists in federal prisons and the state prisons of Arizona, Arkansas, California, Kentucky, Missouri, Ohio and Oklahoma. A similar gang in the Nevada prisons calls itself Aryan Warriors.

Religious 'Appeals'

A powerful incentive for gang members to agree to such outside affiliations is provided by "churches" which some extremist groups have created; these enable prisoner-members to claim privileges enjoyed by inmates who belong to other religious denominations. Thus, prisoners have joined the Aryan Nations' "church," the "Church of Jesus Christ Christian," which espouses the Identity doctrine (see Chapter IV). Prisoner members of this "church" have demanded the right to receive Identity literature, conduct Identity "services" and receive visits from Identity "Pastors"—all in the name of practicing their religion.

Correction department authorities in several states have refused to accede to these demands, citing, among other things, the possible danger of violence and disorder as a result of the fostering of racism in prisons. There have been a number of court cases in which prisoners have appealed such refusals. A description of two such cases follows at the end of this chapter.

¹² See also "Extremism Targets the Prisons," ADL Special Report (June, 1986), and same title, ADL Special Edition, September, 1986.

A Hidden Danger

Extremist activity in prisons represents a potential danger which, because it thrives in an insulated sector of society, has not been highly visible. The aims of the political extremists reaching into the prisons vary, as do their doctrines, but the similarity is that here groups tend to reflect the more hard-core component of extremism, be it right or left. Many have proven records of criminal behavior and terrorism. An even more disturbing aspect is the fact that the United States is a declared target for terrorism from those forces around the world who see the U.S. as the source of all their woes, and some of the extremist organizations engaging in prison recruitment have overseas links with states and groups that actively promote terrorism—Libya, Cuba, and the Palestine Liberation Organization among them.

Many of those to whom the extremist organizing efforts are directed are among the most dangerous members of society—men and women who have already engaged in lawlessness. With radical groups and revolutionary strategies as their guides, they could easily become a new source of further violence and disorder in the prisons and, after release, on the outside.

Government officials, legislators and others in the public trust must be knowledgeable about the possible consequences of such prison-related activities, and must be ready to give the law enforcement and corrections community the support needed to cope with these activities effectively.

Hate Groups Active in the Prisons

A number of right-wing extremist groups have initiated an outreach to prisoners—*white* prisoners, to whom (with racial tensions running high in our prisons) they feel their appeals to bigotry may have a certain appeal, and among whom they hope to develop post-incarceration members.

To the leaders of the two most active “prison ministries” of the far-right—Robert Miles of the “Mountain Church” in Michigan and Richard Butler of the Aryan Nations organization—prisoners who share their views are “POWs” in a continuing “war” between their movements and all levels of American government, which they label “ZOG” (“Zionist Occupation Government”). The prison-directed literature of these groups reflects a deep contempt for all authority, so it is hardly surprising that—even for this reason alone—corrections officials have often been wary of allowing it to reach the targeted audience.

The Robert Miles ‘Ministry’

The most active “prison ministry” of the extreme right is conducted by Robert Miles, “Pastor” of the Mountain Church, which is headquartered at his farm in Cohoctah, Michigan. Miles, the former Michigan Grand Dragon and national “Chaplain” of the United Klans of America, has been described as the “spiritual leader” of the hate movement in America. (See also Chapter IV.)

Most of Miles’ speeches and writings are devoted to bitter and often violent denunciations of the federal government (labeled variously “ZOG,” Le Cesspool Grande, etc.). Miles was convicted in the early 1970s for conspiracy to bomb school buses in Michigan and to tar and feather a school principal, and served six years in the federal penitentiary in Marion, Illinois. Since that time he has devoted many of the resources of his “church” to corresponding and meeting with prisoners, particularly those with white supremacist views. Miles makes it clear that he regards those “members of the folk and faith” as victims of a conspiratorial government which persecutes them for their “religious” views. (Miles describes his religion as “Dualism,” based on a good deity who strives against one who is evil. He distinguishes this from “Identity” and instructs prisoners who would like more information about the latter movement to correspond with “Pastor” Richard Butler, leader of the Aryan Nations.) Miles characterizes prison as “but one hazard of any war,” observing that “our forces are at war with the society.”

Miles has described his prison ministry as consisting of three parts: a periodic newsletter sent directly to prisoners, racist literature which he arranges for them to receive, and efforts to help prisoners with “family problems” primarily through telephone consultations. Miles’ newsletter for prisoners, entitled **Beyond the Bars . . . The Stars!** also makes references to prison visits which he makes from time to time. Testifying last year at a trial challenging the authority of officials to withhold materials (including his) from inmates at a Missouri prison, Miles

also noted that he is involved in helping the Identity Church "handle its correspondence with prisoners." This was a reference to the Aryan Nations' prison program, much of whose responsibility he has assumed.

Miles reported last summer that he corresponds with some 1,300 prisoners in state and federal institutions. During a recent conference at his Michigan farm, he raised the figure to 1,800. He has also established a network of prisoner pen pals, enabling his followers to communicate with one another. Miles says he started these mailings in 1971 but began really concentrating on his "prison ministry" in 1979 when he was released from the penitentiary in Marion.

In the July/September, 1985 issue of the *NSV Report*, the newsletter of a tiny neo-Nazi sect located in Washington state, its leader described a visit to Miles' farm in July when he was in the process of recomputerizing his prisoner mailing list. According to this account, the new system would allow the Mountain Church "to alert our people within the institution when one of ours is being imprisoned by the system so the new inmate will receive the proper friendly reception." He continued,

On the other hand, whenever one of our enemies is imprisoned, our people inside will likewise be appraised [sic] of the enemy's arrival so the enemy can receive the type of welcome and treatment he deserves during his stay. . . White survival activists are encouraged to support Movement prisoners either directly or through the Mountain Church in whatever way they choose as these prisoners will one day be out of prison and will be part of the Movement's "irregular forces."

Several years ago, Miles explained his own reasons for maintaining contact with white racists in prison:

Part of the work of our Racial Theological Mission has been to ensure that our comrades and kinsmen in prison are not abandoned. The left-wing has taken great delight in taunting the right-wing about its abandonment of its wounded and its failure to even retrieve its dead from the battle fields of this modern political war. The Mountain Kirk will not abandon any who are fighting for our Race or who, having strayed, are interested in fighting for the Race in the future.

Clearly, Miles has regarded prisons as fertile ground for identifying and nurturing those who will be prepared, upon release, to take up the cause to which he is so devoted. He recently stated:

Nowadays, it is getting to be that a new political minority is being created at both state and federal levels. The new political force may all be ex-cons! Almost 6,240,000 citizens of this land are now counted as having been convicted of state or federal felonies at one time or another in their lifetimes. How does that grab you as a political lobbying group?

Miles has been mindful of the difficulties he faces getting his materials into the prisons, particularly those institutions which employ, in his words, "inquisitorial censors" such as those in Moberly, Missouri and Walla Walla, Washington. In one of his general newsletters, he advised followers who correspond with prisoners not to send "materials of a propaganda nature, no matter how true or educational," unless requested, since it may create problems for them with authorities. He advised his followers behind bars to register their religious affiliation with their prison records office "to reflect their adherence to the disciplines of the Mountain Kirk." Recently, Miles wrote that prisoners would have to rely more and more on direct letters as opposed to "mass communications" since these are "a more acceptable means of keeping faith and folk in touch." This would seem to be a reference to recent court decisions which have upheld the right of correctional authorities to withhold materials that have the potential for inciting violence among inmates.

'Unlock the Prisons'

One particular Miles prison mailing was a tract he authored entitled "The Secret Army," a thinly disguised account of The Order, the underground terrorist organization which declared war on the U.S. Government and committed a series of criminal acts during 1984. Miles is donating the proceeds of the publication to the widow of the slain founder of The Order, Robert Mathews, and the wife of one of its leaders, Bruce Carroll Pierce, who is currently serving a 100-year prison term. Miles has been effusive in his praise for the actions of the gang, most of whose members are now in prison. He has taken upon himself the responsibility of serving as a clearinghouse for correspondence going to them. Miles has "saluted" those wardens who understood that his book about The Order "was only a fable"

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Clearly, Miles has regarded prisons as fertile ground for identifying and nurturing those who will be prepared, upon release, to take up the cause to which he is so devoted. He recently stated:

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'Unlock the Prisons'

One particular Miles prison mailing was a tract he authored entitled "The Secret Army," a thinly disguised account of The Order, the underground terrorist organization which declared war on the U.S. Government and committed a series of criminal acts during 1984. Miles is donating the proceeds of the publication to the widow of the slain founder of The Order, Robert Mathews, and the wife of one of its leaders, Bruce Carroll Pierce, who is currently serving a 100-year prison term. Miles has been effusive in his praise for the actions of the gang, most of whose members are now in prison. He has taken upon himself the responsibility of serving as a clearinghouse for correspondence going to them. Miles has "saluted" those wardens who understood that his book about The Order "was only a fable"

A Hidden Danger

Extremist activity in prisons represents a potential danger which, because it thrives in an insulated sector of society, has not been highly visible. The aims of the political extremists reaching into the prisons vary, as do their doctrines, but the similarity is that here groups tend to reflect the more hard-core component of extremism, be it right or left. Many have proven records of criminal behavior and terrorism. An even more disturbing aspect is the fact that the United States is a declared target for terrorism from those forces around the world who see the U.S. as the source of all their woes, and some of the extremist organizations engaging in prison recruitment have overseas links with states and groups that actively promote terrorism—Libya, Cuba, and the Palestine Liberation Organization among them.

Many of those to whom the extremist organizing efforts are directed are among the most dangerous members of society—men and women who have already engaged in lawlessness. With radical groups and revolutionary strategies as their guides, they could easily become a new source of further violence and disorder in the prisons and, after release, on the outside.

Government officials, legislators and others in the public trust must be knowledgeable about the possible consequences of such prison-related activities, and must be ready to give the law enforcement and corrections community the support needed to cope with these activities effectively.

Hate Groups Active in the Prisons

A number of right-wing extremist groups have initiated an outreach to prisoners—*white* prisoners, to whom (with racial tensions running high in our prisons) they feel their appeals to bigotry may have a certain appeal, and among whom they hope to develop post-incarceration members.

To the leaders of the two most active “prison ministries” of the far-right—Robert Miles of the “Mountain Church” in Michigan and Richard Butler of the Aryan Nations organization—prisoners who share their views are “POWs” in a continuing “war” between their movements and all levels of American government, which they label “ZOG” (“Zionist Occupation Government”). The prison-directed literature of these groups reflects a deep contempt for all authority, so it is hardly surprising that—even for this reason alone—corrections officials have often been wary of allowing it to reach the targeted audience.

The Robert Miles ‘Ministry’

The most active “prison ministry” of the extreme right is conducted by Robert Miles, “Pastor” of the Mountain Church, which is headquartered at his farm in Cohoctah, Michigan. Miles, the former Michigan Grand Dragon and national “Chaplain” of the United Klans of America, has been described as the “spiritual leader” of the hate movement in America. (See also Chapter IV.)

Most of Miles’ speeches and writings are devoted to bitter and often violent denunciations of the federal government (labeled variously “ZOG,” Le Cesspool Grande, etc.). Miles was convicted in the early 1970s for conspiracy to bomb school buses in Michigan and to tar and feather a school principal, and served six years in the federal penitentiary in Marion, Illinois. Since that time he has devoted many of the resources of his “church” to corresponding and meeting with prisoners, particularly those with white supremacist views. Miles makes it clear that he regards those “members of the folk and faith” as victims of a conspiratorial government which persecutes them for their “religious” views. (Miles describes his religion as “Dualism,” based on a good deity who strives against one who is evil. He distinguishes this from “Identity” and instructs prisoners who would like more information about the latter movement to correspond with “Pastor” Richard Butler, leader of the Aryan Nations.) Miles characterizes prison as “but one hazard of any war,” observing that “our forces are at war with the society.”

Miles has described his prison ministry as consisting of three parts: a periodic newsletter sent directly to prisoners, racist literature which he arranges for them to receive, and efforts to help prisoners with “family problems” primarily through telephone consultations. Miles’ newsletter for prisoners, entitled **Beyond the Bars . . . The Stars!** also makes references to prison visits which he makes from time to time. Testifying last year at a trial challenging the authority of officials to withhold materials (including his) from inmates at a Missouri prison, Miles

also noted that he is involved in helping the Identity Church "handle its correspondence with prisoners." This was a reference to the Aryan Nations' prison program, much of whose responsibility he has assumed.

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and has been critical of those “very few,” mostly in federal institutions, who have withheld it from inmates.

In addition to spreading hate propaganda among his prison followers and keeping them in touch with activities of “the movement,” Miles has been clearly interested in addressing their more immediate concerns. As he expressed it:

Our greatest task now is to find the correct keys to unlock the prisons of this land. We can only serve our faith and our folk when we can assure each who stand for it, that there is justice beyond the courts and the palaces of privilege in America. There will be those whose legal talents will be called upon. Those, I might add, obviously, who are inside as well as those on the streets. The walls will come tumbling down. Whether by a cacophony of sheep horns of a legal nature or those of the powers of our God!

Both Miles and the Aryan Nations’ Richard Butler promote a project based in Suring, Wisconsin known as the “National Legal Research Program for White Prisoners.” “W.E. Wolfings,” the so-called “National Coordinator” of the program, is a pseudonym for Mrs. Laurel Beatty, whose husband is serving a life sentence for kidnapping and murder. Miles has referred to this operation as “the para-legal arm of the Movement.” Among its advice to “White POWs”: make every complaint pertaining to “White Rights” in writing; file formal administrative complaints (e.g., lack of access to “White Pride” news) with the warden and demand equal rights with minority prisoners; appeal to the highest administrative level, and if necessary, file civil rights complaints in the nearest federal court. As Miles put it: “We do not want to enter Courts of ZOG any more than we have to but in the matter of White Rights we will do so where we have to.”

An August, 1985 “Update” issued by the “Research Program” echoed Miles’ sentiments and took them one step further:

Once our Folk become POWs, they have no weapons, no rallies, no fund-raising publications or powerful ACLU-type organizations with which to fight. Their only weapon is the law. . . but we must fight with whatever we have, and hope that the persistant [sic] nipping at the heels will sooner or later bring one of them to their knees, AND THEN WE CAN GO FOR THE THROAT. (emphasis added)

The newsletter expressed its gratitude “to the dedicated Aryans who have worked with the NLRP for WP over these past 15 months, and have given us the weapon.” It credited “our Racial Organizations” for promoting the program, thus allowing it to recruit two staff attorneys. The organization claimed to be compiling evidence and affidavits in preparation for a class action lawsuit on behalf of the First Amendment rights of federal “POWs.”

In a letter “to all racial kindred” dated November 15, 1985, the National Legal Research Program for White Prisoners announced that it was restricting its activities to servicing only members of The Order, whom it termed “the most active POWs.”

In 1987, a publication called **Warrior World** was distributed in the Wisconsin prison system, bearing a return address with a post office box number in Suring, Wisconsin. The National Legal Research Program for White Prisoners has previously sent out mailings using the same post office box. **Warrior World** described itself as “the exclusive publication for ARM [Aryan Resistance Movement] Elite.” It contained submissions by several inmates, and used code names for them—for example, “Outlaw” and “Seeker.”

The Aryan Nations ‘Ministry’

The Aryan Nations, headquartered in Hayden Lake, Idaho, militantly promotes anti-Semitism, white supremacy and the establishment of a white racist state. It sponsors conferences for leaders of hate groups around the country, annual events that have offered courses on urban terrorism and guerrilla warfare. The organization, whose “theological” arm is the Church of Jesus Christ Christian, has been engaged in prison work since 1979.

The Aryan Nations leader, “Pastor” Richard Butler, is a 68-year-old former Lockheed engineer whose fiery preachings and writings regularly extol the virtues of Adolf Hitler and Nazi Germany. As noted in Chapter IV, Butler is a disciple of the late Wesley Swift, founder of the Church of Jesus Christ Christian, and like his mentor adheres to the pseudo-theological doctrine of “Identity.”

The Aryan Nations corresponds on an ongoing basis with prison inmates to whom it regularly mails its periodical **Calling Our Nation** and other hate material. The periodical frequently prints letters from prisoners and the addresses of inmates “who would very much appreciate correspondence from their White brothers and sisters.”

In addition, in 1987 Aryan Nations began publication of a "prison outreach newsletter," entitled **The Way**, to be mailed periodically to prison inmates. The newsletter's self-proclaimed goal is

to provide a good source of Bible study into the Israel Identity message and its related histories and politics for convicts, while also providing news and happenings of concern to our chained brothers and sisters.

The contents of **The Way** consist of inmates' own submissions. The first issue (dated June 1987) contained an introduction to Aryan Nations doctrine, including an identification of "the Jew as the chosen seed of Satan, God's sworn enemy from the beginning."

Janet Hounsell, the Aryan Nations' secretary, has been responsible for administering the organization's Prison Ministry. Hounsell, in her late 60s, told a reporter in 1983 that she was corresponding with hundreds of inmates, spreading the gospel of her "church." She also has done fundraising for the organization. In 1985, Hounsell was reported to be in semi-retirement, and during that same year Richard Butler testified, at a trial resulting from a suit brought by prison inmates in Missouri, that much of his prison ministry work had been taken over by Robert Miles' Mountain Church.

In a letter to inmates dated March 30, 1983, Louis Beam, the former Texas Grand Dragon of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and at the time, assistant to Butler, asserted that

The ever increasing Prison Ministry of the Church of Jesus Christ Christian has begun to be felt throughout the state prison systems as a major force. . .

Not hundreds but thousands of prisoners are being led to the irrefutable truth of (God's) Word.

From cell to cell, tier to tier, block to block and prison to prison, the Word is spreading. Kinsmen long denied the truth are now joining together in common cause.

Beam's letter went on to note that the prison ministry was finding its resources "dangerously" low as a result of "the tremendous increase in the number of prisoners that the church sponsors." Included in the mailing was an envelope and donation form to be sent by the prisoner to a prospective sponsor who was being asked to donate \$15 per year for each inmate. Enclosed also was a sample of Aryan Nations literature and a response form to maintain one's name on the Prison Ministry list. Beam went "underground" later that year. (See also Chapter IV.)

In 1984, the Religious Advisory Council of the Idaho Department of Corrections considered the question of whether the Church of Jesus Christ Christian should be granted entrance to the state's prisons and access to its inmates. The Council took the position that any group promoting religious concepts and not preaching violence, hatred, illegal acts or the overthrow of the United States Government should be afforded that opportunity. After considering various pieces of literature distributed by Butler's "church," the Council recommended that it be denied access to the state's prisons because of its "open advocacy of violence, mayhem and murder." In the Council's view, Butler's "teachings" rationalizing violence against those not of the "Aryan race" pose potential danger if allowed to reach prison inmates. As the Council argued:

Mr. Butler would have us believe that Aryans have the right **and** the obligation to kill anyone who is not white, whether or not they have robbed anyone and whether or not they present a danger to the "preservation" of anyone. In short, Mr. Butler is calling for all peoples of the white race to rise up and kill all non-whites!

No great amount of imagination is required to see why the Department of Corrections cannot permit this kind of radical, potentially explosive dogma, a vehicle from which this cancer of hatred can spread through its correctional institutions.

The Aryan Brotherhood

In 1984, an inmate at the Missouri Training Center for Men in Moberly, on behalf of himself and other prisoners, challenged the institution's policy, adopted earlier that year, to withhold inflammatory literature sent by the Aryan Nations and other groups. It was argued by corrections officials at a 1985 trial (**Murphy v. Missouri Department of Corrections**) that the literature would be used as a recruiting tool by an illegal prison gang known as the Aryan Brotherhood.

At the Missouri trial, corrections officials testified to a connection between the extremist group on the outside (Aryan Nations) and the prison gang on the inside (Aryan Brotherhood). Terry Morris, Superintendent of the Missouri Training Center for Men, testified that some of the witnesses for the prisoners seeking to allow Aryan Nations

literature into the Missouri prisons "are active members in the Aryan Brotherhood." Morris testified that he changed the mail policy because of two murders in 1984 which were racial in nature and were committed by members of the Aryan Brotherhood.

Morris added that Aryan Nations literature was used by Aryan Brotherhood members to promote the gang and to recruit members. One witness involved with the Aryan Brotherhood serving a life sentence testified that when the gang was formed, "we were going to try and get the Aryan Nations Church in there so we could have legal meetings." Without a church relationship, the gang could not meet legally.

When questioned about the recruitment policies of the Aryan Nations at the Moberly prison, Raymond Newberry, an investigator for the Missouri Department of Corrections, answered that several inmates had come forward to tell his staff that they had been pressured to join. He added that they did not want to sign their statements or have their names revealed "due to the fact that they were afraid of reprisals from these people."

According to Superintendent Morris, he met with his staff to consider whether or not to allow materials which they felt were related to gang activities. He stated:

We specifically discussed the Aryan Nations Church of Jesus Christ Christian literature that was brought to me for discussion because it had been let in previously. We talked about the white supremacy statements, the action verbs that filled the literature of fighting and taking action. We felt like it would be interpreted by inmates as license to pick up and bear arms against other inmates. We felt like it would be posted on bulletin boards and waved in front of potential members' noses as license to join this organization, to give the organization legitimacy, to show that it wasn't just a Moberly gang that was being talked about, but it had a community base and following and possible financial support and the possibility of really being more of a legitimate organization and that could be a cover for their gang activities.

Another state witnessing an Aryan Nations/Aryan Brotherhood connection is Arizona, and there is substantial evidence that the link there has been strong. According to the 1982 sworn testimony of Jonas Bowen, an informant at the state prison in Florence who served as the Aryan Brotherhood's "Minister of Finance" (treasurer) in late 1979 and early 1980, the gang had more money gained from various illegal operations than it could handle, and turned to the Aryan Nations for help. The leader of the Brotherhood received a visit from Janet Hounsell and the two agreed that money would be transferred to the Aryan Nations and then some of it sent back to members of the Brotherhood. Eventually, the Aryan Nations became a repository for Brotherhood funds and made payments not only "for lock-up Brothers," but also for attorney fees "and other larger sums the Brothers designated."

During the 1981 calendar year, a total of over \$8,000, much of it raised from extortion payments and the proceeds of illegal drug sales, went to the Aryan Nations directly from inmate trust accounts. Of this total, \$3,225 was sent back to members. According to Bowen, "money also went directly to the church from outside sources." Although the payments from trust accounts declined in early 1982, money from the Aryan Nations was still being sent to Arizona prisoners at the time of Bowen's deposition in April, 1982. Bowen indicated that Janet Hounsell knew that the money being sent back was being used to purchase drugs and weapons. According to Bowen, the cash difference between the total the Aryan Nations collected from the Aryan Brotherhood and the lesser amount it sent back to individual prisoners enabled the former to finance its prison program.

Despite all this, Richard Butler testified under oath in 1985 that his Aryan Nations never had a connection with the Aryan Brotherhood. In Butler's words, "I really don't know anything about them. I've heard of the term, but I really don't know what it is or what it consists of."

The Case of Gary Yarbrough

Gary Yarbrough, now serving a 60-year sentence for his involvement in crimes committed by The Order, of which he was a leading member, provides a "case study" of where prison recruitment by extremist groups can lead.

Yarbrough was recruited into the hate movement during an earlier period of incarceration. In 1978, while serving time in the Arizona State Prison in Florence on a theft conviction, Yarbrough, then 22, wrote a letter to **The Klansman**, the publication of the Invisible Order, Knights of the KKK. He stated:

I am pretty sure I received some literature from you, but the warden here wouldn't let me have it . . . However, the reason I am writing to you is that I was hoping that you could find some right-wing people to correspond with me, or some Klansmen. I don't get much mail and it sure would

help pass the time and I could keep up with the news on the work of our great race. I would like also to know a little more about the Klan. I'll leave my address at the closing of this and hope that you can find me a pen pal.

The Invisible Empire's Imperial Wizard and editor of *The Klansman*, Bill Wilkinson, urged his readers to write the warden of the Arizona State Prison "and demand [he] let our literature go through."

In 1978 Yarbrough was reprimanded for having "White Power" literature in his cell. During his three years in prison, Yarbrough was also reprimanded for threatening or assaulting other inmates and guards, and for possessing a variety of homemade knives. According to an Associated Press account in 1984, Yarbrough had been associated while in prison with the Aryan Brotherhood.

After his conviction in the racketeering trial in Seattle of members of The Order, Yarbrough told a reporter that he first learned of the Aryan Nations from an advertisement in a magazine he had read in prison. He said that after six months studying Aryan Nations literature he was able to prove their ideas were "correct." He claimed that while praying in an isolation cell he asked for a sign from God to show him what to do, and that immediately he was handed a letter from Janet Hounsell asking him to join the organization when he left prison.

Following his release in 1979, Yarbrough went to Idaho, where he settled in at the Aryan Nations compound. At first he used the training he had received on the prison printing press to set up the Aryan Nations print shop. Later, he became responsible for handling "security" arrangements for the group's leaders, both at their public appearances and at the compound.

In October, 1984, while federal agents were searching for his fugitive brother Steve near Gary Yarbrough's home in Sandpoint, Idaho, Gary opened fire on them and escaped into the woods. Found in his cabin was an arsenal of explosives and machine guns, one of which was the murder weapon used to kill Denver radio talk-show host Alan Berg. Yarbrough was captured a month later while hiding out in Portland, Oregon with Order founder Robert Mathews. Recovered from their room were two automatic weapons, a grenade, \$30,000 in cash and a hand-written document declaring The Order's intention of waging "war" against "ZOG" (Zionist Occupation Government) and warning of "daily firefights" with law enforcement officials. Yarbrough was convicted of assaulting federal agents and was given a 20-year sentence.

Following his subsequent racketeering conviction in December, 1985 for his part in The Order's armed robberies and counterfeiting operations, Yarbrough made a defiant statement to the court in which he vowed that the work of The Order would continue, and "the blood will flow."

Other Organizations

Other far-right organizations that have engaged in outreach to prisoners through their publications include the Ku Klux Klan, the Euro-American Alliance, several neo-Nazi and "Identity" groups, and George Dietz's *The Liberty Bell*, a neo-Nazi periodical not associated with a membership organization.

These groups publish letters from inmates and encourage readers to correspond with other prisoners, often referred to as "comrades" and "heroes of their race." Some of the hate groups provide prisoners with free subscriptions to their publications.

Among the neo-Nazi publications which have shown a particular interest in the prison population are:

— **Michigan Briefing**, publication of the Detroit-based SS Action Group, which announced in its July, 1984 issue: "We of the SS are 'at war' with the Jew-controlled system. Our White brothers and sisters who are prisoners in this war and are currently incarcerated in our nation's prisons will receive the **Michigan Briefing** at no charge, courtesy of our prison program. However, all donations are appreciated, as we are a non-profit organization."

— **The Talon**, publication of the Euro-American Alliance in Milwaukee, which noted in its July, 1983 issue: "We wish to thank all those who read **The Talon** for corresponding with [neo-Nazi prisoner] Red Warthan . . . and for contributing to the Greensboro Eight Defense Fund. One of the main purposes of the Euro-American Alliance is to promote the overall health and well-being of those who are persecuted by the ZOG. That is why we send our publications to the Aryan prisoners who request them."

— **Defiance**, publication of the National Socialist Liberation Front (NSLF), a small but noisy neo-Nazi group led by Karl Hand, which in January, 1984 ran a "Political Prisoner's Page" listing as "POWs" a number of hate group activists incarcerated at that time. On its application form, the NSLF lists as an option a \$15 membership in a "prison reform group."

— **Liberty Bell**, George Dietz's hate publication, which has letters in almost every monthly issue from prisoners across the country. Some are well-known extremists such as J.B. Stoner—longtime leader of the racist National States Rights Party who was in prison following his conviction in connection with the 1958 bombing of a Black church—and others are prisoners anxious to hear from people who share their views on race.

The Ku Klux Klan has engaged in correspondence with prison inmates, and has reportedly organized groups of prisoners in several states. The 1985 Department of Justice report, **Prison Gangs: Their Extent, Nature and Impact on Prisons**, indicated that there were Ku Klux Klan groups in prisons in Arkansas, Georgia and Texas. The report cited a Ku Klux Klan organization of about 150 members in Arkansas prisons, some of whom were Klan members before being sent to prison. The report further described the prison Klans as disorganized and unsophisticated and stated that they take their direction from "KKK literature and from outside prison information."

The Ku Klux Klans in the Georgia prisons are known as the Georgia White Knights, also referred to as the Georgia Realm. The organization has officers, and also reportedly has neo-Nazi characteristics. It is not known how many Klansmen and sympathizers are in the Georgia prisons.

In Pennsylvania, Department of Corrections officials indicate that literature comes in from numerous hate groups on an irregular basis. There have been a few individuals associated with the Aryan Nations and Ku Klux Klan at Lewisburg, a federal penitentiary, and about 20 neo-Nazis at Holmsberg, a Philadelphia correctional facility.

Ralph Forbes' Sword of Christ Ministries, another Identity group, has attempted to attract and organize prisoners into "religious" units in Arkansas.

Additionally, Tom Metzger's monthly publication **WAR** (see Chapter III) has listed incarcerated Order members and other extremists with their prison addresses under the heading "P.O.W.s & Martyrs."

Another form of prisoner/extremist communication has been carried on by David Lane, The Order member convicted in December 1987 of civil rights violations in connection with the 1984 murder of Alan Berg and sentenced to 150 years in prison (see Chapter IV). Lane, who was already serving a prison term for Order-related racketeering, circulated a letter under the aegis of the Aryan Nations Church of Jesus Christ Christian asking followers to financially support the promotion of "Life Law." Lane described his "Life Law" as his "Ultimate and Final Statement on my understanding of God, Race and Nation, and my attempt to provide a basis for unity." He asks supporters to consider his request without delay, writing "from the deepest of the Occupation Government's cages!"

The North Carolina prison system has withheld **The White Man's Bible**, the publication of the Church of the Creator, an Identity group headed by veteran extremist Ben Klassen. This measure was taken on the grounds that the publication's content might incite racial turmoil; a federal court ruling has upheld prison authorities.

Two Important Federal Court Decisions

Two federal appeals court rulings are worth examining as illustrations of the complexity involved in efforts to restrict the distribution of racist literature in the prisons.

1) **Murphy v. Missouri Department of Corrections**, [No. N84-38-C (E.D. Mo. Dec. 19, 1985), *aff'd* in part, *rev'd* in part, 814 F.2d 1252 (8th Cir. 1987)]:

In 1984, several members and followers of the Aryan Nations filed suit in federal court charging that Missouri state prison officials had infringed their First Amendment rights of free speech and free exercise of religion. The inmates were members and adherents of the Church of Jesus Christ Christian and the Mountain Church of Jesus Christ the Saviour, who were denied access to literature from these and similar groups which advocated racial violence and white supremacy, and called for action against non-Aryans.

At the trial, the State asserted that its policy of restricting access to certain literature was prompted by information the prison superintendent received about the Aryan Brotherhood, reports of inmates' fear of this group, and two prison murders, both racial in nature, which involved members of the Aryan Brotherhood. Prison officials asserted that the policy was based on security needs and was necessary to preserve order and safety in the institution.

The federal court heard testimony from Richard Butler of the Church of Jesus Christ Christian and Robert Miles of the Mountain Church of Jesus Christ the Saviour regarding the various doctrines of the two sects. Peter Lake, a journalist who lived undercover as a member of Butler's Hayden Lake compound, also testified.

The U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Missouri ruled against the inmates on the free speech claim, holding that the prison's policy of restricting literature was justified by a substantial government interest: safeguarding

prison security. Judge Robert D. Kingsland held that much of the literature, "when read in context, if released within the institution, would create a clear and present danger to security. . . ." The court found, however, that the ban on CJCC literature was too broad, holding that the prison could only censor "material which is found to advocate violence or which would tend to inflame the prisoners to violence due to racist and derogatory content."

The court avoided a ruling on the inmates' religious freedom because they failed to formally request recognition of their group by prison officials, a prerequisite to enjoying the same privileges of other religious groups within the institution.

The Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals affirmed the district court's ruling that the prison's total ban on Aryan Nations' literature was unconstitutionally broad, but, unlike the district court, held that the ban violated the plaintiffs' First Amendment rights. The appellate court found that the lower court properly refused to rule on the issue of whether the Aryan Nations was entitled to prison privileges as a recognized religious organization.

2) **McCabe v. Arave** [626 F. Supp. 1199 (D. Idaho 1986), aff'd in part, vac'd in part, rev'd in part, 827 F.2d 634 (9th Cir. 1987)]:

In January 1986, the U.S. District Court in Idaho dismissed a complaint filed by Melvin McCabe and Mark Madsen, members of the Church of Jesus Christ Christian (CJCC), who were incarcerated in a state prison in Boise, Idaho. The inmates alleged that prison officials violated their free exercise rights by denying them permission to conduct worship services, hold religious study classes, distribute church literature, meet with church officials on an individual and group basis, hold banquets on religious holidays, grow beards, observe special dietary restrictions, and receive and retain church books and pamphlets.

After hearing trial testimony on the church, its structure and beliefs, the district court made a factual finding that the Church of Jesus Christ Christian and Aryan Nations, both founded by Richard Butler and operated out of Butler's Hayden Lake compound in Idaho, are "alter-egos," and "two halves of one theo-political organization." For the purpose of analyzing the inmates' claims, the court assumed that their beliefs were sincerely held and religious in nature. Nevertheless, the court found that the inmates' free exercise rights are subject to appropriate restrictions by the prison which are reasonable and necessary to preserve order and security.

Evaluating each of the inmates' claims, the court upheld first the prison's denial of church worship services. While medium custody inmates are allowed to hold specific denominational services and study classes in the prison chapel facility, close custody inmates are only permitted to attend interdenominational services and classes in the close custody housing unit. Both McCabe and Madsen were held in close custody and were not treated differently from other close custody inmates. They presented no evidence that prison rules governing close custody inmates are unreasonable or discriminatory. Thus the prison was justified in denying them access to the prison chapel.

The court found, further, that the prison could also prohibit members of the Church of Jesus Christ Christian from holding group study meetings because of the potential for escalating racial tensions within the prison: "the [prison officials] have a legitimate penological interest in seeing that groups such as the CJCC/Aryan Nations are not allowed to congregate in the [prison]."

Trial testimony indicated that McCabe and Madsen have been allowed individual visits from CJCC ministers. No evidence was presented of discrimination against them in these visitation privileges.

Examining the plaintiff's claim regarding church literature, the court held that McCabe and Madsen had failed to prove that any material was restricted. The evidence showed that they and other inmates have received CJCC literature and have shared it with other inmates. Prison rules restrict each inmate to six cubic feet of space for personal property and to ten books or magazines, in order to allow for easy and rapid cell searches. Neither McCabe nor Madsen have requested an exception to these rules, which the court found reasonable.

The court also upheld prison rules which specify the procedures inmates must follow for permission to grow beards and follow special dietary restrictions. Both plaintiffs have complied with these procedures and have been treated no differently from other religious groups. The prison does not allow banquets for any religious denominations, and the plaintiffs failed to present any evidence on this issue.

District Judge Marion J. Callister concluded that the inmates' claims were "completely without merit." McCabe and Madsen filed a notice of appeal to the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals.

The Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals upheld the ban on group worship and study by close custody CJCC prisoners but reversed the restriction on CJCC literature. The appellate court ruled that prison officials may not ban literature advocating racial purity unless it advocates violence or illegal activity or is "so racially inflammatory as to be reasonably likely to cause violence at the prison."

Chapter VII: COUNTERING EXTREMISM—AN ACTION AGENDA

If America is to meet the challenge of violence by organized bigots, there is an obvious need for a broad national consensus that such extremism will be vehemently condemned and vigorously countered.

A special moral responsibility rests upon those who are not specifically the targets of bigots to close ranks with those who are. Preventing violence and minimizing the impact of the violent requires the engagement of all the institutions of our society. There is a role for government, for law enforcement agencies and the courts, for the media, the schools, the churches, the military, and for business and labor organizations.

Law Enforcement

Extremist activity that poses a threat to the civil rights of citizens requires the professional attention of the Justice Department, the FBI, and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms. Constitutionally permissible monitoring of groups with a record of violence can greatly curtail the commission of criminal acts.

Means must be sought to permit the sharing of information among police departments and federal agencies, with adequate safeguards to prevent certain excesses of the past. Laws already on the books must be strictly enforced. With Klan activity particularly, there must always be a consideration of whether the Civil Rights Act has been violated. In addition, if the Justice Department can determine that there is significant interstate travel and communication among individuals involved in racist or anti-Semitic acts of violence in various parts of the country, prosecution may be possible under existing federal civil rights laws. Also in recent years federal law enforcement officials have successfully relied upon the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations (RICO) statute to counter extremist group lawlessness.

Other laws that can limit extremist activity if properly enforced include federal paramilitary legislation (see Chapter V), federal and state laws pertaining to desecrations, and whatever state anti-masking laws may be constitutionally sound. Even municipal traffic ordinances can be useful. For example, Klan members have conducted "road-block" fundraising drives, standing at intersections in full regalia collecting money from passing motorists. Under the legitimate exercise of police powers, existing laws concerning traffic safety and harassment should be applied to stop these intimidating tactics. Moreover, certain time, place and manner restrictions can validly be used to regulate extremist demonstrations.¹³

Violent confrontations between Klansmen and anti-Klan demonstrators have placed a particular burden upon local and state police, who are often the principal victims as they seek to separate the conflicting forces. Yet a high visibility of police officers in sufficient strength at demonstrations is vital, as is the necessity for keeping the adversaries as far apart as possible.

The KKK often makes the claim that some members are police officers. To whatever extent some sympathy for the extremists may exist among any police forces, there is a need for ongoing training of officers to reinforce awareness of the sensitivity and responsibility inherent in their positions. It is also important that duty assignments be made with an understanding of the impact the personal attitudes of front-line duty officers can have on maintaining the peace.

Additional training is needed to sensitize police to the factors that differentiate racial and religious vandalism or violence from other crimes. Accurate recording is critical; a cross-burning, for example, should be recorded as such, rather than as an act of arson. And a synagogue desecration is not merely the destruction of property.

Government

The First and Second Klans and those of the 1960s waned following their exposure through Congressional investigations. Hearings by appropriate governmental bodies or legislatures can be extremely beneficial in heightening public awareness of the nature and extent of extremist activity and can lead to further useful legislation.

In 1987, the House of Representatives passed a bill facilitating official collection of hate-crime statistics, and

¹³ For a more thorough discussion of this subject, see "Regulation of Extremist Group Demonstrations," ADL In Brief (ADL Legal Affairs Department Special Report), November 1987.

it is hoped that this or a similar bill will soon become law. Legislative efforts to counter religious vandalism have been more successful on the state level. During recent years, statutes dealing with this problem were enacted in 29 states. These statutes generally take one or both of two approaches: (1) to increase the penalties for crimes under existing laws where the perpetrator was motivated by the race, color, religion or nationality of the victim; and (2) to increase the penalties for desecration of a house of worship, a cemetery, or other religious structure. Many of these new laws were based on comprehensive model legislation drafted by the Anti-Defamation League, encompassing both of the aforementioned approaches.¹⁴

Anti-violence legislation, in the form of state statutes and local ordinances, has been passed in several states. This type of legislation is extremely effective in preventing extremist violence, and similar laws should be adopted by other states. Some state laws also prohibit possession of a weapon by a convicted felon.

Because of the troubling phenomenon of extremist paramilitary training, ADL has prepared model legislation that would make it illegal for the Klan and other racist groups to operate their paramilitary training programs. ADL's proposed statute is based upon the federal Civil Obedience Act of 1968, which has been upheld by the courts as constitutional. It calls for imprisonment and/or fines for those found guilty of operating or receiving training at paramilitary camps, where the training is intended for use in, or in furtherance of, a civil disorder (see Chapter VII). Eighteen states have passed such legislation.

The U.S. Immigration Department and the Department of State must be cognizant of the foreign ties maintained by some of the extremist groups, so that they can bar those aliens who, as specified in 8 United States Code Annotated Section 1182 (a) (27), will "engage in activities which would be prejudicial to the public interest. . ."

The Courts

At the trial level, the many successful prosecutions of hate group activists noted in this report, resulting in hefty prison sentences for dozens of America's most violent extremists, illustrate the fundamental role of the courts in the nation's fight against such dangerous criminality. The long jail terms, in effect, represent society's loud and clear rejection of hate-based extremism.

At the appellate level, a recent decision by the U.S. Supreme Court (**Shaare Tefila Congregation v. Cobb**) has established a significant new means of counteracting extremist activity. In November 1981, the walls of Shaare Tefila Congregation, a synagogue located in Silver Springs, Maryland, were defaced with anti-Semitic graffiti. Deeply offensive to the entire community, the desecration prompted synagogue members to seek assistance from the Anti-Defamation League DC/Maryland regional office. Following the arrest and conviction of the perpetrators, the synagogue filed a federal court lawsuit seeking damages. On May 18, 1987 the U.S. Supreme Court decided in the Congregation's favor.

As stated in ADL's *amicus curiae* brief prepared *pro bono* by the Washington, D.C. law firm of Covington and Burlington, the synagogue asserted that although Jews do not regard themselves as a race, they are nevertheless covered by an 1866 civil rights statute prohibiting discrimination based on race. The Supreme Court, overruling a lower court decision, held that the statute protects not only Blacks but other ethnic groups as well. The Supreme Court verdict sets a legal precedent for other synagogues and institutions similarly victimized. Those vandalized or otherwise targeted can now sue for civil damages as victims of discrimination.

A recent successful lawsuit (**Donald v. United Klans of America, Inc.**) against the United Klans of America brought by the family of Michael Donald, a young Alabama Black man murdered by Klansmen in 1981, represents another example of how victims can now seek civil damages for denial of their civil rights growing out of "hate crime" incidents.

The jury in this case (in which the Donald family was represented by the Southern Poverty Law Center) found that members of the UKA who had previously been convicted of the murder were acting on behalf of their organization and its doctrines and thus the UKA itself must be held responsible. The jury awarded the Donald family \$7 million in damages. (For a more detailed description of this case, see Chapter I, Section 2, "The Ku Klux Klan: Continuing Violence.")

¹⁴ See also "ADL Model Statute: Ethnic Vandalism and Intimidation," ADL Law Report, Winter 1985; and annual ADL Audit of Anti-Semitic Incidents.

The **Shaare Tefila** and **Donald** cases show that the courts can provide effective new tools for redressing grievances generated by extremist activity. It is to be hoped that the possibility of such damage suits will serve as a deterrent to violent acts of racism.

The Media

The media role raises difficult and sensitive questions. To the extent that activities of the Klan and other bigots are truly newsworthy, those activities must be covered; ADL opposes censorship. But how much coverage is warranted, and what form it should take, are matters demanding careful judgment. In addition, responsible press coverage—particularly of the Klan, which is secretive and unscrupulous—requires research and a thorough understanding of the subject. Without such preparation, the media are susceptible to manipulation by Klansmen or Nazis, and may unintentionally provide them with free publicity and a forum for presenting spurious claims that go unchallenged.

Reporters should be prepared with adequate background research and have a healthy skepticism about the claims of the groups' spokesmen. Richard Oppel, editor of the **Charlotte (North Carolina) Observer**, addressed the matter a few years ago in an editorial. He wrote:

The Observer has a serious, important role in monitoring the statements and activities of hate groups. . . . We cannot ignore these groups, although we know indiscriminate attention can strengthen them. We must probe below inflammatory statements to see what, if anything, lies beneath. Editorially, we will condemn such hate strongly, loudly and without compromise.

Citing an instance in Buffalo, New York, where 100 reporters and eleven camera crews covered the street appearance of a single neo-Nazi, Oppel wrote, "Do newspapers and television stations strengthen hate groups like the Ku Klux Klan, magnifying their vicious influence in our society? The answer, far too often, is yes."

Oppel summed up: "We'll cover bona fide news in which the Kluxers are involved, such as the Greensboro killings. But we won't become a bulletin board for them."

A New Media Challenge

In a further attempt to use the media for their own purposes, some hate groups have discovered and used cable television to spread their bigoted message. For example, a videotaped series called "Race and Reason," produced by Tom Metzger of the California-based White Aryan Resistance (W.A.R.), has a simple and straightforward format. Metzger, dressed in a conservative business suit introduces various spokesmen for hate groups and conducts interviews with them.

Cable television's operators are often required by their franchise agreement with a community to provide free air time (known as "public access" or "community television") to its residents. Cable operators are prohibited by law from exercising any "editorial control" over public access programs.

Yet cable broadcasters, frustrated at their inability to intervene on behalf of their subscribers, are not defenseless. By using acceptable disclaimers, rejecting broadcasts without identifiable local sponsorship and by producing positive counter-programming they can make it clear that they wish to avoid manipulation by bigots. (One interesting regulation put into practice in Chicago allows for only a single broadcast per year for all programs not actually produced locally.) Community television programming is an innovative practice with many potential benefits, but its viewers need to be aware of its exploitation by hatemongers.

The Schools

The disturbing outreach of extremists to young people in some parts of the country necessitates exposure and counteraction by educators. Several ongoing efforts can serve as models for further activity.

Professional organizations on the national, state, and local levels, can play a leadership role. One national association has created a permanent task force on student racial and ethnic prejudice that assists local and state affiliates in identifying problems and developing programs for teacher education and classroom instruction. Curriculum materials are shared at workshops held at the association's state and regional conferences.

Individual schools and teachers can develop instructional programs. Information about the Klan and other extremist groups, properly presented, can do much to deglamorize and discredit such groups. The Klan's history of violence and lawlessness is an appropriate subject for effective social studies and American history teaching. Equally important is a curriculum that prepares students to deal with propaganda, bigotry and prejudice, and the scapegoating of minorities. Such instruction can result in a lessening of an extremist organization's ability to use students intergroup tensions for recruiting. Education about different cultures can also serve to increase intergroup understanding and create a climate in which diversity is appreciated, not feared or perceived as a threat to community security.

The Anti-Defamation League has published and makes available to schools and educators a curriculum guide, **Extremist Groups in the United States**, containing specific lesson plans and source readings on hate groups of the extreme right and totalitarian groups of the extreme left. Where acts of vandalism and graffiti suggest underlying problems of bigotry, racism, and anti-Semitism, special school-community programs are sorely needed.

In 1985 ADL began a school- and media-based prejudice awareness and reduction project called "A World of Difference." It is designed to reduce community racial, ethnic and religious friction in a realistic and measurable way. The project uses materials written and designed by both local and national educational authorities. They are distributed on a voluntary basis, at no cost, to teachers and students in each area. Local television stations reinforce the educational component by orchestrating massive public outreach through the creation and airing of specially produced programming over the course of a year. These efforts include prime-time specials, documentaries, editorials, news mini-series, and scores of public service announcements.

Additionally, ADL has distributed throughout the U.S. a prejudice-fighting manual for elementary students entitled "Teacher, They Called Me a _____!". Subtitled "Prejudice and Discrimination in the Classroom," the manual deals with such topics as learning about prejudice; discrimination against the disabled; race and ethnicity; religion; differences in life style; and the influence of gender on how children are treated. The manual also contains a bibliography of children's books on cultural, ethnic and racial differences.

The Armed Forces

Over the past eight years the Defense Department policy of cracking down on Klan efforts to recruit within the armed forces deserves commendation. (See also Chapter I, Section 3, "Klan Ideology and Strategy," for further discussion of Klan activity within the U.S. armed forces.)

Yet in all branches of the military, there must be stepped-up educational programs to promote racial and religious understanding. The attitudes of those in leadership positions are particularly important. In **Blaumeuser v. Andrews**, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit (August 27, 1980) ruled that further ROTC training could be denied a member of the neo-Nazi NSPA because of his Nazi sympathies and public statements in support of white supremacy. The court held that Blaumeuser's personal convictions were evidence that he lacked completely the "leadership potential" and "...ability to lead and...gain the respect of persons from diverse backgrounds" required of military officers.

More recently, the federal government has also called a halt to the use of military bases as recruiting areas for hate groups. In September 1986, the Defense Department issued a directive to field commanders giving them the authority to prevent military personnel from engaging in activities sponsored by racist groups, including fundraising, public demonstrations, recruiting and training members. The Department was responding to an appeal by ADL in the face of evidence that military personnel had participated in illegal paramilitary training exercises of the White Patriot Party.

Human Rights Organizations

Human rights organizations and coalitions can help foster a positive social climate by bringing together groups to work for increased understanding and to condemn acts of bigotry. It is ADL's experience that such a coalition can serve as a clearing house for information on incidents of racial and anti-Semitic vandalism, hold meetings with police and media representatives and organize community educational programs on the subject.

Civil rights organizations can also act as a stimulus, spurring others to react creatively and responsibly to episodes of extremism and bigotry. They can elicit statements of concern from elected officials, editorials from local newspapers,

radio and television stations, statements from ministerial alliances and sermons from clergymen, and educational measures from local schools systems and libraries.

Responding to hate group activity in their region of the country—specifically that of The Order and the Aryan Nations—a number of community and human rights organizations formed the Northwest Coalition Against Malicious Harassment, Inc. which is based in Coeur d'Alene, Idaho. The coalition is made up of civil and human rights agency representatives from the entire geographical area—Idaho, Montana, Oregon and Washington. It includes the Seattle ADL office, the Portland chapter of the American Jewish Committee, the Kootenai County Task Force on Human Relations (Kootenai County is the home base of the Aryan Nations compound), the Montana Human Rights Commission, as well as those from Washington State and Portland, Oregon. It also includes Kootenai County Undersheriff Larry Broadbent.

The Coalition plans to invite all the U.S. senators and representatives from Wyoming, Oregon, Washington, Idaho and Montana to serve as the organization's congressional advisory committee. They plan to pursue a major grant proposal to study the extent of hate group activity in the Northwest, to pursue a pilot Idaho project addressing the extent of racial and religious incidents of harassment in that state and to endorse ADL's call for anti-paramilitary legislation in the state of Washington.

Another method of mobilizing a collective community voice of decency in the face of Klan or Nazi demonstrations is the holding of peaceful public rallies by coalitions of responsible local groups designed to express a repudiation of bigotry. Such rallies, carefully planned to avoid any possible violent confrontation with the hate groups, have succeeded in dramatizing the isolation of the forces of organized racism.

The Churches

The churches have a special responsibility and opportunity in combatting racist extremism, not only because bigotry and violence run counter to their moral teachings, but also because the Klan and the Christian-Patriots Defense League and the Identity movement pervert Christian concepts and symbols and claim a religious basis for their activities. In areas where hate groups are active, the churches can exercise their moral authority, speaking out in sermons and publications and taking the lead in organizing a community response. This has been the case in Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, where local church groups have taken a public stand against the Aryan Nations compound in their community and its bigoted philosophy.

The Interfaith Conference of Greater Washington, for example, has conducted a conference on "Responsible Reaction to Violence and Group Hatred" attended by religious leaders and media representatives from the Washington area. This could be a model for other communities.

Another good example comes from California where more than 100 evangelicals and ministers in Los Angeles and Orange counties formed a task force against anti-Semitism in response to the recent appearance of swastikas being painted on local synagogues. According to a report in the Los Angeles Times, the Rev. Frank Eiklor, an Orange County religious broadcaster, led the group and had spearheaded a similar venture in the Boston area. The Christian Task Force Against Anti-Semitism prepared a nine page guide for ministers and lay leaders to give them a history of anti-Semitism, and an action plan for combatting it.

The guide recommends responding to anti-Semitism "with polite and positive information about the Jewish people." It also urges leaders "to perform positive acts of friendship through the obtaining of permission to repair with Christian funds and labor any anti-Semitic vandalism directed at Jewish establishments."

Business and Organized Labor

Organized labor has a unique responsibility, especially with respect to the Klan, which has a history of anti-labor and even union-busting activity. The racist rationale of the Klan—which shows a high quotient of "blue collar" workers among its members—is clearly contrary to the basic trade union philosophy of ignoring racial barriers in promoting the welfare of working people. Business organizations—which can suffer ill effects of Klan-inspired community disruption and exploitation of issues like affirmative action—have an opportunity along with organized labor to educate on the dangers of extremism through publications and through leadership training institutes and other instructional programs.

Conclusion

With the active involvement of all these public and private sectors of society, and with strict law enforcement and firm political leadership on all levels, the disruptions and violence created by the Klan and other hate groups can be curbed. Beyond this immediate task, the broad national consensus must turn to a long-range and basic commitment: to press ahead in the quest for racial justice and equal opportunity for every citizen and to strengthen education on the substance and application of American democratic values.

Appendix A

MAJOR CONVICTIONS OF HATE GROUP FIGURES: 1985-87

1. The Order and Aryan Nations

Most of The Order's violence-prone members are currently serving substantial sentences in federal prisons for criminal racketeering. On December 30, 1985 nine men and one woman were convicted after a nearly four-month Federal Court trial in Seattle. They were sentenced to terms of from 40 to 100 years in prison and ordered to pay stiff fines.

Bruce Carroll Pierce, 31, of Hayden Lake, Idaho, and Randolph George Duey, 34, of Spokane, Washington, were sentenced to 100 years in five 20-year consecutive terms. Richard Kemp, 23, of Salinas, California, and Gary Lee Yarbrough, 30, of Sandpoint, Idaho, were sentenced to 60 years in three consecutive 20-year terms. Andrew V. Barnhill, 29, of Missoula, Montana; Randolph Evans, 29, of Los Angeles, California; David Lane, 46, of Denver, Colorado; Jean Craig, 52, of Laramie, Wyoming; Frank Silva, 27, of Los Angeles, and Ardie McBrearty, 57, of Gentry, Arkansas, were sentenced to 40 years.

The 10 convicted were among 23 Order militants originally indicted. Eleven others pleaded guilty before the trial. They were: Denver D. Parmenter II, Robert E. Merki, Sharon K. Merki, James S. Dye, Randall E. Rader, Kenneth Loff, Ronald A. King, Thomas Bentley, George F. Zaengie, William A. Nash and Jackie Lee Norton. Another, David Tate, was convicted, in a separate trial, of murdering a Missouri state trooper and is serving a life sentence, and one-time CSA activist Richard Scutari was a fugitive at the time of the Seattle trial. Scutari was on the FBI's Ten Most Wanted list when he was arrested in Texas in March of 1986. The next month he pleaded guilty to charges of racketeering and conspiracy in connection with The Order's 1984 multi-million dollar Brink's armored car robbery in Ukiah, California. He received a 60-year prison sentence. More recently, in November 1987, Scutari was acquitted in the Alan Berg murder case in Denver (see following section).

In January, 1986, David Tate, 23, a member of The Order who was convicted of first-degree murder in the slaying of a Missouri state trooper with a silencer-equipped machine pistol in April, 1985, was sentenced by a judge in Columbia, Missouri to life in prison with no possibility of parole. Six months later, in July, 1986, Tate was convicted by a federal jury in Des Moines, Iowa on illegal weapons charges in connection with the shootout in which the Missouri state trooper was killed and another wounded. Tate was found guilty of 13 counts of possessing machine guns and silencers and one count of possessing hand grenades.

In February, 1986, Elden "Bud" Cutler, 60, a white supremacist who served as security chief for the Aryan Nations, was convicted by a federal jury in Boise, Idaho in a plot to contract for the assassination of a key witness against The Order. Cutler was accused of paying an undercover FBI agent posing as an assassin \$2,000 to decapitate Thomas Martinez, a government informant against The Order. Cutler was sentenced in March, 1986 to 12 years in prison.

In February, 1987, Robert Pires, 22, an Aryan Nations sympathizer, pleaded guilty in Sandpoint, Idaho to first-degree murder for his role in the slaying of an Aryan Nations activist suspected of being an informant. Pires was sentenced to life imprisonment but agreed to tell authorities about his former colleagues, and was placed in the federal witness protection program making him eligible for parole in ten years.

In June, 1987, Thomas G. Harrelson, 29, linked by the FBI to white supremacist groups, including the Aryan Nations, who had pleaded guilty to the robbery of the Drayton State Bank in Fargo, North Dakota, as well as the robberies of other Midwest banks. He must serve a mandatory five years without parole eligibility for illegal firearms possession in connection with these bank robberies. Harrelson had been engaged to the daughter of former Michigan Klan leader Robert Miles and worked in Miles' Identity church in Michigan.

2. The Alan Berg Trial

On April 24, 1987, a federal grand jury in Denver returned an indictment against four members of The Order who "willfully injured and interfered with Alan Berg. . . because he was Jewish, and because he was and had been enjoying employment, and the perquisites thereto, by a private employer, resulting in [his] death by gunfire." Berg,

a Denver radio personality and an outspoken critic of extremists, was gunned down outside his Denver home on June 18, 1984.

Those named in the Denver indictment were Bruce Carroll Pierce, David Lane, Richard Scutari, and Jean Craig. They went on trial in Federal District Court in Denver early in November, 1987. On November 17, the jury convicted Pierce and Lane of civil rights violations in connection with Berg's murder. The jury acquitted Scutari and Craig. All four defendants were already serving lengthy federal prison terms for their involvement in criminal racketeering as members of The Order.

3. The Fort Smith Indictments

On the same day a Denver grand jury returned the indictments in the Alan Berg murder case, a Fort Smith, Arkansas grand jury returned a major indictment, charging Richard Butler of the Aryan Nations and nine other white supremacists with participating in a "seditious conspiracy between July, 1983 and March, 1985 to overthrow the government," in the words of the U.S. Department of Justice.

Those indicted were charged with conspiring to kill members of ethnic groups through bombings, and of plotting to destroy utilities, pollute water supplies, establish guerrilla training camps and procure false identification. The indictment said they planned to finance their conspiracy against the government through armed robberies and counterfeiting.

In addition to Butler, those named in the indictment were: Robert Miles; Louis R. Beam, Jr.; Robert N. Smalley; David Lane; Ardie McBreaarty, Bruce C. Pierce, Richard Scutari, Andrew V. Barnhill, and Richard W. Snell.

Snell was already in prison having been convicted of the 1984 murder of an Arkansas state trooper. Snell and four others in Fort Smith were charged separately with conspiring to murder Judge H. Franklin Waters and FBI special agent Jack D. Knox for their involvement in the trial of an Arkansas couple who had been convicted of harboring fugitive accused murderer Gordon Kahl (see Chapter IV). Named along with Snell in this conspiracy were William H. Wade, Ivan R. Wade, Lambert Miller and David M. McGuire.

The judge dismissed charges against Smalley. On April 7, 1988, the jury found all the other defendants not guilty.

4. The Covenant, The Sword, and The Arm of The Lord (CSA)

Leaders of the CSA engaged in a series of criminal activities in the wake of the 1983 Aryan Nations conference, including the firebombing of an Indiana synagogue, the arson of a Missouri church, and the attempted bombing in Missouri of a pipeline which supplies Chicago with natural gas. In April 1985, 200 FBI agents invaded the CSA compound on the Missouri/Arkansas border and seized hundreds of weapons, bombs and quantities of cyanide allegedly intended to poison the water supply of an unnamed city.

In September 1985, CSA leaders James Ellison and Kerry Noble and four other CSA activists—Gary Stone, Timothy Russell, Rudy Loewen, and David Giles—were sentenced to lengthy federal prison terms on racketeering and illegal weapons charges. CSA member Stephen Scott, 39, pleaded guilty in federal court in Arkansas to charges he dynamited a natural gas pipeline near Fulton, Arkansas in 1983. Ex-CSA member Kent Yates also pleaded guilty to a charge of conspiring to make and transfer automatic weapons silencers. The convictions and guilty pleas in effect have broken up the radical white supremacist group. Ellison and Noble are said to have entered the federal witness protection program as a result of giving testimony to the federal grand jury in Fort Smith early in 1987.

5. The Committee of the States

Early in October 1987, "Identity" leader William Potter Gale and four others were convicted in Federal Court in Las Vegas on charges of threatening the lives of Internal Revenue agents and a Nevada state judge. Gale and the others were members of a right-wing extremist tax protest group called The Committee of the States, formed in 1984 at Mariposa, California.

Convicted along with Gale were Fortunato Parrino, an assistant at Gale's Mariposa church; Richard Van Hazel of Arizona; and Patrick McCray and his brother, George "Mike" McCray, of Nevada. In January, 1988 Gale, Parrino and Patrick McCray were sentenced to federal prison terms of one year and one day. "Mike" McCray was sentenced

to seven years. Van Hazel's sentencing was postponed. (Three others—Angelo Stefanelli, Susan Kieffer and Gary Dolfin—had earlier pleaded guilty to lesser charges.)

6. The Arizona Patriots

In October, 1986, following a two-year FBI undercover probe, eight members of the Arizona Patriots were arrested and charged with various federal crimes, including a plot to finance a paramilitary base by robbing an armored car in Nevada. The group had also planned to bomb a synagogue in Phoenix and an IRS facility in Utah. At the time of their arrest, several "Patriots" had in their possession blueprints for the electrical systems of two United States dams and the piping system of a third. In June, 1987, three of these defendants—Jack Oliphant, Monte Ross and Daniel Arthur—were sentenced to four-year federal prison terms, after pleading guilty in May to a conspiracy charge. Thomas Hoover and Steve Christiansen were sentenced to five years' probation. A sixth defendant, Patrick Schlecht, also received five years' probation, as part of a plea-bargain which involved the dropping of assault charges against his wife, Rita, another of the defendants. David Gumaer, the eighth defendant, remains a fugitive.

7. White Knights of Liberty

The North Carolina based White Knights of Liberty was formed in 1979 under the leadership of "Imperial Wizard" Joe Grady of Winston-Salem. In 1981, the White Knights launched a successful recruitment drive in Iredell County, North Carolina, which culminated in a terror campaign against residents whom the group targeted as "race mixers." During the winter months of 1982 and 1983 the Klan group held night cross burnings at the homes of interracial families. In December of 1985 and January of 1986, nine Klan members pleaded guilty to civil rights violations. They were: Jerry Suits, "Titan" of the Iredell contingent of the White Knights of Liberty, Mary Suits, his wife and "Queen Kleagle" of the White Knights Women's Unit, Tony Earp, Jerry Henderson, Michael Chambers, Rodney Pope, Alfred Childers, Dan Pritchard and Kenneth Blankenship. The nine were also charged with perjury for denying before a grand jury that they knew of or were involved in the cross burnings.

The federal case exposed new Klan activity in North Carolina since the 1979 Greensboro incident. Assistant Attorney General William Bradford Reynolds said in 1986 that more than 150 people, including at least 84 Klan members, had been prosecuted for racial violence since a special unit to combat racial activity was established during the Carter Administration.

8. Glenn Miller's Conviction

Glenn Miller of North Carolina, founder of one of the most active Klan organizations in recent years, the White Patriot Party (formerly the Confederate Knights of the KKK), was convicted in 1986 on charges of engaging in illegal paramilitary training exercises contrary to a federal court order. (In 1985, as part of an agreement to end a suit brought by the Southern Poverty Law Center on behalf of Blacks against Miller, he signed an agreement to end the White Patriot Party's paramilitary operations, to stop harassing Blacks and marching in predominantly Black neighborhoods.) Miller was convicted under a paramilitary statute in North Carolina based on ADL's model bill (see Chapter V).

His appeals exhausted, Miller went underground in early April, 1987 in violation of his probation. He then issued a "Declaration of War" to his claimed mailing list of 5,000 followers in which he encouraged them to stage violent acts against minorities and federal officials. Miller and three heavily armed White Patriot Party followers—Douglas Sheets, Robert Jackson and Anthony Wydra—were arrested shortly thereafter by several dozen federal agents in Missouri's Ozark region and faced a variety of state and federal criminal charges. (In November, 1987 Sheets and Jackson were indicted for murder in connection with a shooting incident in Shelby, North Carolina in January, 1987. Charges against Wydra were dropped. See also Chapter I, Section 2.)

In September, 1987, Miller entered into a plea bargain in which he agreed to testify against other hate movement figures. Miller pleaded guilty to charges of mailing the "Declaration of War" and to possessing illegal hand grenades.

9. Stephen Miller

Stephen Miller, a former White Patriot Party member, was Glenn Miller's (no relation) second in command. The 36-year-old Fayetteville, North Carolina resident was convicted by a federal district court jury in April, 1987 of conspiracy to obtain illegal weapons, possession of an illegal machine gun and possession of an illegal silencer. Another defendant, Robert Jackson of Oklahoma, was convicted of conspiracy to obtain an illegal weapon. Testimony revealed that Miller sanctioned an assassination plot against Morris Dees, executive director of the Southern Poverty Law Center.

After the trial, Sam Currin, the U.S. Attorney who prosecuted these defendants, stated: "Today's convictions prove that the white supremacist movement is not alive and well in North Carolina."

This, however, was not Miller's first conviction for illegal paramilitary activity. In July of 1986, Stephen Miller and Glenn Miller were convicted on a contempt charge for operating a paramilitary organization and providing weapons training intended for illegal use in a civil disorder. Stephen Miller is serving concurrent federal prison terms of 5 and 10 years.

10. Donald v. United Klans of America, Inc.

In 1984, Henry Hays and James Knowles, members of the United Klans of America (UKA) klavern in Mobile, Alabama were convicted of the 1981 murder of 19-year-old Michael Donald, a Black youth. Knowles testified that he and Hays, now awaiting execution for the act, had killed Donald "in order to show Klan strength in Alabama." At a 1987 civil trial, Knowles testified that he was "carrying out the orders" of UKA "Titan" Bennie Jack Hays, a longtime lieutenant of UKA leader Robert Shelton.

In February, 1987, the United Klans of America was stunned by the verdict of an all-white Alabama jury that awarded \$7 million in damages to the family of Michael Donald. (The UKA has turned over to Donald's mother the deed to its headquarters property in Tuscaloosa, Alabama.) The jury held that the organization itself must share responsibility for the act—a ruling which may cripple the UKA treasury and deter hate group leaders faced with a new standard of accountability for the deeds of their followers.

11. Other Klan Cases

— In February, 1985, William P. Riccio, Alabama State Organizer for the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and Aryan Nations member, was arrested for firearms violations. At the time of the arrest, deputies also confiscated a cache of weapons, terrorist literature and a "hit list of officials." In April, 1985, Riccio was convicted on two federal firearms charges and was sentenced to two concurrent 2-year sentences.

Possession of the firearms was a violation of Riccio's parole. Prior to his arrest he had served another federal prison term for illegal possession of firearms.

— In April, 1985, five members of the United Klans of America were arrested by the St. Petersburg, Florida Police Department and the Pinellas County Sheriff's office and charged with planning and training for terrorist acts against minorities. One year later, two pleaded guilty and two were convicted by a jury for violating Florida's paramilitary training statute—the first successful prosecution under this law, which was based on ADL's model bill (see Chapter V). The goal of the group, according to a police source, was to incite Blacks to riot so that whites would turn to the Klan for leadership. In addition to training with guns intended to be used against minorities, members of the group were instructed in the making of incendiary devices.

— In September, 1985, a federal grand jury indicted Ohio "Grand Dragon" Dale Reusch on 10 counts of illegal purchases of and interstate transportation of 83 pistols and rifles. Government officials alleged that Reusch was stockpiling weapons for KKK activity.

In April, 1986 Reusch pleaded guilty on one count of illegally transporting firearms across state lines. The nine other gun violation charges were dropped. Reusch was fined \$5,000, sentenced to three years' probation, given a suspended five-year prison sentence and ordered to destroy his cache of weapons at his own expense.

12. Posse Comitatus

In January, 1986, Thomas F. Stockheimer, 53, a former Posse Comitatus leader, was convicted by a jury in Milwaukee, Wisconsin on a federal weapons charge—the possession of a firearm by a felon. The conviction stemmed from a 1980 raid by federal agents on Stockheimer's trailer home in the Posse Comitatus' compound in Tigerton, Wisconsin. In February, Stockheimer was sentenced to two years in federal prison.

13. Roy Frankhauser

Roy Frankhauser, 48, security consultant for anti-Semitic extremist Lyndon LaRouche for seven years, was convicted in December, 1987 of plotting to obstruct a Federal investigation into reports of fraud in connection with LaRouche's 1984 Presidential campaign.¹⁵

A former member of the Ku Klux Klan and the American Nazi Party, Frankhauser left his position with LaRouche in 1986, when a 125-count federal indictment was handed down. It charged Frankhauser, LaRouche and other defendants with raising millions of dollars nationwide by submitting fraudulent charges to the credit card accounts of prior LaRouche contributors and by securing loans with no intention of paying them. Frankhauser's case had been severed and tried separately. The trial of LaRouche and other members of his organization is proceeding in federal court in Boston.

In February 1988, Frankhauser was sentenced to 3 years in prison and fined \$50,000.

A Final Note: Far Right, Far Left Similarities

As the foregoing record of lawlessness suggests, there is a striking similarity between the behavior of The Order and other rightist gangs and that of certain leftist terrorists, notably the Weather Underground and their Black Liberation Army (BLA) and Republic of New Afrika (RNA) allies. Both The Order and the Weather Underground robbed Brinks armored vehicles (the latter in 1981 in Nyack, New York), stockpiled weapons and explosives, fabricated false I.D.'s, acquired safe-houses, and recruited new members in the prisons.

In addition, members of the far-left United Freedom Front were indicted in 1986 for seditious conspiracy (i.e., plotting to overthrow the government); as noted earlier, in a separate case in 1987 ten far-right extremists were indicted on similar charges.

Moreover, Robert Matthews, the leader of the right-wing terrorists who died in the December 9, 1984 shootout with the FBI in Washington State, even used the code-name "Carlos," according to a sworn affidavit filed in federal court in Los Angeles. (Carlos, of course, is the Venezuelan-born, far-left terrorist who has committed a string of bloody crimes in Europe and the Middle East on behalf of the PLO.) This mimicking of leftist terrorism by right-wing extremists, albeit with less sophistication and fewer supportive resources, is not a new phenomenon. Authorities in Europe have noted a similar pattern there in recent years, especially in Germany, France and Italy.

While the similarities between the right and left terrorists ought not be overdrawn, neither should they be ignored. Their differences are obvious: the rightists are racial and religious bigots; the leftists are supporters of Communist doctrines and regimes. But their tactics are similar and so are some of their basic objectives and attitudes. Both seek to destroy the American government and the system of constitutional liberty on which it rests. Both are sworn enemies of "Zionism" and the State of Israel. Both are elitists who claim a monopoly of truth and the right to forcibly impose it on the majority. Both view the ordinary American citizen with contempt. And both seek to replace the American democratic system with a form of totalitarianism.

¹⁵ See also "The LaRouche Political Cult: Packaging Extremism," ADL Special Report, Spring 1986; and "Mr. Extremist," ADL Special Edition, May, 1987.

Appendix B

HISTORY OF THE KLAN

For over a century, a succession of organizations calling themselves Ku Klux Klans have tainted American political life.

The common goal of all the Klan groups since the end of the Civil War has been the "maintenance of the supremacy of the White Race" against Black Americans. Klan activity has also targeted Jews, Roman Catholics, and immigrants; the basic purpose of the Ku Klux Klans has been the promotion of bigotry based on race, religion, and national origin. Their methods have been violence and terrorism and their traditional uniform has been the hood, the mask, and the robe.

Since the end of the Civil War, America has experienced three distinct periods of Ku Klux Klan activity.

The First Klan

The First Klan was born on Christmas Eve, 1865, when six Confederate soldiers, just out of uniform, met in their home town of Pulaski, Tennessee, to form a secret fraternal order. From all indications, their secret society—which derived its name from the Greek "kuklos" (circle)—originally was mostly social in nature. Soon, however, the group began intimidating local Blacks by parading in white sheets.

Similar dens appeared throughout the entire South, attracting thousands of people who feared the newly freed Blacks and resented the incoming Northern "Carpetbaggers."

In 1867, the U.S. Congress enacted legislation which granted civil rights to Blacks. Congress also passed the Reconstruction Act of 1867, which substituted military governments for the locally created governments then existing in most of the former Confederate states. Shortly after, in April, 1867, Klansmen held a unifying convention in Nashville, Tennessee where they elected a former Confederate Army general, Nathan Bedford Forrest, as the head, or "Grand Wizard," of their organization.

The Nashville convention declared that "maintenance of the supremacy of the White Race in this Republic" was the "main and fundamental objective" of the Ku Klux Klan. Klan membership was restricted to those who pledged to oppose "social and political equality for Negroes and Congressional advocates of harsh Reconstruction measures." The convention also adopted a set of ostensibly laudable aims: support for the U.S. Constitution; assistance in execution of all Constitutional laws; protection of the weak and innocent; relief of the injured and oppressed; and assistance for the unfortunate, especially widows and orphans. The same objectives have been repeated almost verbatim by succeeding Klan organizations.

A Reign of Terror

In practical terms, the Klan aimed to intimidate Blacks, to drive out the "Carpetbaggers" and to destroy every vestige of Black political power in the Southern states. In pursuing these goals, the Klan instituted a relentless reign of terror throughout all the states of the former Confederacy between 1867 and 1871. It helped oust incumbents from office in the state governments of North Carolina, Tennessee, and Georgia. It played a major role in the suppression of Blacks and in efforts to reestablish "White Supremacy" throughout the South.

In 1871, a joint Congressional Committee conducted an extensive investigation of Klan violence and uncovered thousands of hangings, shootings, tortures, whippings, and mutilations. The commanding general of federal troops in Texas reported: "Murders of Negroes are so common as to render it impossible to keep accurate accounts of them."

Testimony also revealed that at least 2,000 Blacks had been killed, wounded or injured in Louisiana in the few weeks preceding the Presidential election of 1868. Seventy-five killings were reported in Georgia, and 109 in Alabama. One count showed that in a single county in northern Florida during a period of a few months, more than 150 Black men had been murdered by Klansmen, at a rate of more than one killing a day.

Public Exposure Leads to End of First Klan

By autumn of 1868, General Forrest estimated that Klan membership totaled 550,000. He claimed to have disbanded the organization early in 1869, on the grounds that it was no longer needed for the “self-protection” of the South. Klan terrorism, however, continued to mount in the next few years. Finally, public opinion in the North became sufficiently outraged to force the Congressional investigation and subsequent federal legislation that led to the dissolution of the first Klan.

Among the acts recorded in the twelve printed volumes of hearings held by the joint Congressional Committee were killings and floggings of both Blacks and whites, the burning of schools and churches, and the hounding of individuals from their towns. A majority report issued by that committee on February 19, 1872, described the Klan as “a fearful conspiracy against Society, committing atrocities and crimes that richly deserve punishment.”

Although the first Klan disappeared, a highly romanticized legend of its prowess lingered for decades, especially in rural areas of the South. Adding to the legend that grew up around the so-called “Invisible Empire” were glorifications of the hooded order such as a 1905 novel by North Carolina minister Thomas Dixon, called **The Clansman**, and the famous motion picture based on this novel, **Birth of a Nation**, produced in 1915 by D.W. Griffith. The legend supported claims that the first Klan had “saved the South”—and, as some latter-day Klan leaders assert, the entire nation.

The Second Klan

After lying dormant for more than four decades, the Invisible Empire rose again in the autumn of 1915, brought back to life by William Joseph Simmons. An Alabama native who had failed both as a medical student and as a Methodist minister, Simmons solicited fees from members of various fraternal organizations. He brought 34 Georgia residents to Atlanta, where they resolved to launch a new organization. The resolve was sealed on Thanksgiving night, 1915, atop Stone Mountain outside Atlanta; Simmons and some followers stood below a burning cross and swore allegiance to their new Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. The ceremony they conducted was similar to the one that had launched the 19th century Klan in Tennessee 50 years earlier.

A charter signed by the Secretary of State of Georgia was issued to the new Klan in December, 1915, and still another charter was issued by the Superior Court of Fulton County, Georgia, in July, 1916, for what purported to be a purely benevolent and charitable operation. Although Simmons sought to clothe the purposes of the Klan in slogans proclaiming “patriotism, benevolence and fraternity,” the true agenda of the revived hooded order remained what it had been earlier. A booklet called “Ideals of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan” stated: “This is a White man’s organization, exalting the Caucasian Race and teaching the doctrine of White Supremacy. . . all of Christian Civilization depends upon the preservation and up-building of the White Race. . .”

An Influential Bigot

One major figure of this period whose outspoken racism helped inspire the Second Klan was Tom Watson. Though not a Klan leader himself, Watson was a charismatic demagogue whose fierce bigotry against Blacks, Jews and Catholics was effectively disseminated through the periodical he owned and through his political connections (he served as a U.S. Senator from Georgia from 1902 until his death in 1922).

Watson’s influence was conspicuous in the months following the notorious Leo Frank trial, which also served as a rallying point for those who later revived the Klan. In 1913, Leo Frank, the 29-year-old Jewish superintendent of an Atlanta pencil factory, was accused of murdering a 13-year-old Gentile girl who worked for him. Frank maintained his innocence, but amid a highly charged atmosphere of anti-Semitism—with mobs outside the courthouse calling for his death—he was convicted.

A second furor arose when Georgia’s governor John Slaton, who had reason to believe Frank was innocent, commuted Frank’s death sentence to life imprisonment. Soon after, on August 26, 1915, a mob of twenty-five armed men abducted Frank from prison and lynched him. Tom Watson’s weekly, **The Jeffersonian**, which was widely read in Georgia, had repeatedly called for such vigilante action, and now applauded it: “[A]ll over this broad land there are millions of good people, not doped by Jew money, and lies, that enthusiastically greet the triumph of law

in Georgia." When Watson died, the Klan showed its regard for him by sending an eight-foot tall cross of roses to his funeral.

On March 11, 1986, 70 years after the lynching, the Georgia Board of Pardons and Paroles posthumously pardoned Leo Frank.

The Second Klan became at least as anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic, and antiforeigner as it was anti-Black. A pronouncement issued by "Imperial Wizard" Simmons proclaimed in part: "We exclude Jews because they do not believe in the Christian religion. We exclude Catholics because they owe allegiance to an institution that is foreign to the Government of the United States. To assure the supremacy of the White Race, we believe in the exclusion of the Yellow Race and in the disfranchisement of the Negro. By some scheme of Providence, the Negro was created as a serf."

The Klan Becomes Big Business

The revived Klan was fueled in part by nativist antagonism to the millions of immigrants who had entered the United States in the previous few decades, as well as by virulent bigotry against Blacks, Jews and Catholics. Yet the Second Klan remained a small and largely ineffective Georgia organization of only 5,000 members for the first five years of its history. In June, 1920, however, Simmons hired two astute and vigorous publicity agents, Edward Young Clarke and Elizabeth Tyler. These business-oriented activists converted the second Klan into a thriving business enterprise. The two were primarily responsible for the second Klan's subsequent growth into a multi-million dollar operation and a powerful force in American politics.

In October, 1921, as the second Klan was beginning this tremendous growth, hearings were held before the Committee on Rules of the U.S. House of Representatives during the First Session of the 67th Congress. The hearings lasted three days. Simmons testified at those proceedings that within 16 months after he had enlisted the services of Mr. Clarke and Mrs. Tyler, Klan membership had increased from 5,000 to almost 100,000. Although the Committee on Rules lacked authority to administer oaths and met several years before the peak of Klan strength in the United States, it amassed a considerable body of information about the second Klan. This material included the results of investigations conducted by staff members of the *New York World*, by a U.S. Postal Inspector, and by members of Congress who had introduced resolutions denouncing the Klan.

The *New York World's* investigation of the KKK was conducted by *World* editor Rowland Thomas and took place over a period of three months in Atlanta and other locations. The newspaper had compiled statistics on Klan violence between October, 1920, and October, 1921. The findings were: "Four killings, one mutilation, one branding with acid, forty-two floggings, twentyseven tar-and-feather parties, five kidnappings, forty-three persons warned to leave town or otherwise threatened, fourteen communities threatened by warning posters, and sixteen parades by masked men with warning placards."

Although the House Committee hearings did not impair Klan growth, they did focus nationwide attention on the violence by the second Klan and on charges that it was reaping millions of dollars in revenue by spreading racial and religious hatred.

In an interview published many years later, Simmons claimed that in 1922 the average increase in Klan membership was 3,500 a day and the total membership during that year had reached 1,200,000. Klan income from membership dues and the sale of paraphernalia, he added, had risen to \$45,000 a day.

The rapid growth of Klan membership and wealth led to a struggle for power within the leadership. In 1923 Simmons was ousted by Hiram Wesley Evans, a Texas dentist, who succeeded him as "Imperial Wizard."

Heyday of the Klan

Under the leadership of Dr. Evans, the Klan reached the zenith of its power in the United States during 1924 and 1925, amid the unsettled social conditions of the post-World War I period. No longer was the Klan a regional organization confined to the South—it had become a national phenomenon. In New Jersey, there was a Klan organization in every county. In Indiana there was a virtual KKK dictatorship over state politics under the leadership of state Grand Dragon D.C. Stephenson. The Invisible Empire held strong power in Colorado, Oregon, Texas, Oklahoma, Louisiana, Maine, and Kansas. Even on Long Island, New York, crosses were burned and Klan rallies held.

At the peak of its power in 1925, the KKK's membership according to most estimates was between 4 million and 5 million. Klan membership at that time in certain Northern states—for example, Indiana and Ohio—was larger than in any single state south of the Mason-Dixon line.

The Klan was a major issue at the 1924 Democratic Convention in New York City, and the next year 40,000 robed Klansmen paraded down Washington's Pennsylvania Avenue in a show of strength. Activities of the Klan varied from state to state and within different counties of the same state. Murders and bombings were reported in some areas during the early 1920s, while in other areas the Klan's public image was confined to ceremonial parades and rallies marked by intense political oratory and the characteristic burning of a wooden cross.

The most common form of violence attributed to the Second Klan was the kidnapping of persons who were then flogged and sometimes tarred-and-feathered for alleged transgressions of Klan morality. While victims included Blacks attempting to register other Blacks to vote, many of those singled out for punishment were white Protestant men and women viewed by the Klan as guilty of violating "moral law." Repeated incidents were cited of such persons being flogged for alleged gambling, liquor dealing, dope peddling or marital infidelity. Among the less violent forms of intimidation practiced by the Klan were boycotts of businesses owned by Catholics and Jews, as well as campaigns to oust Catholic teachers from the public schools, and Catholics and Jews from elective office.

Meanwhile, Klansmen were entering politics and achieving appointed positions of political power. Klansmen served as local sheriffs, members of police departments, judges, and state legislators. Allegedly, Klansmen served as governors in three states and reportedly won seats in the U.S. Senate and the U.S. House of Representatives before the organization began to decline in the second half of the 1920s.

Factors in the KKK's Downfall

The Second Klan's decline resulted from a combination of factors:

(1) A growing public revulsion at the violence perpetrated by the Klans. This led to the enactment, by various states, of legislation aimed at controlling Klan activity.

(2) Internal feuding among Klan leaders and competition for the millions of dollars pouring into Klan coffers.

(3) A series of scandals. The most important revolved around D.C. Stephenson, Grand Dragon of the Klan in Indiana, who had achieved significant power and had virtually become the arbiter of political fortunes in his state.

Stephenson and Imperial Wizard Evans became involved in quarrels; in addition, Stephenson was the target of charges concerning his personal past. An Indianapolis girl with whom he had been intimate was found murdered. Stephenson was convicted of the crime and sentenced to life imprisonment. He maintained that he had been framed by his enemies within the Klan. To avenge himself, Stephenson later gave sensational testimony regarding political corruption in Indiana.

News of the scandal that led to Stephenson's imprisonment also led to membership decline. Questions regarding the distribution of disclosed millions in revenue led many members to stop paying dues. Following Stephenson's cue, other former Klan officers began to disclose the inner workings of the hooded orders.

A 1926 U.S. Senate investigation focused on money used by the Klan in Senatorial primaries and elections. The investigation uncovered further wrongdoing and revealed that the Klan was trying to build a political machine to control the majority of political offices from coast to coast. One witness charged that when Stephenson was Grand Dragon in Indiana he sought to control all political office-holders from mayors on up. The Senate investigation also revealed a confidential document distributed by Stephenson that described how every candidate for U.S. Senate stood with respect to the Klan—for or against—and instructed members how to vote. The Senate Investigating Committee also received testimony that the same criteria were applied to candidates for judgeships and prosecuting attorneys and to others seeking political office.

With respect to Klan finances, testimony estimated that the annual total from dues alone amounted to approximately \$7 million. Stephenson's public disclosures described a system of graft and bribery in public offices during his regime as Grand Dragon in Indiana. His testimony and related evidence led to the indictment of a number of high-ranking officials.

Stephenson also told of widespread Klan floggings, burnings, lynchings and pillaging of Catholic churches and other crimes.

The adverse publicity of Klan leaders during 1926 triggered a sharp decline in membership. By the end of the

year, membership reportedly had dropped to slightly more than 2 million. A year later, the decline was even more dramatic—membership slumped to 321,000.

Even in decline, the Klan sought to use its influence. In 1928, led by Imperial Wizard Evans, the Klan formed part of a nationwide anti-Catholic campaign aimed at preventing Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York, a Roman Catholic, from receiving the Democratic Presidential nomination. Later, when Smith did emerge as the Party's Presidential candidate, the Klan fought his election. The Klan-run **Kourier Magazine**, headquartered in Atlanta, devoted the bulk of its columns to denunciation of the Catholic Church ("the Hebrew Menace" was a secondary theme). The Klan periodical in Birmingham, the **American Standard**, formed part of the anti-Smith campaign, which depicted Smith as a puppet of the Vatican.

Participation in the 1928 campaign against Smith was essentially the last stand of the second Klan. Smith's defeat by Herbert Hoover in the election of 1928 did nothing to revitalize the fading Invisible Empire. The decline in membership continued—to 83,000 in 1929 and to 35,000 in 1930.

It is interesting to note that this severe decline occurred during the Depression, in contrast to the common misconception that the Klan thrives best during economic hard times. Rather, Klan fortunes have been far more related to disruptive changes in societal conditions and institutions—as demonstrated by the Klan revivals of the 1920s, times of economic growth but social instability.

New Targets For a Smaller KKK

During the 1930s, the Klan, now a hollow shell compared to its heyday in the 1920s, added a new weapon to its propaganda arsenal—opposition to Communism. It sought to exploit the genuine antipathy of the American people to totalitarian systems of government in order to advance its own basic objectives against American minority groups. For example, Klan propagandists falsely charged that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was a tool of the Communists.

Another target of Klan propaganda was organized labor, especially the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) which the Klans charged was teaching and practicing Communism by trying to reduce white workers to the same level as Black workers. At the same time, under Evans' leadership, the organization concentrated its attack on the New Deal instituted by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, who was elected in 1932. Jews and aliens were also attacked for alleged ties to the Communist Party. Klan propaganda claimed that Catholics were conspiring to capture the government of the United States and "destroy America."

An Alliance of Bigots

In June, 1939, James A. Colescott of Indiana succeeded Hiram Evans as Imperial Wizard. During the following years there were reports of cooperation between Klansmen and Nazi elements in California, Michigan, New York, and New Jersey.

A rally of the KKK was held in August, 1940, at the German-American Bund's Camp Nordland in New Jersey. The gathering, which attracted considerable publicity, put Klansmen and pro-Nazis on the same speakers' platform. Colescott had initially authorized Klan participation in the joint rally, but when the gathering attracted publicity, he subsequently disavowed the Klan role in it and defended his organization by producing Klan literature demonstrating that both Nazism and Fascism were officially opposed by the Klan.

Violent to the End

Throughout the 1930s and the early 1940s, there were continuing reports of Klan violence. A series of thirty floggings in the suburbs of Atlanta, Georgia, in March of 1940 culminated in a fatal whipping. This spurred a grand jury investigation after which nine Klansmen were convicted for kidnapping and flogging. Colescott still denied that terrorism was part of the Klan program and even contended that it was contrary to Klan principles. He claimed that the Klansmen found guilty in the Atlanta flogging case had been banished from membership.

Testimony by Colescott before a special investigating committee of the House of Representatives indicated that by 1942, the Klan had "very few paid-up members" and that its main strength seemed to have shifted from the North

to the state of Florida. Colescott asserted that the national treasury had received less than \$10,000 in dues and initiation fees during the previous year.

From his testimony, it was apparent that just before World War II the Klan had dwindled to less than 10,000 members. Apparently, the patriotic and anti-Nazi climate prevalent at that time was not conducive to Klan growth.

The Second Klan, known as the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., dissolved itself at an "Imperial Klornvocation" (national convention) held in Atlanta on April 23, 1944. The dissolution of the Invisible Empire came after the U.S. Bureau of Internal Revenue had filed a lien for \$685,305 in back taxes which the Klan presumably should have paid during its days of greatest financial affluence.

The Third Klan

"Klandom" was quiet during World War II, but it was kept alive by Dr. Samuel Green of Atlanta, one of Colescott's lieutenants. Green had headed the Atlanta klavern until the dissolution of the second Klan in 1944. A month later, he started a new organization, the Association of Georgia Klans, and assumed the title of Grand Dragon. Green opened his new Klan to the public in October, 1945, with the first public cross burning since 1941. Other Klans were founded in Florida and Alabama.

The post-war period was an era of localized Klan operations. By the spring of 1946, the U.S. Department of Justice was already investigating the resurgence of Klan operations in seven states including reports of violence by masked bands. In Georgia, for example, Klansmen sought to prevent Blacks from voting. In California and Tennessee, cross burnings aimed at the intimidation of Catholic and Jewish merchants were reported. In Georgia and Florida, there were complaints that Blacks had been beaten or threatened with violence for engaging in union activities. Floggings of whites and Blacks by hooded night riders, who frequently charged their victims with alleged "moral" offenses, were reported periodically in Georgia, Tennessee, and Florida.

Dr. Green's Association of Georgia Klans, Incorporated, dominated the Klan scene in the first years following World War II. In April, 1949, Green's Klan was declared a subversive organization by the Attorney General. Four months later, Green suffered a fatal heart attack. In the period that followed, a plethora of fragmented and competing Klan factions operated with no centralized direction and no dominant leader.

The Klans in the 1950s

Green's death was followed by a brief scramble among competing aspirants for his mantle as leader of the Association of Georgia Klans. Samuel Roper assumed the position, coming to power at a time of mounting public anti-Klan sentiment that stemmed from a surge of violence in the summer of 1949. Such reaction was embodied by the adoption of anti-mask and anti-cross-burning ordinances by key cities in Southern states. In January, 1951, the Georgia legislature adopted a statute which prohibited the "wearing of a mask or hood so as to conceal the identity of the wearer" and banned the burning of crosses and "exhibitions designed to intimidate others." The statute also declared the right of all Georgians to "the equal protection of their lives and property" and to protection against "physical violence as well as threat and intimidation from any person or persons."

This legislation, plus Roper's weak leadership as Grand Dragon of the Georgia Invisible Empire, led other Klan leaders to form an anti-Roper coalition group, the National Ku Klux Klans. The coalition effort was headed by William Hugh Morris of Alabama, Thomas I. Hamilton, Grand Dragon of the Association of Carolina Klans, and Bill Hendrix, leader of the Florida-based Southern Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. The National Ku Klux Klans soon lapsed into inactivity. Hendrix soon after declared himself a candidate for governor of Florida.

The Hendrix candidacy is worth noting because it was an early example of a technique that has been employed subsequently by some Klansmen and by other bigots, racists, and extremists on the outer fringes of American political life. Hendrix himself revealed the real purpose for his candidacy, declaring in a secret bulletin to Florida klaverns that he was running for governor in order to get publicity for the Klan and to circumvent various anti-Klan ordinances. As a candidate for governor, Hendrix could gain access to the media and to the public.

It was later found that Hendrix had not complied with state election laws and so was not legally qualified to run for governor. His mere pose as a legitimate candidate, however, enabled his spokesmen to go on the airwaves in a series of broadcasts in Florida to disseminate Klan style anti-Semitic propaganda.

Hamilton, the leader of the Association of Carolina Klans and Hendrix's main ally, was a less flamboyant but more active demagogue than his Florida counterpart. While the Hendrix style was characterized by violent words, the Hamilton record was one of violent deeds. These ultimately led to action by law enforcement authorities that destroyed the Hamilton Klans in the Carolinas and dealt a substantial setback to the KKK during the mid-1950s.

Resistance to School Desegregation

On May 17, 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court handed down its historic decision on school desegregation—**Brown v. Board of Education**. The decision triggered a wave of resistance to school desegregation throughout the South. In its initial stages, the resistance was headed by the "White Citizens Councils." The Councils were largely composed of respectable citizens in local power structures throughout the South. Their main weapon was economic pressure directed against local individuals and organizations perceived as supporters of desegregation or insufficiently vocal in opposing it.

The Councils achieved considerable power and influence in the second half of the 1950s, generating an array of publications and spawning affiliated organizations that lasted well into the 1960s. But by the end of the decade their resistance to court-ordered desegregation had become a losing battle.

Paralleling the efforts of the Councils were new Klan leaders with new campaigns. The Klan had no use for the Councils' less militant methods, and sought to mobilize like-minded believers into a resurgent Ku Klux Klan.

By mid-1956, a marked rise in Klan activity was well underway—new Klan groups were drawing strength from the ferment in the South. They gained members from extremist elements among the White Citizens Councils themselves. These organizing efforts succeeded in mobilizing former Klansmen who had been inactive for years.

The strongest of the new groups consisted of klaverns linked under the banner of the U.S. Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc. (generally referred to as the "U.S. Klans"). This group was subsequently chartered and incorporated in the state of Georgia. The leader of the new group was Eldon Lee Edwards, a paint-sprayer employed in an Atlanta auto factory. He had quietly begun organizing in 1953, had stepped up his activities in the wake of the 1954 Supreme Court decision, and had incorporated his new organization on October 24, 1955.

By September 29, 1956, Edwards was able to stage one of the largest Klan rallies in years, drawing a crowd of approximately 3,000 to Stone Mountain, Georgia, the site from which the Second Klan had been launched in 1915. The crowd came in more than 1,000 cars painted with KKK emblems and bearing license plates from seven states—Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee, Florida, and Louisiana.

At its peak in the late 1950s, Edwards' U.S. Klans had units in nine Southern states. However, the group was beset by internal feuding and challenges to the Edwards leadership. In addition, more than a score of smaller Klans emerged to compete with the Edwards organization.

Although the U.S. Klans remained the strongest of the Klan groups in the South during the second half of the 1950s, Edwards was never able to gain a dominant position, nor to unify the competing and fragmented Klan organizations.

Brutality Again

As the rival Klan groups sought to outdo one another in demonstrations of militancy, their competition often resulted in violence, and the use of dynamite became the signature of many of their activities. One of the most brutal acts of Klan violence in the late 1950s was carried out by members of a splinter group of the Alabama section of the U.S. Klans, called the "Ku Klux Klan of the Confederacy." In September, 1957, six members of the splinter group, in an effort to terrorize desegregationists in Birmingham, abducted a Black handyman named Judge Aaron. They castrated him and then poured hot turpentine onto his wounds. Aaron survived the assault, for which six members of the Alabama Confederate Knights were subsequently tried and convicted.

The sordid incident was one of a series of outrages against Blacks committed by Alabama Klansmen during the summer and fall of 1957. In South Carolina that summer, four members of the Greenville County KKK Unit, including the county leader, were charged with beating a 58-year-old Black man with blackjacks and sticks. They charged he had been mixing with white people—by taking care of seven white children while their mother was in a hospital. The four Klansmen were convicted; the Klan county leader, Andrew Marshall Rochester, was sentenced to six years at hard labor.

The New Klan Resurgence and Violence—1960-1965

In the early 1960s, the Klans functioned as a clandestine movement that spearheaded the resistance to a national trend toward equality for all Americans. Like their predecessors, the '60s Klans employed terrorism and a form of guerrilla race warfare to carry out their purposes. The Klans and their allies were responsible for a major portion of the assaults, killings, bombings, floggings, and other acts of racial intimidation that swept the South in the first years of the 1960s. The Klans provided the organizational framework and the emotional stimulus necessary to incite members and non-members alike to violence and terror.

The year 1960 was marked by a sharp increase in Klan activities and by the consolidation of some of the previously splintered groups in seven states. The Klan resurgence was spurred by the historic sit-in movement launched at Greensboro, North Carolina, on February 2, 1960, by young Black civil rights activists. A few weeks later, on the weekend of February 27-28, 1960, representatives of splintered Klan groups from seven Southern states met at the Henry Grady Hotel in Atlanta and formed a "National Klan Committee" to coordinate their activities. The Klans represented there had long been opposed to Edwards' U.S. Klans; in fact, this opposition was the chief bond among them. The loose confederation of splinter Klans that emerged came to be known as the "National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan."

The National Knights made a show of strength on March 26, 1960, by a coordinated series of cross burnings. Newspapers in the South reported that more than 1,000 fiery crosses were seen that day throughout Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, and other states.

Once More, A Spreading Movement

By the end of 1960, Klan strength had increased noticeably. Total Klan membership was estimated at anywhere from 35,000 to 50,000. Edwards' U.S. Klans, dominant for the previous six years, remained the strongest and most cohesive of the increasingly consolidated Klan movements, with an estimated 15,000 to 23,000 members.

The loose confederation of splinter Klans used the banner of the National Knights, under which each unit retained its autonomy. The central leadership operated on a rotating basis heading an estimated membership somewhat less than that of the U.S. Klans—possibly 10,000 to 15,000.

There were also a number of local groups in various parts of the South that were not affiliated with either the U.S. Klans or the National Knights. Most important of these was the Alabama Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., headed by Robert Shelton, who had been a leader of the Edwards Klan in Alabama until he was ousted by Edwards in the spring of 1960. By the end of 1960, Shelton had made rapid progress in absorbing local Klan klaverns, including many formerly affiliated with the U.S. Klans, and consolidating them into the Alabama Knights. The gains made by Shelton were further hastened by Edwards' death in August, 1960. Edwards was succeeded as Imperial Wizard of the U.S. Klans by Georgia Grand Dragon Robert L. "Wild Bill" Davidson, who declared at a Klan rally in November, 1960, that Klansmen would use buckshot if necessary to fight integration.

Davidson, however, was unable to control the internal feuding and battling that had followed Edwards' death. He and his successor as Georgia Grand Dragon, Calvin F. Craig, resigned from the U.S. Klans and almost immediately formed a new Klan organization—chartered by the Superior Court of Fulton County, Georgia, under the name of the "Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc." The new group came to be known as the United Klans of America, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc. (UKA).

Shelton Becomes a Dominant Figure

Membership in the new UKA was immediately bolstered by a mass defection from the U.S. Klans within the state of Georgia. Whole klaverns around the state simply changed their designation from U.S. Klans to UKA. Davidson quit as Imperial Wizard in the spring of 1961; a few months later, at a meeting in Indian Springs, Georgia, on July 8, 1961, the UKA united with Shelton's Alabama Knights. Shelton emerged as the new Imperial Wizard of the UKA, with Calvin Craig as UKA Grand Dragon for Georgia.

From that point on, Shelton's UKA became the dominant group in the KKK resurgence of the 1960s. With headquarters in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, it had members and supporters in nine states by the middle of 1965. Estimates at the time indicated that the UKA could probably count on active membership and sympathetic support from 26,000

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to 33,000 throughout the South. That support included Klans directly affiliated with the UKA and some semi-autonomous groupings in Alabama, Georgia, the Carolinas, Tennessee, Florida, Louisiana, Texas, and Virginia.

The UKA's main rival, though not nearly as strong, was the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., with headquarters near Atlanta, in Tucker, Georgia. The National Knights was headed by James Venable, an Atlanta attorney who had long been an active segregationist. The National Knights in mid-1965 had the support of 7,000 to 9,000 persons, mostly in Georgia, but with some scattered strength elsewhere.

Civil Rights Gains . . .

The Klan resurgence of the early 1960s took place at a time of intense civil rights activity both in the South and in Washington, D.C. The period was marked by dramatic events in Alabama; when authorities used police dogs and firehoses against civil rights demonstrators in Birmingham, the event shocked the nation and attracted world-wide attention. At the same time in Washington, during the summer of 1963, President John F. Kennedy had proposed broad civil rights legislation that culminated (after his death) in the adoption of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Concurrently, voter registration drives to enroll Blacks as legal voters were being held in Mississippi and other Southern states. Desegregation efforts were taking place in various locations around the South as hundreds of civil rights workers, many from Northern states, worked on a variety of activities from 1962 through 1964.

The progress made by the civil rights movement during the early 1960s served to dramatize the failure of the Southern resistance headed for almost ten years by the White Citizens Councils. The resulting disillusion among die-hard segregationists throughout the South offered a fertile field for Klan recruitment and organizing and resulted in the substantial gains registered by the UKA and other Klans by mid-1965.

. . . And the KKK's Murderous Reaction

The Klans took over the resistance effort in a desperate attempt to halt the gradual but steady progress of racial desegregation. Klansmen were involved in some of the most notorious acts of violence during the 1960s, including the following:

—The slaying of civil rights workers James Chaney, Andrew Goodman, and Michael Schwerner near Philadelphia, Mississippi, on June 21, 1964. Twenty-one men were arrested, six of them said by the FBI to be members of the small, extremely violence-oriented White Knights of the KKK, headed by Sam Bowers of Mc Gee, Mississippi. Eighteen of the suspects were eventually tried on federal charges of conspiracy to commit murder. The government marshaled overwhelming evidence that the roadside triple murder had been the direct result of a Klan extermination plot. Seven of the eighteen were convicted by an all-white jury. Among those convicted were Bowers and Cecil Ray Price, who held the office of Chief Deputy Sheriff of Neshoba County.

—The murder of Lieutenant Colonel Lemuel Penn, a Black educator from Washington, D.C. Penn was gunned down near Athens, Georgia on July 11, 1964, from a passing automobile while he was driving home to Washington from Fort Benning, Georgia, where he had served a tour of active duty in the U.S. Army Reserves. Four Klansmen were arrested and charged with the murder. Two of them were tried in a Georgia court and acquitted. In 1966, however, the same two were charged with joining in a Klan conspiracy to kill Blacks, thus violating their civil rights, and were convicted in federal court.

—The murder of Viola Gregg Liuzzo, a white civil rights worker, on a deserted highway in Lowndes County, Alabama, on March 25, 1965, immediately after Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s Selma-to-Montgomery Freedom March. Three Klansmen were indicted by a federal grand jury for civil rights violations in connection with the slaying. In November, 1965, the three defendants were convicted on the federal charges and were sentenced to ten years in prison.

—The death of Vernon Dahmer, an NAACP official of Hattiesburg, Mississippi, as a result of burns he sustained in the firebombing of his home on January 10, 1966. On March 16, 1968, an all-white Mississippi jury found Cecil V. Sessum, a reputed Klansman, guilty of the crime. An agent of the FBI testified that the White Knights of the KKK had met prior to Dahmer's death and plotted to get rid of him because he was "getting too many niggers to vote," and that three Klansmen had acknowledged attending the secret meeting.

A Major Congressional Investigation

In the spring of 1965, President Lyndon Johnson announced the arrests of three reputed Klan members in connection with the slaying of Mrs. Liuzzo. In doing so, the President characterized the Klans as a "hooded society of bigots." President Johnson also requested a Congressional investigation of the Klans and Klan-type organizations to provide the groundwork for new legislation aimed at curbing their violent activities.

The result was one of the most thorough examinations of the Klans ever conducted by the U.S. Congress—in this case, the House Committee on Un-American Activities. A subcommittee began hearings in October, 1965, and sat for 36 days, until February 24, 1966. A total of 187 witnesses were interrogated; thousands of substantiating documents and other evidence were amassed by Committee investigators.

The Committee released its final report, **The Present Day Ku Klux Klan Movement**, on December 11, 1967. It is one of the most searching and exhaustive studies of the Klan on record. Field investigations, enlisting the cooperation of present and former Klansmen, were conducted in at least thirteen states around the country. Testimony was also received from law enforcement officials and from private citizens victimized by Klan activity.

Officers of seven of the most active Klan organizations, as well as rank-and-file Klansmen alleged to have engaged in organized terrorism, were given an opportunity during the hearings to deny, qualify, confirm, or explain Klan activity about which they possessed personal knowledge. According to the Committee report, "a majority chose to invoke Constitutional privileges against self-incrimination."

The committee charged that top Klan leaders diverted organization money for their personal use and that dues from Klan members and money from the sale of Klan regalia had gone into improper bank accounts. Two Grand Dragons of the United Klans of America were accused of using techniques such as a widows' fund, a hospital insurance business, and a false financial report to bilk fellow Klansmen of money. An itinerant preacher who had been "Grand Kludd" (chaplain) of the North Carolina realm told the House Committee that Klan activity enriched some Klan leaders with "Cadillacs, rib-eye steaks, good suits and first-class motel rooms."

More important, the Committee's findings, together with testimony from disenchanted members, illustrated the Klan's extensive record of violence in the South during the early 1960s. One investigator testified that the United Klans of America had been instructing some of their members in the use of explosives, incendiary devices, firearms, booby traps, and guerrilla warfare at a special "school" in Georgia, apparently with the help of top Klan leaders.

The acting chairman of the Committee said that the Congressional hearings showed that the Klans are made up of "sneaky, cowardly men, taking advantage of the cover of night . . . to intimidate and do physical violence to young and old, male and female." He concluded:

The record is not a pretty one. It is a record of floggings, beatings, killings for no other reason than the color of their [victims'] skin or the fact they disapprove of the politics and activities of the Klan.

On February 2, 1966, the U.S. House of Representatives, by an overwhelming vote of 344 to 28, approved contempt of Congress citations recommended by the Committee on Un-American Activities against Robert Shelton, the Imperial Wizard of the United Klans of America, and six state Klan leaders, for refusing to produce subpoenaed Klan records. The six were later convicted. However, during appeals that went all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court, charges against three of the Klan leaders were dropped. One defendant received only a \$1,000 fine. Shelton, North Carolina UKA Grand Dragon Bob Jones, and South Carolina Grand Dragon Robert Scoggin paid \$1,000 fines and were sentenced to a year in prison, which they served with time off for good behavior.

Klan 'Camouflage'

One new aspect of the KKK disclosed by the Congressional Committee's report is worthy of mention: the widespread effort by many Klan klaverns (and ladies auxiliaries) to hide their Klan identity. Employing a public relations parallel to the longtime Klan practice of hiding behind hoods and robes, dozens of such units identified themselves as "fishing clubs," "hunting clubs," "sportsmen's clubs," "rescue squads," "brotherhood clubs," "civic and betterment associations" or "improvement associations." A ladies auxiliary of one klavern called itself a "sewing circle." Such rhetorical camouflage foreshadowed the later effort by the Klan of the 1970s and '80s to project a "cleaner," more respectable image.

1970s, Klan organizing and Klan activity declined substantially. As had been the case with the First Klan in 1871 and with the Second Klan in the 1920s, the Third Klan suffered a blow as the result of a Congressional investigation by elected officials of the American people who were aroused and outraged by the violence of the Klan.

Most Recent Resurgence

The late 1970s saw another Klan resurgence develop. A combination of factors had made some in America more receptive to a Klan revival: America's frustrating defeat in Viet Nam; a rising inflation rate; a costly and debilitating dependence on foreign countries for crucial supplies of oil; and a backlash against the atmosphere of social change and institutional challenge associated with the counterculture of the times.

The late 1970s resurgence saw the sprouting of several new hate groups, including new Klan and neo-Nazi organizations, as well as the attempt by some extremists to project a more mainstream, respectable image. From March, 1978 to November, 1979 the Klan organizations registered a 20-25% increase in overall membership, while non-member sympathizers also increased dramatically in this period of less than two years. A 1979 ADL report estimated KKK membership at about 10,000, and the number of non-member sympathizers—i.e., those who might attend rallies, subscribe to Klan literature, purchase Klan paraphernalia, etc.—at approximately 75,000-100,000. But even these gains never brought the Klans anywhere near their postwar peak of 1967, and by 1981 a steady downward trend had set in again.¹⁶

It is clear that strict enforcement of the law by duly constituted authorities and the public exposure of clandestine and violent extremist activities has played an important role over the years in blunting the impact and effectiveness of the Ku Klux Klan on the American political and social scene.

¹⁶ For an updated picture of the contemporary Klan, see Chapter I, Section 1, "The Ku Klux Klan Today."

Appendix C

KLAN TERMINOLOGY

<u>Akia:</u>	The password, "A Klansman, I am"
<u>Alien:</u>	Non-Klansman
<u>Ayak:</u>	The password, "Are you a Klansman?"
<u>Banished:</u>	Expelled from membership in the Klan
<u>Citizen of Invisible Empire:</u>	A Klan member
<u>Exalted Cyclops:</u>	Head of a Klavern (chapter president)
<u>Grand Dragon:</u>	Head of a Realm (usually a State)
<u>Imperial Board:</u>	National board
<u>Imperial Wizard:</u>	Chief of the Invisible Empire, national leader
<u>Invisible Empire:</u>	The universal geographical jurisdiction of a Klan
<u>Itsub:</u>	"In the sacred unfailling bond" —correspondence sign-off
<u>KBI:</u>	Klan Bureau of Investigation, checks "leaks" and obtains information about the "enemy."
<u>Kigy:</u>	The password, "Klansman, I greet you."
<u>Klabee:</u>	Treasurer
<u>Kladd:</u>	Conductor of naturalization ceremony
<u>Klaliff:</u>	Vice president
<u>Klan symbols:</u>	Sword, water, robe and hood, American flag, cross and the Bible, King James version, open to 12 Romans. All symbols are required to be placed on altar at Klavern meetings.
<u>Klankraft:</u>	Practices and beliefs of the Klan
<u>Klarogo:</u>	Inner guard—security
<u>Klavern:</u>	Local chapter
<u>Kleagle:</u>	Organizer
<u>Klectoken:</u>	Initiation fee
<u>Klexter:</u>	Outer guard—security
<u>Kligrapp:</u>	Secretary
<u>Klokan:</u>	Three man investigating committee, composed of the Nighthawk, Klarogo, and the Klexter
<u>Klokard:</u>	Lecturer
<u>Klonset:</u>	Grand attorney (national title)
<u>Kloran:</u>	Book used to conduct Klan ceremonies
<u>Kludd:</u>	Chaplain
<u>Konstitution:</u>	Rules and by-laws
<u>Myok:</u>	Klan emblem
<u>Naturalization:</u>	Induction into membership
<u>Nighthawk:</u>	Keeper of property of the Klavern; investigator—in charge of security of Klavern
<u>Passport:</u>	Klan membership card
<u>Province:</u>	Congressional District
<u>Realm:</u>	State organization
<u>Sanbog:</u>	The password, "Strangers are near, be on guard."

Sor:

Sign of recognition

Titan:

Head of a province (usually a Congressional District)

"Wrecked":

Action taken by the wrecking crew against a person

"Wrecking Crew" or

"Action Squad":

Five to eight KKKers who are charged with taking physical action against wayward members or "enemies" of the Klan. Headed by Nighthawk. Conduct their own private meetings, separate from Klavern. Receive orders from Exalted Cyclops of Klavern. Actions must also be approved by Kludd.

Appendix D

LIST OF EXTREME-RIGHT GROUPS

The following is a listing of extreme-right groups that have operated in the U.S. in recent years. These groups espouse racism and/or anti-Semitism; many have engaged in violence.

Ku Klux Klan

American Knights—California
Christian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan—North Carolina
Confederate Independent Order Knights—Maryland
Florida White Knights
Forsyth County Defense League, Georgia
Independent Order Knights—Maryland
Invisible Empire Knights—New Jersey
Invisible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan—Shelton, Connecticut
Knights of the Ku Klux Klan—Tuscumbia, Alabama
Knights of the White Camelia—Texas
New Order Knights—Missouri
Ohio Knights—Ohio
Southern White Knights—Georgia
United Klans of America—Tuscaloosa, Alabama
White Knights of Ku Klux Klan—Queens, New York
White Knights of Liberty—North Carolina
White Unity Party—Pennsylvania

Neo-Nazi

America First Committee—Chicago, Illinois
American Nazi Party—Chicago, Illinois
American White Nationalist Party—Columbus, Ohio
American Workers Party—Bartlesville, Oklahoma
Euro-American Alliance—Milwaukee, Wisconsin
National Alliance—Mill Point, West Virginia
National Socialist American Workers Party—Glendale, California
National Socialist Liberation Front—Metairie, Louisiana
National Socialist Vanguard—Goldendale, Washington
National Socialist White America Party—Pacific Palisades, California
National Sozialistische Deutsche Arbeiter Partei-Auslands Organisation (NSDAP-AO)—Lincoln, Nebraska
National States Rights Party—Marietta, Georgia
New Order—Milwaukee, Wisconsin
New Order Legion—Portland, Oregon
Romantic Violence—Chicago, Illinois
S.S. Action Group—Detroit, Michigan
Skinheads—Various factions
Social Nationalist Aryan People's Party—Post Falls, Idaho
World Service—San Diego, California

Identity “Churches” and Other Groups

American Covenant Church—Medford, Oregon
Arizona Patriots—Phoenix, Arizona
Aryan Nations—Hayden Lake, Idaho
Aryan Youth Movement—Fallbrook, California
Bruder Schweigen II—Hayden Lake, Idaho
Christian American Advocates—Mooreland, Oklahoma
Christian Defense League—Metairie, Louisiana
Christian Patriots Defense League—Flora, Illinois
Church of the Creator—Otto, North Carolina
Church of Israel—Schell City, Missouri
Committee of the States—Mariposa, California
The Covenant, the Sword, the Arm of the Lord—Missouri/Arkansas border area
Elohim City—Adair County, Oklahoma
Heritage Library—Velma, Oklahoma
Institute for Historical Review—Torrance, California
Iowa Society for Educated Citizens—Iowa City, Iowa
La Porte Church of Christ—La Porte, Colorado
Liberty Lobby—Washington, D.C.
Lord’s Covenant Church—Phoenix, Arizona
Ministry of Christ Church—Mariposa, California
Mountain Church—Cohoctah, Michigan
National Association for the Advancement of White People—Metairie, Louisiana
National Democratic Front—Washington Grove, Maryland
New Nation U.S.A. (NNUSA)—Morongo Valley, California
Oregon Militia—Oregon
Posse Comitatus—Loose bands of vigilantes scattered throughout Midwest and West
White Aryan Resistance (WAR)—Fallbrook, California
White Student Union (Associated with WAR)—Fallbrook, California

Appendix D (continued)

LIST OF EXTREME-RIGHT PUBLICATIONS

American Covenant Newsletter, Medford, Oregon—American Covenant Church
America's Promise, Phoenix, Arizona—Lord's Covenant Church
American Sunbeam, Seligman, Missouri—(no organization)
Aryan Nations Newsletter, Hayden Lake, Idaho—Aryan Nations
Calling Our Nation, Hayden Lake, Idaho—Aryan Nations
Christian America Advocates, Mooreland, Oklahoma—Christian America Advocates
Christian Defense League Report, Arabie, Louisiana—Christian Defense League
Christian Law Journal, Hayden Lake, Idaho
Christian News, New Haven, Missouri—(no organization)
Christian Patriot Crusader, Bay St. Louis, Mississippi—(put out by Jack Mohr of the Christian Patriot's Defense League)
Christian Vanguard, Metairie, Louisiana—Christian Defense League
Citizen's Claw, Morongo Valley, California—New Nation U.S.A. (NNUSA)
David McCalden Newsletter, Manhattan Beach, California—Truth Missions
Fiery Cross, Swartz, Louisiana—United Klans of America
From The Mountain, Cohoctah, Michigan—Mountain Church
GANPAC Brief, Santa Monica, California—German-American National Political Action Group
Instauration, Cape Canaveral, Florida—(no organization)
IHR Newsletter, Costa Mesa, California—Institute for Historical Review
Journal of Historical Review, Costa Mesa, California—Institute for Historical Review
Justice Times, Clinton, Arkansas—(no organization)
Kingdom Messenger, Costa Mesa, California—Kingdom Messenger
Kingdom Spirit, Pleasant View, Colorado—Kingdom Seekers Ministry
Klansman, Shelton, Connecticut—Invisible Empire Knights of the KKK
Le Mercenaire, Fredericktown, Missouri—(no organization)
Liberty Bell, Reedy, West Virginia—(no organization)
Michigan Briefing, Detroit, Michigan—S.S. Action Group
NS Bulletin, Milwaukee, Wisconsin—New Order
NS Kampfruf, Lincoln, Nebraska—National Sozialistische Deutsche Arbeiter Partei - Auslands Organisation (NDSAP-AO)
NAAWP News, Metairie, Louisiana—National Association for the Advancement of White People
National Educator, Fullerton, California—(no organization)
National Vanguard, Arlington, Virginia—National Alliance
New Dawn, Burbank, California—(no organization)
Nationalist, Washington Grove, Maryland—National Democratic Front
New Order, Lincoln, Nebraska—National Sozialistische Deutsche Arbeiter Partei - Auslands Organisation (NDSAP-AO)
Pathfinder, Spokane, Washington—Christ's Gospel Fellowship
Paul Revere Club, Flora, Illinois—Christian Patriots Defense League
Race & Nation, San Diego, California—World Service
Racial Loyalty, Otto, North Carolina—Church of the Creator
Scriptures for America, La Porte, Colorado—La Porte Church of Christ

Siegrunen, Bennington, Vermont—(no organization)
Spotlight, Washington, D.C.—Liberty Lobby
The Thunderbolt, Marietta, Georgia—National States Rights Party
The Talon, Milwaukee, Wisconsin—Euro-American Alliance
Upright Ostrich, Milwaukee, Wisconsin—(no organization)
WAR, Fallbrook, California—White Aryan Resistance
Watchman, Schell City, Missouri—Church of Israel
The Way, Hayden Lake, Idaho—Aryan Nations
White Patriot, Tuscumbia, Alabama—Knights of the Klu Klux Klan
World Economic Review, Metairie, Louisiana—Christian Defense League
Zionist Watch, Washington, DC—Liberty Lobby

Appendix E

RECENT ADL PUBLICATIONS ON EXTREMISM

HATE GROUPS IN AMERICA: A RECORD OF BIGOTRY AND VIOLENCE, ADL, 1988 (Revised and Update). This book-length report covers the history as well as recent activities of the Ku Klux Klan, the Aryan Nations and other violence-prone organizations of the extreme right in the United States. It includes a chapter on "Countering Extremism: An Action Agenda;" a chronology of recent convictions of hate-group figures; and background on ADL's model anti-paramilitary training statute. Indexed. \$10.00.

1987 AUDIT OF ANTI-SEMITIC INCIDENTS, ADL, January, 1988. The report, the ninth in an annual series, discloses that anti-Semitic vandalism against Jews, Jewish institutions or property increased by nearly 17% in 1987, largely as a result of a dramatic rise of recorded incidents in California, some associated with the activities of neo-Nazi "skinheads." The Audit also describes an ADL "Program of Counteraction," including cooperative efforts with law enforcement officials, to address the bias-crime problem. No charge.

"'SHAVED FOR BATTLE': SKINHEADS TARGET AMERICA'S YOUTH," ADL Special Report, November, 1987. The report focuses on certain elements of shaven-headed youths known as "skinheads" who wear neo-Nazi insignia, preach violence against Blacks, Jews, and other minorities, and who have become a menacing presence in several cities across the country. The report warns that racist "skinheads" have the potential to attract alienated youth, that their ranks are growing, and that they are regarded as potential recruits by the neo-Nazi movement. No charge.

THE COMMITTEE OF THE STATES, ADL Background Report, October, 1987. The report provides information about this California-based extreme-right group, five of whose members were convicted in 1987 of threatening the lives of several public officials, including a Nevada state judge. No charge.

"THE HATE MOVEMENT TODAY: A CHRONICLE OF VIOLENCE AND DISARRAY," ADL Special Report, June, 1987. The report reveals that the most sweeping federal crackdown since World War II against the Ku Klux Klans, neo-Nazis, and other organized hate groups has reduced their membership and influence to its lowest point in many years. KKK and other hate group membership estimates are provided. The report also discloses that there has been more criminal violence by right-wing extremists during the past three years than over the previous two decades. No charge.

THE 'PACE AMENDMENT', ADL Background Report, May, 1987. The report describes the efforts of an individual in California using the pseudonym of James O. Pace to promote an amendment to the U.S. Constitution—the so-called "Pace Amendment"—limiting American citizenship to white persons "of the European race." The report exposes the "Pace Amendment's" racism in the guise of legal scholarship and reveals the support of some well-known racists and anti-Semites for the plan. No charge.

THE BLACK HEBREW ISRAELITES, ADL Research Report, February, 1987. The report reveals that two American "Black Hebrew" sects, both claiming to be "true descendants" of the Biblical Israelites, have caused concern in the U.S. and abroad because of their anti-white racism and anti-Semitism, as well as reported criminal activities. No charge.

SECURITY HANDBOOK FOR COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS, ADL, Revised Edition, 1986. A handbook for preventing—and coping with—destructive violence against persons and property. Prepared in cooperation with the Crime Prevention Section of the New York City Police Department, it provides practical guidance on security measures. The handbook reflects ADL's experience in monitoring and countering assaults, desecration, vandalism and harassment aimed against institutions and individuals. \$2.50.

“ADL PARAMILITARY TRAINING STATUTE: A RESPONSE TO EXTREMISM,” ADL Law Report, Fall, 1986. Outlines ADL’s efforts to encourage states to implement a model statute on paramilitary training, drafted by ADL’s Legal Affairs Department. The model statute, which has now been enacted into law in 18 states, imposes criminal penalties for participants where training is going on in preparation for “civil disorder.” In addition to analyzing the constitutionality of the statute, the report summarizes paramilitary legislation already on the books and its deterrent impact on violence-inclined individuals and groups. No charge.

“THE LaROUCHE POLITICAL CULT: PACKAGING EXTREMISM,” ADL Special Report, Spring, 1986. A comprehensive analysis of the LaRouche political cult, whose followers operate a complex of organizations and publications that promote a conspiracy-filled ideology laced with anti-Semitism. This report examines the cult’s intimidation tactics, deceptive political strategies and its funding sources. No charge.

“THE LaROUCHE CULT’S FANTASY WORLD,” ADL Sampler, Summer, 1986. This pamphlet is composed entirely of the bizarre and anti-Semitic words of Lyndon LaRouche and representatives of his network of organizations, compiled from their speeches and publications. The Sampler exposes the conspiratorial views of LaRouche and his cult by presenting their own statements on a variety of topics. No charge.

“EXTREMISM TARGETS THE PRISONS,” ADL Special Report, June, 1986. This publication examines the campaign of right- and left-wing extremist groups to recruit and agitate in the nation’s prisons. Some prisoners have affiliated with these outside groups to enhance their status and privileges inside the institution. Some of these groups recruit prisoners under the mantle of a racialist religion. In some cases, prison officials have restricted a prisoner’s access to racial/ religious materials from these outside extremist groups on institutional security grounds. A special Appendix describes several lawsuits brought by prisoners on this issue. No charge.

“THE AMERICAN FARMER AND THE EXTREMISTS,” ADL Special Report, January, 1986. Describes the efforts of some extremist groups to recruit among economically-strapped rural Americans, analyzes the present status and future potential of such groups and outlines ways to expose and counter them. No charge.

“HOLOCAUST ‘REVISIONISM’: A DENIAL OF HISTORY—AN UPDATE,” ADL Facts, Winter, 1986. The report discloses that the movement to deny the reality of the Holocaust continues to be an important propaganda weapon of neo-Nazi and other anti-Semitic extremist groups operating in the U.S. and abroad. It provides information about the Institute for Historical Review and other Holocaust-denial activities. No charge.

“LOUIS FARRAKHAN: IN HIS OWN WORDS,” ADL Special Report, October, 1985. This report documents the anti-Jewish, anti-white and anti-American statements made by Louis Farrakhan, leader of the Black Muslim sect known as the Nation of Islam. To promote better awareness of the violent, racist strains in his Black separatist message, this publication presents Farrakhan’s own words, compiled from his interviews, press conferences and speeches. No charge.

“MEIR KAHANE: IN HIS OWN WORDS,” ADL Special Report, October, 1985. A listing of racist, violent, and anti-democratic statements made in recent years by the founder of the Jewish Defense League who is now head of the Israeli political party “Kach.” No charge.

“THE POPULIST PARTY: THE POLITICS OF RIGHT-WING EXTREMISM,” ADL Facts, Fall, 1985. The Populist Party is a major right-wing extremist organization attempting to exploit the farm crisis by recruiting distressed farmers. The report shows that the Populist Party is closely linked to Liberty Lobby, the Washington, DC based anti-Jewish propaganda organization, and to Willis Carto, who heads Liberty Lobby. It also notes that some Populist Party activists have been actively involved with the neo-Nazi movement, the Ku Klux Klan and other hate groups. No charge.

“‘PROPAGANDA OF THE DEED’: THE FAR RIGHT’S DESPERATE ‘REVOLUTION,’” ADL Special Report, May 1985. This publication describes a chain of lawless events on the West Coast and the more than two dozen arrests in 13 states which resulted from the activities of the terrorist group known as “The Order.” No charge.

“COMPUTERIZED NETWORKS OF HATE,” ADL Fact Finding Report, January, 1985. Reports on the move into the era of high technology by right-wing extremists, including their use of computer network bulletin boards. The use of computer technology marks a new departure for hate groups and represents an effort to give right-wing extremism a modern look. No charge.

“ADL MODEL STATUTE: ETHNIC VANDALISM AND INTIMIDATION,” ADL Law Report, Winter, 1985. Describes a model statute prepared by ADL’s Legal Affairs Department for introduction in state legislatures. The statute contains one section prohibiting institutional vandalism and a second section increasing the penalties for assault, harassment, and other crimes when motivated by the victim’s race, color, religion, or national origin. No charge.

EXTREMISM ON THE RIGHT: A HANDBOOK, ADL, October, 1983. ADL designed this handbook as a standard reference guide to the major right-wing extremist organizations and individuals in the U.S. This publication, to be updated in 1988, includes background information on 23 major organizations and 48 individuals. The common denominator of all those included is a fundamental anti-Semitism or racist ideology. Indexed. \$5.00.

“THE ‘IDENTITY CHURCHES’: A THEOLOGY OF HATE,” ADL Facts, Spring, 1983. Reports on the activities of a pseudo-religious movement in the United States called “Identity” that preaches hatred and violence against Jews, Blacks, and other minorities. “Identity” doctrines are the common theological thread of several organized hate groups—including the Posse Comitatus, the Aryan Nations, and elements of the Ku Klux Klan. No charge.

“LIBERTY LOBBY AND THE CARTO NETWORK OF HATE,” ADL Facts, Winter, 1982. This report focuses on Liberty Lobby, the Washington, DC-based, far-right, multimillion-dollar organizational and propaganda empire run by its founder, Willis Carto—probably the most influential anti-Semite in the United States today. The report provides background on The Spotlight, the Lobby’s weekly newspaper, and on the Institute for Historical Review, a California-based organization founded by Carto which promotes the idea that the Holocaust never took place. No charge.

Special Edition

ADL’s **Special Edition** is a handy, illustrated two-page summary of a single topic of public concern. There is no charge for this publication. Issues include:

“EXTREMIST GROUP OUTREACH TO RURAL AMERICANS,” ADL Special Edition, June, 1986. This summary of The American Farmer and the Extremists highlights the extremist groups attempting to exploit the farm crisis, describes counteraction efforts, and provides a listing of resources on the issue.

“EXTREMISM TARGETS THE PRISONS,” ADL Special Edition, September, 1986. This synopsis of the longer report described above emphasizes the dangers posed by recruiting inside state and federal institutions by outside extremist groups.

“JOHN BROWN ANTI-KLAN COMMITTEE” (JBAKC), ADL Special Edition, October, 1986. This background report documents how the activities of this far-left organization go well beyond anti-Klan organizing, often resulting in confrontations with law enforcement officials. This fact sheet exposes the JBAKC as an anti-democratic organization supportive of far-left terrorist groups like the Weather Underground, the Black Liberation Army, and the May 19 Communist Organization.

“WILLIAM PIERCE & THE NEO-NAZI CHURCH,” ADL Special Edition, February, 1987. The report provides information about William Pierce, leader of the neo-Nazi National Alliance and the author of a novel called “The Turner Diaries” that inspired members of The Order in their terrorism. The report reveals that Pierce has established a “church”—the “Cosmotheist Community”—in rural West Virginia.

“MR. EXTREMIST,” ADL Special Edition, May, 1987. This report concerns Roy E. Frankhouser, Jr., who has spent a quarter-century in extremist activities as a neo-Nazi, Klansman and Minuteman. It cites his recent role as a security consultant to the conspiracy-oriented political organization led by Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr. Frankhouser was indicted and convicted of plotting to obstruct a federal investigation into alleged credit card fraud by the LaRouche movement.

“ELECTRONIC HATE,” ADL Special Edition, July, 1987. The report reveals that extremists have discovered a novel medium for spreading hate propaganda—cable TV and its free air-time “public access” channels. It discloses that two active racial separatists, Tom Metzger of White Aryan Resistance and Louis Farrakhan of the Nation of Islam, have used cable TV to spread their own brands of bigotry.

“LOUIS FARRAKHAN,” ADL Special Edition, October, 1987. This report describes Louis Farrakhan, the anti-Semitic leader of the Chicago-based Black Muslim sect known as the Nation of Islam, and his efforts to spread his controversial message to audiences around the country, and to promote his group and its business enterprises. The report reveals that Farrakhan’s presentations have blended the preacher’s call to self-respect and self-help with the demagogue’s call to scapegoating and suspicion.

“THE LIBERTY LOBBY NETWORK,” ADL Special Edition, October, 1987. This report deals with the Washington, DC-based Liberty Lobby, which is perhaps the most active and well-funded anti-Semitic organization in the United States. The report focuses on such related enterprises as the weekly newspaper The Spotlight; the Institute for Historical Review, which claims the Holocaust was a hoax; the Populist Party; and on Willis A. Carto, Liberty Lobby’s prime mover.

“SKINHEADS TARGET AMERICA’S YOUTH,” ADL Special Edition, February, 1988. This report summarizes the findings of the similarly titled November, 1987 ADL Special Report on this recent neo-Nazi phenomenon.

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