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## A Comparison of Selected Old and New Right Wing Groups: Involvement with Law Enforcement

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A COMPARISON OF SELECTED OLD AND NEW RIGHT WING  
GROUPS: INVOLVEMENT WITH LAW ENFORCEMENT

by

Elvin W. Keith III

A Thesis  
Submitted to the  
Faculty of The Graduate College  
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A COMPARISON OF SELECTED OLD AND NEW RIGHT WING  
GROUPS: INVOLVEMENT WITH LAW ENFORCEMENT

Elvin W. Keith III, M.A.

Western Michigan University, 1989

This study has determined that current right wing extremist groups in the U.S. have no greater propensity for damage to the national security than older right wing groups.

Although right wing groups are dangerous due to the popularity of conservative causes and the proliferation of modern weaponry, an examination reveals that dedication and increased military capability are offset by more efficient law enforcement response and lack of support by the general populace.

A careful examination of the American right wing, both old and new shows the disparity between the two groups. Emphasis is placed on exploring the old right wing tactic of courting law enforcement personnel and the new right wing tactic of placing law enforcement on its list of hated enemies.

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Thanks also to my wife, Vicki Rauwolf Keith, for cheerful endurance and support during the lengthy preparation of this thesis.

This thesis is dedicated to the law enforcement community; the sacrifices made by law enforcement officers helps to keep us all "free."

Elvin W. Keith III

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### Background and Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this study is to assess the potential of some current right wing groups to threaten the stability of the U.S. Government or, more realistically, to trouble social tranquility.

Current right wing groups to extent not traditionally true find their roots in the fascist movements in Europe. Fascism was a movement of the lower middle class which was driven by sadistic and masochistic strivings. The ideology of the Nazi movement appealed to and intensified these traits in Germany (Fromm, 1941). Gregor (1974) cites a number of factors in the advent of fascism. He sees fascism as a consequence of a moral crisis in that Christianity failed to produce freedom and equality in Europe. Fascism, according to Gregor, can also be a consequence of psychological disability, a "sick society" that is afflicted with the working out of the problems of psychodynamically impaired individuals. This results in the "authoritarian personality." Gregor also sees fascism as a consequence of the rise of the "amorphous masses," the theory of the "mass man" as a

product of history. He also points out fascism as seen as the result of "class struggle," the marxist interpretation of fascism. Gregor also looks at fascism as a function of a stage of economic development, "delayed industrialization." And finally, he sees fascism as tending toward totalitarianism, an ideology of a single party led by one man, a terroristic policy, a communications monopoly and a centrally directed economy.

From fascism, the Nazi philosophy developed. Right wing groups, particularly new groups like the Aryan Nation in the United States frequently espoused Nazi philosophy, utilizing the symbols of the Germanic Nazi movement. Nazi philosophy in Germany invoked a Volkish ideology best described as an attitude toward life opposed to progress and modernization.

Volkish ideology saw a higher life force and found its roots in nature. Two fundamental ideas of Volkish ideology were the primacy of the Volk and abhorrence of the Jew. The Volk believed in revering ancient germanic history with the "purity" of germanic virtues. Followers of Volkish philosophy saw the Jews as rootless and impure, simply put, good equals German, evil equals Jew. The Volk utilized the ancient symbols such as the rune and the swastika and the old Nordic legends assumed great importance. The theme of many Volkish books centered around "bolts of lightening and thunder." The Volk

emphasized what they believed to be Aryan beauty and stressed the racially "ideal type." The Jew was seen as the opposite of the germanic ideal of beauty. Volkish writings saw agrarian settlements founded on the soil as an indictment of modern capitalism and in addition, preached violence as the solution to the world conspiracy of Jewism. Adolf Hitler transformed the germanic revolution into a racist and anti-Jewish revolution. The Nazi's saw the "new fascist man" as part of a pure nation and pure race, part of a huge gathering of men where the rhythm of the army or the crowd beats as one (Mosse, 1964). It is interesting to note that although right wing groups in America see themselves as "native" to the U.S., in fact they find their origins in Europe with the fascist and Nazi movements.

In The Farther Shares of Politics: The American Political Fringe Today, Thayer (1968) explains that much of the American right wing finds its origins in fascism and Nazi philosophy believing in the corporate state, leadership principle and authoritarianism, and the Nazi's follow Hitler's doctrines. American right wing groups tend to follow the transitional social base of fascist movements; this represents a form of "status politics" stemming from feelings of political importance and organization fragmentation.

It is true that American institutions have a long history of nativism and racism but the extreme right wing move toward vigilantism as overstepped the "self-help" tradition and moved beyond legal restraints (Skolnick, 1969).

The American new right wing espouses a curious and loose philosophy mixing ultra conservative protestantism with the old German Volkish beliefs, but their ideological commitment is as weak to the religious philosophy as it is to a coherent conservative political philosophy. New right wing group members tend to be more impressed with the harmony and ritual of the "service" than any meaning associated with it.

A comparison of European and American right wing groups reveals that European groups have a serious systematic ideological commitment and a strong dedication to the concept of authority, while American right wing groups have a weak sense of ideology and a greatly diminished commitment of the concept of authority, reflecting a grossly distorted reflection of the attraction of individualism in America. These weaknesses enhance the ability of law enforcement to penetrate the ultra right wing American groups, making it difficult for them to pay only lipservice to the military model so successfully employed by activists on both the extreme left and right in Europe and Russia.



Although small in numbers, the members of current extremist right wing groups are capable of violence and property damage. Recent media coverage of group's such as the Aryan Nations has focused on their ability to commit violent acts including murder, assault and armed robbery. But little attention has been directed at the philosophies of these groups and how these philosophies compare to older right wing groups such as the Ku Klux Klan. Initially it must be acknowledged that these ideologies are of little intrinsic interest; however, they are crucial elements in any assessment of the political potential of the extreme right in contemporary America.

This study is of particular importance at this time because conservative philosophy is very popular. Further, many commentators have noted a religious revival. The superficially conservative bias of the current extremist right wing groups, combined with their "religious" atmosphere arguably makes them very attractive to Americans moved by such developments and who feel unrepresented and abandoned by their government. This is particularly true for some Vietnam veterans and agricultural folk. Accordingly, the right wing groups of today are particularly eager to recruit combat experienced veterans of Vietnam and physically fit, hard-working farmers.

Right wing groups are not a new phenomenon in the United States. Prior to the Civil War, nativist movements were common. In the early 1920s, the Ku Klux Klan claimed 3,000,000 to 6,000,000 members. The 1930s brought the U.S. Father Charles Coughlin, a populist, profascist and anti-Semitic agitator. The Black Legion followed the Klan in Indiana, Ohio, and Michigan. The Silver Shirts, organized in the 1930s, was another avowed fascist organization. In the 1950s, Senator Joseph McCarthy led a well-publicized crusade against "treason in high places" and communist subversion in government.

A particularly dangerous group was the Minutemen, ultra rightist and paramilitary. This group flourished outside the South and believed that an armed guerrilla group was necessary to defend America against the Communist conspiracy. This group had a propensity to stockpile weapons and explosives and even claimed to have available large artillery pieces such as anti-tank guns. In 1969, George Wallace had great support from ultra conservatists (Lipsit & Raab, 1978) and more disturbingly, among a broad spectrum of young voters, especially males. During the 1970s and early 1980s, historically recognizable right wing groups such as the Ku Klux Klan showed a marked decline, but ultra right wing groups such as the Aryan Nations began to gain strength.

An understanding of these new groups has come from various sources, some of them dramatic. On the morning of December 7, 1984, dozens of FBI Agents, their faces blackened and bodies clothes in camouflage fatigues, moved in on three small homes on Whidbey Island, a 45 mile stretch in the Puget Sound north of Seattle, Washington. Trapped inside were members of a neo-Nazi guerrilla group that boasted as many names, The Order, The White American Bastian, The Silent Brotherhood, as true believers.

Brotherhood members were suspected in violent crimes including bank and armored car robberies--one in California that netted \$3.6 million and the 1984 murder of Denver radio talk-show host, Alan Berg. One by one they surrendered, except for Robert Matthews, 31, the groups founder. After 35 hours of negotiations and intermittent exchanges of automatic weapons fire, the FBI Agents illuminated the house with flares. In the ensuing gun battle, a fire broke out, igniting ammunition stockpiles. Matthews was burned to death. A search of the house revealed an arsenal of weapons, explosives and ammunition and a document dated November 25, 1984, entitled "Declaration of War." It called for the execution of federal agents, congressmen and judges and the "beheading" of informants and concluded "Let the battle begin" (Starr, 1985).

Discoverable in the "Declaration of War", itself a shoddy credo, are principles marking the clear watershed between the "old" and "new" right, and which this thesis argues serve to limit the latter's appeal. The old and new right wing attitude toward law enforcement and law enforcement personnel must be explored and the conclusion established that the new violent and extremist right cannot make a plausible appeal to law enforcement officers. There is no greater distinction to be drawn between the old and new extremist right.

It will be shown that law enforcement officers today face in the new extremist right, groups whose tactics and ideology commit them to confront law enforcement in the abstract, and which look upon law enforcement officers themselves with hostility.

From the time of the pre-Civil War nativist movements in the U.S. until just prior to the rise of the "new" Ku Klux Klan, Posse Comitatus and Aryan Nations, the old right wing groups called for a changed America. They looked for an America which would be dominated by white Europeans and protestants. These groups generally believed that America must be changed by working from within the current political framework; they believed that change would occur within the political process and that law enforcement could aid that change, that the pool of police officers provided a rich source of recruits and sympathizers.

Recruitment of law enforcement officers became a priority. Old right wing appeals to patriotism, love of country and "just" (i.e., severe) punishment of criminals led a number of well-meaning law enforcement officers to the ranks of the Ku Klux Klan. Further, law enforcement officers were themselves from the same racial, religious and ethnic groups from which the old extremist right was drawn. Further, they were underpaid, overworked and felt unappreciated. In some cases, the Klan and other old right wing groups gave them a hope to change America, but change conducted primarily within the broad confines of the nation's constitutional and social traditions. Members of the old right wing groups and police officers tended to share the same social economic status. Both groups tended to be poor, uneducated and essentially rural based. Racism was a common value shared by both the old right wing and police officers, particularly local police.

Now the new right wing groups believe that the current political system, root and branch, must be destroyed and rebuilt as a "new" system in a totally new political image. The new radical right in general and the Aryan Nations with its splinter groups, in particular, have targeted the U.S. Government, which it calls ZOG, or Zionist Occupational Government, as its number one enemy (Starr, 1985).

The new right wing considers law enforcement and its personnel, not as possible recruits and unsupportive of the cause, but as enemies to be destroyed, the mere servants of the corrupt existing socio-constitutional structure. In "The Principles of War and Rules of Engagement" set forth by the Aryan Nations, it is stated that any agent of the Zionist Occupational Government of North America is considered to be the "enemy" and any local police officer, state patrolman or other law enforcement personnel who cooperate with the agents of ZOG and injures the Aryan Nations in any way will be regarded as cooperative combatants (U.S. Government Records, 1984). Most are assumed to be so cooperative. So, in a notable ideological about face within the American right, law enforcement officers are included as an integral part of the hated constitutional status quo. Not, as previously, potential allies and sympathizers, but as components of the hated existing order and whose physical elimination is a necessary prelude to the coming of the New Order.

Of particular concern to law enforcement of this time is the relative ease with which the right wing groups have access to modern weaponry. Assault-type rifles can be found for sale in most gun shops. These weapons combined with members who have previous military experience, makes the new right particularly dangerous.

This study will compare the ideology and potential of the old right wing to those of the new extreme right wing through a survey of the most prominent of modern extremist right wing organizations. Particular emphasis will be placed on changed attitudes toward law enforcement and law enforcement personnel. The final chapter will look at the capabilities of the new right wing and law enforcement response. A damage assessment will follow with a cautious prediction for the future.

Although this study is an academic endeavor, the author's observations and personal experience as a Special Agent of the FBI gives this survey a totally different perspective from many other works exploring the right wing in the U.S. The FBI has the major responsibility for investigating violent right wing activity in the U.S. As a result, the impact of the right wing and its involvement with law enforcement has always been of importance to the FBI.

## CHAPTER II

### OLD RIGHT WING GROUPS

#### FBI Observations

As recently as the 1970s, law enforcement officers concerned with the Ku Klux Klan's several branches found a rather traditional organization. For example, the office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) in Houston, Texas was well aware of the Ku Klux Klan. The Klan itself was typical of the "old" Ku Klux Klan; white, religiously and politically conservative and attractive to rural and uneducated Texans. The Klan then, as now, purported to be "patriotic," against Communists and subversives, which of course included the anti-Vietnam war groups and civil right activists.

The early 1970s were punctuated with protests against the war in Vietnam. These protesters included the old left wing Communism groups such as the Communist Party USA (CPUSA) and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). New left wing groups like the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and various left wing sponsored peace action coalitions and anti-war mobilization committees dominated the "anti-war" scene. Everyone on the "left" wanted a piece of the "anti-war" pie. The Klan, of



course, supported the war and the challenge to defeat Communism in the Far East. Support for the American effort to win victory in Vietnam became one of the Texas Klan's main programs. The continuation of the Civil Rights Movement also attracted the Texas Klan. News media coverage of civil rights activities in Texas brought quick Klan reaction.

The Grand Dragon of the Texas Klan even debated the leader of the Socialist Worker's Party in Houston on the Vietnam War and civil rights issues. To all observers the Grand Dragon ended the debate a great deal "worse for the wear". Klan rhetoric typically included violent exhortations, but rarely were these words put into deed. On occasion however, some of the more active Klan members would attempt to carry out an operation against hated Klan targets, but this commitment to violence was the exception.

Once, the FBI arrested a number of Klansmen headed for California to bomb the transmitter of KPFA, Radio Pacifica, an Underground Left Wing radio station. These Klan members had plastic explosives, primers and other means necessary to destroy the "hippy-Communist" radio transmitter. Then, as now small numbers of dedicated, well equipped Right Wing extremists were capable of very violent acts. However, most of the Klan's weapons were then non-military in nature and purchased for "hunting".

High powered rifles of the 30-06 and 30-30 variety were in abundance. Nearly every Klansmen had a shotgun and many had legally purchased handguns, mostly .38 and .357 magnum caliber. Texas has very liberal laws regarding handguns and most Klansmen were armed.

FBI Agents observed Robert Shelton, Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan from Tuscaloosa, Alabama giving a speech near Beaumont, Texas in the summer of 1971 and exhorting the gathered Klansmen to "look around you and see the FBI cars watching patriots and allowing the Communists to run free." The fight against Communism was one Klan cause that did tend to attract law officers. Indeed, the Texas Klan was very interested in law enforcement support, particularly among the more rural county sheriff departments. The FBI was aware that among members of the Ku Klux Klan a number of supporters could be found in the Texas law enforcement community. It must be noted that the number of law enforcement officers involved with Klan activities was relatively small but it did give legitimacy to the Klan and caused a number of Texas citizens to give the Klan support. A larger number of law enforcement officers were not involved with Klan activities but had some sympathy for the Klan.

An observer of the Klan's operations in the North would have found a situation similar to that in Texas. For example, the Michigan Klan basically fit the mold of

the Texas Klan, mainly rural, fundamentalist protestant and politically very conservative. The rhetoric for "patriotism", "white Americanism" and political conservatism was similar and occasional violence marked typical Klan activity. In Texas, the Klan tried to bomb an underground radio station but in Michigan, the Klan bombed empty school buses in Pontiac, Michigan in a protest of Federal civil rights "busing" cases. In future chapters it will be seen that the Klan in Michigan, typical of its overall metamorphosis, has evolved into a New Right Wing extremist threat.

### Historical Perspective

#### Ku Klux Klan

The Civil War era marked the beginning of the Ku Klux Klan in America. In the beginning the Klan was a club of sorts, made up of young Southern men, eager to forget the lost Civil War and wishing to be part of a mystical secret society. The early Klan utilized the Greek word for a small circle "Kyklos" which became corrupted into "Kuklun" Klan. Its members had a fondness for frightening sounding, terror inspiring names such as President-Grand Cyclops, Vice President-Grand Jagi, Secretary-Grand Scribe, Greeter-Grand Turk, Messengers-Knight Hawks, Guards-Lictors, Members-Ghouls (Whitehead, 1970). Klan strength continued to grow in the South and

culminated in reactions against the northern carpet-baggers and newly freed Southern blacks. But the second Klan became the more serious concern in the U.S.

Around the year 1915, in the State of Georgia, the second Klan began to assert itself. Quickly the issue became not just white supremacy but moral issues as well. Studies done in Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas and Louisiana by Alexander (1965) showed "a strikingly small amount of hostility toward Negroes" existed at that time. He concluded that in the southwest morality concerns were dominant. The Klan attack on immorality centered on punishing drunks, adulterers and other violators of the traditional moral code.

The Klan had so much strength in the 1920s that, according to Lipsit and Raab (1978), it could claim 3,000,000 to 6,000,000 members. This membership was restricted to adult, native born, protestant males. This number equaled 15 to 20 percent of the total male population and about 25 to 30 percent of the entire protestant population.

Whitehead (1970), speaking about the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in his book Attack on Terror: The FBI Against The Ku Klux Klan in Mississippi, tells us that the Knights could claim four to possible five million members in the mid-1920s. He lists the Klan as having units in almost every state with particular strength in

Maine, Indiana, Oregon, Texas and Oklahoma. Lipsit and Raab (1978) in their study, state that recent historical analysis shows that during its height in the 1920s, the Klan drew most of its strength and backing in the states of the western reaches of the Mississippi Valley, the Pacific Coast and the Midwest. Sociologist Gunnar Myrdal's studies emphasized that the Klan in many cases, thrived in industrial communities. Klan strength was found in growing cities in the South: Atlanta, Memphis, Knoxville, Chattanooga, Nashville, Richmond, Birmingham and Mobile.

Lipsit and Raab (1978) point out that Klan strength was seen in election results with Klan candidate victories in Little Rock, Oklahoma City, Tulsa, Dallas, Ft. Worth, Houston, Boston, El Paso, Beaumont, Shreveport and even in strongly Catholic New Orleans.

Outside the South, the Klan won elections in Akron, Ohio where it claimed 50,000 members and other elections in the Dayton-Springfield area as well as Youngstown and Marietta. In 1923, the Klan won elections in Toledo, Akron, Columbus, Youngstown and several other Ohio cities. In Indiana, the Klan's strength was in larger cities and for a time the Klan dominated Indianapolis. In Wisconsin, Klan strength could be seen in Milwaukee and Madison and the Klan won elections in Kenosha, Racine and other Wisconsin cities. Michigan Klan strength was

in Detroit and Flint where the Klan candidate won the Mayor race.

The midwest strength of the Klan could be found in Dubuque, Iowa; Grand Forks, North Dakota; Wichita, Emporia and Kansas City, Kansas; and Denver, Colorado. In Chicago, the Klan had 18 chapters and in 1922 initiation rallies drew tens of thousands of observers. In Oregon, the Klan was powerful enough to dominate state politics for a brief period, with particularly strong support in Portland, Eugene and Salem.

In California, the Klan was particularly strong around Los Angeles and large Klaverns were found in Seattle, Spokane, Walla Walla and Tacoma, Washington.

The Klan was weaker in the New England states and on the East Coast of the United States but still had strong support in urban areas. The Klan claimed 260,000 members in Pennsylvania in 1924 which were concentrated in coal and steel towns. Strong Klan membership was evident in Pittsburgh, Homestead, Johnstown and Altoona. Philadelphia had 35,000 members. The Klan was most powerful in Maine's largest city, Portland. In New Jersey, Klan strength was centered in the urban and industrial belt which girdled the center of the state. New York Klan power was found in suburban Long Island, Binghamton, Buffalo and other upstate cities. In general, most observers, both journalists and historians

believed that the Klan was at least as much urban as a small town movement during the second ascendancy (Lipsit & Raab, 1978).

Despite its numerical strength, the Klan's influence began to decline in the late 1920s and played an insignificant role in the United States in the 1930s, but organizations calling themselves the Ku Klux Klan continue to the present day. At the end of the 1960s, Klan strength was estimated as approximately 60,000.

Klan strength continues in the South and following the U.S. Supreme Court desegregation decision in 1954, the Klan experienced a major revival and undertook campaigns of violence and terror in many southern communities (Lipsit & Raab, 1978).

Other observers have indicated that the KKK enjoyed renewed popularity in the South due to the Civil Rights Movement in the 1950s. Klan rebirth became evident in Mississippi (Whitehead, 1970). On April 4, 1963, crosses were burned in Philadelphia, Mississippi heralding the violence and murder to come. No local law enforcement officer observed any Klan activity and as will be later shown, local sheriff deputies and the sheriffs themselves were involved with the Mississippi Klan.

Finally, the FBI efforts in Mississippi managed to stabilize the situation and the "Old Klan" appeared to begin to finally end its existence (Whitehead, 1970).

Earlier it was noted the general solicitude shown by the Ku Klux Klan for the police, Federal Agents were a partial exception. It was the FBI of all police agencies that the Klan most resented. The FBI was always "the enemy." During the civil rights upheaval of the 1950s, Tulley (1965) states that the Klan called the FBI the "Federal Bureau of Integration" and in Notasulga, Alabama, a poster of the town hall signed by the town clerk indicated, "Reporters, photographers and employees of the Justice Department or members of the FBI are not needed and are not welcome in this building." In addition, the Bar Association of Lowches County, Mississippi bought space in a local newspaper to counsel citizens against cooperating with the FBI or its Agents. This reaction is not against the Bureau as a police agency, but reflects the Klan's reaction to national civil rights policies.

Later we will clearly see that the Klan was very interested in support from local and state police and even attempted to court these officers as members.

#### Other Pertinent Groups

##### The Black Legion

The Black Legion was formed in the 1920s by former Klansmen in industrial cities in Indiana, Ohio and



Michigan. The Black Legion modeled its activities closely with the Klan but dyed its robes black. Lipsit and Raab (1978) state that members took an oath to keep "the secrets of the Order to support God, the U.S. Constitution and the Black Legion in its holy war against Catholics, Jews, Communists, Negroes and Aliens" (p. 157). The Legion retained an evangelistic, moralistic flavor and did imitate the Nazi and Fascist Parties to some extent being organized along hierarchical, military and authoritarian lines. The Legion used military titles rather than fraternal titles as used by the Klan. The Black Legion taught its members to use rifles and guns.

Morris (1936) in his study of the Black Legion describes its members as "Night-Riders" wearing black robes and hoods with a skull and crossbones on the hood.

Morris (1936) states the Legion's Credo:

This organization was founded on Southern chivalry and is obligated to the preservation of the white race. The native born white people of America are menaced on every side, from above and below. If America is the melting pot, the white people are neither the aristocratic scum on top nor the dregs of society on the bottom which is composed of anarchists and Communists and all cults and creeds believing in social equality. We regard as enemies of ourselves and our country all aliens, Negroes, Jews and the cults and creeds believing in racial equality and owing allegiance to any foreign potentates. (p. 6)

The Black Legion started in 1932 when a split occurred in the Ku Klux Klan in Michigan, Ohio and

Indiana. A military structure was established by the Black Legion, unlike the Klan organization, but the old Klan program of race hatred and religious intolerance was retained. The Black Legion placed a new emphasis on anti-labor and anti-Communist activities (Morris, 1936). Regarding the Black Legion Program, Lipsit and Raab (1978) state that there is no evidence to show that the Legion had plans for overthrowing the Government or any program of major revolutionary change; it sought to maintain its version of established institutions and morality. National Commander Virgil Effinger described it as "a guerrilla army designed to fight the Republican and Democratic Parties."

Membership estimates, and they are rough estimates, range from with the higher figure being based on the Legion's claim, 30,3000 to 1,000,000. Morris (1936) believes membership figures were closer to 30,000.

The Black Legion was capable of violence and there are instances of violent activity committed to floggings, arson and murder; all members were required to possess weapons. While numerous murders were attributed to the Black Legion, the number of connections was modest. Lipsit and Raab (1978) report that a number of Legion members were convicted of two murders, one of a WPA worker, Charles Poole who was a Catholic and was supposedly punished for beating his pregnant wife and the

other was a Negro hod carrier, Silas Coleman, who was shot. According to Lipsit and Raab (1978), a number of other murders were attributed to the Black Legion.

The program and activities of the Black Legion centered about a common preservatist core, a feeding on American nativist feelings hard pressed by industrial development and internal migrations. As a result, the Legion was anti-labor union in its outlook, claiming unions were of alien nature. Most of the Black Legion membership in Michigan was made up of unskilled and semi-skilled workers who migrated to the industrial areas from the hill sections of the South. This was the classic case of the displaced, status stripped small town migrant newly encountering a mature urbanized and industrialized America. The predictable back-lash manifested itself in nativist bigotry (Lipsit & Raab, 1978).

#### The American Protective Association (APA)

Another right wing group of some consequence in the late 1800s was the American Protective Association (APA). Kinzer (1964) states that immigration and suffrage restriction composed the nativist program of the 1880s and that these sentiments related to anti-Catholicism in that many of the immigrants coming into the United States were Catholics.

Anti-Catholic feeling culminated on March 13th, 1887 in Clinton, Iowa where the American Protective Association was founded. Desmond (1969) in The APA Movement indicates that Attorney Henry F. Bowers was the founder of the APA and that the movement was anti-Catholic in nature. The first council of the APA met also on March 13th, 1887 in Clinton, Iowa.

Association members, believing that their culture was being engulfed were attracted to conspiratorial theories and convinced themselves that they were protecting the system (Lipsit & Raab, 1978). The popularity of the Association's program especially was due to envy caused by the growing social industrial strength of Catholic Americans, a strength they magnified out of proportion and which they saw as being facilitated by the insidious power of the Roman Catholic Church.

The hatred of Catholicism, Nativism and traditional Protestant bigotry tended to overshadow the association's concern with policy positions. A good sense of the bitterness feeding this movement is the fourth provision of the Association Oath. The Oath states:

I do most solemnly promise and swear that I will always, to the utmost of my ability, labor, plead and wage a continuous warfare against ignorance and fanaticism; that I will use my utmost power to strike the shackles and chains of blind obedience to the Roman Catholic Church from the hampered and bound consciences of a priest-ridden and church oppressed people, that I will never allow anyone, a member of the

Roman Catholic Church, to become a member of this order, I knowing him to be such; that I will use my influence to promote the interests of all Protestants anywhere in the world that I may be; that I will not employ a Roman Catholic in any capacity if I can secure the services of a Protestant.

I furthermore promise and swear that I will not aid in building or maintaining by my resources, any Roman Catholic Church or institution of their creed whatsoever, but will do all in my power to retard and break down the power of the Pope, in this country or any other; that I will not enter into any controversy with a Roman Catholic upon the subject of this order, nor will I enter any agreement with a Roman Catholic to strike or create a disturbance whereby the Catholic employees may undermine and substitute their Protestant co-workers, that in all grievances I will seek only Protestants and counsel with them to the exclusion of all Roman Catholics; and will not make known to them anything of any nature matured at such conferences.

I furthermore promise and swear that I will not countenance the nomination at any caucus or convention of a Roman Catholic for any office in the gift of the American people, and that I will not vote for, or counsel others to vote for, any Roman Catholic; but will vote only for a Protestant so far as may lie in my power. Should there be two Roman Catholics on opposite tickets, I will erase the name off the ticket I vote; that I will, at all times endeavor to place the political positions of this Government in the hands of Protestants, to the entire exclusion of the Roman Catholic Church, of the members thereof, and the mandate of the Pope. To all of which I do most solemnly promise and swear, so help me God. Amen, Amen, Amen. (pp. 36-38)

Another form of the American Protective Association Oath is cited by Kinzer (1964); here is the final vow:

I hereby denounce the Roman Catholic Church, I hereby denounce the Pope, sitting at Rome or elsewhere; I denounce his priests and

emissaries, and the diabolical work of the Roman Catholic Church, and hereby pledge myself to the cause of Protestantism to the end that there may be no interference with the discharge of the duties of citizenship, and I solemnly bind myself to protect at all times, and with all the means in my power, the good name of the Order and its members, so help me God. Amen. (p. 49).

According to Lipsit and Raab (1978) the APA claimed 2,500,000 members in the mid-1880s. Like the Know-Nothings before and the Ku Klux Klan afterwards, the APA was a secret organization, which engaged in elaborate rituals and fancy costumes in its private meetings. The APA "issue" was to defend "true Americanism" against the subjects of an un-American ecclesiastical institution, by fighting for free public schools, immigration restriction and for slower, more rigid naturalization. It is interesting to note that membership in the APA was not limited to by place of birth or race, and the APA did not exclude immigrants to the United States (Kinzer, 1964).

In political matters, the APA had a significant influence in the early and middle 1890s, seeking to gain control of local political offices and parties. In 1895, APA membership was estimated to be around 2,448,540, but the membership was so distributed to exclude it from contesting all but local elections. Table 1 gives us the APA total for all states during the election of 1894.

Table 1

## Membership of the American Protective Association

State	Membership Total	State Population
Maine	6,500	722,000
New Hampshire	3,800	385,000
Vermont	4,750	337,000
Massachusetts	100,000	2,472,749
Rhode Island	2,700	375,000
Connecticut	3,800	790,000
New York	150,000	6,690,842
New Jersey	78,000	1,689,400
Pennsylvania	165,000	5,745,574
Delaware	2,500	179,700
Maryland	18,000	1,122,890
West Virginia	7,500	857,325
Ohio	163,500	3,825,000
Indiana	75,850	2,406,504
Michigan	125,000	2,241,500
Kentucky	85,000	2,000,000
Illinois	125,000	4,500,000
Missouri	138,000	3,000,000
Wisconsin	176,850	2,000,000
Minnesota	12,500	1,500,000
North Dakota	4,325	200,000
South Dakota	3,000	390,000
Montana	18,000	185,000
Idaho	7,500	125,000
Iowa	76,000	2,010,000
Nebraska	84,500	1,250,000
Wyoming	19,000	80,000
Kansas	65,325	1,450,000
Colorado	100,000	425,000
Utah	20,500	252,834

Table 1--Continued

State	Membership Total	State Population
Virginia	5,600	1,750,000
North Carolina	3,500	1,700,000
South Carolina	3,675	1,270,000
Tennessee	85,000	1,800,000
Georgia	6,500	1,956,000
Florida	1,350	425,000
Alabama	3,785	1,600,000
Mississippi	2,500	1,352,800
Louisiana	15,800	1,200,000
Arkansas	25,650	1,800,000
Oklahoma	3,250	250,000
Texas	65,000	2,650,000
New Mexico	2,500	190,000
Alaska	2,545	32,000
Washington	115,000	395,589
Oregon	84,000	350,000
California	175,650	1,350,000
Nevada	8,450	44,000
Arizona	3,850	68,000
District of Columbia		
United States Total	2,448,540	
Europe Total	7,850	
WORLD TOTAL	2,456,390	

Source: Kinzer, D.L. (1964). An episode in anti-Catholicism, The American Protective Association (pp. 178-179). Seattle: University of Washington Press.



APA influence can be seen by looking at a number of political campaigns, Kinzer (1984) states that the APA was particularly active in Michigan cities citing Detroit and Saginaw as examples. Kinzer also cites APA strength in Wisconsin, Illinois, Ohio and Minnesota, particularly over the question of Catholic schools.

Although the APA itself did not win the elections, their voting power caused the Republican candidates to win. The New York Sun of Sunday, October 15, 1893, commented:

Since its establishment this organization, three-fourths of the members which are Republicans, has exercised a remarkable influence in Michigan, Nebraska, Iowa and Illinois, the candidates covertly endorsed and secretly supported by the APA, triumphed unexpectedly in many cities heretofore staunchly Democratic." (Cited in Desmond, 1969)

The APA began to decline in 1895 and its failure became pronounced and unmistakable from its convention of 1896 onward (Kinzer, 1964).

### Involvement With Law Enforcement

#### Local and State

Each of the three groups discussed in this chapter, and which are taken as representative of American traditional right wing movements, made an effort to solicit support and members from local and state law enforcement officers.

The Ku Klux Klan attempted on many occasions to gain support from local and state law enforcement officers. Klan recruiting success, particularly in rural southern sheriff departments has been documented numerous times.

Prior to very recent changes in recruitment practices, police tended to come from lower status and less educated segments of the population. White working class background, high school education or less, average intelligence, cautious personality--these are the typical features of the modern police recruit. The larger context of American politics tends to press the police to support rightist or conservative positions (Lipsit & Raab, 1978). Appeals to patriotism and loyalty to the country have always been attractive to police officers.

Whitehead (1970) quotes imperial Wizard Sam Bowers, Jr. at a Klan rally on June 7, 1964.

Join with and support local police and duly constituted law enforcement agencies with volunteers, legally deputized men from our own ranks; to stop black, our first contact with troops of the enemy should be as legally deputized law enforcement officers. (p. 6)

During Klan outbreaks in Louisiana, Governor John Parker appealed to President Harding for Federal assistance because he could not trust the state's police force. Governor Parker told President Harding that a number of law enforcement officers and others charged with the enforcement of laws in Louisiana are publicly recognized

as members of the Ku Klux Klan, and in Meridian, Mississippi, the Klan recruited police Sergeant Wallace Miller, a 16-year veteran of the police department (Whitehead, 1970).

Tulley (1965) tells us of a candidate for the position of sheriff of Pear River County, Poplarville, Mississippi, who declared publicly that he was a suspect in the killing of a black rape suspect; he stated that being a suspect would greatly help his campaign. He did receive most of the votes in an eight-man race but lost in the run-off. He charged that FBI Agents "talked to me like I was a nigger or a dog." In addition, Tulley states that of a number of Mississippi KKK members arrested at Philadelphia, Mississippi for the slaying of three civil rights workers on June 21, 1984, two were a county sheriff and his chief deputy.

During the Klan campaign of terror in Mississippi, FBI Director Hoover sought the assistance of the Mississippi Highway patrol and local police and sheriffs officers but was aware that the Klan was making special efforts to recruit police officers and was succeeding to an alarming degree. Hoover met with Mississippi Governor Johnson, State Attorney General Joe T. Patterson and Colonel T. B. Birdson, Director of Public Safety and handed the Governor a list of names of Ku Klux Klan members in Mississippi. Included in the list were a

number of local law enforcement officers and two Mississippi state highway patrolmen.

As the fight against the Klan continued, the FBI had difficulty pursuing cases in Mississippi because law enforcement, to include city, county and state had been infiltrated by the Klan. Klansmen had weakened the will of the state and local police agencies to oppose the Klan and voice of moderation in state and local law enforcement were muffled (Whitehead, 1970).

Later, studies of the Klan showed that the occupation of policemen frequently showed up on Klan reports. Klan leaders took particular pride in emphasizing the large number of law enforcement officers and Protestant clergy that had joined the Klan. Police were attracted to an organization which was dedicated to uphold the moral order and punish evildoers.

Typical of Klan propaganda was the plank in the program of the Chicago Klan which called for "supporting officials in all phases of law enforcement." Membership lists in different parts of California indicated that roughly ten percent of the policemen in practically every city including the chiefs of police of Los Angeles and Bakersfield and the sheriff of Los Angeles County belonged to the Klan. In Atlanta, home of the Klan, a very high percentage of the police belonged to the Klan. A study of the Dallas Klan reports that the organization

dominated the police force of that city as well. Considerable police support for the Klan was reported in Portland, Oregon; Tulsa, Oklahoma; Madison, Wisconsin; Memphis, Tennessee and various other places (Lipsit & Raab, 1978).

A study of the Black Legion also shows law enforcement involvement in the right wing group. Morris (1936) relates that a local secretary of the Auto Workers Union in Lincoln Park, Michigan, was murdered and a one-legged Detroit policeman "peg-leg White" had threatened the victim. Morris also related that Detroit Police Commissioner Heinrich Dickert was accused of being a member of the Black Legion and that the Detroit Police Department was carrying out activities of a Black Legion character, mainly anti-labor activities. Recruiting was concentrated around armed individuals--policemen, prison guards, rifle club members, sheriffs, National Guard officers and various other police officials.

Arlington Jones, a Highland Park, Michigan City employee told of coercion used to force him to join the Black Legion in 1934. According to Jones' account, City Councilman Wilson held a gun to his ribs while Chief of Police Sparling and former Mayor Markland were present. In 1934, at Pontiac, Michigan, the Black Legion elected most of the city administration. After the election, the first step was to fire the old police chief because

members of the Black Legion in the police department under him had all been promised promotions after the election. At a public hearing during the winter of 1934-1935, the Black Legion membership of several police officers and county officials was exposed (Morris, 1936).

In addition to Morris (1936), Lipsit and Raab (1978) cite the Black Legion presence among public officials in Michigan. In Oakland County (near Detroit, Michigan) a Grand Jury published names of 86 public officials who had been members of the Black Legion, including a state representative, county prosecuting attorney, city treasurer and the chief of police of Pontiac, the county seat.

Police involvement in the American Protective Association (APA) can also be found. Table 2 from The Politics of Unreason - Right-Wing Extremism in America 1970-1977, gives us examples of police membership in the APA in Minneapolis, three small California cities, and Oakland, California.

Desmond (1969) relates that the APA initiated a number of mayors, sheriffs and local officials through the West. Kinzer (1964) states that in Toledo, Ohio, the chief APA leaders were B. F. Remo, Attorney and Captain Egbert Doville, Chief of Police, Toledo, Ohio.

Table 2  
Occupations of Members of the Minneapolis APA, 1894  
Compared With the Census Reports, 1900

	APA Members (1894)	All Minneapolis Males	Native Born		Foreign Born White
			Native Parents	Foreign Parents	
Manual	41.0%	65%	47%	65%	77%
Policemen	6.5	1	1	1	1
Firemen	6.5	1			
Total Manual & Service	54.0	66	48	34	22
Nonmanual	46.0	33	52	34	22
Number	(199)	(65,450)	(18,334)	(16,562)	(28,892)
Unlocated in Directory	29.0%				
Number	(282)				

Occupations of Members of the APA in Three Small California Cities, 1894

	Sacraments	San Jose	Los Gatos	Total Three
Manual	60%	29%	67%	53.0%
Police	8	7	--	5.0
Total Manual & Police	68	36	67	58.0
Nonmanual	32	64	21	39.5
Farm	--	--	12	2.5
Number	(89)	(58)	(52)	(199)

Occupations of Members of the APA in Oakland, California,  
1897, Compared With the Census Reports, 1900

	APA Members (1894)	All Oakland Males	Native Born		Foreign Born White
			Native Parents	Foreign Parents	
Manual	42.1%	50.7%	38.0%	44.1%	51.1%
Police	3.6	1.0	1.1	1.4	.9
Total Manual & Police	45.7	51.7	39.1	45.5	52.0
Nonmanual	54.3	48.3	60.9	54.5	48.0
Number	(84)	(20,870)	(6,921)	(5,490)	(7,110)
Unlocated in Directory	31.0%				
Number	(122)				

Source: Lipsit, S.M., & Raab, E. (1978). *The politics of unreason - right wing extremism in America 1970-1977* (2nd ed.)(pp. 87-88). University of Chicago Press.

It has been shown that law enforcement officers joined the Ku Klux Klan, APA and Black Legion in relatively large numbers. Large membership can lead us to presume even larger numbers of police and sheriffs deputies who had sympathy with the beliefs of the old right wing. During the Klan uprising in Louisiana in the 1920s, as previously noted, Governor John M. Parker requested federal help from President Harding because he could not trust the state's police force. Sympathy for the Ku Klux Klan had permeated both local and state police agencies (Whitehead, 1970).

It is clear that the three and seemingly typical old right wing groups studied here, attempted to recruit state and local law enforcement officers as members and supporters. But, what about the old right wing attitude toward Federal officers, particularly the FBI?

Whitehead (1970) discussed the FBI breaking a Klan murder case by its recruitment of Klan member, Police Sergeant Wallace Miller in Meridian, Mississippi. The FBI also used Miller to disrupt Klan activities in Lauderdale County, Mississippi.

A study by Tulley (1965) tells us about the Alabama Klan calling the FBI the "Federal Bureau of Integration" and the deliberate attempt to coerce citizens from cooperating with the FBI in its investigation of the Ku Klux Klan.



The attitude of the Klan toward the FBI can be seen in an issue of "The Thunderbolt" the organ of the States Right Party. The Thunderbolt argues that the FBI is a major part of the "conspiracy" and:

The FBI stands for the civil rights of a nigger to rape your wife, daughter or sister. To be effective, a conspiracy must camouflage itself and its true purpose and to pretend to be the opposite of what it really is. That is the method of J. Edgar Hoover, the master of deceit and the Communist-Jewish conspiracy which placed him at the head of the FBI. (cited in Lipsit & Raab, 1978, p. 282)

Clearly, the Klan and other old right wing groups had no love for the FBI. The FBI and other Federal law enforcement agencies were always seen by the right wing as the Agents of Communism and the pawns of the Jewish dominated Federal Government. This attitude by right wing groups continues to the present day.

The old right wing groups did have success in recruiting state and local law enforcement officers. The ease with which the old right wing organization recruited police officers was due to the existence of similar socioeconomic back grounds of these organization members and the potential recruits in the law enforcement community. Similar beliefs and values attracted policemen to the old right wing organizations. Schoenberger (1969) set forth five reasons for attraction to radical right groups:

1. Alienation: felt by those uprooted by industrialization and organization.
2. Status Anxiety: concern for low social status.
3. Provincialism: resentment of increasing social economic and cultural dominance by society in large cities.
4. Fundamentalism: a close affinity between dogma and right wing interpretation of history.
5. Old-Fashioned Individualism: resentment of immense bureaucratic organizations that crowded individual enterprise to the wall. (p. 29)

All of the above traits were present in law enforcement officers as well as in others who joined the radical right wing groups.

The desire among the right wing leaders to recruit law enforcement officers arose from the obvious advantage of neutralizing the uniform enforcement of laws as well as the symbolic importance of police to private organization; simultaneously seeking to subvert public functions while verbally stressing their patriotism and good citizenship.

The relationship of right wing groups to the FBI can be seen as an extension of the radical right wing group's fear and loathing of the federal government as an entity. The federal government has always been received with populist distrust by these groups and that reaction was heightened by the New Deal domestic policies and the more recent definition and enforcement of laws dealing with civil rights and liberties.

While the old extremist right felt a deep hostility toward federal law enforcement, the crux of the issue is elsewhere: The virtually congenial relationship existing between these fanatical organizations and state and local law enforcement personnel, including command officers. The effectiveness of the old extremist right was substantially increased by this association.

The association itself was easily, almost naturally nurtured. Shared socioeconomic status, religious and ethnic compatibility, common hatreds and fears all combined to create strong bonds of sympathy. Moreover, the ideology of the right fanatics spoke not only in the name of some vague nativist image of an America that once (they insisted) was, but also insisted upon respect for and obedience to the received constitutional structure of the United States, even that of the federal government.

## CHAPTER III

### CURRENT RIGHT-WING GROUPS

#### FBI Observations

Robert Miles of Cohoctah, Michigan is well known to FBI Agents investigating right-wing groups. Miles in the past, was the leader of the Ku Klux Klan in Michigan and now calls himself the pastor of the Mountain Church. Miles and his church now closely affiliate themselves with the Reverend Richard Butler and the Church of Jesus Christ Christian. Miles has never renounced his Ku Klux Klan affiliation but has extended the Klan philosophy to the ultra-right religious Mountain Church.

During the 1960s, Miles was convicted of violations of civil rights laws because of his leadership involvement in school bus bombings in Pontiac, Michigan. Recently, Miles was again charged with violations of Federal statutes. Miles was found not guilty of these violations in a trial in U.S. District Court in Arkansas.

FBI investigation in Michigan finds the new right-wing to be small in numbers but dedicated to current right-wing principles and maintaining close contact with other right-wing groups in the U.S., particularly the Aryan Nation and the Ku Klux Klan.

## Survey of Appropriate Groups

### The Aryan Nation

The Aryan Nation is the most recent group of ultra right-wing extremists that will be described in this study. The early Aryan Nation consisted largely of former members of the Posse Comitatus, a survivalist tax-revolt organization whose members have had violent, and sometimes deadly, confrontations with federal agents. The Aryan Nation also traces its origins to the Identity Church, a white supremacy religion that believes Anglo-Saxons, not Jews, are the true people of Israel (Plenciak, 1985).

In a recent issue of "Newsweek", Mark Starr (1985) describes the Aryan Nation as embracing white supremacists, survivalist, trigger-happy tax resisters and neo-Naxis who believe Mein Kampf is the last book of the Bible. The members are schooled in the acts of war, heavily armed and inspired by the cockeyed, revisionist Christian theology known as Identity. This "Christian Identity" doctrine teaches that God's chosen people are Aryans, and Jews are the offspring of Satan, who must be exterminated in a racial Armageddon (King, 1987).

Starr (1985) quotes an assistant director of the FBI, "This is a small cadre of individuals dedicated to violence and engaged in paramilitary activities." The

right-wing group is modeled after a crusade in the fantasy novel The Turner Diaries written by American neo-Nazi William Pierce, a former physics professor. In the book, an army of white-supremacist super-patriots overthrows a tyrannical American government and, after a murder spree against Jews and other non-Aryans, followed by the nuclear destruction of Israel, ushers in a "Christian Paradise."

A study by Harris (1985) showed that the leader of the Aryan Nation is Richard Gwint Butler, who believes, and preaches, that the white race is under attack. Butler, the pastor of the church of Jesus Christ Christian, preaches a gospel of white, Christian supremacy, Jewish villainy and government treachery.

When the Declaration of Independence talks about "one people," it's not talking about a nation made for Asia, Africa, India or the Soviet Union. That's a document based on a Christian people. We have watched like frightened sheep as do-gooders, sniveling around the underprivileged, gleefully grabbed our children by the nape of the neck and rubbed their faces in filth to create equality. (p. 23).

The new radical right in general, and the Aryan Nation with splinter groups, The Silent Brotherhood and The Order in particular, have now targeted the U.S. Government as its number one enemy (Starr, 1985).

The Order has mailed copies of a "Declaration of War" to the U.S. Congress. The Declaration of War, an

Open Letter to the U.S. Congress and The Order's Principles of War and Rules of Engagement have been included to enable the reader to further understand the philosophy of The Order and its parent Aryan Nation. The documents set forth were mailed to the Congress of the United States (see Appendix A).

Appendix A, contains examples of what the Aryan Nations proclaim ideologically. According to Aryan Nation beliefs, only the true Aryan can save the U.S. Immigrants and Jews are offsprings of Satan. Federal law enforcement officers are the agents of the Zionist controlled government and those who assist the Federal agents are pawns of the Zionists. Local law enforcement is thought of as the partners of the Federal agents, and, as such, are enemies of the true Aryan brotherhood.

The Aryan Nation leadership knows that the old right wing most frequently relied on rhetoric, and they are determined that deeds, not words, are necessary today. The "Los Angeles Times" of January 21, 1985, tells us that the Aryan Nations has been linked to nine months of violent crimes (Jackson & Ostros, 1985). The "New York Times" (1984) states that sources close to Federal investigators believe the extremist Aryan Nation has been involved in at least four bank and armored car robberies (King, 1984). The "Washington Post" quotes the FBI as linking the Aryan Nation to several armored car

robberies, slaying a Denver talk-show host Alan Berg, and several assaults on FBI agents (Thornton & Reid, 1984). Finally, the February 11, 1985, edition of "Time Magazine" contains an article that tells us several managers of Brinks Armored Car, Inc. have been identified as members of the "Brotherhood of Silence." They were arrested in early February 1989 by the FBI in California and are being charged with conspiracy to rob Brinks' main storage vault in San Francisco. One of the two was also charged in the \$3.6 million Brinks armored car robbery in California which occurred in July, 1984.

A last comment about the Aryan Nation; although they probably number only 100-150 members, they claim affiliation with other right-wing groups. In July, 1981, the Aryan Nation claimed the following groups were in attendance at a "Summit Meeting": The Aryan Nation, The Mountain Church, The National Socialist Liberation Front, The Torch, Ku Klux Klan and the Fifth Ear, Coalition of Churches of Jesus Christ Christian, The Imperial Order of the Black Eagle from New York and neo-nazi groups from Canada, West Germany, Belgium and Ireland. Further, the Aryan Nation claims an affiliation with a white-supremacist prison gang known as the Aryan Brotherhood, active in a number of prisons in the Federal and State correction systems (Plenciak, 1985).



### The Ku Klux Klan

The Ku Klux Klan has risen like an evil Phoenix, three times. In the 1920s, the Klan claimed 3,000,000 to 6,000,000 members and was basically anti-black in its stance. Later, in the 1940s, it added Catholics and Jews to its list of hatred (Lipsit & Raab, 1978).

Now, the Klan has added a right-wing religious philosophy to its early white-hate tenets. The Klan has always been prepared to perpetrate isolated acts of violence against person and property, but now it has taken on a much more paramilitary stance. Many of its members are veterans of the Vietnam war, familiar with explosives, weapons and small unit tactics.

According to Starr (1985) the Klan also goes by other names - it can call itself the Mountain Church but it is still the Ku Klux Klan. In speaking of FBI actions against the Aryan Nation, Robert Miles, a former Ku Klux Klan grand dragon and new pastor of the Mountain Church in Cohoctah, Michigan, says "This is the start of another witch hunt." (p. 23) Miles, who served six years in federal prison for a plot to blow up school buses shortly before court-ordered school busing was to begin in Pontiac, Michigan, concedes there is "a lot of discussion, but no conspiracy. The government is the biggest conspiracy on earth. They see a mirror image of themselves in every problem." (p. 26).

Planciak (1985) notes in speaking of having a special memorial service for a right-wing extremist killed in a shootout with the FBI, Miles says "I think it's a good idea. Why not a memorial for someone who practiced what he preached?" (p. H-3)

Today's Klan continues to perpetrate violent acts on American citizens. In November, 1984, a Federal jury in Atlanta, Georgia, convicted three Ku Klux Klan members of civil rights' violations in what the prosecution called racially-motivated beatings in Western Georgia in 1982 and 1983 (New York Times, 1984). In June, 1984, a civil suit was filed by a North Carolina prison guard, who is black, asserting that the Ku Klux Klan in North Carolina operates a paramilitary army with more than 300 members. The suit claimed harassment and threats by the Klan (New York Times, 1984).

In May 1984, a Federal District Judge in Birmingham, Alabama, removed himself from a trial of nine Klan members because he was warned that his name once appeared on a Klan "hit list" for assassination. The nine Klansmen were accused of attacking black civil rights demonstrators in May, 1979 (New York Times, 1983).

In 1979, five communist demonstrators were killed in a Greensboro, North Carolina gun battle with Ku Klux Klan and American Nazi party members (Taylor, 1984).

As with the Aryan Nation, the Klan has been linked with a number of other right-wing extremist groups. FBI official Cecil Moses advised that fugitive Alabama church bomber J. B. Stoner had been tracked to the Southwest, where his trail was intriguingly linked with that of a fugitive Posse Comitatus member accused of killing two U.S. Marshals in a North Dakota gun battle. Moses said that investigators tracking both men, increasingly found Ku Klux Klan members and other right-wing extremists who knew them both (Rose, 1983).

The above examples show that the Ku Klux Klan continues to operate. Many in the United States believe the Klan is a thing of the past. On the contrary, the Klan today can be found in all areas of the United States, including our prisons and the armed forces.

Little data can be found on Klan infiltration of the armed forces and prison population but reports continue to reach federal investigators about Klan literature and paraphernalia found in military barracks and prison facilities. The Secretaries of the Armed Forces have considered it prudent to publish official policy warnings prohibiting membership in groups advocating racial hatred. Doctrines of hatred continue to be preached by Klan leaders and people continue to be injured and killed. It is also evident that the Klan has found a sympathetic ear in other right-wing groups like the Aryan Nation and the Posse Comitatus.

### The Posse Comitatus

The Posse Comitatus is a loosely-knit, ultra-right group led by James P. Wickstrom. It began at least fifteen years ago in the far West and has moved eastward through the Rockies and into the rich farmlands of the Midwest. Leaders claim it has adherents in all states except Hawaii. The Posse burst into notoriety when two U.S. Marshals were killed trying to arrest member Gordon Kahl on February 13, 1983, in North Dakota (Prochnau, 1983).

On April 24, 1983, "The Atlanta Constitution" newspaper described members of the Posse Comitatus as people who paint themselves as patriots opposing unjust U.S. taxes like those at the Boston Tea Party. The creed of the Posse Comitatus includes hatred of Jews, Communists, blacks, immigrants and the government (King, 1983).

In addition to not paying taxes, the Posse Comitatus has been making plans to begin its own city-government. Alpine County, California, resisted efforts of the Posse Comitatus to establish ultra-conservative "constitution city" on 600 acres of land in the high Sierras. It would have been a thirty-five million dollar project which was masterminded by Posse leader Francis Gillings. "Constitution City" was to have housed 200 families, have its

own bank, business and school districts and, of course, would pay no taxes. The project gained impetus from the campaign of Posse-backed John E. Buras for Sheriff of Alpine County. Posse Comitatus recognizes county sheriffs as the only legitimate law enforcement authority in the United States. A grand jury probe took place to determine if Posse members had "padded" election polls with non-existent voters in support of Sheriff candidate Buras (Los Angeles Times, 1978).

It is important to note that the county sheriff is only considered legitimate if he is a member or supporter of Posse Comitatus.

Posse Comitatus members frequently carry out campaigns of harassment to further their aims. Posse leader Gillings was sentenced to 90 days in jail and three years' probation for assaulting a sheriff's deputy. The assault resulted when members of Posse Comitatus, in trying to keep United Farm Workers organizers from entering a field, were approached by deputies and Gillings claiming to accidentally trip, discharged his shotgun, causing a concussion to the deputy (San Francisco Chronicle, 1976).

The Posse is particularly interested in defeating any labor movement in farming communities as the Posse had its roots in the strong independent family farm in

the Midwest and West and early Posse members were strongly anti-union in their views.

The Posse Comitatus does not hesitate to broadcast its message of hate. In Dodge City, Kansas, radio station KTTL-FM, run by Charlie and Nellie Babbs, broadcasts the Posse "line" against blacks, Jews and other groups. Senator Robert Dole and Kansas Attorney General Robert Stephan have protested the existence of KTTL-FM, but the FCC warns that license revocation would be difficult, given constitutional guarantee of free-speech (King, 1983).

Today, the "Aryan Nation Hour" can be found on radio KZZI, Salt Lake City, Utah. The Aryan Nation supports the Posse Comitatus over the radio waves (Robbins, 1987).

With its anti-tax stance, Posse Comitatus constantly has "run-ins" with Internal Revenue Service officers. The Posse frequently communicates threats to IRS agents. IRS personnel in New England have been warned about potential danger from the Posse. The IRS had developed information that the Posse had plans to kidnap and murder IRS employees. Attacks and threats against IRS personnel continued to escalate in recent years (Causey, 1980). IRS agents have found Posse literature calling for death to IRS employees and they usually meet with threats when confronting Posse sympathizers.

Eventually, the threats and assaults led to further violence and in February, 1983, Gordon Kahl murdered two U.S. Marshals attempting to arrest him for tax evasion.

Kahl remained a badly--wanted fugitive, pursued by federal agents to various hideouts. In February, 1983, shortly after the two Marshals were killed, about 100 police officers and agents, using a National Guard armored personnel carrier and firing teargas, assaulted a farmhouse in Heaton, North Dakota in a futile effort to arrest Kahl. Finally, Kahl was tracked to Smithville, Arkansas, when he was killed in a gun battle with law enforcement officers. Sheriff Gene Matthews was killed in shoot-out and Kahl's body was badly burned in a fire started by teargas canisters. Two Posse members were arrested for harboring Kahl (U.S. Government Records, 1984).

After Kahl's death, unfavorable national publicity and intensive investigation by the FBI and IRS caused the Posse Comitatus to diminish in size and importance. Some of its members drifted to the newly-formed Aryan Nation. But Posse leader Donald Miniecheske, recently released after eleven months in a Wisconsin prison, insists that the Posse Comitatus continues to flourish--only underground (Starr, 1985).

### Involvement With Law Enforcement

A review of this chapter clearly shows the attitude of the "new" right-wing toward law enforcement including local, state and federal officers.

The new right rejects the constitutional authority of law enforcement claiming that the Federal government is dominated by Zionists and the government is one of enemy occupation. If one can ideologically claim the government is illegitimate, then the destruction of law enforcement can be carried out with zeal. This explains the determination of the new right in their attacks on law enforcement.

No longer do these groups look for members and supporters in the law enforcement community. Now their goal is to "neutralize" law enforcement as we know it.

In the Aryan Nation Principles of War and Rules of Engagement it is stated: "if the agents of ZOG harass or injure our non-combatants, such as women, children, aged or infirmed, we will return injury for injury." (p. 19) It also states: "Any local police officer, state patrolman or other law enforcement personnel who cooperate with the agents of ZOG and injures us in any way will be regarded as combatants. Those who do not will be regarded as non-combatants." (p. 19)



The "Washington Post" on December 18, 1984, quotes the FBI as linking the Aryan Nation to assaults on FBI agents (Thornton & Reid, 1984).

The new Ku Klux Klan has also been linked to violence toward law enforcement officers. A Klan fugitive has been linked to a fugitive Posse Comitatus member accused of killing two U.S. Marshals in a North Dakota gun battle. Both fugitives were linked to Ku Klux Klan members in the Southwest (Rose, 1983).

Posse Comitatus member Gordon Kahl was the individual charged with killing the U.S. Marshals on February 13, 1983 (Prochnau, 1983). Posse Comitatus leader Francis Gillings was sentenced to jail for assaulting a sheriff's deputy (San Francisco Chronicle, 1976). In addition, Posse Comitatus members constantly have altercations with Internal Revenue Service agents and are known to communicate threats to the IRS employees. These threats and attacks against IRS personnel have escalated in recent years (Causey, 1980). When law enforcement personnel finally tracked down Gordon Kahl, he was killed in a violent shoot-out, but also killed was Sheriff Gene Matthews (New York Times, 1983).

Finally, as mentioned in the introduction to this study, Order member Robert Matthews held off FBI agents for approximately one and one-half days before finally succumbing to the FBI assaults.

All the above examples show that the new right-wing has no interest in law enforcement support but is interested in forming a "new" country with law enforcement created by the new right itself.

Recalling old right-wing ideologies, it can be seen that the old right's desire was to enhance the American government by "improving on the existing system." Appeals were made based on nativism, patriotism and the existing fundamentalist religious groups. The socioeconomic status of persons attracted to the old right-wing meshed very closely with that of the law enforcement officers of the time.

In comparing the old and new right-wing ideologies, it can be seen that the old right-wing had an interest in attracting law enforcement officers to its groups while the new right-wing desires to destroy law enforcement as it exists today.

The recruitment of these type individuals is an additional and significant departure from those recruited by the old right-wing. The old right-wing attempted to recruit lower class persons, but those were not found among the more dangerous elements in society. The old right recruits tended to be poor, uneducated and easily led but not bearing contempt for the government; in fact, the old right recruits felt allegiance to America, but believed America could be better with acceptance of the

old right programs. Current right-wing membership is much farther removed from the main stream of society and see the only salvation for America to be its destruction in its present form.

It is a possibility that the new radical right's hostility toward authority may, in part, reflect the old right-wing's ethnic, racial and religious hatreds now facing a political establishment firmly leading our society in the removal of officially sanctioned and tolerated discrimination and prejudice.

The new right-wing groups prefer to recruit weapons-trained members from violent and cynical individuals in the prison population and from the various branches of the U.S. Military. These persons tend to be angry and contemptuous in their feelings to the U.S. government and are capable and willing to do violent acts in furtherance of the radical right-wing "cause" they serve.

## CHAPTER IV

### CONCLUSION - A DAMAGE ASSESSMENT

#### Comparison Between Old and New Right-Wing Groups

Much of the philosophy of the old and new right-wing extremist groups is very similar. An examination of both old and new right groups reveals a number of common points.

Moralism and religious fundamentalism are common to all such right-wing groups. A moralistic note is the central theme for the far right-wing and that this moralistic note is regularly associated with Christianity. In addition, one of the prime sources for extremism is religious fundamentalism.

In Hofstadter (1965) study he emphasizes fundamentalism as a religious style predisposed to political action. Right-wing groups have always been a haven for preachers, ex-preachers and sons of preachers and well fit the style of evangelical revivalists. So it is that in the 1920s, fundamentalist leaders gave substantial support to the Ku Klux Klan, particularly in the South. From 1922 to 1928, twenty-six out of thirty-nine anti-Catholic lecturers employed by the Klan were fundamentalist Protestant minister. Sixteen of these ministers

were also Klan officials. Klansmen were commonly entertained in the homes of these ministers and churches were used for Klan meeting. Two chief leaders of the Klan had fundamentalist background. Colonel William J. Simmons had been a religious camp meeting exhorter and Edward Y. Clarke went into the fundamentalist movement after quitting the Klan.

Today, superficially continuing the church-movement connection, Richard Gwint Butler, the leader of the Aryan Nation styles himself as the pastor of the Church of Jesus Christ Christian. Robert Miles of Michigan, now affiliated with the Aryan Nation, and a former leader of the Ku Klux Klan calls himself the pastor of the Mountain Church (Harris, 1985).

However, as this study has demonstrated, the new right extremist groups in America reject traditional religious and patriotic symbols while generally accepting those of our German enemy in World War II. Observers of these extremist right-wing groups today note the use of the swastika, the lightening bolt and the Nazi-like uniforms in preponderance at right-wing extremist meetings. In addition, they introduce religious symbols considered pagan by the evangelic and fundamentalistic churches which did so much to nurture traditional right extremism in the United States. Frequent references to thunder and lightening and usage of the ancient Norse

Gods, Tho and Odin is common to many of the extremist right-wing groups in the U.S. today. This can be seen as representing a self-limiting component in the new right-wing extremists, substantially alienating them from a newly integrated American Fundamentalism.

Further, the churches themselves have changed, no longer does anti-Semitic and anti-Romanist rhetoric carry the same weight. The Catholic and Evangelical public stances include cooperation on a range of moral issues the best example being abortion. While it is a relatively shallow issue, many of the fundamentalist preachers today see a surgent Israel as the fulfillment of their eschatology. This reduction (or reorientation) of fundamentalist bigotry also tends to isolate the new extremist right which persists in emphasizing traditional forms of bigotry. While the new fundamentalists are not offended by such bigotry, it is no longer (and not new) a point of attraction.

A second belief common to American right-wing groups is an all embracing conspiracy theory. Extremist politics is the politics of despair and backlash rather than thwarted progress. The conspiracy theory which comes from this despair has a distinctive conceptual model of its own. Authors such as Bell (1964) and Hofstadter (1965) as well as Lipset and Raab (1978) also emphasize the importance of a conspiracy theory to right-wing groups.

Certain fundamental similarities remain between the traditional and new right-wing extremist groups. These elements are social paranoia and status anxiety. Hofstadter (1965) tells us of common feelings of persecution in the extreme right-wing and sets out a belief in a sustained conspiracy as one of the three main tenets of right-wing thought. He also indicates that the central element in the paranoid style of politics is the belief in a vast and sinister conspiracy.

A third common element to right-wing groups in the United States is status anxiety. Hofstadter (1965) and Bell (1964) emphasize the importance of status anxiety and status resentment to the pseudo-conservative movement.

This study has shown that religious fundamentalism, moralism, belief in a conspiracy and status anxiety are common to the old and new right-wing groups. A common moralistic and fundamentalist religious belief can be found in the old Ku Klux Klan and the current Aryan Nation. The Posse Comitatus and the new Ku Klux Klan are certainly dominated by moralistic and fundamentalist leaders and activists.

The Klan, both old and new, Aryan Nation, Posse Comitatus, Black Legion and APA all have strong beliefs in a "great conspiracy" against the American people. The conspiracy generally is dominated by Jews, but blacks and

Catholics can also be part of the conspiracy and sometimes become the dominant concern. This leads to a total distrust and disobedience to the United States Government by the right-wing groups. The Posse Comitatus urges its members and the American people not to pay taxes to the Zionist dominated government. Status anxiety is also a common thread running through the right-wing groups examined. The Black Legion feared the labor unions and the increasing number of Roman Catholic workers, particularly in the automotive industry. The APA existed because of concerns for the increasing number of Roman Catholic immigrants to the United States and their ability to earn places of influence in the work force and in local politics. The semi-illiterate worker who came to the cities from the rural South increasingly became anxious as more Roman Catholic immigrants joined him in the work place.

An additional common point between the old right-wing groups and new right-wing groups are certain points of ideological convergence. Both the old and the new right-wing groups believe in superiority of the white race. Both groups have adapted their religious beliefs to fit their racist, anti-semitic nativist views. The old right-wing groups adapted Christian fundamentalist beliefs to fit their racism, anti-Catholic, anti-semitic and nativist bigotry; and the new right-wing groups



generally espoused the "identity" philosophy stating basically that whites, not Jews, (blacks, etc.) are God's chosen people and that the Jews are the chosen of Satan. The Identity philosophy sees both Jews and Blacks as unclean and even less than human. To Identity believers, only whites can be truly "Christian" and of course Jews, not being Christian, are totally eliminated from consideration.

Both the old and new right-wing relish the display of pretentious symbols. The old right-wing groups such as the Ku Klux Klan and the Black Legion made use of hoods, robes, the American flag (and the Stars and Bars), and burning crosses; and the new right-wing groups such as the Aryan Nation utilize a set of neo-Nazi symbols such as the double lightening bolt, swastika, the Nazi salute and ceremonies utilizing a sword and blood oaths. For both the old and the new right, the hoods, robes, burning crosses and symbols were often functional in a most direct sense, to mask identity and instill fear and awe. But the differences demand attention. The new right-wing groups, although avowedly Christians, tend to cite the old Norse Gods as part of their ceremonies as noted above. And as the religious symbols of the new extremist right are frequently drawn from extra-Christian sources; the secular symbols are commonly imitations of former international foes of the United States.

An observer of Aryan Nation induction ceremonies would see in form, at least, a traditional conservative Christian appeal to God to bless the new "Aryan Warriors". However, there are alien elements. The church is decorated with "Volkish" symbols including the lightning bolt. The minister formally inducts the new members utilizing a large sword which is placed on each new member's shoulder as they are sworn to loyalty to the Aryan Nation. An outside observer would consider the entire ceremony to be ludicrous but the participants appear to be totally serious, and the entire ritual is laced with religious spirit utilizing appropriate and fabricated religious symbols.

It is clear that much of this religiously and politically alien, feuding to disassociate the new American extremist right from its familiar basis of religious reinforcement, and from resurgent American nationalism, typically protective of traditional patriotic symbols. Ideologically the new American extremist right, at least to this point, has partially deprived itself of the opportunity to tap into the frustrations and zealotry driving resurgent religious and political fundamentalism.

## A Final Assessment of the New Extremist Right

The new extremist right presents a clear danger and there is a particular concern to law enforcement agencies. The easy access to modern weaponry and communications equipment provides law enforcement with a new challenge. The Federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms is investigating the Aryan Nation acquisition of heavy weapons, including submachine guns and hand grenades and the Internal Revenue Service is examining the activities of some heavily armed sect members on tax evasion charges (Jackson & Ostrow, 1985).

Between October 1984 and March 1986, thirty-eight members of The Order were arrested. On December 7, 1984, Robert Matthews was killed on Whidbey Island, Washington, resisting arrest. Shoulder weapons, handguns, hand grenades, and other explosives, money, ammunition, and possible target lists were recovered at various safe-houses and other locations.

Another group that was involved into criminal activity was the Covenant, the Sword, the Arm of the Lord (CSA). Beginning in 1980, some CSA members were involved in bombings, arsons, robberies and the murder of a black Arkansas State policeman. During April, 1985, the CSA compound was raided by federal authorities. Military surplus equipment, shoulder weapons, heavy machine gun,

money, handguns, and grenades and other explosives were found in a search of the compound (Harris, 1987).

A "Chicago Tribune" article on November 10, 1987, reveals the weapon that killed Denver Talk Show Host was an automatic MAC-10 pistol wielded by a member of The Order (Coates, 1987).

The successor to Robert Matthews as head of The Order, Bruce Carroll Pierce, when arrested by the FBI, had in his possession a submachine gun, an automatic rifle, several sticks of dynamite, seven hand grenades, a pipe bomb and materials to make explosives. His wife, Julie Ann Wilson Pierce, was detained by police in Jasper, Alabama. She had half a dozen assault-type automatic or semi-automatic shoulder weapons suitable for use by terrorists. She also had fifteen hand grenades, three smoke grenades, bomb materials, over 1,000 rounds of ammunition, racist literature and \$7,000.00 in cash (King, 1985).

According to law enforcement officers in Colorado in 1983, Posse Comitatus members had purchased 30,000 rounds of ammunition from a sporting goods store. In addition, the Posse was collecting rocket-propelled grenades, mortars, heavy duty armor and other defensive equipment (Prochnau, 1983).

This more advanced weaponry in the hands of the new right extremists is a function both of their new

recruitment pools and the saturation of the United States by casually obtainable, advanced military weapons.

The new right-wing has become "hi-tech" in its communications. KTTL-FM, a radio station in Kansas broadcasts the right-wing message of hate. The station has suggested that listeners learn guerrilla warfare techniques, including garroting people in their sleep with lengths of rawhide; hanging public officials, "cleaning the earth" of "black beasts" and setting up ambushes for an impending racial armageddon (King, 1983).

The new right-wing even utilizes computers in its tactics to link groups and maintain communication to share information. The computer disseminates lists of those who "have betrayed their race." The lists include names and addresses of "race traitors" and "informers". The computer link is called the "Aryan Liberty Net" and is sponsored by the Aryan Nation. One message on the network warns "The older and less active spokesmen for the fold and faith are being replaced by the young lions. These dragons of God have no time for pamphlets and speeches. They are the armed party which is being born out of the inability of whit, male youth to be heard."

Another entry is a courtroom statement of a California man convicted of the 1982 killing of a 17 year old who informed on right-wing activities. The statement accuses the "satanic society" of the United States of

"murdering Christians like Gordon Kahl, who burned in Nebuchadnezzar's oven because he would not bow to your golden Babylonian God and pay your tribute to finance Israel." Kahl was a Posse Comitatus member who was charged with killing two U.S. Marshals and who was himself killed in a gun battle with federal agents (King, 1985).

Law enforcement officers conducting searches of extremist right-wing hide-outs and compounds have also found modern military type radio equipment to include equipment which is vehicle transportable and personal transmitters (PT's). This modern weaponry and communications equipment enables the extremist new right-wing groups to be in a position to maintain an equality logistically with law enforcement.

A second area of concern to law enforcement is the ability of the extremist right-wing groups to recruit experienced ground combat veterans and members of the prison population who have expertise in "street survival" and ability to conduct offensive operations. Military training of members of right-wing groups has been discussed earlier in this chapter.

Today's right-wing extremist groups naturally emphasize recruitment of people with prior military training. Of particular interest are veterans of the Vietnam War who have experienced ground combat and

carrying the frustrations felt by many who served in that theater. These individuals have extensive training in guerrilla warfare and small unit tactics. In addition, Vietnam veterans of ground combat tend to have experience in utilization of explosives, particularly C-4, a powerful plastic explosive. Much of the training by these right-wing groups is done in a forest environment where Vietnam veterans have experience in camouflage, cover and concealment tactics. A combination of trained ground combat veterans of Vietnam and former prison inmates presents a dangerous, experienced adversary for law enforcement officers. The availability of military communications equipment to the new right-wing groups causes further concern for law enforcement. These groups have, in many cases, managed to acquire military hand-held radios and back-pack type radios causing further difficulties for responding law enforcement officers. On one occasion, persons associated with a current right-wing groups robbed a bank in a rural location. Utilizing a get-away car, the perpetrators of the bank robbery permitted a local law enforcement officer to pursue them into nearby agricultural country. After the pursuit was well away from the city, the bank robbers turned quickly into a two-track road in a cornfield leading the lone pursuing law enforcement officer into an ambush.

As described before, the current right-wing groups are interested in the recruitment of military veterans, particularly Vietnam veterans. On what basis would the new right-wing groups appeal to Vietnam veterans? A survey of Vietnam veterans shows in general most veterans had little education and many were rural dwellers. Bitterness over lack of employment, feelings of betrayal, and general lack of job skills led some Vietnam veterans to right-wing groups. The groups have taken advantage of the background and attitude of Vietnam veterans to make themselves and their programs appealing. It is also possible that racism learned in the military has brought Vietnam veterans to new right-wing groups.

In addition to military training, the new right-wing groups now recruit from among prison population. The Aryan Nation have been linked to two extremist prison gangs called the Aryan Brotherhood and Aryan Special Forces. These prison groups are said to participate in loan-sharking, extortion and gambling and are suspected in the murders of guards and fellow prisoners (Thornton & Reid, 1984). The combination of experienced ground combat veterans and hardened ex-prisoners makes a formidable foe for law enforcement.

This study of new right-wing movements in the United States has determined a number of significant weaknesses which directly affect these groups ability to do signif-



icant harm to the United States. A weakness for the new right-wing groups is the rupture of their symbiotic relationship with local law enforcement agencies and officers. The old right-wing groups considered membership and support of local law enforcement officers to be a primary goal.

The new extremist right has found some strength in the more conservative attitude of the American public. The new extremist right has been able to accumulate modern weaponry and communication equipment as well as combat experienced veterans primarily of the Vietnam War. Also, some success has been noted in recruiting prisoners confined for perpetrating, violent crimes. These advantages are balanced by alienation caused by utilization of pagan religious symbols, changes in modern day religious fundamentalism and alienation from law enforcement.

As an example of the old right-wing attitude toward law enforcement, typical Ku Klux Klan propaganda called for support for officers in all phases of law enforcement. Of the twenty-one Mississippians arrested at Philadelphia, Mississippi for the slaying of three civil rights workers in 1964, two were a sheriff and his chief deputy, both members of the Ku Klux Klan (Tulley, 1965).

In addition to the above examples, during the FBI's investigation of Klan violence in Mississippi in the 1960s, local law enforcement could not be counted on to

assist in the investigation because the Klan had succeeded in recruiting a number of local officers (Whitehead, 1970).

Numerous examples can be found of the new right-wing's hostile attitude to law enforcement. Recall the events earlier noted: Members of The Order have been involved in assaults on federal officers and the murder of a Missouri State Patrol Officer. Members of the Covenant, the Sword, the Arm of the Lord (CSA) were involved in the murder of a black Arkansas State Policeman. Posse Comitatus members in 1983 murdered a U.S. Marshal and Deputy U.S. Marshal. The Internal Revenue Service (IRS) is a favorite target of the new right-wing groups. A number of right-wing group members have been arrested for threatening IRS personnel (Harris, 1987). The Order was found to have literature detailing a "point system" to achieve status by killing federal officers, blacks or Jews (King, 1985). The Posse Comitatus has a long record of assaults and attempts to intimidate sheriff's deputies, conservation officers, judges and IRS agents. One example occurred in California when Posse member assaulted a San Joaquin County Sheriff's Deputy during a Posse action against United Farm Workers union organizers (Rempel & Green, 1983).

In addition to The Order's "point system" located during a search, one handwritten tract found declared

"war" against the Zionist Occupation Government (ZOG) and the "Jew controlled media" and warned of "daily fire-fights" between law enforcement officials and the "heavily armed White American Revolutionary Army." Gary Yarborough, an Order member was charged with an armed assault on a federal officer. The charge grew out of an incident in October, 1984, when Yarborough was said to have run out of the woods and begun firing as FBI agents approached his home (King, 1984).

It has been previously established that the old right-wing groups had a particular appeal to police officers. Does the new right-wing have some appeal to police similar to that of the old right-wing? An examination finds many of the reasons that police joined old right-wing groups are still valid for the new right-wing groups. Policemen today still tend to have a mistrust of minorities, particularly blacks, and Spanish minorities. Policemen as part of their day-to-day jobs encounter the lower level of minority persons and tend to become racist. New government programs dealing with affirmative action, civil rights laws and civilian review of police actions tend to embitter policemen and make the philosophies of the new right-wing appealing to them.

It is true that the new right-wing does not wish to recruit police, but wishes to destroy law enforcement as we know it and establish their own brand of law

enforcement, but what would occur if the new right-wing groups attempted to accept policemen as part of their ranks? The answer to this question remains unclear although there is no evidence of a moderating viewpoint on the part of the new right-wing toward police officers. In addition, policemen no longer tend to come from the lowest classes and many police departments require a college degree prior to hiring new officers.

An attempt was made to locate statistics showing the number of law enforcement officers killed by new right-wing groups. No firm overall statistics are available which would show how many law enforcement officers have been killed by the new right-wing, but this study has encountered numerous successful attacks.

A Posse Comitatus member, killed two U.S. Marshals and one county sheriff prior to being killed himself during an arrest attempt by law enforcement. Members of the Order, a splinter group of the Aryan Nation, were identified as having killed a Missouri state patrolman and members of the Covenant, the Sword, the Arm of the Lord (CSA) were also identified as having killed an Arkansas state policeman (Harris, 1987). If these killings of law enforcement officers by the new right-wing continue, statistical data will soon be available to show the total number of police killings by new right-wing groups.

A third weakness found in current right-wing groups is their rejection of conventional Christian religiosity. Observers of "religious" ceremonies of the new right-wing see more of an example of pagan ritual than Christian liturgy.

As previously discussed, the new right-wing groups, although avowedly Christian, tend to cite the old Norse Gods as part of their ceremonies (Harris, 1987). This adoption of pagan ceremony and philosophy has further distanced the new right-wing from the mainline Christian community. A further demonstration of weakness by the new right-wing groups can be observed as an individualistic attitude which is so extreme as to prevent coordinated actions by the groups.

The new right-wing frequently claims to be attempting to join various groups together in a strong coalition and the Aryan Nation has been particularly outspoken in claiming a coalition of new right-wing groups. The new right-wing groups are found to have common speech emphasizing "God and Country" but the right-wing groups have no common way in which to form a new government. The question of who will govern remains unanswered as each group wishes to be dominant. All the right-wing groups are found to be Christian, fundamental, militant and paranoid but today, efforts at coalition have been largely unsuccessful. It has been found that the right-

wing leadership tends to be radically individual, with personal charisma of each leader binding each group to its head. Each right-wing group is a little freedom with each having its own "program" to save America. It would appear that no current right-wing leader is willing to sacrifice power in the interest of the true coalition.

During a recent trial of Aryan Nation members at Fort Smith, Arkansas, an observer could note an obvious competition and friction between Aryan Nation leader, Richard Gwint Butler and leader of the Mountain Church, Robert Miles. Butler and Miles claim to be friends and Aryan allies, but TV news coverage clearly showed an intense competition between them. Both men eagerly courted news media reports in an effort to gain the most attention.

Law enforcement agencies, particularly the FBI, have been successful in penetrating the new right-wing groups. Fear of FBI informants has caused near paralysis in some of the right-wing groups, limiting their organizational ability. In traditional European right-wing groups, informant penetration caused the group to contract, retaining only close and probably reliable associates. This contraction in many cases, causes the group to take on a paramilitary character. American ultra right-wing groups lack the discipline to contract, thereby making themselves vulnerable toward law enforcement informant

penetration. Fear of informants in right-wing groups causes paranoia among members and leaders and often leads to irrational accusations toward members or leaders. In the Principles of War and Rules of Engagement published by The Order, it is stated, "Any traitor in our midst who betrays us will be hunted down like a dog and have their head removed from their body." (U.S. Government Records, 1984).

Because the American new right-wing lacks a serious ideological commitment, it has been relatively easy for law enforcement to recruit informants to penetrate new right-wing groups. The new right-wing beliefs are perceived as so extreme by the American public that volunteer informants can frequently be recruited by law enforcement, and right-wing groups members during interviews by enforcement personnel will volunteer information which can lead to recruitment of new informants. New right-wing group members lack of ideological commitment enhances the ability of law enforcement officers to gain cooperation during interviews.

With the above weaknesses, a plausible argument can be made that the current right-wing groups are self limiting and self-destructive and in many ways because of their lack of organization and individualism, not as troublesome as groups as their predecessors in the old right.

It is well established that the new right-wing groups have a desire to overthrow the United States Government, and replace it with one of their own design. Do these groups have the ability to cause the United States Government to collapse?

The new right-wing groups tend to be small. For example, the Posse Comitatus at the height of its popularity numbered around three thousand members (King, 1983).

As conservative causes have become more popular in the United States in recent years, the ultra right-wing groups have "felt" some approval but they have never experienced the strong "grass roots" support necessary to conduct the guerrilla war they believe will lead to the overthrow of the United States Government. Previously described ideological weaknesses have also added to reduction in total membership and lack of dedication on the part of some members. In addition law enforcement, particularly federal agencies are more prepared to cope with the threat than before. The weaponry, communications, training and education of law enforcement personnel enables efficient response to the new right-wing attacks. Ultra right-wing groups preparing "L" shaped ambushes are being met by law enforcement Special Weapons and Tactics Teams (SWAT). Intelligence gathering on the part of law enforcement is enhanced by utilization



of undercover officers and court authorized electronic surveillance.

In comparing the new right in America with the new right in Europe, significant differences can be seen.

In Europe the criminal justice community frequently aligns itself with the right-wing. Police prosecutors and judges frequently can be found espousing right-wing beliefs. As a result, in Europe the right-wing tailors itself to fit this predisposition in the criminal justice community. Today in countries such as Italy and France, the neo-fascist right benefits from this situation. The American new right-wing departs from this predisposition.

The new right in the United States also deviates from the European right in ideological commitment. The European right-wing has a much more serious (in the sense of propagandistic appeal and elaborations) ideology than the new American right. In fact, members of the American ultra right-wing are most frequently politically immature with no depth of ideology.

The European right and the American new right also differs in their allegiance to the concept of authority. The right-wing in Europe remains attached to the concept of authority while the American new right rejects authority in most forms, appearing in some regards as a vicious and particularly mindless libertarianism.

A review of the potential of the new right-wing groups reveals that they are no more capable of destroying the United States Government than the old right-wing groups were of changing the government from within. The new right-wing groups will not destroy the United States. But they certainly can engage in a campaign of terror.

Wilkenson (1986) describes political terrorism as coercive intimidation; the systematic use of murder and destruction in order to terrorize individuals, groups, communities, or governments into conceding the terrorists' political demands. He also equates terrorism with criminality. Thus far, the right-wing groups have confined their acts to killing of police officers, federal agents, bank robberies and murder of selected targets, such as Jewish talk show host Alan Berg. This can be considered a form of terrorism, but so far has not produced the results desired by the right-wing radical groups. It is possible that the right-wing groups may escalate their actions into true political terrorism by strikes to eliminate major political party candidates in national election years or selective bombing attacks to disrupt political conventions. This type of terroristic attack can serve as a coercive instrument on local, state or national government officials and can instill fear in the general populace.

In attempting to carry out a campaign of political terror, right-wing radical groups have a dedication to mission, organization and availability of trained personnel and sophisticated weaponry. Despite these advantages, the new right lacks group unity and suffers from a distinct lack of physical courage when confronted with opposition. In addition, the groups continue to be very small in number and cannot afford to lose personnel which would be inevitable if they attempt to sustain a protracted campaign of domestic terrorism.

In summary, a number of observations are appropriate. The new right-wing extremist groups can be recognized as a serious challenge to law enforcement. They pose a distinct threat to domestic tranquility. The proliferation of modern weaponry, ability to recruit combat experienced veterans and commitment to violence make the new right-wing extremist groups truly dangerous. But, despite the foregoing, these groups are self limiting. They are certainly dangerous but not to the social structure. The new right-wing extremist groups reject all respect for U.S. constitutional structure. Because of their beliefs, they are viewed as outcasts, "strangers in their own land." These groups welcome confrontation with law enforcement. The confrontations are deliberate and a matter of principal. The old right-wing groups sought to find cover for their activities in law enforcement at the state and local level.

Certain changes in religious structures can be found in the new right. The blatant anti-semitism and anti-Catholicism are no longer reinforced by protestant groups. The new right find no support from the fundamental churches who find their "identity philosophy" and volkish symbols to be foreign and abhorrent.

The individualism found in the new right also tends to make the movement self-managing. Although they attempt to utilize military models, the individualistic attitude of members causes a lack of organization and cohesiveness. Each group has singular programs and the self-righteous importance felt by individual leaders causes the groups to be isolated from one another.

But can the right-wing groups continue to flourish? As long as our society remains pluralistic in a political sense, the right-wing groups will continue to exist. The American system formally tolerates extremism on the right as well as extremism on the left. While different in kind from traditional conservative and leftist groups, these extremist groups share constitutional protection and toleration. At the time the ultra right or ultra left became imminently violent, the basis for such toleration is removed legally. Further, isolated as it now is from the traditional points of public support it previously enjoyed, these movements are extremely vulnerable. From a practical standpoint, law enforcement

must remain alert because the ultra right-wing extremists are most dangerous to law enforcement and minorities.

Law enforcement actions have dealt with the violent right in the past and are capable and willing to deal with the violent right now and in the future. Beyond this these groups are both extremist and marginal, presently constituting no realistic threat to the nations structure or order. This conclusion, of course, does not mean that future developments in the United States will not provide more fruitful grounds for right extremism. The frustrations and bigotry that have been part of American political culture have not disappeared and possibly avail the conjunction of a major domestic crisis and a more intelligently crafted extremist ideology to manifest themselves in more dangerous forms. It is possible that the extreme right could reassess itself if the current conservative climate continues in the United States. The extremist right will not necessarily always remain outside the system.

Appendix A

Declaration of War

## DECLARATION OF WAR

It is now a dark and dismal time in the history of our race. All about us lie the green graves of our sires, yet in a land once ours, we have become a people dispossessed.

By the millions those not of our blood violate our borders and mock our claim to sovereignty. Yet our people react only with lethargy.

A great sickness has overcome us. Why do our people do nothing? What madness is this? Has the cancer of Racial Masochism consumed our very will to exist?

While we allow Mexicans by the legions to invade our soil, we murder our babies in equal numbers. Were the men of the Alamo only a myth? Whether by force of arms or force of the groin, the result of this invasion is the same. Yet our people do not assist.

Our heroes and our culture have been insulted and degraded. The Mongrel hordes clamor to sever us from our inheritance and our people do not care.

Throughout this land our children are being coerced into accepting non-whites for their idols, their companions, and worst of all their mates. A course which is taking us straight into oblivion. Yet our people do not see.

Not by accident but by design these terrible things have come to pass. It is self-evident to all who have eyes to see that an evil shadow has fallen across our once fair land. Evidence abounds that a certain vile, alien people have taken control over our country.

How is it that a parasite has gained dominion over its host? Instead of being vigilant, our fathers have slept. What are we to do? How bleak these aliens have made our children's future.

All about us the land is dying. Our cities swarm with dusky hordes. The water is rancid and the air is rank. Our farms are being seized by usurious leaches and our people are being forced off the land. The Capitalists and the Communists pick gleefully at our bones while the vile hook-nosed masters of usury orchestrate our destruction. What is to become of our children in a land such as this? Yet still our people sleep!

Everyday the rich tighten the chains that lay heavy upon our people. How pitiful the white working class has become. Where is the brave Aryan Yeoman so quick to smite the tyrant's hand?

They close the factories, the mills, the mines, and ship our jobs overseas. Yet our people do not awaken.

They send an army of agents into our midst to steal from our pockets and enforce their rule. Our forefathers



under King George knew freedom more than we. Yet still, still our people sleep.

To those who awaken, the reality is grim. John Singer awoke. Concerned over the rampant drugs, homosexuality, and miscegenation to public schools he tried to teach his children at home. He was a stout Aryan Yeoman who loved his family dearly. Government agents shot him in the back.

Gordon Kahl awoke. After four decades of submission to the tyranny of the IRS he tried to resist. He was a stout Aryan Yeoman who loved his family dearly. Government agents shot him in the back.

Arthur L. Kirk awoke. For three generations his family farmed the land the usurious bank was trying to steal. Kinsman Kirk tried to resist. He was a stout Aryan Yeoman who loved his family dearly. Government agents shot him in the back.

To those three kinsmen we say: "Rise, rise from your graves white brothers! Rise and join us! We go to avenge your deaths. The Aryan Yeomanry is awakening. A long forgotten wind is starting to blow. Do you hear the approaching thunder? It is that of the awakened Saxon. War is upon the land. The tyrant's blood will flow."

By ones and by twos, by scores and by legions we will drive the enemy into the sea. Through our blood and God's will, the land promised to our fathers of old will become the land of our children to be.

We will resign ourselves no more to be ruled by a government based on mobacracy. 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. We recognize that the mass of our people have been put into a lobotomized, lethargic state of blind obedience and we will not take part anymore in collective racial suicide!

We hereby declare ourselves to be a free and sovereign people. We claim a territorial imperative which will consist of the entire North American Continent north of Mexico.

As soldiers of the Aryan Resistance Movement (ARM) we will conduct ourselves in accordance with the Geneva Convention.

We now close this Declaration with an open letter to Congress and our signatures confirming our intent to do battle. Let friend and foe alike be made aware. This is war!

#### OPEN LETTER TO THE U.S. CONGRESS

All of you together are not solely responsible for what has happened to America, but each of you, without exception is partly responsible. And the Day will come

when each of you will be called to account for that responsibility.

The Day will come when your complicity in the betrayal of the 55,000 Americans who sacrificed in Vietnam will be called to account. Whether you were a "hawk" or a "dove" will not carry much weight then. All that will matter is that you played politics while they were dying. All we will ask you is why you failed in your responsibility to them and to America, why you failed to use the full power of your office to expose the treason of your colleagues?

The Day will come when your subservience to the anti-American "Israel Lobby" will be called to account. Your votes to strip American arsenals so that Zionists can hold on to stolen land; your acquiescence in a policy which has turned all our Arab friends into enemies, seriously jeopardized our oil lifeline, and bankrupted our national economy - those things are inexcusable, and no plea that you "had to do it", that the Jewish pressure on you was too great to resist will acquit you.

The Day will come - if America survives - when you will pay dearly for having weakened America and strengthened our communist enemies all over the world. And don't try to tell us that Henry Kissinger is the one to blame for that! You confirmed Kissinger's appointment knowing full well what his policies were. You went along

with Kissinger. You could have stopped him any time you wanted to.

And it was you who allowed the Soviet Union to evaluate America on the seas, to whittle down our lead in missiles, to build its military might while ours dwindled. It was you who bought votes by taking money from our defense budget and spending it on "welfare" and "pork barrel" projects. It was you who caved in to the demand of the media liberals that we scrap military superiority and settle for "parity" with the Reds. That reason will cost us millions of lives one day, and so do not think that we will spare yours.

The Day will come when, above all else, you will pay for betraying your race. Most of you will say that you are against the forced busing of school children, that you are against the Black terror which stalks the streets of our cities, that you are against the "reverse discrimination" which takes jobs away from Whites and gives them to Blacks, that you are against the flooding of America with illegal immigrants, because you know all these things are unpopular.

But you brought everyone of these plagues down on our heads. You passed the "civil rights" laws which gave us busing in the first place, and then you refused repeatedly to specifically outlaw this monstrous crime against children. It was your scramble for Black votes

and your cowardice in the face of the controlled news media which allowed our cities to become crime-infested jungles. You set up the requirements that employers had to meet racial quotas. And you passed the immigration laws which started the flood of non-white immigrants into America - a flood which is now out of control.

We hold you responsible for all these things; for every White child terrorized in a racially mixed school, for every White person murdered in one of our urban jungles, for every White woman raped by one of the arrogant "equals" roaming our streets, for every White family hungry and desperate because a White worker's job was given to a Black. Each day the list grow longer, but the Day will come when the whole score will be settled and you will pay every one of these debts in full.

Don't try to explain to us that you voted right some of the time, that thee government is a game of give and take, and that you had to vote for bad laws in order to get others to vote for good laws. All wee care about is that you have collectively ruined America and put our whole race in jeopardy.

We know what America used to be and what it could be today, and we can see what it has become instead - and you presided over that transformation. We placed our trust in you, we gave you the responsibility for our future, and you betrayed us.

You know how to lie smoothly and convincingly, how to talk out of both sides of your mouth at the same time, how to switch sides without blinking an eye, but when the American people finally rise up in righteous wrath and demand justice, none of your trickery and deceit will save you.

You may wave the flag then, but we will remember that while the 55,000 young Americans were being butchered in Vietnam because the American government imposed suicidal "Rules of Engagement" on them which gave the enemy all the advantages, you did little or nothing.

You knew what was happening, and you did not shout it from the rooftops. You knew that our fighting men were being betrayed, and you did not attack the betrayers for all you were worth. You did not disrupt the councils of treason. You chose not to make a nuisance of yourself, to shout down the traitors on the floor of the House or the Senate, to give them no quarter. You remained a party to the treason, because you chose not to fight it so uncompromisingly that the chief traitors would have had either to back down or to expel you from the Congress.

Whether you were an instigator of the treason or whether you just went along for the ride will make little difference to us. We will not listen to your explanation that you were really on our side all the time.

We will only remember that when a man who once was an official of the Communist Party's lawyers' front and who was still an official of the Zionists' secret police agency, the notorious ADL, was nominated to be attorney general of the United States, not one of you voted against him - not one! We will only remember that you could have stopped what has happened to America, and, for whatever reason, you did not.

No, when the Day comes, we will not ask whether you swung to the right or whether you swung to the left; we will simply swing you by the neck.

#### PRINCIPLES OF WAR AND RULES OF ENGAGEMENT

"Politics", as Francis Parker Yockey stated, "is action in relation too power". The ultimate end of politics is war. As long as nature and human nature remain the same, war will remain the inevitable result of pure political thinking. Either we will have power and control of a government based on the laws of God, or you will have power.

In our day war comes about when the attempt to conquer by economic means breaks down and thee people turn on their predators and resist. This is the point at which North America now finds itself. We perceive our present course to be determined by our Declaration of Independence, wherein it is stated "whenever any form of

government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its "foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to affect their safety and happiness." We consider it not only our right, but our duty before Almighty God.

However, the Aryan race has nearly always waged war by some code of conduct, whether it be the code of chivalry or the Geneva Convention. We do not intend to break with our past.

Under the control of aliens in our white governments, the allies in WW II were coerced to bomb civilian targets. The bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were deplorable, and the even worse fire-bombing of Dresden and Hamburg are not considered by us to be legitimate warfare.

This war is to be between combatants only. Any agent of the Zionist Occupation Government of North America we consider to be our enemy and the enemy of the people for whom we fight. Likewise, anyone who takes it upon their self to oppose us intentionally, willfully and actively we consider to be our mortal enemy.

If the agents of ZOG harass or injure our non-combatants, such as women, children, aged or infirm, we will return injury for injury.



Any local police officer, state patrolman, or other law enforcement personnel who cooperate with the agents of ZOG and injures us in any way will be regarded as combatants. Those who do not will be regarded as non-combatants.

The time of decision is coming for members of the Armed Forces of North America. You will one day soon be ordered to fire on your own people. If you side with the agents of ZOG, even if the form they take is your own commands, and you "follow orders" you will be regarded as combatants. If you side with your racial kinsmen you will be regarded as non-combatants.

Any banking agent who forecloses on property being put to productive use by the sweat of a farmer's back, because he couldn't pay his usury tax, will be regarded as combatants. Those who do not will be regarded as non-combatants.

Any judge, at any level, who makes legal decisions or hands down sentences harmful to us or the people for whom we fight will be regarded as combatants.

Any agents of business establishments who pursue policies harmful to us the people for whom we fight will be regarded as combatants.

Any cities of North America who willingly cooperates with ZOG agents and brings injury to us or jeopardize our security in any way will be regarded as combatants.

Any non-white resident of North America who intentionally, willfully, and actively opposed us will be regarded as combatants.

And any traitor in our midst who betrays us will be hunted down like a dog and have their head removed from their body.

We have no desire to harm anyone who has no desire to harm us. In keeping with political thinking this is purely a struggle for power.

We enjoin all people to choose intelligently which side they will be on. Make sure that you have the greatest number of relevant facts possible. There will surely come a day when fence-sitting will be impossible. And once you have made up your mind and begin to act, the die is cast for you. There will be no turning back.

With these things said, let the battle begin.

We, the following, being of sound mind and under no duress, do hereby sign this document of our own free will, stating forthrightly and without fear that we declare ourselves to be in a full and unrelenting state of war with those forces seeking and consciously promoting the destruction of our faith and our race.

Therefore, for blood, soil and honor, for the future of our children, and for our King, Jesus Christ, we commit ourselves to battle. Amen (U.S. Government records, 1984).

**Appendix B**  
**Consent Forms**

Mailing address PO Box 50096 Seattle, Washington 98145-5096 Street address 4045 Brooklyn Avenue NE Seattle, Washington 98105

Phone 206 543-4050 Business Office 206 543-8870 Telex 4740096 UW UI

January 25, 1988

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