1995

No rest for the wicked the FBI investigations of white supremacist groups 1983 - 1988

William Karl Ziegenhorn
San Jose State University

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.sjsu.edu/etd_theses

Recommended Citation

Ziegenhorn, William Karl, "No rest for the wicked the FBI investigations of white supremacist groups 1983 - 1988" (1995). *Master's Theses*. 1045.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.31979/etd.e9em-g8pp>
https://scholarworks.sjsu.edu/etd_theses/1045

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Master's Theses and Graduate Research at SJSU ScholarWorks. It has been accepted for inclusion in Master's Theses by an authorized administrator of SJSU ScholarWorks. For more information, please contact scholarworks@sjsu.edu.

INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

UMI

**A Bell & Howell Information Company
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
313/761-4700 800/521-0600**

"NO REST FOR THE WICKED"
THE FBI INVESTIGATIONS OF WHITE SUPREMACIST GROUPS
1983 - 1988

A Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of the Department of History
San Jose State University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
William Karl Ziegenhorn
May 1995

UMI Number: 1374636

UMI Microform 1374636

Copyright 1995, by UMI Company. All rights reserved.

**This microform edition is protected against unauthorized
copying under Title 17, United States Code.**

UMI

**300 North Zeeb Road
Ann Arbor, MI 48103**

© 1995

William Karl Ziegenhorn

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

APPROVED FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

Stanley J. Underdal

Dr. Stanley Underdal

Billie B. Jensen

Dr. Billie Jensen

E. Bruce Reynolds

Dr. E. Bruce Reynolds

APPROVED FOR THE UNIVERSITY

Nancy Simbel

ABSTRACT

"NO REST FOR THE WICKED" THE FBI INVESTIGATIONS OF WHITE SUPREMACIST GROUPS 1983 - 1988

William Karl Ziegenhorn

After a bloody shootout with tax protester Gordon Kahl in 1983, the FBI and related law enforcement agencies increased their surveillance and investigation of individuals and groups in the white supremacist movement, including the Posse Comitatus, The Order and Aryan Nations. The government used undercover operations to detect and prevent criminal activity that was purportedly aimed at sparking a race war which would in turn bring about the overthrow of the U.S. government. This thesis examines the individuals and groups targeted by the FBI and assesses how much of a domestic terrorist threat they represented. It also addresses the ongoing debate over undercover operations between the need to protect the public from possible crimes and the need to protect an individual's or group's constitutional rights to free speech and assembly.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This thesis would have been extremely difficult to write without the initial guidance of Professor Irma Eichhorn. Professor Eichhorn's comprehensive instruction in research strategies gave me the knowledge without which I could not have undertaken this project, and I am truly grateful for this and all the other help she has given me. I also thank Professor Stanley Underdal for his enthusiasm as an advisor and editor. He raised important questions and offered suggestions which added to the quality of my research. I was able to devote full time to the research and writing of this thesis thanks in part to financial support from the Lyle V. Burmahln Memorial Fellowship. I must also thank my wife, Angela, for carrying the responsibilities of work, home and children while I concentrated on this work.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	v
---------------------------	---

Chapter

I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. WHITE SUPREMACY	8
III. THE FBI	15
IV. THE ORDER	21
V. PROSECUTION	45
VI. INVESTIGATING OTHER GROUPS	60
VII. SEDITION	83
VIII. CONCLUSION	107
WORKS CITED	111

I. INTRODUCTION

In the summer of 1984, while investigating a daring armored car robbery near Ukiah, California, and the assassination of radio talk-show host Alan Berg in Denver, Colorado, the FBI stumbled upon a shadowy subculture of white supremacists. For the next six years, the authorities, led by the FBI, launched a series of investigations against various groups which together make up the most extreme faction of the radical right. The Bureau apprehended some criminals before they carried out terrorist acts while at the same time giving notice to others sympathetic to the supremacist cause that they were being closely monitored. The series of investigations culminated in the indictment of most of the leaders of the supremacist movement in 1988 on charges of sedition. Significantly, all the defendants were acquitted. After the trial, publicity surrounding the supremacist groups diminished somewhat, but government investigations continued. The FBI prided itself on its dramatic response to domestic terrorism, but some critics wondered if the Bureau's methods, while effective, went too far and encroached on Americans' rights of free speech and assembly. This thesis examines the words and deeds of the FBI during its investigation of white

supremacist groups during the 1980s in an attempt to determine if and how the Bureau went too far and if such abridgement of civil rights was necessary to protect the public.

A lot has been written about racism in America, but white supremacist groups as a phenomenon are relatively new. Apart from the Ku Klux Klan, which has been studied extensively, few modern groups have been researched. Even less studied is the government response to the verbal and, although rare, physical challenges these groups pose to the nation. The period this work covers begins with the activities of The Order, a small white supremacist terrorist organization that was active in the northwest from 1983 to 1985. There have been a few books written about The Order's activities and demise; the most useful for this study was The Silent Brotherhood, by Kevin Flynn and Gary Gerhardt--two reporters who covered The Order's crimes for the Rocky Mountain News in Denver. While this book gives an in-depth look at the group and the FBI investigation of it, the story ends with the capture and conviction of the group members in 1986. This book, along with all the others, only briefly mentions the subsequent arrests and convictions of other white supremacists which led to the final indictment of supremacist leaders in 1988. If we wish to determine the government's policy towards these groups during this period,

this is an important piece of the puzzle. How did an investigation into a robbery lead to a nationwide dragnet against the extremist right? How did the FBI find out about the other secret cells of supremacists who plotted to overthrow the government, and were all the groups targeted really dangerous, or simply offensive?

To find the answers to these questions is no easy task. When a secretive federal police force goes up against a shadowy collection of extremist groups, the truth becomes elusive. The groups themselves are frequently deceitful or deluded, claiming to be innocent when in fact they are dangerous or, conversely, pretending to be threatening when in fact they are harmless. The FBI is little better when it comes to clarity. Historically guarded and secretive under its original director, J. Edgar Hoover, the new FBI of the 1980s and 1990s has not lost its fear of public exposure. The Bureau continues to keep all but the most general information closely guarded from the eyes of the public, the media and even the Congressional committees and executive agencies empowered to oversee it. The resulting information gathered from and about the Bureau and its targets must be closely evaluated for veracity and is open to different interpretations. Still, patterns emerge during the six years of government involvement that suggest that an overall policy of investigation and intimidation was used by the FBI

to help silence white supremacist groups. To give the Bureau credit, however, many of these supremacist groups seemed to have posed a real threat, and acts of terrorism would certainly have taken more innocent lives had not the FBI acted as it did. Therefore, after sifting through the evidence, the dilemma of security versus liberty remains.

Though in the 1990s those in the FBI recall little and offer less information about their investigations during the 1980s, at that time they were more prone to discuss their methods and goals in the press. Therefore, this study relies heavily on newspaper accounts of the various investigations by local and national papers, as well as interviews with some of the reporters who covered those investigations for several years. These have been augmented by FBI publications and statements during Congressional oversight hearings. A few books on the modern FBI and on its policies during the 1970s also shed some light on how the agency approached the problem of domestic terrorism in the 1980s. The widely scattered sources, brought together to answer the questions raised in this work, provide a suitably clear image of the FBI's activities during this period--where they succeeded, and where they failed.

Some terms need to be clarified before examining the investigations. The various groups studied in this work do not go by any accepted label. They are alternately

classified as racists, neo-Nazis, tax resisters, anti-Semites, populists, separatists, extremists, religious fundamentalists or members of the Radical Right. While all of these terms are applicable in some cases, no one adequately describes all the groups targeted by the FBI in its investigations following the Order trial, and many terms include groups which were never part of these investigations. The groups themselves, both within and outside the scope of this paper, are fiercely individualistic and routinely find more differences than similarities between themselves. Furthermore, while the groups rarely interact, individual members often move from one organization to another for idealistic or personal reasons. Although the various groups mentioned in this paper do not classify themselves under one category, they all share a basic belief that America is under attack by a secret cabal of various minorities who are jealous of the superiority of the white race and who have thus subverted the national government to work against it. For this reason, I use the term "white supremacist" or simply "supremacist" to classify them and to separate them from other reactionary groups that do not necessarily espouse this view. Notably absent from this white supremacist grouping is the Ku Klux Klan. Though the Klan is a supremacist group, it is large enough and old enough to be a

topic all its own; indeed, current research on the Klan is already so extensive that little would be gained by including it in this work. Also significant is the fact that the Klan, as opposed to these other groups, was infiltrated before the 1980s by the FBI, so the question involving original suspicions and rationale does not apply to the Klan during this period. Another determining factor is that the various Klan organizations generally had little interaction with the white supremacist groups studied in this paper, although some prominent individuals had past Klan ties. For these reasons, Ku Klux Klan groups are studied here only when they come under government scrutiny during the investigations of other supremacist groups.

The groups and the investigations that are the subject of this paper are fairly obscure. Little scholarly research has been done on the specific groups; most information has come from contemporary works by journalists. Still, the conduct of these small supremacist groups and the FBI's attitude towards them exposes two latent threats to American security. First, these groups walk a fine line between extremist viewpoints and violent action, a line that, when crossed, can and has meant death and mayhem to innocent people. Second, the government's response, when too oppressive, poses an even graver threat to our security by undermining the civil rights that allow us to remain a free

society. In this way, the FBI's investigations of white supremacist groups can be used as a yardstick to gauge both the effectiveness of and the dangers inherent in the government's attempt to secure the blessings of liberty.

II. WHITE SUPREMACY

On February 13, 1983, U.S. marshals and local police set up a roadblock near Medina, North Dakota, and waited for Gordon Kahl. Kahl was a North Dakota farmer who had decided in 1967 that he would no longer pay income taxes to support what he considered to be an evil, conspiratorial government. In 1973, he had joined a newly founded group with similar beliefs called the Posse Comitatus. The Posse believed that all legitimate power was vested in the county and that the federal government had no authority to collect taxes or pass laws. Kahl had served about a year in Leavenworth in 1976 because of his beliefs, but in 1983 he was still refusing to pay taxes and was warning Federal authorities that he would not be taken again. On February 13, Kahl, his son, and some other Posse members came upon the police road block and were surrounded. The Kahls and another man left their vehicles and drew their weapons. Four marshals and two local policemen moved in. The parties shouted at each other, a shot was fired, and the resulting firefight left two officers dead and three wounded. Kahl's son was also badly wounded, but Kahl got away. For months authorities searched for Kahl, until the FBI received a tip that he was staying

with friends near Smithville, Arkansas. On June 3, 1983, Federal authorities surrounded the hideout, and County Sheriff Gene Matthews went inside with another agent to arrest Kahl. Kahl surprised the men and shot Matthews, mortally wounding him. Matthews shot Kahl before he was dragged from the house. Following this, agents riddled the house with bullets and tear gas. One poured fuel through a roof vent, starting a fire which quickly consumed the building. But Kahl was already dead, killed by Matthews's bullet.¹

Kahl's dramatic battle with federal authorities drew headlines and raised public interest about Posse Comitatus and other shadowy groups with armed and dangerous members. Attention soon turned to Hayden Lake, Idaho, where the Reverend Richard Girnt Butler planned to host a "Congress" of supremacist groups to lionize Kahl and to urge whites to stand up against their racial enemies. Many Americans must have read about the event and wondered who these people were and where they had come from.

Richard Butler was an aeronautical engineer from California. Born in 1918 in Bennett, Colorado, Butler grew up listening to his father attack an imagined international

¹The summary of the Kahl episode and Posse Comitatus comes from Kevin Flynn and Gary Gerhardt, The Silent Brotherhood: Inside America's Racist Underground (New York: Penguin Books, 1989), 112-14; James Coates, Armed and Dangerous: The Rise of the Survivalist Right (New York: Hill and Wang, 1987), 104-10; and Wayne King, "Link Seen Among Heavily Armed Rightist Groups," New York Times, 11 June 1983, 5(A).

Jewish conspiracy that fostered communism and racial mixing. In 1962, he became involved with a group which was sponsoring an initiative to prohibit communists from holding state jobs. While presenting the initiative to an American Legion group in Los Angeles, Butler met John Wesley Swift, a Methodist minister from Lancaster, California. Swift had been a close associate of Gerald L. K. Smith, a prominent racist who inspired George Lincoln Rockwell to found the American Nazi Party in 1958. Swift broke with Smith in the 1950s and founded his own church, called the Anglo-Saxon Christian Congregation. From his pulpit, he preached Christian Identity.

Christian Identity argues that white Anglo-Saxons are the true "chosen people" of God, and that the Jews, who have usurped that title, are the children of Satan. Furthermore, Identity holds that Jews, in alliance with all non-whites, are the producers of all the world's evils, from the Black Plague to international communism.² Identity has also been described as a conglomeration of "anti-Semitism, anti-Communism religious tenets and beliefs that taxation is illegal and that currency is debased by an amorphous conspiracy of Jews, bankers, Communists, their dupes and

²Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, "Religion as Bigotry: The Identity Church Movement," Special Edition (newsletter), October 1991, 1; Coates, Armed and Dangerous, 86-87.

corrupt government officials."³ The goal of this international, interracial conspiracy is the destruction of the white race.

Along with his new church, Swift founded the Christian Defense League (CDL), a supremacist group presumably formed to counter the Jewish Defense League, a militant Jewish group. Swift was impressed with Butler, and when Swift died of diabetes in 1970, he left the leadership of the CDL to him. Butler shared his duties at CDL with Colonel William Potter Gale, who had directed guerilla operations in the Philippines for General Douglas MacArthur during World War II. Gale had run for governor of California in 1958 and in the Republican primaries for the House of Representatives in 1964 and 1968. In 1969, after the Posse Comitatus was formed in Portland, Oregon, Gale organized his own California chapter called the U.S. Christian Posse Association. Gale and Butler fought over the leadership of the CDL after Swift's death and soon went their separate ways. In 1973, Gale moved to Mariposa, California, where he established the Ministry of Christ Church. In 1974, Butler moved to Hayden Lake, Idaho, where he organized his own Posse Comitatus chapter. But Posse members ousted Butler in 1976 for "trying to run the Posse like a private army." He

³King, "Link Seen Among Heavily Armed Rightist Groups," New York Times, 1(A).

briefly joined with the Louisiana-based National Emancipation of the White Seed, but this alliance came to nothing. Then, in 1978, he created his own church, the Church of Jesus Christ Christian, with a parallel political organization, Aryan Nations.⁴

Butler moved quickly to make a name for himself in the supremacist movement. In 1979 he convened the first of many annual "Congresses" to which he invited Identity ministers and representatives from various white supremacist groups from all over the country to meet and discuss tactics. Dan Gayman, the leader of the Church of Israel in Shell City, Missouri, was the main speaker, but many leaders, including Gayman, differed with Butler over advocating immediate violence. Nevertheless, an impressive array of supremacist figures drove up the dirt road to Hayden Lake during the next few years. Manfred Kurt Roeder, a West German neo-Nazi and terrorist who had fought with the Hitler Youth defending Berlin in 1945, made several visits beginning in 1980. James Wickstrom, an outspoken leader of Posse Comitatus, came in 1981. The Aryan World Congress in July 1982 hosted thirteen Ku Klux Klan organizations and neo-Nazi groups. Robert Miles, a leading Identity minister and head of the Mountain Church of Jesus Christ in Cohoctah, Michigan,

⁴Background information on Gale, Smith and Butler comes from Flynn and Gerhardt, The Silent Brotherhood, 65-76.

attended; so did Louis Beam, Jr., a Texas Klan leader, and J.B. Stoner, the head of the National States' Rights Party based in Georgia.⁵ Beam gained notoriety in 1979 when he attempted to wring the neck of Chinese premier Deng Xiaoping during the Premier's visit to America.⁶ Stoner had been convicted of bombing the Bethel Baptist Church in Birmingham in 1958 and was a suspect in the bombing of the city's Sixteenth Street Baptist Church in 1963. The second bombing killed four young choir girls and made national headlines.⁷ In the spring of 1983, Butler was visited by Lieutenant Colonel Gordon "Jack" Mohr, a prominent racist author and leader in the Christian Patriots Defense League in Missouri.⁸ The Aryan Congress held in July 1983, only a few weeks after the death of Gordon Kahl, featured militant speeches from Louis Beam, Robert Miles and James Ellison, the leader of a supremacist religious compound in Arkansas called The Covenant, The Sword and the Arm of the Lord (CSA). Speakers praised Kahl and challenged the audience to follow his example and stand up to the government. Ellison

⁵Ibid., 83-85, 89.

⁶"The Far Right; White Robes to Battle Fatigues," The Economist, 27 April 1985, 33 (Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH), NEWS, MAGS.

⁷Flynn and Gerhardt, The Silent Brotherhood, 89; Coates, Armed and Dangerous, 37.

⁸Flynn and Gerhardt, The Silent Brotherhood, 93; Irwin Suall and David Lowe, "The Hate Movement Today: A Chronicle of Violence and Disarray," Terrorism 10 (1987): 356.

remarked, "For every one of our people they killed, we ought to kill 100 of theirs." Beam vowed, "If we can't have this country, as far as I'm concerned, no one gets it."⁹ The audience seemed sympathetic, but supremacists were not the only ones listening.

⁹Suall and Lowe, "The Hate Movement Today," 352-53.

III. THE FBI

The Kahl affair also galvanized federal authorities. The death of three law enforcement officers provoked the government's investigative agencies to take a closer look at the radical right, including white supremacist groups. FBI interest in white supremacist groups had a long history. In 1964, the FBI launched an ambitious counter-intelligence program--COINTELPRO. Although 85 percent of the program's operations were aimed at left-wing groups, notably the Communist Party U.S.A. and the Socialist Workers Party, 289 operations were initiated against seventeen Klan groups and nine other white racist groups.¹⁰ The FBI of the 1960s was notoriously aggressive, and COINTELPRO operations ranged from the absurd to the illegal. Tactics included sending anonymous letters to employers or spouses with the intent of jeopardizing the target's jobs or marriages, falsely labeling a target as an informant in order to expose him to retaliation from his own organization, and provoking IRS investigations of a target's tax returns as a form of harassment.¹¹ But the most effective tool the FBI

¹⁰Phillip Finch, God, Guts and Guns: A Close Look at the Radical Right (New York: Seaview/ Putnam, 1983), 158.

¹¹Ibid., 159; Congress, Senate, Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations, Intelligence Activities and the Rights of Americans: Final Report, Book II, 94th Cong., 2d sess., 26 April 1976, 10, 54.

discovered during the COINTELPRO period was the use of informants and infiltrators. By 1965, the FBI counted nearly two thousand informants and sources throughout the Ku Klux Klan. The Bureau infiltrated all fourteen Klan branch groups, and had informants in top level positions in half of them.¹² Informers were used not only to gather information, but to foment dissension. Phillip Finch noted, "with the help of its informants and infiltrators, the bureau noted signs of distrust, dissent and unease, and exploited them. It aggravated, agitated, and frustrated. It pandered to the paranoia of some very nervous people."¹³ The results were impressive. The fear of surveillance caused a slide in Klan membership and halted the militancy of the more extreme members. The highly secretive organization virtually imploded due to the paranoia caused by COINTELPRO operations. The FBI benefitted from this paranoia in the long term by creating what sociologist Gary Marx called the "'myth' of surveillance." The suspicions created by possible infiltration fosters distrust, disunity and timidity on the part of the target group's members; it has a chilling effect on all the activities and statements

¹²Finch, God, Guts and Guns, 160.

¹³Ibid., 162.

of the group.¹⁴ The other benefit the FBI gained from its extensive network of informers was the ability to neutralize supremacist groups before they committed terrorist acts. An example is the Minutemen, the ideological predecessor of the Posse Comitatus. The Minutemen were formed in 1961 by Robert Bolivar DePugh in Independence, Missouri, originally as a private militia to defend against communist infiltrators. After confiding a plan for an attack on socialist camps in the Northeast to an undercover officer from the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) in 1966, DePugh and twenty members of the group were arrested in New York for weapons violations. DePugh was later indicted for conspiracy to commit bank robbery in Seattle and eventually sentenced to ten years in prison (though he had to serve only four).¹⁵

Though effective, COINTELPRO operations were often unethical and illegal. Partly because of this program, and partly because of the outcry following the Watergate scandal, the FBI was subjected to a thorough review by Congress in 1976. The Select Committee to Study Government Operations, also known as the Church Committee for its chairman, Frank Church of Idaho, criticized the Bureau for

¹⁴Gary T. Marx, Undercover: Police Surveillance in America (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 100.

¹⁵Flynn and Gerhardt, The Silent Brotherhood, 38-39; Finch, God, Guts and Guns, 85.

its excesses and recommended more stringent guidelines to control future undercover operations. These guidelines, implemented by Attorney General Edward H. Levi and subsequently known as the Levi Guidelines, were implemented to prevent Bureau abuses. The guidelines provided an incremental investigative policy whereby agents could determine whether a group was or might be planning to use force or violence to interfere with or overthrow government at the local, state or Federal level; interfere with interstate commerce; or violate a person's civil rights. In the initial stages of an investigation, agents were to use the least obtrusive methods, such as interviews or examination of public records, to determine whether crimes were being planned or committed. Furthermore, agents were always to weigh the magnitude and likelihood of the threatened harm with the danger to privacy and free expression posed by a full investigation.¹⁶

The 1970s were a difficult time for the FBI. The death of J. Edgar Hoover in May 1972 gave long-time critics who had been intimidated by the Director's influence an opportunity to attack FBI policies. The COINTELPRO hearings provided a perfect forum for these attacks, and the Bureau was badly embarrassed by its past excesses. The Levi

¹⁶ John T. Elliff, The Reform of FBI Intelligence Operations (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1979), 196-97.

Guidelines established more restrictive criterion for initiating investigations, and FBI undercover operations diminished. There was also less to investigate. Criminal prosecution of leaders and government investigations and harassment had taken their toll on the militants. Consequently, extremist groups were less active during the 1970s. Because of this, the FBI tended to disregard extremist groups on both the left and the right until 1980.¹⁷ This is not to say that the government ceased its surveillance of extremist groups completely. Phillip Finch claimed in 1983 that "police agents--especially those from the federal Justice and Treasury departments--have moved through the more militant sectors of the Radical Right since at least the early 1960s . . . and there is more recent evidence that the FBI and state and local police continue to collect firsthand intelligence about the Radical Right."¹⁸ Also, the old habits died hard. The FBI and other investigative agencies had grown to appreciate the effectiveness of many of the policies criticized in the Church Committee report, and while the guidelines were easily changed, the mind set was not.

¹⁷John W. Harris, Jr., "Domestic Terrorism in the 1980's," FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin 56 (October 1987): 5-6.

¹⁸Finch, God, Guts and Guns, 156.

The early 1980s saw renewed activity among supremacist groups and corresponding new involvement by the federal government. Speeches at Hayden Lake and attending violence attracted such attention that in 1982 the Justice Department commissioned a study of hate activity in Idaho.¹⁹ Thus, while Butler and his guests harangued the crowd during the 1983 Congress, at least six government informants were listening and taking mental notes.²⁰

¹⁹James Alfred Aho, The Politics of Righteousness: Idaho Christian Patriotism (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1990), 7.

²⁰Flynn and Gerhardt, The Silent Brotherhood, 116.

IV. THE ORDER

Also in the crowd during the 1983 Congress was Robert Jay Mathews. Mathews had been involved in right-wing organizations from childhood. As a boy, he joined the John Birch Society in Arizona. At nineteen, he became the spokesman for a covert group called the Sons of Liberty, whose goal was to challenge Communist domination of the federal government.²¹ In June 1972, Mathews contacted Ted Knight--an investigative reporter for the Channel 10 news in Phoenix, Arizona--and asked him to deliver the group's message on the air. The next day, Knight was surprised to find four FBI and Secret Service agents waiting in his office to ask questions. The Sons of Liberty was not very large, and its members spent most of their time training in the desert to repel a feared communist invasion; still, they had been infiltrated and monitored by the federal government. Feeling the pressure of the investigation, Mathews left Arizona and the Sons of Liberty and lived in California for a time. Soon afterward, the FBI identified Mathews as the defunct group's spokesman. In December 1972,

²¹Ibid., 41, 52.

an acquaintance from Mathews's Liberty days, Greg Thorpe, murdered his girlfriend and committed suicide. The violent crime of a Liberty member coupled with the group's militant message drew scrutiny from the FBI, so when Mathews returned to Arizona and revived the group in 1973, both he and it were put under surveillance.²²

Mathews came under pressure again in July 1973, when the IRS charged him with income tax fraud after he claimed ten dependents on his return. In January 1974, at the age of twenty-one, he was sentenced to six months probation. Mathews left Arizona again the following July and moved to Washington to make a new start. For almost a year, he steered clear of supremacist groups and bought some land near Metaline Falls, Washington, to build a new home and life.²³

In May 1975 he was visited by Donald Clarke, an old friend who had been a leader in the Sons of Liberty and who had since joined a group called Concord II patterned after John DePugh's Minutemen. The FBI was right behind Clarke. Two agents appeared in Metaline Falls and went to the Bunker Hill Mine to ask about Clarke, who had gotten a job there thanks to Mathews. The agents told Mathews's foreman about Clarke's and Mathews's backgrounds, providing enough

²²Ibid., 48-54.

²³Ibid., 55-58.

information that Mathews might have been fired but for the fact that the foreman resented the FBI interference. The agents then went to Mathews's home and questioned him about Clarke's whereabouts. The agents' lack of discretion was consistent with typical COINTELPRO tactics of the time. By mentioning Mathews's past to his employer and by visiting him and asking questions about Clarke, they may have hoped to persuade him that right-wing activities invited government surveillance and subsequent social and occupational discomfort. In fact, the FBI presence only angered Mathews and drove him further into extremism. He sent a letter to the Seattle FBI office after the incident warning them to "leave me alone, or I will respond in such a way that could be very painful to certain agents."²⁴

For a few years, Mathews concentrated on his new home and family and withdrew from membership in supremacist organizations. In 1978, however, he was influenced by a book put out by the National Alliance, a supremacist group with ties to both the neo-Nazis and the Ku Klux Klan. The group's leader, William Pierce, had been an assistant to George Lincoln Rockwell and set up the Alliance after Rockwell's assassination by a disgruntled aide in 1967.²⁵

²⁴Ibid., 62-63.

²⁵Suall and Lowe, "The Hate Movement Today," 357; Coates, Armed and Dangerous, 47-48.

As an Alliance member, Mathews attended the Aryan Nations World Congress hosted by Richard Butler in 1983. Mathews enjoyed the camaraderie of Aryan Nations and attended Butler's church services on Sundays, but he soon tired of all the talk about purifying the races and creating a white homeland. He decided to organize a group whose goal would not be just to talk about the inevitable racial revolution, but to bring it about.²⁶

Mathews's course was a dangerous one, for by 1983 the FBI and other government agencies had recovered from the public attacks of the 1970s and renewed undercover investigations of supremacist groups with encouraging results. In December 1979, an informer for the Columbus Police Department in Ohio provided damaging testimony that sent two brothers who had organized a small supremacist group called the American White Nationalist party to jail for six years for conspiring to bomb an elementary school. In 1980, an ATF agent was present during a Nazi and Klan attack on Communist Party marchers in Greensboro, North Carolina, which left five dead. In 1981, an undercover ATF agent in Nashville, Tennessee, uncovered a plot to bomb a synagogue, a television tower, and Jewish-owned businesses which led to the conviction of two Klan members and a neo-Nazi. That same year, another ATF agent discovered a plot

²⁶Flynn and Gerhardt, The Silent Brotherhood, 108-9, 124.

by a New England Klan group to bomb the Maryland headquarters of the NAACP. Eight members were arrested.²⁷ Successful prosecutions of different groups in different areas for the same offenses led the FBI to postulate about a connection. In June 1983, a week after the bloody shootout between federal marshals and tax protester Gordon Kahl in North Dakota, the New York Times reported that federal authorities were drawing a link between "heavily armed right-wing extremists" from the Ku Klux Klan to neo-Nazis. While the FBI "could not say that a formally organized national network existed," the paper reported that Christian Identity was the ideological force that held the supremacist movement together. The Times quoted a local survivalist confirming that all right-wing groups were Identity: "It is like one great big club They think alike, they work alike, they work together."²⁸

The new, stricter FBI guidelines for undercover operations proved to be valuable assets in the new assault on supremacist groups. While the Bureau no longer was authorized to investigate political groups without reasonable suspicion of criminal activity, once two or more members of a group were suspected of committing crimes, the

²⁷Finch, God, Guts and Guns, 157; Coates, Armed and Dangerous, 36-37.

²⁸King, "Link Seen Among Heavily Armed Rightist Groups," New York Times, 1(A), 5(A).

whole organization could be treated as a criminal enterprise. This policy allowed agents to collect information on the group's membership, past and future activities, finances and funding, and size and location of group chapters.²⁹ In short, once a group was labelled a criminal enterprise, the government could investigate it with few limitations. Local agents had a certain discretion about undercover operations. They were admonished to balance the seriousness of an offense against the invasion of privacy and violation of free speech and assembly caused by an undercover operation. However, agent discretion could be of little solace to target groups during this time. Sociologist Gary Marx noted in 1988 that many of the new guidelines simply were not followed by regional offices and individual agents during the 1980s and that the new policy revisions did not change the mind set of the Bureau. Past abuses were accepted as necessary, and there was little effective oversight of current investigations. Marx argues that the FBI was following the letter, but not the spirit, of the new guidelines.³⁰ Marx's other criticism of contemporary investigations was the problem of broadness: "Investigations have become uncoupled from specific

²⁹ Steven L. Pomerantz, "The FBI and Terrorism," FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin 56 (October 1987): 16.

³⁰ Marx, Undercover, 186-87.

complaints, suspects or offenses and (at least initially) less focused. Deterrence and intelligence gathering have become important objectives." He quoted one agent as saying, "You leave your bait out long enough, you gotta catch something."³¹ The informers at Aryan Nations were casting a wide net; surely they would catch something.

Robert Mathews, like many others, was inspired by the speakers at the 1983 Aryan World Congress. He had decided months earlier that there had been enough talk, and by September, he was ready to act. Eight men, including close friends and neighbors, many of whom he had met and recruited from Aryan Nations, joined him at a makeshift barracks behind his new house near Metaline Falls to form a terrorist group intent on sparking national chaos which would lead to the overthrow of the U.S. Government. Mathews outlined a plan of action which began with counterfeiting and armed robbery to raise money for weapons, recruits, safe houses and military training. When the time was right, the group would use terror bombings, sabotage of major cities and assassinations to trigger an apocalyptic race war.³² The Order members were hardly experienced guerrillas. None of them were accomplished counterfeitters or robbers; some had never committed any crime. They would not even get around

³¹Ibid., 9.

³²Flynn and Gerhardt, The Silent Brotherhood, 123-26.

to adopting a name for themselves for another year, after which they called themselves the Bruder Schweigen (or Silent Brotherhood), the Company, or The Order, after a similar group in a racist novel called The Turner Diaries.³³ The men robbed an adult book store in Spokane, Washington, on October 28, 1983, but took only \$369.10. Deciding that more money was to be made in counterfeiting, Mathews convinced Gary Yarbrough, who ran Butler's printing press at Aryan Nations, to help them make the money. The Order printed \$500,000, but one member, Bruce Carroll Pierce, was arrested when they tried to pass the money at a mall near Yakima, Washington. The same day, December 3, 1983, Richard Butler and fourteen others were arrested near Los Angeles, California, for burning a cross during a Klan rally. Tom Metzger, the head of the California-based supremacist group White Aryan Resistance (WAR), was among those arrested. Bruce Pierce was released on bail late in December; the same month Mathews robbed a bank north of Seattle, this time getting about \$26,000.³⁴

Mathews was not the only man inspired by the death of Gordon Kahl. Authorities would later claim that Ivan Ray Wade travelled from the 1983 Aryan World Congress to

³³Ibid., 347.

³⁴Ibid., 131, 137, 140-42; counterfeiting figure from Bill Wallace, "10 Neo-Nazis Convicted on Racketeering Charges," San Francisco Chronicle, 31 December 1985, 16(A).

Arkansas, where he "delivered a fiery speech about the 'murder' of Kahl" to the members of the Covenant, the Sword and the Arm of the Lord (CSA).³⁵ Some leaders were driven to action. In August 1983, CSA members firebombed a Jewish Community Center in Bloomington, Indiana, and a church in Springfield, Missouri, that ministered to homosexuals. In November, other members tried to sabotage a gas pipeline near Fulton, Arkansas, and an electrical transmission line near Ft. Smith, Arkansas, but they were not successful. Also in November, three CSA men robbed a pawn shop in Texarkana, Arkansas. During the robbery, one CSA member--Richard Snell--killed the owner, allegedly because "he was a Jew, and . . . he just needed to die."³⁶ No arrests were made.

In January 1984, Mathews flew to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, to get Thomas Martinez, a friend he met at the National Alliance in 1981, to help him pass counterfeit money Yarbrough had printed at Aryan Nations. During the same time, Pierce and Yarbrough robbed several Radio Shack stores in the Northwest to get the electronic equipment they felt they would need to combat the government. The pair followed up these robberies with the holdup of a Schooney's

³⁵Hal Brown, "A Right-Wing Conspiracy with Deep Arkansas Roots," National Law Journal, 14 March 1988, 10 (Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH), NEWS, NTLAWJ.

³⁶Ibid.; Flynn and Gerhardt, The Silent Brotherhood, 309.

truck stop in Athol, Idaho, which almost resulted in Yarbrough's capture. Deputies from the Kootenai County Sheriff's Department went up to the Aryan Nations compound to let their suspicions be known, but they didn't have enough evidence to pick up Yarbrough or Pierce. Still, Butler was incensed, and moves were made to ostracize the two men from the Aryan Nations community. Undaunted, the pair robbed the Washington Mutual Savings Bank in Spokane, but netted only \$3,600. As was his custom, Mathews set aside ten percent of the loot as a "tithe" to worthy supremacist organizations. He dutifully sent off \$200 to Robert Miles in Michigan and \$100 to Aryan Nations. It is probable that neither organization had any conception that the money was stolen.³⁷

The robberies and counterfeiting alarmed local police and the Secret Service, and in February, FBI agent Wayne Manis came to Coeur d'Alene. An informant for the local sheriff related the militancy of Butler's most recent Congress, and Undersheriff Larry Broadbent briefed Manis on the suspected counterfeiting and the Schooney's robbery. Manis thus had reasonable suspicion that two members of Aryan Nations--Pierce and Yarbrough--were involved in criminal activity, opening up that organization to all the investigative tactics the FBI deemed necessary. Manis also

³⁷Flynn and Gerhardt, The Silent Brotherhood, 159-162.

heard that young militants were disappearing from Aryan Nations; he suspected that they might be joining a more secretive militant group, but there were as yet no leads.³⁸

In March 1984, The Order robbed its first armored car. As the driver entered a Fred Meyer's store near Seattle, Washington, Mathews, Pierce and another man--Randall Duey--jumped him at gunpoint and made off with over \$43,000. Again, ten percent was set aside for other supremacist groups. There were no leads for the police. In April, Mathews, Pierce, Yarbrough, Duey and another Order member--Denver Parmenter--asked an insurance salesman to come to Mathews's house and set up life insurance policies for them. Mathews paid for all the policies in cash, and the suspicious agent passed the information along to the police. Two days later, on April 3, 1984, Bruce Pierce turned himself in to the police for his outstanding counterfeit charge. He pleaded guilty, expecting probation, but the judge took his Aryan Nations membership into consideration and sentenced him to two years. Pierce was given a few weeks to get his affairs in order, but instead he went into hiding. On April 26, a bench warrant was issued for his arrest. The next day, authorities searched Mathews's house for Pierce. Mathews, who was away at the time, wrote an

³⁸Ibid., 169-170.

angry letter to the local paper afterward decrying the search and calling Pierce a "strong Aryan man."³⁹

May brought an expansion of Order activities. Mathews asked Martinez to speak to Identity leader Robert Miles. Martinez knew Miles well, and Mathews wanted him to ask Miles for a letter of introduction to Frazier Glenn Miller, the head of the Confederate Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in North Carolina, the group which had been involved in the murder of five Communist party marchers in Greensboro back in 1979. Mathews's representatives were impressed with Miller's organization, and gave him a donation of a thousand dollars. Also in May, Robert and Sharon Merki joined The Order to help Mathews with his counterfeiting operation. Robert Merki had decided on counterfeiting in 1981 and bought his own press. The Secret Service was suspicious of the purchase and raided the Merkis' house soon afterward, but found nothing. Then, in 1982, the Secret Service received a tip and arrested the Merkis for counterfeiting. The couple skipped bail, changed their names and left the country. The Merkis brought more criminal expertise to The Order, but they also left a criminal trail.⁴⁰

Shortly after the Merkis joined The Order, two events occurred which indicated confusion in the new group. First,

³⁹Ibid., 165-66, 181-82, 189-91.

⁴⁰Ibid., 176-77, 194, 202.

Walter West was murdered. West, a new Order member, was in the habit of bragging to his friends about The Order's exploits. Mathews grew increasingly worried about the loose talk and ordered West killed. On May 27, four members--Duey, James Dye, Richard Kemp and David Tate--took West for a ride into the woods. Once there, they beat him with a sledgehammer and shot him in the head, then buried him. Despite later testimony from some of the participants, West's body was never found.⁴¹ This dramatic display of devotion to secrecy was offset by another event in June which seems ridiculous in comparison. On June 17, two other Order members, Randall Evans and Andrew Barnhill, stopped at a bar in Madras, Oregon. Evans picked up a girl at the bar and took her to his room. There, he discovered to his horror that she was really a man. Evans flew into a rage and tried to kill the man, but he got away and alerted police. Evans and Barnhill were arrested the next day. In Evans's wallet, police found cards from George Pepper, the head of the California Ku Klux Klan, and David Duke, an ex-Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan and head of the National Association for the Advancement of White People, as well as the phone number for Tom Metzger. (Evans and Metzger had been arrested along with Butler at the Klan cross burning near Los Angeles in December 1983). Barnhill called

⁴¹Ibid., 204, 207.

Mathews's house to report the arrest. The truck belonged to Order member Denver Parmenter and was connected to the ongoing counterfeiting investigation involving Pierce. The local police sent off a routine check on the truck's license plate and received calls from the FBI, the Secret Service, U.S. marshals and the ATF. In one evening, Evans and Barnhill provided evidence which connected half the Order members to criminal acts and implicated several other supremacist groups in these acts as well.⁴²

Oblivious to the arrests and the dangerous associations the authorities were making, The Order began planning its most serious crimes. On June 18, 1984, Alan Berg was gunned down in his driveway in Denver, Colorado. Berg was a controversial Jewish radio talk show host who had made a habit of baiting white supremacists on his show, then cutting them off. One of his on-air victims was Richard Elliot, the publisher of an anti-Semitic, pro-farmer paper called the Primrose and Cattlemen's Gazette. The paper had published the anti-Semitic tract The Protocols of the Elders of Zion, a fictional account of secret meetings of Jewish leaders and their outlines for total world domination.⁴³ The show caused widespread acrimony, and nervous business

⁴²Ibid., 237-40.

⁴³Otto Friedrich, Before the Deluge: A Portrait of Berlin in the 1920's (New York: Fromm International Publishing Corp., 1986), 95-96.

owners pulled their ads from Elliot's paper. Elliot was forced to shut the paper down and lay off his employees, including a security guard, David Lane. Lane had been at the Aryan Nations Congress in 1983 and met Mathews. Mathews knew of the paper's collapse and was outraged at this apparent example of Jewish suppression. Thus, when Bruce Pierce pushed for an assassination in June 1984, Alan Berg was high on the list. The murder was carried out by Mathews, Lane and Pierce. Pierce shot Berg at least thirteen times with a MAC-10 assault weapon altered to be fully automatic. When Don Mulnix, the Chief of the Investigative Division of the Denver Police Department, viewed the crime scene, it was obvious that Berg had been killed with an assault weapon. Knowing that only terrorists or right-wing extremists habitually carried such powerful firearms, Mulnix put together a "major case squad"--the biggest in Denver's history--to track down the killers. Sixty detectives worked with FBI and ATF agents to study evidence and identify suspects. Almost immediately, the team focused on David Lane. However, there were no eyewitnesses and little evidence besides the shell casings from the MAC-10, which the police naturally assumed would be disposed of.⁴⁴

⁴⁴Details on Alan Berg and his murder from Flynn and Gerhardt, The Silent Brotherhood, 213-14, 219, 249-50, 255-56.

Ten days later, on June 28, 1984, Thomas Martinez was apprehended by the police in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, for passing counterfeit currency. At first, police suspected a small con operation, but when pressed, Martinez intimated that he was part of a larger, more dangerous group. He refused to say anything more specific at that time, but his slip alerted the Secret Service agents interrogating him.⁴⁵

On June 30, 1984, an Arkansas State Trooper stopped Richard Snell near De Queen, Arkansas, for a routine license check. Fearing arrest, Snell shot the officer twice, killing him. He then fled to Broken Bow, Oklahoma, where he was wounded after a gunfight with police. He was tried and convicted within the year, receiving a death sentence; however, the FBI would not fully link Snell to CSA terrorism until 1985.⁴⁶

Back in Coeur d'Alene, on June 29, Wayne Manis requested permission to begin a full-scale investigation of Aryan Nations. His informants called him after the annual Aryan Nations Congress in July and mentioned that there had been a great deal of talk about the Berg assassination.

⁴⁵Thomas Martinez and John Guinther, Brotherhood of Murder (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1988), 102-4.

⁴⁶Congress, House, Committee on the Judiciary, Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights, Terrorism, report entitled FBI Analysis of Terrorist Incidents and Terrorist Related Activities in the United States - 1985, prepared by the FBI's Terrorist Research and Analytical Center, 99th Cong., 2d sess., 28 February 1986, 312; Flynn and Gerhardt, The Silent Brotherhood, 310.

Manis already knew that Lane was a suspect, and at a meeting of agents from the Spokane, Washington, and Butte, Montana, offices, he learned about Mathews, Parmenter and the activity around Metaline Falls. Soon afterwards, he received authorization to begin a six-month investigation of Aryan Nations.⁴⁷

The Order by this time was ready for another robbery. On July 19, 1984, they held up a Brink's armored truck on Highway 101 near Ukiah, California. The holdup, carried out in broad daylight on a busy highway, went off without a hitch thanks to Mathews's meticulous planning. However, in an astounding display of carelessness, Mathews left his semi-automatic pistol behind in the armored car. The gang escaped with \$3.8 million, the most money ever taken in an armored car holdup. Mathews told the others that part of the money would be sent to other racist leaders, including William Pierce, Glenn Miller, Robert Miles, Louis Beam, Dan Gayman, Tom Metzger and Richard Butler. The lost gun was accepted as simply bad luck.⁴⁸

For the FBI, the lost gun was a windfall. The gun belonged to Andrew Barnhill, who had been arrested with Evans in Madras the month before. Barnhill had bought the gun before getting false identification, so FBI agents were

⁴⁷ Flynn and Gerhardt, The Silent Brotherhood, 276-77.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 277, 285, 294-96.

able to get a physical description of him. They then interviewed the owner of the getaway car the group had bought, and he told them he had directed the suspects to a local Motel 6. The gang had not used motel phones, but made many calls from several nearby pay phones. Knowing that Barnhill was from Montana, an agent analyzed records of the calls made from the pay phones to locations in Washington, Idaho and Montana. He noted calls to Ken Loff of Ione, Washington, and to Janice Parmenter, Denver's wife. (Loff was responsible for hiding the Order's stolen money.) Calls also had been made to Zillah Craig (Mathews's mistress) and to Gary Olbu. Agent Manis staked out Olbu's house and discovered that Olbu was actually Gary Yarbrough. He watched as Yarbrough hooked up a line phone to a pole and made a quick call. The call was traced to Suzanne and Luke Hamilton, who were actually Suzanne Stewart and Luke Tornatzky, Fred Merki's daughter and her husband. The Merkis were still wanted on counterfeiting charges from 1982, and Yarbrough was still a suspect in numerous armed robberies in Washington and Idaho.⁴⁹

On August 4, Manis gained a warrant to search Barnhill's house in Missoula, Montana. Here he found evidence linking Barnhill to Aryan Nations and to the Fred Meyer's robbery in March. He also found a curious Order

⁴⁹Ibid., 310-11.

memo entitled "Rules of Security" which indicated the organization and seriousness of the group. The evidence began to come together. Barnhill used Mathews's address on his identification form. He had previously been arrested with Evans, and was at that time tied to Parmenter, Duey and Pierce. Mathews had come to Pierce's defense, and paid for insurance policies for Pierce, Yarbrough, Duey and Parmenter. Barnhill had called Yarbrough, who in turn contacted Suzanne Stewart; this implicated the Merkis, once the phony identities had been discovered. By this time, few people associated with The Order were not suspected of criminal activity. The final pieces of the puzzle were provided in October by Thomas Martinez, the Philadelphia Order member and close friend of Mathews who turned informant in order to escape a long prison sentence for counterfeiting. Martinez told Secret Service and FBI agents about The Order's plans and goals, although the accumulating evidence was also illuminating the organization.⁵⁰

On July 31, 1984, Mathews and Zillah Craig traveled east to speak with other supremacist leaders. They first met with Robert Miles. Craig later recalled that the two had a long talk, and Miles accepted money, but was reluctant to take control of The Order from the tired Mathews. He did send Mathews off with a letter of introduction to Glenn

⁵⁰Ibid., 313; Martinez and Guinther, Brotherhood of Murder, 134.

Miller. On the way to see Miller, Craig said that Mathews met with and gave money to William Pierce. He also gave money to Miller when he saw him in North Carolina. Later, when he returned to the group, Mathews drew up a national hierarchy of supremacist leaders to function under his direction after the anticipated fall of the U.S. government. Metzger, Beam, Miller, Pierce and Miles were mentioned.⁵¹

By September, FBI agents had traced another of the Santa Rosa phone calls to Julie Pierce--Bruce's wife--in Troy, Montana. Bruce Pierce escaped before the agents could close in, but a search of a trash pile behind his home revealed slugs which matched the ones found at the Berg murder scene. The same month, Jean Craig--the mother of Mathews's mistress--ordered special medallions inscribed with the group's name--"Bruder Schweigen"--for all Order members. The group seemed ambivalent about the intense FBI investigation into its activities.⁵²

In October, the FBI decided to get a closer look at Yarbrough's house. On October 18, FBI agents disguised as forest rangers entered Yarbrough's property to reconnoiter his house. Yarbrough saw them and, incensed at their trespassing, fired a few shots at them. The agents were

⁵¹Flynn and Gerhardt, The Silent Brotherhood, 314, 318-19, 322, 325, 361-62.

⁵²*Ibid.*, 338-39, 346-47.

happy to answer the challenge. The Hostage Rescue Team (HRT), an elite group of FBI commandos, was summoned. The FBI requested a search warrant, saying that it suspected that Steven Yarbrough--Gary's brother--was hiding out at Yarbrough's. Steven was wanted in Arizona on theft, robbery and burglary charges.

FBI actions were less than forthright. In the first place, the agents had no search warrant and thus no authority to trespass onto Yarbrough's property. Yarbrough's warning shots required an appropriate response, but summoning the Hostage Rescue Team was extreme. The team, which has more capabilities and firepower than the FBI's SWAT teams, is normally used in "high-risk domestic situations" such as terrorist attacks. Furthermore, the warrant was issued on false premises. Steven was indeed wanted, but the FBI had been watching Gary Yarbrough since early September and knew that his brother was not with him. The bogus warrant was used to protect the undercover Order investigation.⁵³

It was evening when the FBI surrounded the house and announced their presence. Yarbrough leapt off his porch and rolled into a trench. He turned and aimed his gun at his own house in order to try to blend in with the other agents. The ruse worked; regular agents, assuming him to be part of

⁵³ Ibid., 369-71; Pomerantz, "The FBI and Terrorism," 17.

the Hostage Rescue Team, ignored him, and he was able to slip away. Unfortunately for The Order members, Yarbrough's house was thoroughly searched. Authorities found a huge stockpile of weapons and explosives, and many Order documents which further incriminated the group. They also found a computerized list of names and addresses of FBI agents and local police officers, a find which disturbed and angered the agents and inspired them to wrap up the case as soon as possible. Most importantly, the FBI found the MAC-10 which had been used to kill Alan Berg. Now, both Yarbrough and Pierce were murder suspects.⁵⁴

A day after the Yarbrough raid, federal agents moved in on the Merkis. Agents watched as Mathews and other Order members helped the couple move their things into a U-Haul, including the printing press they had used to make The Order's counterfeit money. In the ensuing chase, the gang got away, but the FBI got the U-Haul and the press. The whole Merki family was implicated in the counterfeiting operation.⁵⁵

Instead of arresting the suspects right away, the Bureau continued to trail them in order to discover the plans and whereabouts of Mathews. Martinez was told to set up a meeting with Mathews. He flew to Portland, Oregon,

⁵⁴Flynn and Gerhardt, The Silent Brotherhood, 372-74.

⁵⁵Ibid., 377-79.

ostensibly to arrange to go into hiding instead of facing a long prison sentence. FBI agents followed and attempted to arrest Mathews at a motel. Mathews spotted the trap and escaped. He wounded one agent but was in turn wounded by another. Yarbrough was captured.⁵⁶ Mathews fled to a series of safe houses in Oregon and Washington. He regrouped with several Order members at a couple of rented houses on Whidbey Island in Washington's Puget Sound on November 26. The FBI, notified by another informant in the group of Mathews's location, hurried to Whidbey Island on December 5 to arrest him and other gang members. The other members fled or surrendered, but Mathews refused to come out. After a day of fruitless negotiations, FBI agents heard a shot and a moan from the house. Suspecting that Mathews might have shot himself, they fired tear gas into the house and stormed the first floor, bringing along an attack dog. Mathews was waiting for them with a gas mask and an assault rifle. He shot through the ceiling, strafing the floor and walls. The agents retreated to their perimeter; miraculously, no one had been injured, save for Manis, who was bitten by the frightened dog. (He later commented that he should have known better than to send a German shepherd after a neo-Nazi.) After several more hours of intermittent gunfire, Manis began to fear that Mathews

⁵⁶ Martinez and Guinther, Brotherhood of Murder, 150-51, 165-67.

would escape through their perimeter during the night. The FBI decided to lob M-79 Starburst flares through the bottom window in an attempt to flush Mathews out. The flares were highly flammable, and the FBI thought the resulting fire would drive Mathews from the house. However, the agents also must have known that such a fire would likely ignite Mathews's stockpiles of ammunition, as a similar fire had done during Gordon Kahl's last stand. The fire spread surprisingly quickly, and Mathews remained in the inferno, shooting from the upstairs window until the house, engulfed in flames, collapsed.⁵⁷ The next day investigators found Mathews's badly burned body, the melted Silent Brotherhood medallion embedded in his chest.

⁵⁷ For a brief account of these events, see Coates, Armed and Dangerous, 74-76; for a more accurate and detailed account, see Flynn and Gerhardt, The Silent Brotherhood, 434-47.

V. PROSECUTION

The death of Robert Mathews marked a new phase in the FBI investigation of white supremacists. For the previous few months, efforts had focused on determining the size and scope of The Order's criminal activities through secret surveillance of known members. After Mathews's death, the FBI moved quickly to arrest Order members already under surveillance and track down those on the run. Yarbrough was already in custody. The FBI apprehended Randall Duey and Robert and Sharon Merki at Whidbey Island. Denver Parmenter was arrested soon afterward in Seaside, Oregon.⁵⁸ Also important was tracing The Order's connections to other supremacist organizations, including Aryan Nations and the Covenant, the Sword and the Arm of the Lord (CSA), and to other supremacist leaders, such as Robert Miles, Glenn Miller, William Pierce, and Tom Metzger.

The fiery death of Mathews also attracted national media attention, so the FBI now had to provide information to the press which would help build its case against other

⁵⁸T.R. Reid, "'Neo-Nazis' Inspire White Supremacists," Washington Post, 26 December 1984, 3(A); Wayne King, "Links of Anti-Semitic Band Provoke 6-State Parley," New York Times, 27 December 1984, 7(B); Flynn and Gerhardt, The Silent Brotherhood, 468.

supremacist groups without compromising ongoing investigations. FBI actions were incidentally shown in a favorable light. The intentional burning of Mathews's house was portrayed as an accident. An FBI spokesman told the San Francisco Chronicle two days later that "agents had assaulted the house with illumination devices and for some reason the house caught on fire." On December 27, the New York Times also reported that the fire had resulted from flares "dropped by helicopters to light the scene."⁵⁹ The FBI and the press made statements linking The Order to Aryan Nations. On December 12, the Washington Post related an ominous report from United Press International that the Aryan Nations, on receiving word of Mathews's death, had promised to "press the FBI and let them know what it is like to become the hunted."⁶⁰ In a follow-up report on December 18, the Post quoted FBI officials as saying that Aryan Nations was behind the armored car robberies and the murder of Alan Berg. The Post related that Aryan Nations had one hundred to one hundred fifty members with "ties to two extremist prison gangs" as well as to the Posse Comitatus. The paper also mentioned a computer bulletin board set up by

⁵⁹ "House Burns with Gunman Inside," San Francisco Chronicle, 9 December 1984, 4(A); King, "Links of Anti-Semitic Band Provoke 6-State Parley," New York Times, 7(B).

⁶⁰ Laura Parker, "U.S. Alleges Overthrow Plot," Washington Post, 12 December 1984, 3(A).

Aryan Nations to spread racist messages nationwide.⁶¹ The Post revised its appraisal on December 26. It noted that the number of extremists involved in the criminal activity was around seventeen, down from the one hundred to one hundred fifty previously reported. Additionally, it distinguished between The Order, whose members were suspected of the crimes, and Aryan Nations, whose connection to The Order was still nebulous. Richard Butler told the Post that many young neo-Nazis, including Order members, had split from Aryan Nations, though the paper reported that some observers believed that Butler still had close ties to the extremists. In any event, the Post noted that the FBI had not charged Butler with complicity in any of the crimes attributed to The Order.⁶²

The New York Times was also quick to report connections between The Order and Aryan Nations. Federal investigators were quoted as saying that The Order, though comprised of only about six people, was "part of a larger racist alliance with adherents in half a dozen Western and Southern states." The Times reported that FBI officials did not consider The Order much of a threat because of its small size. However, the FBI was continuing its investigation of the suspects'

⁶¹Mary Thornton and T.R. Reid, "Aryan Group, Jail Gangs Linked," *ibid.*, 18 December 1984, 3(A).

⁶²Reid, "'Neo-Nazis' Inspire White Supremacists," Washington Post, 3(A).

links to Aryan Nations, which claimed to have a mailing list of six thousand and which was reported to have possibly five hundred active members. The Times even implied that Aryan Nations had links to neo-Nazi groups in West Germany.⁶³

Richard Butler's radical statements were also used to underscore the size of his organization and its potential for violence. The Times reported that in a 1982 Aryan Nations newsletter, he had asserted that his group wanted "a national racial state . . . at whatever price is necessary." Butler had put it bluntly: "We will have to kill the bastards."⁶⁴ The San Francisco Chronicle cited Richard Butler on January 12 as claiming that Randall Evans, an Order member under investigation, was the "leader of the California branch of the Aryan Nations Church."⁶⁵

Despite the ominous connections made by the authorities and the press, The Order was falling apart. Andrew Barnhill and Richard Kemp were apprehended in Kalispell, Montana, early in January. In March, Bruce Pierce was arrested in Rossville, Georgia, and David Lane was picked up in Winston-Salem, North Carolina.⁶⁶ By mid-April, only six suspects

⁶³King, "Links Provoke 6-State Parley," New York Times, 7(B).

⁶⁴Ibid.

⁶⁵Bill Wallace, "Church Figure in Brink's Case," San Francisco Chronicle, 12 January 1985, 4(A).

⁶⁶"2 More Suspects Seized in Brink's Holdup," *ibid.*, 9 January 1985, 4(A); Wayne King, "F.B.I. Says It's 'Closing Net' on Armed Rightists' Group," New York Times, 4 April 1985, 16(A); Flynn and

from the FBI's list of twenty-four remained at large, and they were on the run. Many of those already apprehended agreed to help the FBI track down the fugitives in return for reduced sentences. As Kevin Flynn and Gary Gerhardt described the situation after Mathews's death, "it quickly became apparent that the 'Silent Brotherhood' was neither." One FBI agent boasted to the Times that the FBI was "closing the net" on The Order.⁶⁷ He was correct: the only Order members left were more concerned with eluding the government than with fighting it.

On April 12, 1985, a Seattle grand jury indicted twenty-three suspected Order members for sixty-seven crimes, including two murders, three armed robberies, counterfeiting, possession of illegal weapons and distribution of counterfeit and stolen money.⁶⁸ It would be difficult for the prosecution to determine which suspects were responsible for which crimes, especially the most serious felonies. The FBI's solution was to employ the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organization Act (RICO). The RICO Act was passed in 1970 chiefly to be a weapon

Gerhardt, The Silent Brotherhood, 461, 466.

⁶⁷ Martinez and Guinther, Brotherhood of Murder, 198-99; Flynn and Gerhardt, The Silent Brotherhood, 450-51; King, "F.B.I. Says It's 'Closing Net'," New York Times, 16(A).

⁶⁸ Steven Miletich, "U.S. Aims RICO at 'The Order'," National Law Journal 8 (October 7, 1985): 13; Cogress, Terrorism, 304; Steven Miletich, "Sentencing Set for 'Order' Defendants," National Law Journal 8 (January 27, 1986): 27.

against organized crime; however, the government began employing it against a wide variety of organizations during the 1980s. It provided for prosecution of any member of a group (or "enterprise") who committed or conspired to commit two or more specified crimes. The statute included a wide variety of crimes, from mail fraud to murder. Most of the crimes attributed to The Order qualified as racketeering crimes under RICO.⁶⁹

The FBI's concern had always been broader than just the criminal activities of The Order. The Bureau continued to stress the group's connection to Aryan Nations. On January 31, the San Francisco Chronicle reported the FBI's assertion that The Order had "close ties with other ultra-right militant bands in several other states."⁷⁰ On April 6, the FBI told the New York Times that The Order was an offshoot of the Aryan Nations. Six days later, federal investigators and civil rights organizations told the Times that Order members were also part of Aryan Nations, which itself was an "umbrella group" for anti-Semitic organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan and the American Nazi Party.⁷¹ On April 16,

⁶⁹ Samuel A. Alito, Jr., Esq. and others, The RICO Racket (Washington, D.C.: National Legal Center for the Public Interest, 1989), 1, 4-5; Steven Miletich, "U.S. Aims RICO at 'The Order'," 13.

⁷⁰ Bill Wallace, "'Inside Plot' at S.F. Brink's - 2 Arrested," San Francisco Chronicle, 31 January 1985, 16(A).

⁷¹ "Rightist Danger Cited in Court," New York Times, 6 April 1985, 26(A); Wayne King, "Indictment of 24 Neo-Nazis Expected Under U.S. Racketeering Law," *ibid.*, 12 April 1985, 13(A).

the Times quoted Assistant Director of the FBI William Baker, who said that the FBI was going to "look into other groups around the country" and warned that "if a person on the fringe of a hate group thinks that he is only minimally involved, then that person should take another look."⁷²

On April 15, David Tate, the young Order member who had been involved in the killing of Walter West, was stopped near Ridgedale, Missouri, for a routine traffic inspection. In an eerie replay of the Richard Snell incident, Tate emerged from his van shooting, killing one officer and wounding another. He was captured in Forsyth, Missouri, after a five-day manhunt.⁷³ Tate was arrested fifteen miles away from the CSA compound near Mountain Home, Arkansas, confirming FBI suspicions that some Order members might be heading to CSA for refuge. The compound was surrounded on April 19 by two hundred heavily armed state and federal officers. For three days, negotiators tried to convince Jim Ellison, CSA's leader, to give up peacefully. Meanwhile, the police force moved in on the compound, finding caches of buried weapons and explosives. On April 22, the sixty inhabitants of the compound surrendered peacefully to authorities. Ellison, Randall Evans and three

⁷²Wayne King, "U.S. Indicts 23 in White Supremacist Organization," *ibid.*, 16 April 1985, 16(A).

⁷³Congress, Terrorism, 306; Flynn and Gerhardt, The Silent Brotherhood, 472.

other Order members were taken into custody.⁷⁴

Investigators found numerous weapons, including a converted MAC-10 submachine gun similar to the one used to kill Alan Berg. Authorities hinted that wholesale conversions of legal assault weapons from semi to fully automatic had been carried out at the compound since 1981. Jack Killorin of the FBI also revealed that "sufficient materials were found in the compound to comprise a small but very efficient bomb factory."⁷⁵

Ellison was arrested and charged under the RICO statute with racketeering, weapons violations and other crimes. He was convicted on July 17, 1985, and sentenced to twenty years in prison. Eleven other CSA members were later convicted on RICO charges and received sentences ranging from two years probation to twelve years in prison. Ellison agreed to cooperate with authorities in return for inclusion in the Witness Protection Program for himself, his two wives and his nine children.⁷⁶ He revealed that the bombings and pawn shop robbery in August and November 1983 were carried out by CSA members under his direction. He also confessed that he and five other CSA members had plotted to

⁷⁴Wayne King, "Survivalist and 4 Neo-Nazis Give Up," New York Times, 23 April 1985, 14(A).

⁷⁵Ibid.

⁷⁶Congress, Terrorism, 302; "Witness Says Supremacists Sought to Avenge Death," New York Times, 23 February 1988, 17(A).

assassinate U.S. District Judge H. Franklin Waters and FBI agent Jack Knox for their role in prosecuting the Arkansas couple who had hidden Gordon Kahl before his final confrontation with police. They were actually en route to the two officials' homes when their van broke down and they decided to abort the mission.⁷⁷

Several times during and after the standoff at CSA, the New York Times repeated government assertions that The Order and the compound dwellers were part of a much larger menace. The FBI pointed out that two members of The Order were prior CSA members and that weapons and other items found at the CSA compound directly linked CSA to The Order. In addition, The Times reported that investigators had uncovered links between The Order, the Ku Klux Klan, the American Nazis and the Posse Comitatus. The paper continued: "These groups have in turn been linked with a group called Aryan Nations . . . of which The Order is regarded as a splinter organization."⁷⁸

After the seizure of the CSA compound, the New York Times ran a story on the FBI's "delicate" handling of the whole case involving The Order. The paper praised the

⁷⁷ Brown, "A Right-Wing Conspiracy with Deep Arkansas Roots," 10; Suall and Lowe, "The Hate Movement Today," 354.

⁷⁸ Wayne King, "Suspect Wanted in Shooting of Missouri State Trooper is Arrested, New York Times, 21 April 1985, 22(A); *ibid.*, "Survivalist and 4 Neo-Nazis Give Up," *ibid.*, 23 April 1985, 14(A); *ibid.*, "Anti-Semitism Links Violent Groups," *ibid.*, 28 April 1985, 22(A).

Bureau for the rapid capture of most of The Order members, and the head of the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) stated that they had done "an absolutely splendid job." The Times repeated FBI Assistant Director Baker's warning that members of extremist groups who considered themselves only "minimally involved" might still be investigated by the FBI. Although it noted "mild concerns" of some "civil libertarian and liberal groups" that Baker's warning might have a chilling effect on extremist groups' free speech, these concerns were balanced in the article by others like Lyn Wells of the National Anti-Klan Network, who complained that the FBI was not moving forcefully enough against right-wing groups. Jerry Berman, a lawyer for the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), gave the last word when he concluded that the FBI had "carefully crafted its investigations to focus only on those who are engaged in criminal activity rather than in lawful political rhetoric."⁷⁹

The Times article on the FBI's investigations raised some pertinent points. While The Order was clearly a terrorist group whose membership were committed to criminal acts, the culpability of the members of CSA and Aryan Nations was not so obvious. Though at the time the FBI had adequate evidence to connect Order members to other

⁷⁹Stuart Taylor Jr., "It's a Tough Job, This Business of Being Tough," *ibid.*, 24 April 1985, 20(A).

supremacist groups, it conceded later that the members had banded together because of their disenchantment with the inactivity of less violent supremacist organizations.⁸⁰ The Order had been a rejection, not a culmination of the methods of these other supremacist groups. This assessment mirrored a more general phenomenon of splintering within the supremacist movement. One Posse member later told a reporter: "There's no two of us the same. That's why we can't ever get together on things. People think we're taking over, but it'll never happen. We keep forming circular firing squads."⁸¹

Congressman Don Edwards of California, an ex-FBI agent, voiced concerns in the Times article about the potential for the FBI to go too far, restricting rights of free speech and assembly in its search for terrorists and criminals. Edwards's concerns were significant because he chaired the House Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights as well as sitting on the Subcommittee on Crime and Criminal Justice. Although Edwards's committee had oversight over the FBI's investigations, such regulation was traditionally tenuous. Gary Marx pointed out that Congressional committees depend on the FBI for information on which to base their oversight decisions. It was common for these

⁸⁰Harris, "Domestic Terrorism in the 1980's," 11.

⁸¹Finch, God, Guts and Guns, 14.

committees to have trouble getting the crucial documents they needed to make wise decisions. In 1984, the Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights complained: "It is very difficult for Congress to oversee the FBI and the Department of Justice. . . . We had to struggle mightily for the documents that we did get and we got them under severe limitations."⁸² The Government Accounting Office (GAO) also had oversight over the FBI, but it too had trouble monitoring the Bureau. A GAO official noted that "the FBI is the agency we have the most difficulty [with] in getting the records we need to do our job properly."⁸³ Although the Assistant Director for Congressional and Public Affairs got weekly rundowns on major cases with information marked for public consumption, an aide to Congresswoman Anna Eshoo found after months of searching that some oversight committees didn't receive any information on ongoing cases unless they made a specific case request.⁸⁴ Such complaints during the 1980s and 1990s were distressing since the Bureau was chastized by the Church Committee in 1976 for withholding pertinent information or giving misleading or

⁸² Marx, Undercover, 192.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ronald Kessler, The FBI: Inside the World's Most Powerful Law Enforcement Agency (New York: Pocket Books, 1993), 33; Linette Escobar, Congresswoman Anna Eshoo's Office, phone interview by author, Palo Alto, California, 25 October 94.

inaccurate information to Congress and the press.⁸⁵ The FBI, then, was in the position of monitoring its own approach to supremacist groups.

The only other organizations that had detailed knowledge of the supremacist movement were several civil rights groups that monitored right-wing activity. Chief among these was the Anti-Defamation League (ADL). While these groups had a respected reputation for obtaining accurate information, their concern over supremacist activity could have impaired their judgment of civil rights issues. It is hard to appreciate an organization's right to free speech when much of that speech advocates your own extermination. Thus, as the Times review of the FBI's performance indicated, some civil rights groups were frustrated that the FBI was not doing more to disable the supremacist movement. An example of ADL overstatement can be seen in their assessment of The Order as "the best example of the coalescence of different forces . . . whose core membership came from two Identity groups (Aryan Nations and CSA) and a neo-Nazi group (National Alliance) and also included a number of Klansmen."⁸⁶ While the facts were accurate, later records indicate that few people in any of

⁸⁵ Congress, Intelligence Activities and the Rights of Americans, 16-17, 55.

⁸⁶ Suall and Lowe, "The Hate Movement Today," 361.

these other supremacist groups even knew of The Order's existence when it was first formed. Nor is it likely that any of the members considered themselves active participants in other supremacist organizations once they became part of The Order. The conclusion that The Order was a conscious alliance of different groups is misleading.

The trial of the members of The Order began in September 1985. RICO was a potent weapon for the prosecution. Faced with the threat of multiple convictions under the RICO statute, twelve of the twenty-four defendants pleaded guilty to reduced charges, some in exchange for testimony against the others. In addition, the government called three hundred seventy witnesses and introduced fifteen hundred exhibits during the three-and-a-half-month trial. Several defense lawyers argued that their clients had only limited knowledge and involvement with The Order's criminal operations, but the jury found ten defendants guilty. (Two defendants were not present: David Tate was on trial in Arkansas for the murder of the state trooper and Richard Scutari was still at large).⁸⁷ Later, a juror admitted that the jury had not needed to consider who was responsible for each of the major crimes because they had already agreed that all the defendants had been guilty on at

⁸⁷Flynn and Gerhardt, The Silent Brotherhood, 450-51; Miletich, "Sentencing Set for 'Order' Defendants," 27.

least two of the charges, resulting in convictions under RICO for committing racketeering.⁸⁸ The defendants were sentenced to prison terms ranging from forty to one hundred years.⁸⁹

⁸⁸Miletich, "Sentencing Set for 'Order' Defendants," 27.

⁸⁹Wallace Turner, "5 Neo-Nazis Get Stiff Sentences For Crime Spree," New York Times, 7 February 1986, 12(A); "40-Year Sentences Given to 5 In White-Supremacist Group," *ibid.*, 8 February 1986, 17(A).

VI. INVESTIGATING OTHER GROUPS

The FBI was pleased with the quick apprehension and prosecution of Order members. All of the twenty-four suspects either agreed to cooperate with the government or received severe sentences. In addition, testimony at the trial opened more possibilities for FBI investigations. Several government witnesses claimed that Mathews had given some of the money stolen from the Ukiah robbery to other supremacist leaders. Mathews supposedly sent \$300,000 to Glenn Miller's White Patriot Party in North Carolina, \$250,000 to Tom Metzger's White Aryan Resistance in California, \$50,000 to William Pierce's National Alliance in West Virginia and \$40,000 to Richard Butler's Aryan Nations in Idaho.⁹⁰ Mathews may have given the money as a donation, or he may have been working under the direction of these leaders. Either way, the possible receipt of the stolen money exposed these other groups to FBI surveillance and investigation. There was also the matter of The Order's stockpile of illegal weapons. Many were traced to the

⁹⁰Wayne King, "Neo-Nazis Shared Gains with Others, U.S. Says," New York Times, 3 October 1985, 19(A).

Covenant, the Sword and the Arm of the Lord (CSA) compound near Mountain Home, Arkansas, but the search for other sources continued. Again, informants were developed and the net was cast.

The FBI paved the way for new investigations with a public warning. FBI Director William Webster went before a Congressional committee soon after the Order sentencing and reported: "We think that recent accomplishments have not only taken a number of terrorists out of circulation but have helped create a perception that conditions in the United States are decidedly inhospitable for others of like mind and purpose." However, Webster implied that groups like The Order and the CSA, while "reduced currently," warranted continued watching because "they have remarkable Phoenix-like survival capabilities from shambles."⁹¹

FBI concern was no doubt heightened by supremacist rumblings. In 1985, Butler canceled his July Aryan Nations Congress out of respect for the fallen and incarcerated Order members. However, Robert Miles hosted two hundred representatives of supremacist organizations in Cohoctah, Michigan, in October 1985. The San Francisco Chronicle reported hints by participants that others were organizing

⁹¹"Terrorism Fight by F.B.I. Described," ibid., 1 March 1986, 32(A); Congress, House, Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights, Departments of Commerce, Justice, and State, The Judiciary, And Related Agencies Appropriations For 1987, Part 6: Department of Justice, 99th Cong., 2d sess., 4 March 1986, 273.

militant underground groups to carry on The Order's tradition. The Chronicle presented evidence of such a plan. It stated that some key members of The Order had gone underground, that investigators believed that much of the four million dollars in stolen money had been funneled to other supremacist groups, and that the Posse Comitatus already had been linked to plots to "firebomb judges' homes" and "incite anti-Semitic violence."⁹² The paper cited a 1985 report by the Southern Poverty Law Center which implicated Robert Miles and Louis Beam in a plot to "take committed members underground, to begin work in earnest toward the white revolution."⁹³ The Chronicle also quoted Undersheriff Larry Broadbent of the Kootenai County Sheriff's Department, who said that the major supremacist organizations had not been damaged by the apprehension of the members of The Order and that there remained a lot of "loose ends in the case that haven't been cleared up yet."⁹⁴ David Lehrer of the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) warned that "more violence is always a possibility. If it occurs, it will be the activity of a tiny group of people .

⁹²Bill Wallace, "Neo-Nazis Organize New Secret Cells," San Francisco Chronicle, 30 December 1985, 6(A).

⁹³Ibid.

⁹⁴Ibid.

. . . Their numbers are very small, but it only takes a few to engage in activities that can be very terrorizing."⁹⁵

The conclusion that the Chronicle drew from the Cohoctah meeting was that despite FBI efficiency in neutralizing The Order, supremacist movement leaders were still prepared to organize and unleash more terrorist groups. The FBI was prepared to combat such an eventuality using the prosecution of The Order as a springboard for further investigation. First, the FBI widened the Order investigation to capture everyone who had aided the group by providing arms, shelter or motivation during its crime spree. Second, the FBI endeavored to prevent like-minded radical groups from embarking on criminal or terrorist operations. In testimony during the Congressional hearings on terrorism, Director Webster explained that the Bureau's strategy was to monitor suspect groups to detect and prevent planned attacks before they could be executed. This strategy would be dependent upon increased cooperation and communication between the FBI and local police forces, and Webster announced that area task forces had been created around the country to facilitate this. Webster also testified that the RICO statute, coupled with current explosives and firearms laws, gave the FBI adequate legal power to neutralize terrorist groups. If attacks did occur,

⁹⁵ Ibid.

the Bureau promised to focus solely on the criminal actions of a group, not on its political motivations, when preparing a case for prosecution.⁹⁶

Private gun dealers who illegally sold weapons to Order members were tracked down by the ATF and prosecuted. In October 1985, ATF Associate Director Daniel Hartnett boasted that his agency had arrested and prosecuted fifty-six members of the Ku Klux Klan, Aryan Nations, The Order, Posse Comitatus and CSA over the past two years.⁹⁷ The FBI had asserted that The Order was a branch of Aryan Nations, and investigations of Richard Butler continued. Butler confirmed FBI suspicions of supremacist collusion when he boasted during his 1986 Congress that he had unified the supremacist movement. Attendees at the Congress included Robert Miles, Tom Metzger and William Pierce, as well as Bill Albers, the leader of the Ku Klux Klan in California. The Congress also attracted representatives of supremacist groups from the southern U.S. and Canada. Butler stated that the leaders had agreed to work together to create an

⁹⁶ Congress, Terrorism, 113-14, 125-26.

⁹⁷ Congress, Senate, Committee on the Judiciary, Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism, Mercenary Training Camps, 99th Cong., 1st sess., 2 October 1985, 23.

enclave for whites in the Northwest called the "White American Bastion."⁹⁸

One notable absentee from the Congress was Glenn Miller, head of the White Patriot Party in North Carolina. While the Congress was underway, Miller was awaiting trial on charges of running a paramilitary camp in North Carolina and receiving stolen weapons. Morris Dees, the anti-Klan lawyer and head of the Southern Poverty Law Center, brought suit against Miller and his group in 1985 for harassing a local black man and for running the camp. Miller and his group--at that time called the Confederate Knights of the Ku Klux Klan--settled the suit by agreeing to end the harassment and the paramilitary training. However, Miller subsequently changed the group's name to the White Patriot Party and continued to run the camp.⁹⁹ In April 1986, the New York Times reported that at least four Marines and some Army soldiers had attended a White Patriot Party rally. Dees was incensed, and the Southern Poverty Law Center demanded that Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger

⁹⁸ Steve Green, "Racist Leader: Neo-Nazis Have United," United Press International, 21 July 1986, Hayden Lake, Idaho, 724 words (Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH), NEWS, UPSTAT.

⁹⁹ Sharon Perkinson, "Witness Testifies Klan Leaders Purchased Illegal Weapons," United Press International, 22 July 1986, Raleigh, NC, 781 words (Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH), NEWS, UPSTAT; Dudley Clendinen, "North Carolina Jury Getting Case Against Klan Paramilitary Group," New York Times, 25 July 1986, 8(A); Robert L. Jackson, "5 Klansmen Accused of Plot to Steal Military Weapons," Los Angeles Times, 9 January 1987, 35(A); Sull and Lowe, "The Hate Movement Today," 350.

investigate claims that there were four thousand white supremacist members and supporters in the armed forces. Dees voiced fears of white supremacist soldiers having access to military weapons and equipment. In response, Miller threatened revolution against the government if the grievances of white people were not addressed. At around the same time he also declared himself as a candidate in the Republican primary for the U.S. Senate.¹⁰⁰ The threat and the declaration were almost certainly attempts to gain publicity. Miller gained a reputation for such stunts in January 1984 when he suggested that Ku Klux Klansmen patrol local schools in order to protect white children from the supposedly more violent minority students.¹⁰¹

Robert Norton Jones, a former Marine, testified at the July trial that the White Patriot Party had paid him fifty thousand dollars to supply it with arms and equipment stolen from nearby Fort Bragg and other installations. Jones stole weapons--including plastic explosives, anti-tank rockets, grenades and machine guns--from 1984 until his arrest in July 1985 by an undercover ATF agent. He was sentenced to three years in prison but was promised entry into the

¹⁰⁰ William E. Schmidt, "Soldiers Said to Attend Klan-Related Activities," New York Times, 15 April 1986, 14(A).

¹⁰¹ Untitled wire release, United Press International, 17 January 1984, Raleigh, NC, 369 words (Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH), NEWS, UPSTAT.

Witness Protection Program in exchange for his testimony.¹⁰² Defense attorneys for Miller claimed that Jones's statements were inconsistent, but the prosecution presented other witnesses who argued that the White Patriot Party was planning a domestic terrorism campaign similar to The Order's. The prosecution presented a letter signed by Miller which declared, "Beginning May 19, 1985, the White Patriot Party will begin a series of trials to convict and execute . . . those committing genocide of the white race." One article in the Patriot Party's newspaper described a mock trial by the group in which a New York doctor was convicted of murder for performing abortions and sentenced to be hanged once the White Patriot Party came to power.¹⁰³ One witness for the prosecution was FBI special agent Don Wofford. Wofford had been closely involved in the Order investigation, and testified that Patriots, like Order members, followed the tenets presented in The Turner Diaries, the novel by William Pierce about a supremacist takeover of the United States. The book claimed that supremacist control of the government could come about only through militant revolution and not by peaceful means.

¹⁰²Perkinson, "Witness Testifies Klan Leaders Purchased Illegal Weapons," United Press International, 22 July 1986, Raleigh, NC, 781 words (Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH), NEWS, UPSTAT; Clendinen, "North Carolina Jury Getting Case," New York Times, 8(A).

¹⁰³Perkinson, "Witness Testifies Klan Leaders Purchased Illegal Weapons," United Press International, 22 July 1986, Raleigh, NC, 781 words (Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH), NEWS, UPSTAT.

Miller was convicted and sentenced to six months in jail. He was released on bond while he appealed the conviction.¹⁰⁴

On August 1, 1986, a bank in Rossville, Illinois, was robbed of forty-four thousand dollars. The two suspects fled the scene, then ambushed a pursuing patrol car and riddled it with bullets. They later abandoned their own car and got away. Evidence in the car led authorities to suspect Thomas George Harrelson. Harrelson had been convicted in 1981 of robbing a bank in Sacramento. While in prison, Harrelson joined Aryan Nations. The getaway car was registered to Marion Miles, Harrelson's fiancée and the daughter of Robert Miles. Authorities declined to say whether Harrelson was influenced by the crimes of The Order, but the New York Times suggested a connection.¹⁰⁵ Harrelson was later arrested for another robbery and eventually sentenced to thirty-four years in prison on nine charges of armed robbery. His attorney denied that Harrelson had ever been a member of Aryan Nations.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.; Cathy Cash, "Miller, Three Other White Supremacists Arrested," United Press International, 30 April 1987, Raleigh, NC, 871 words (Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH), NEWS, UPSTAT.

¹⁰⁵ Wayne King, "Neo-Nazi is Focus of Searching by F.B.I.," New York Times, 18 August 1986, 11(A).

¹⁰⁶ H.E. Seiser, "FBI Arrests One of its 10 Most Wanted," United Press International, 20 February 1987, Fargo, ND, 565 words (Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH), NEWS, UPSTAT; *ibid.*, "N.D. Bank Robbers Get Prison Terms," *ibid.*, 17 June 1987, Fargo, ND, 348 words (Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH), NEWS, UPSTAT.

In October 1986, three people at Hayden Lake were arrested for counterfeiting and for planting four bombs around Coeur d'Alene, Idaho. The trio--David Dorr and Edward and Olive Hawley--were believed to be members of a group calling itself Bruder Schweigen Strike Force II, which the New York Times reported as being a "successor group to the Order." They plotted to set off the bombs as a diversion while they robbed a local bank. They were also charged with the September 15 bombing of the home of a local minister who headed an anti-racist community group. The trio were apprehended when an associate, Robert Pires, became disillusioned with the group and went to the FBI. The FBI accused the group of plotting to trigger a race war and finance it through counterfeiting.¹⁰⁷ During their trial three months later, secret tapes made by an FBI informant implied that Bill Albers--the Imperial Wizard of the American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in California--was part of the conspiracy. He allegedly had agreed to pass counterfeit money for the group. Albers, however, was not charged in the case.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷"2 Linked to Aryan Groups Plead Guilty to Plot," New York Times, 5 February 1987, 17(A); Glen Warchol, "Prosecutor Debates White Supremacist," United Press International, 11 November 1986, Post Falls, ID, 685 words (Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH), NEWS, UPSTAT.

¹⁰⁸Untitled wire release, United Press International, 6 January 1987, Spokane, WA, 559 words (Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH), NEWS, UPSTAT.

Also in October, William Potter Gale--Richard Butler's old associate from the Christian Defense League--and six other members of his Committee of the States were arrested after mailing death threats to IRS agents and a state district court judge. Gale founded the Committee--an anti-tax splinter group of the Posse Comitatus--in July 1974. He and three others were eventually convicted. Gale, suffering from emphysema and confined to a wheelchair, was sentenced to a year in prison, as were two of his associates. Mike McCray, whom prosecutors identified as the leader of the Nevada chapter of the Committee of the States, received seven years in prison.¹⁰⁹

In December 1986, the FBI arrested several members of the Arizona Patriots, a radical anti-tax group which FBI Assistant Director William Baker accused of advocating "the overthrow of the American government and the killing of the opposition."¹¹⁰ Specifically, the Patriots were accused of conspiring to blow up an IRS office in Utah and synagogues in Phoenix and California in order to test explosives they

¹⁰⁹ Maria L. La Ganga, "Link Between Accused Tax Protester, Bombing Attempt Probed," Los Angeles Times, 12 March 1987, 32(A) (Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH), NEWS, LAT; untitled wire release, United Press International, 16 January 1988, Las Vegas, NV, 419 words (Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH), NEWS, UPSTAT; Suall and Lowe, "The Hate Movement Today," 355.

¹¹⁰ Cheryl Sullivan, "Racists Take Violent Path," Christian Science Monitor, 12 January 1987, 36.

would use to hold up an armored car in Nevada.¹¹¹ Later reports revealed that the group surfaced in 1982 and had links to the Posse Comitatus. The Patriots challenged motor vehicle laws as an example of their general denial of federal authority.¹¹² Sergeant Allan Schmidt of the Arizona Department of Public Safety explained that the Patriots were not very large and lacked direction and hierarchy. In his judgment, they were "by no means really an organization." Still, he worried that a strong leader might come along and energize the group to action.¹¹³ The government was not about to wait for such an eventuality. The FBI and ATF began an eighteen-month investigation of the group in 1985. William Sivils--a former sheriff's deputy--and FBI agent Phil McComas infiltrated the group. On December 22, 1986, eight members were arrested for possession of illegal explosives and the sale of automatic

¹¹¹Untitled wire release, United Press International, 2 May, 1987, Phoenix, AZ, 436 words (Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH), NEWS, UPSTAT; David Hurlbert, "Arizona Right-Wing Group Outgrows Age of Innocence," *ibid.*, 22 December 1986, Phoenix, AZ, 731 words (Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH), NEWS, UPSTAT.

¹¹²Thomas J. Knudson, "Right-Wing Group Accused of Bank Robbery Plot," New York Times, 17 December 1986, 24(A) (Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH), NEWS, NYT; untitled wire release, United Press International, 21 April 1987, Phoenix, AZ, 492 words (Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH), NEWS, UPSTAT.

¹¹³"Arizona Right-Wing Group Outgrows Age of Innocence," United Press International, 22 December 1986, Phoenix, AZ, 731 words (Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH), NEWS, UPSTAT.

weapons to an undercover agent.¹¹⁴ The prosecution claimed that the Patriots--for years considered a harmless, eccentric group--were apprehended shortly before they could carry out more sinister plans. The defense, however, claimed that the group's leader, Jack Oliphant, was simply a big talker who never really intended to carry out the plans. Oliphant and two other Patriots were sentenced to four years in prison. Another Patriot received five years probation for his role in the plot. The defense was outraged, saying that FBI tapes showed that Oliphant was not serious about the plot, and that the Patriots were simply acting out a fantasy.¹¹⁵ U.S. District Judge Charles Hardy, however, warned that "people ought to be well-advised that if they start mouthing off about blowing up government buildings they open themselves up to investigation and possible prosecution if they break any laws."¹¹⁶ The judge's words and actions reinforced the government's seriousness in dealing with militant speech as well as action.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.; untitled wire release, United Press International, 21 April 1987, Phoenix, AZ, 492 words (Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH), NEWS, UPSTAT.

¹¹⁵ Mary K. Reinhart, untitled wire release, United Press International, 15 June 1987, Phoenix, AZ, 675 words (Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH), NEWS, UPSTAT.

¹¹⁶ Untitled wire release, United Press International, 21 April 1987, Phoenix, AZ, 492 words (Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH), NEWS, UPSTAT.

In January 1987, the Christian Science Monitor interviewed Associate Director William Baker and reported that "the FBI is conducting between 18 and 25 'domestic security investigations,' half of which involve 'right wing' organizations suspected of engaging in criminal activities that could be considered terrorist." One of the investigations involved Glenn Miller's White Patriot Party. Five Patriots were indicted for conspiracy to obtain stolen weapons from a military base and to commit robbery. They were also accused of plotting the assassination of Morris Dees.¹¹⁷ The Los Angeles Times reported that twenty-eight members of the Ku Klux Klan and White Patriot Party had been charged with crimes over the previous eighteen months.¹¹⁸

In March 1987, crude pipe bombs were found at the Chet Holifield Federal Building in Laguna Niguel, fifty-five miles southeast of Los Angeles, near San Clemente. Nine bombs were thrown at the building, but there was no damage. Authorities theorized that the bombings were retaliation by the Ku Klux Klan for the imprisonment of William Potter Gale. They also noted that Tom Metzger had attended a hearing on Gale's case in January and that one of Gale's followers admitted being a member of the Arizona Patriots.

¹¹⁷ Sullivan, "Racists Take Violent Path," 36.

¹¹⁸ Jackson, "5 Klansmen Accused of Plot to Steal Military Weapons," Los Angeles Times, 35(A).

Federal sources said that the bombings were "the latest in a two-year string of incidents of violence by anti-tax commando groups" and that they were "similar to methods used by members of the Arizona Patriots."¹¹⁹

In April, Glenn Miller, after exhausting all appeals of his 1986 conviction, declared war on the government and went into hiding. His call to arms was typical of his flamboyant style: "All 5,000 White Patriots are now honor bound and duty bound to pick up the sword and do battle against the forces of evil. . . . Let the blood of our enemies flood the streets, rivers and fields of the nation in Holy Vengeance [sic] and justice."¹²⁰ The letter included a point scale for the assassination of judges, civil rights leaders and minorities.¹²¹ Sam Currin, the local U.S. attorney, said that although Miller was not indicted, those leaders who had been charged had close ties to him; therefore, their prosecution would indirectly diminish White Patriot Party extremism.¹²² On April 23, Miller delivered a list of demands to a local radio station. He threatened

¹¹⁹Untitled wire release, United Press International, 11 March 1987, Las Vegas, NV, 382 words (Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH), NEWS, UPSTAT; untitled wire release, United Press International, 16 January 1988, Las Vegas, NV, 419 words (Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH), NEWS, UPSTAT.

¹²⁰Suall and Lowe, "The Hate Movement Today," 351.

¹²¹Untitled wire release, United Press International, 24 April 1987, Raleigh, NC, 529 words (Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH), NEWS, UPSTAT.

¹²²Ibid.

to start a nationwide race war if the demands, including \$880,000 and an official government apology, were not met. A week afterward, FBI agents tracked Miller down through a van purchase and arrested him and three others without incident.¹²³ No move was made by any of the other "5,000 White Patriots" to spark a race war. Still, Currin stated that the White Patriot Party would be "vigorously investigated." He concluded that the group had been dealt "a real fatal blow" and predicted that it would be difficult for it to survive the arrests.¹²⁴ Miller eventually received a five-year prison sentence for his declaration of war and a ten-year suspended sentence for illegal possession of hand grenades. By that time, however, he had apologized for his actions, admitted receiving money from The Order and was working as a government witness in other supremacist trials.¹²⁵

The indictments capped a two-year campaign by the FBI and related agencies to crack down on white supremacist activity. The operation, aptly code-named "Clean Sweep,"

¹²³ "Arrests of White Supremacists Comes From Fluke Tip," United Press International, 30 April 1987, Ozark, MO, 647 words (Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH), NEWS, UPSTAT.

¹²⁴ Cash, "Miller, Three Other White Supremacists Arrested," United Press International, 30 April 1987, Raleigh, NC, 871 words (Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH), NEWS, UPSTAT.

¹²⁵ Cathy Cash, "Miller Receives 5 Years in Prison for Race War Letter," United Press International, 5 January 1988, Raleigh, NC, 550 words (Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH), NEWS, UPSTAT.

involved investigations in at least six states "aimed at breaking the back of America's violence-prone racist movement."¹²⁶ Sources in the Justice Department assured the press that they had a "very good fix" on suspected individuals and promised to "ultimately get these groups."¹²⁷ William Webster announced to Congress that "the FBI has ongoing investigations of every group or organization known to be involved in terrorism activity in the United States."¹²⁸

But in its zeal to wipe out criminal conspirators on the far right, had the FBI gone too far? Certainly the targeted groups had broken laws, but how dangerous were they, and did their actions warrant undercover investigations? William Webster would ponder these concerns a year later while talking to a reporter from the New York Times. He said that people want "the right to be let alone and the right to be kept safe and free--and you want them both, and it usually falls on law enforcement to try to

¹²⁶ James Coates, "U.S. Aims to Break Neo-Nazis Indictments of 15 Part of Nationwide 'Clean Sweep'," Chicago Tribune, 26 April 1987, 8 (Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH), NEWS, CHTRIB.

¹²⁷ Ibid., untitled wire release, Chicago Tribune, 25 January 1987, Phoenix, AZ, 1155 words, 19 (Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH), NEWS, CHTRIB.

¹²⁸ Congress, Senate, Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, Departments of Commerce, Justice, and State, The Judiciary, and Related Agencies Appropriations for Fiscal Year 1988, "Questions Submitted by Senator Rudman," 100th Cong., 2d sess., 8 April 1987, 592.

achieve safety without sacrifice of liberty."¹²⁹ But the FBI did not have a good record when it came to not sacrificing liberty. Gary Marx worried about the "chilling effect" excessive government investigation could have on a political group. He pointed out that the FBI had considerable influence on national policy through discrimination in target selection. He noted Paul Chevigny's observation that "the power to offer a temptation to crime is the power to decide who shall be tempted. It can and often has been used as a way for the government to eliminate its enemies or for one faction in government to get rid of another."¹³⁰

Certainly supremacist organizations had not been targeted for purely political reasons. The Justice Department effectively made the case that these groups posed a threat to public safety, and generally followed correct procedures in their investigations and prosecutions. However, Chip Berlet--an analyst at Political Research Associates in Cambridge, Massachusetts--worried that it was the FBI's mindset as well as its procedures that caused concern. Berlet opposed bigotry and white supremacy, but he was concerned that unrestrained undercover operations by the

¹²⁹ Sanford J. Ungar, "The FBI on the Defensive Again," New York Times, 15 May 1988, 46(A).

¹³⁰ Marx, Undercover, 101.

FBI eroded civil liberties. He theorized that the FBI targeted extremists on both the right and the left, not so much because they posed a danger, but because they were "bad."¹³¹ If this were true, then the Bureau had not progressed much since the days of Hoover's attacks on Communists and student protesters.

The Order was a well-organized terrorist group committed to criminal acts, but it is questionable how well the Arizona Patriots or the Committee of the States filled this mold. Information coming into the Bureau led it to conclude that these groups posed as serious a threat as The Order, but what was the value of that information? James Coates, a reporter who covered the supremacist investigations for the Chicago Tribune, said that the FBI culls information on small supremacist groups from articles or interviews in local papers as well as relying on information provided by civil rights groups that closely monitor the supremacist movement.¹³² Such groups can provide valuable information up to a point; but Berlet, who works for one such group, feared that too much coziness between government and private groups leads to circular informing, where unverified information becomes legitimized

¹³¹Chip Berlet, Political Research Associates, phone interview by author, 24 August 1994, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

¹³²James Coates, Chicago Tribune, phone interview by author, 12 January 1995, Chicago, Illinois.

after being passed back and forth between agencies and civil rights organizations.¹³³

But more often, Coates says, the Bureau relies on informers--peripheral members of racist groups who can be convinced to spy for the FBI. The "convincing" is easily arranged. Coates suspects that FBI agents regularly "shake down" hapless racists who break some law, usually weapons violations or illegal drug use, then browbeat them into becoming informers in order to avoid a severe sentence.¹³⁴ One FBI agent who worked with informants in organized crime, agreed that "one of the best ways" to cultivate an informer was to get him in a "compromising position--in a criminal sense." However, an informer for the FBI on a domestic terrorism investigation comparable to "Clean Sweep" admitted that he often invented or inflated evidence of criminal plotting because he knew that was what the Bureau wanted to hear.¹³⁵ In many cases, defense attorneys have questioned the reliability of testimony provided by an informer beholden to the Bureau for his freedom.

¹³³ Berlet, interview, 24 August 1994.

¹³⁴ Coates, interview, 12 January 1995.

¹³⁵ Tony Stark, director and producer, Inside The FBI: Fighting the Family (Part 3), comments by former agent Ron Hadinger, television performance, PBS, 8 February 1995; Ibid., Inside The FBI: The Price of Freedom (Part 2), comments by Frank Varelli, television performance, PBS, 6 February 1995.

The coziness between watchdog groups and the FBI can lead to other abuses. Berlet argued that supremacist groups are under terrific pressure when public and private sectors combine to bring about their demise. If the government can't get them on criminal charges, Berlet said, it encourages private groups to sue in civil courts. Two such lawsuits were launched in 1987 by the Southern Poverty Law Center. In one case, the United Klans of America, based in Alabama, was devastated by a seven million dollar judgment against it for the killing of a young African-American man by two of its members.¹³⁶ In a second trial in Oregon, the ADL worked with the Southern Poverty Law Center to bring a case against Tom Metzger for the murder of an Ethiopian man by neo-Nazi skinheads incited by Metzger's rhetoric. Metzger was found guilty and ordered to pay part of the twelve and a half million dollars in damages to the victim's family.¹³⁷

Berlet even suspected that the FBI has approached private groups to spy on supremacists in situations where the FBI would not be allowed to do so.¹³⁸ Such suspicions mirror allegations from within the supremacist movement that

¹³⁶ Suall and Lowe, "The Hate Movement Today," 348.

¹³⁷ Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, The KKK Today: A 1991 Status Report, (an ADL Special Report) (New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1991): 1,3.

¹³⁸ Berlet, interview, 24 August 1994.

the ADL has paid informants that monitor the far right. The ADL does not reveal how it gets its information.¹³⁹

Whether Berlet's allegations were true or not, James Aho worried that the belief that such methods are used justifies supremacist fears of government persecution. He warned that supremacist members will become more socially isolated as a result of media and government attempts to marginalize and persecute them.¹⁴⁰

Such concerns do not bother most watchdog groups. During The Order prosecutions, Leonard Zeskind, research director for the Center for Democratic Renewal, warned the Christian Science Monitor that the threat of violence was still present because too many supremacist leaders were still free.¹⁴¹ In January 1987, as the government indicted members of the White Patriot Party, several civil rights groups criticized the government's complacency and urged still stronger action.¹⁴² Eight months after the indictments of virtually all of the leading figures of the supremacist movement in April 1987, another report

¹³⁹ Finch, God, Guts and Guns, 162-63.

¹⁴⁰ Aho, The Politics of Righteousness, 162-63.

¹⁴¹ Dean S. Miller, "Violence, Not Appeal Keeps White Supremacist Groups in the News," Christian Science Monitor, 9 October 1985, 6 (Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH), NEWS, CSM.

¹⁴² Peggy Peterman, "Don't Forget the Lessons of the Past," St. Petersburg Times, 24 January 1987, 5(B) (Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH), NEWS, STPETE.

complained of the "erosion in protection of civil rights" and the government's exasperating "climate of tolerance."¹⁴³ Years later, ACLU and civil rights activists would still argue that the FBI was unresponsive to charges of civil rights abuses. The FBI would counter that it did not want to charge innocent people with crimes.¹⁴⁴ Such claims on both sides seem incredible in the wake of the "Clean Sweep" prosecutions.

¹⁴³ Elliot Warnock, "Violence Up Against Minorities, Says Group," United Press International, 15 December 1987, Raleigh, NC, 479 words (Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH), NEWS, UPSTAT.

¹⁴⁴ Tomas Guillen, "Civil-Rights Cases Often Hit Dead End - Justice Dept., FBI Investigate Fewer Than Half of Complaints," The Seattle Times, 1 April 1991, 1(A) (Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH), NEWS, SEATTM.

VII. SEDITION

During the six-month period that the FBI was arresting and prosecuting members of various small supremacist groups, the government was planning an even more ambitious and questionable offensive as the cornerstone of Operation "Clean Sweep." On April 24, 1987, indictments were handed down for fifteen supremacists. Six were Order members, already jailed, some of whom were being tried on charges relating to the Berg assassination. Six others were members of the Covenant, the Sword and the Arm of the Lord (CSA)--most of whom were charged with plotting to kill Judge H. Franklin Waters and FBI Agent Jack Knox. The most serious charge, however, was aimed at supremacist leaders Robert Miles, Richard Butler and Louis Beam. The government accused these men and seven of the others of seditious conspiracy to overthrow the U.S. government.¹⁴⁵

The charge was quite unusual. According to Dr. Arthur D. Wolf--a law professor at Western New England College--the law dated back to the Civil War and had been used as a legal weapon against the Confederacy. To prove sedition, the

¹⁴⁵ "Grand Jury Indicts 15 White Supremacists," Chicago Tribune, 25 April 1987, 1 (Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH), NEWS, CHTRIB.

government had to show that the defendants conspired to overthrow the government through violence.¹⁴⁶ The FBI gathered evidence to prove exactly that. The government used the seditious conspiracy law to charge the leaders with complicity in 119 criminal acts, most committed by The Order.¹⁴⁷ The three-year investigation resulted in a string of prosecutions of small supremacist groups to show once and for all that the seemingly disparate organizations that made up the supremacist movement were linked together in a grand campaign to disrupt the U.S. government.¹⁴⁸ Informants secretly recorded conversations involving Butler and others that filled thirty-two tapes.¹⁴⁹ Telephone taps were placed in Miles's home. The Bureau recruited eleven friends and associates of the charged leaders to act as informants.¹⁵⁰

The government charged that during the Aryan World Congress at Hayden Lake in July 1983, the leaders of various

¹⁴⁶ Katherine Bishop, "U.S. Dusts Off an Old Law," New York Times, 27 March 1988, 9(E).

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., "Conspiracy Trial of 14 White Supremacists Begins," ibid., 18 February 1988, 17(A).

¹⁴⁸ Untitled wire release, United Press International, 26 April 1987, Spokane, WA, 492 words (Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH), NEWS, UPSTAT.

¹⁴⁹ Christopher Drew and James Coates, "U.S. Targets White Supremacist Leaders," Chicago Tribune, 22 March 1987, 3 (Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH), NEWS, CHTRIB.

¹⁵⁰ James Coates and Stephen Franklin, "'Underground' of Racist Leaders Coordinated Crimes, FBI Taps Show," Washington Post, 28 December 1987, 16-17(A).

supremacist organizations secretly met and agreed to launch a revolution funded by counterfeiting and robbery and carried out through bombing utility lines, poisoning water supplies and assassinating federal officials. They also allegedly planned to organize a nationwide computer network to recruit new members from the nation's prisons.¹⁵¹

Though the initial shock troops in this war--the original members of The Order--had been neutralized, federal indictments claimed that The Order still existed and was led by a junta of supremacist leaders that included Butler, Miles and Beam as well as Tom Metzger, William Pierce and Glenn Miller. This group plotted to bomb federal appeals courts in Denver, Minneapolis, New Orleans, St. Louis and Kansas City in retaliation for the jailing of The Order members. Beam and Miles were also said to have planned a jailbreak for the imprisoned Order members with the help of Colonel Jack Mohr, the head of the Christian Patriot Defense League.¹⁵² The government further charged that Butler might even have received funding from Mu'ammar Qaddafi,

¹⁵¹"Foiling a Revolt; White Racists are Indicted," Time, (4 May 1987): 24 (Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH), NEWS, TIME.

¹⁵²Coates and Franklin, "'Underground' of Racist Leaders Coordinated Crimes," Washington Post, 16-17(A).

saying that in 1985 the Libyan dictator wanted to funnel money to Aryan Nations through the Nation of Islam.¹⁵³

The government's aim from the beginning was not simply to root out criminals among the white supremacists, but to cripple the movement. Director William Webster told the press that the indictments showed the FBI's commitment "to bring to justice those individuals who use criminality and violence in the name of political or social change." However, in a joint statement with Attorney General Ed Meese, Webster announced that the indictments had "dealt a severe blow to Neo-Nazi activity," the assumption being that all neo-Nazi activity was criminal and violent.¹⁵⁴ Asa Hutchinson, the former U.S. Attorney who had prosecuted members of CSA in 1985, predicted that the convictions in the upcoming trial, to be held in Ft. Smith, Arkansas, "would wipe out the majority of leaders" and, consequently, "would be a serious, if not fatal, blow" to the white supremacist movement.¹⁵⁵ Sam Currin in North Carolina announced: "These indictments are very significant in the Justice Department effort to disrupt the neo-Nazi movement

¹⁵³Untitled wire release, United Press International, 21 December 1987, Spokane, WA, 330 words (Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH), NEWS, UPSTAT.

¹⁵⁴Wayne King, "Neo-Nazi Leaders Charged in Plot to Overthrow U.S. Government," New York Times, 25 April 1987, 1(A); Howard Kurtz, "Federal Grand Jury Indicts 15 White Supremacists," Washington Post, 25 April 1987, 2(A).

¹⁵⁵Brown, "A Right-Wing Conspiracy With Deep Arkansas Roots," 10.

in the United States."¹⁵⁶ The seditious conspiracy charge promised to be an effective weapon against supremacist groups. The FBI had used it with great success against a Puerto Rican nationalist group called FALN in 1985, and conspiracy charges under the RICO statute were gutting the leadership of the Mafia.¹⁵⁷

Butler and Miles were arrested on April 24 and held without bail. Beam went underground and made the FBI's Ten Most Wanted List. He was apprehended in November 1987 in Guadalajara, Mexico.¹⁵⁸ Butler was charged with training The Order members and letting them run a counterfeiting operation at Aryan Nations.¹⁵⁹ He replied that he did not advocate violence, only the overthrow of traitors in the government. He compared supremacist discontent to the Democrats' discontent with the Reagan Administration, saying that both groups in their own way sought the overthrow of

¹⁵⁶Untitled wire release, United Press International, 24 April 1987, Raleigh, NC, 529 words (Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH), NEWS, UPSTAT.

¹⁵⁷James Coates, "Plot to Poison Water is Charged; Neo-Nazis Targeted Chicago's Supply, Prosecutors Say," Chicago Tribune, 28 February 1988, 5 (Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH), NEWS, CHTRIB; Stark, Inside the F.B.I.: Fighting the Family, 8 February 1995.

¹⁵⁸Harris, "Domestic Terrorism in the 1980's," 12; Bishop, "Conspiracy Trial of 14 White Supremacists Begins," New York Times, 17(A).

¹⁵⁹Drew and Coates, "U.S. Targets White Supremacist Leaders," New York Times 3.

the government.¹⁶⁰ Butler requested release from jail, claiming that he was a reliable and respectable member of the community: "I don't know the right words . . . I do think residing here--we've always been stable here and, of course, I'm a pastor of a church."¹⁶¹

Miles was arrested at his home in Michigan. He had been convicted in 1970 for firebombing school buses as a protest against forced busing and served six years in prison. He had since been careful to separate militant speech from militant action. When asked whether he would challenge his removal to Arkansas for trial, he responded, "I've always cooperated. Why should I change now?" His lawyer said he was no threat, although indictments claimed he had ordered the assassinations of Judge Waters and Agent Knox in 1983.¹⁶² After the Cohoctah conference in 1985, the Southern Poverty Law Center accused Miles of being the "chief advocate" of violence among the supremacist movement. The ADL attributed to Miles the phrase "propagation of the deed," his term to describe the new tendency in the movement

¹⁶⁰Glen Warchol, "Neo-Nazi Church Leader Anticipates New Allegations," United Press International, 3 April 1987, Hayden Lake, ID, 536 words (Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH), NEWS, UPSTAT.

¹⁶¹Ibid., "Aryan Nations Head Surrenders to FBI," United Press International, 25 April 1987, Coeur d'Alene, ID, 397 words (Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH), NEWS, UPSTAT.

¹⁶²James R. Campbell, "White Supremacist Denied Bond," United Press International, 28 April 1987, Detroit, MI, 360 words (Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH), NEWS, UPSTAT.

towards violence.¹⁶³ In July, 1976, however, Miles was working to change his image. He told a reporter for the New York Times: "I think the right-wing's mesmerism with guns has been productive of some of their problems, and we have been most vocal in trying to change that mesmerism . . . [the issue is] where can we move and protect our land and our seed line."¹⁶⁴ After the conviction of the supremacist brothers in Columbus, Ohio, in 1979, Miles wrote an editorial in his newsletter, From the Mountain, in which he advised that no leader should allow discussion of illegal acts in his presence.¹⁶⁵ Only a few weeks before the indictments, Miles told the New York Times that he had "forsworn violence in favor of the establishment of an Aryan nation, or 'White American Bastion' in the Pacific Northwest."¹⁶⁶

As in the Seattle trial of The Order in 1985, the prosecution focused on a long list of criminal acts. In fact, The Order members on trial in Ft. Smith were all currently serving sentences handed down at the previous

¹⁶³Wallace, "Neo-Nazis Organize New Secret Cells," San Francisco Chronicle, 6(A).

¹⁶⁴Wayne King, "Neo-Nazis' Dream of a Racist Territory in Pacific Northwest Refuses to Die," New York Times, 5 July 1986, 10(A).

¹⁶⁵Finch, God, Guts and Guns, 167.

¹⁶⁶Wayne King, "Charges Reported Near in a Neo-Nazi Inquiry," New York Times, 4 April 1987, 7(A) (Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH), NEWS, NYT.

Seattle trial for the same crimes. Similarly, three of the five CSA members charged were also serving sentences received in 1985.¹⁶⁷ The key difference in the Ft. Smith trial was that while Robert Mathews had been intricately involved in the planning and execution of almost all of The Order's crimes, neither Miles, Butler nor Beam seemed to be closely involved in any of the crimes attributed to The Order or CSA. Rather, the FBI was depending heavily on the sedition law to prove their guilt through conspiracy.

The government evidence rested heavily on the testimony of James Ellison, the CSA leader convicted in 1985. He claimed that he was present at a meeting at Hayden Lake during the 1983 Aryan Nations Congress. With the death of Gordon Kahl only a month old, Ellison met with Butler and other leaders to discuss how to create and organize secret terrorist groups to commit crimes which would enrich the white supremacist movement, terrorize the population, and weaken the government. According to Ellison, the group decided that it was "time for action." Miles recalled how members of the Black Liberation Army and the Weather Underground had robbed a Brink's armored truck in New York in 1981. He complained, "If we were half the men the

¹⁶⁷ Hal Brown, "13 Innocent of Sedition," (Little Rock) Arkansas Democrat, 8 April 1988 (NEWSBANK, Newsbank, Inc., New Canaan, CT), 1988, SOC, 38:E14.

leftists were, . . . we'd be hitting armored cars too."¹⁶⁸ Ellison and his assistant, Kerry Noble, further testified that the leaders agreed to use the CSA compound as a military base to train recruits and for raids against the surrounding countryside, including attacks on Jewish businesses and assassinations of federal officials. Noble testified that "such killings would give the push to begin the total insurrection across the United States."¹⁶⁹ Ellison testified that he met Miles at a gun show in 1981 where they discussed using cyanide to poison the water supply of a major city. Miles gave him thirty gallons of cyanide to do the job. Later in 1984, Miles travelled to the CSA compound to discuss dumping the cyanide into the water supplies of New York City and Washington, D.C., "saying that killing the people living there would be 'a good cleansing.'"¹⁷⁰

The difficulty in the case lay in proving to the jury that the indicted supremacist leaders not only approved of The Order's and CSA's actions, but planned and authorized them. The FBI's case was based on testimony by Ellison and other informants. Unlike the Seattle trial, however, none

¹⁶⁸ Flynn and Gerhardt, The Silent Brotherhood, 117.

¹⁶⁹ Katherine Bishop, "Plot Against U.S. Described in Court," New York Times, 28 February 1988, 25(A).

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.; untitled wire release, United Press International, 30 March 1988, Fort Smith, AK, 695 words (Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH), NEWS, UPSTAT.

of the informants were intimately involved in the activities of either Butler's Aryan Nations or Miles's Cohoctah Church. In addition, many of the informants were currently serving prison sentences. Glenn Miller testified that he had received money from Mathews and was a member of The Order, but his testimony was a condition of his sentencing in 1987.¹⁷¹ Thomas Martinez testified that Mathews distributed Order money to other supremacist leaders and plotted with Miller to assassinate Morris Dees, but he had received a three-year suspended sentence in return for cooperating with the government.¹⁷² James Ellison also hoped to have his sentence reduced in return for his cooperation with the government.¹⁷³ The exchange of damning testimony for reduced sentences damaged the credibility of the witnesses for the prosecution.

The government's case hinged on Ellison's testimony about the leaders' summit in Butler's house in 1983. Louis Beam denied being a party to any conspiracy plans. He said he was changing his daughter's diaper during the discussion

¹⁷¹Cash, "Miller Receives 5 Years in Prison," United Press International, 5 January 1988, Raleigh, NC, 550 words (Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH) NEWS, UPSTAT.

¹⁷²Untitled wire release, United Press International, 3 March 1988, Fort Smith, AK, 1008 words (Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH), NEWS, UPSTAT.

¹⁷³Flynn and Gerhardt, The Silent Brotherhood, 464.

that took place at the house.¹⁷⁴ Miles testified that Ellison brought up armed resistance against the government, to which he replied, "What do you expect us to do? We're too small." Miles dismissed the discussion at Butler's house as "open-house coffee chatter."¹⁷⁵ While Miles admitted that he had known about and approved of The Order's robberies, he denied receiving any of the stolen money.¹⁷⁶ As for mobilizing a supremacist guerilla army, Miles had expanded on the problems involved with such an undertaking on another occasion when he chastised supremacist groups for their showy paramilitary training camps and talk of war:

Soldiers must be rewarded, traitors
punished. Can you pay such a price now?
Can you support one soldier in the
terror army? . . .

Can you build your chain of safe
houses across this land before you move?
Are there fifty such families who can be
trusted and who have never subscribed to
any racist paper or publication?. . .

How many lawyers are there who are
eager to defend your cause in
court? . . .

¹⁷⁴ Katherine Bishop, "White Supremacists, at Trial, Charge Persecution for Their Beliefs," New York Times, 19 February 1988, 13(A).

¹⁷⁵ "Former Michigan KKK Leader Takes Stand in Sedition Trial," United Press International, 30 March 1988, Fort Smith, AK, 535 words (Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH), NEWS, UPSTAT.

¹⁷⁶ "Defense Closes its Testimony in White Supremacist Trial," United Press International, 31 March 1988, Fort Smith, AK, 459 words (Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH), NEWS, UPSTAT.

Do you have the doctors and nurses recruited, with medical facilities set up either in homes or inside actual hospitals used as covers? . . .

Where do your soldiers go for rest once the armed action begins? To which nation can your hunted ones flee when the heat is too much to stand for them in their own land? . . .

It is folly . . . nay, it is treason, for any leader to enter into an armed action until the preparatory work has been done.¹⁷⁷

Ellison had a difficult time maintaining his credibility, especially after testifying that he "frequently has religious revelations and believes he is a direct descendant of the biblical King David."¹⁷⁸ The result was that the defendants were acquitted of all the charges. One juror later explained, "We just didn't believe the government's witnesses." The jury seemed instead to credit the defense's contention that Ellison made up the conspiracy in order to receive a reduced sentence.¹⁷⁹

The FBI was disappointed, if not altogether surprised, by the verdicts. Some field agents who had worked closely on the cases involving The Order and CSA were stunned initially by the Bureau's decision to charge the leaders

¹⁷⁷Coates, Armed and Dangerous, 103.

¹⁷⁸Bishop, "Plot Against U.S. Described in Court," New York Times, 25(A).

¹⁷⁹Lamar James, "Jurors Finish 'Hard Task'; Most Decline Comment," (Little Rock) Arkansas Gazette, 8 April 1988 (NEWSBANK, Newsbank, Inc., New Canaan, CT), 1988, SOC, 38:E9.

with seditious conspiracy. Kevin Flynn explained the decision by noting that FBI administrators in Washington, having only limited exposure to the complexities of the supremacist movement, took the boastful rhetoric of the supremacist leaders and the dire warnings of civil rights groups literally, believing that there was ample evidence of a sinister nationwide conspiracy in the making.¹⁸⁰

Despite the confused motivations and lack of convictions, the indictments and trial certainly had an impressive effect upon the supremacist movement. After the indictments were announced, an ADL report praised the FBI investigations as the "most sweeping crackdown on the far-right in the United States since World War II" and praised it for causing supremacist group membership to shrink back to pre-1980 levels. The report noted that neo-Nazi groups had lost 10 to 20 percent of their membership--down to 400 - 450 members--as a result of the FBI investigations.¹⁸¹

Miles himself complained in December 1987 that members were hiding out because of the indictments.¹⁸² After the trial, some civil rights groups lamented the acquittals, saying that they legitimized the supremacists' views. "They'll try

¹⁸⁰Kevin Flynn, Rocky Mountain News, phone interview by author, 20 February 1995, Denver, Colorado.

¹⁸¹Suall and Lowe, "The Hate Movement Today," 345-46.

¹⁸²Stephen Franklin, "A Militant Crusader Faces His Biggest Trial," Chicago Tribune, 8 December 1987, 1 (Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH), NEWS, CHTRIB.

to use this to say that much of middle America agrees with them," worried Pat Clark of Klanwatch. However, Clark also admitted that the trial "left the movement in shambles."¹⁸³ Debate continued on the prosecution's effects on the supremacist movement. Kevin Flynn stated that the exposure of supremacist groups' criminal activities repelled some of the movement's more conservative supporters. However, Bill Morlin--a reporter for the Spokesman Review in Spokane, Washington--believed that court battles and FBI investigations served to increase the groups' notoriety in the eyes of some of the more committed supremacists. He also noted that other white supremacists were drifting away from notorious groups like Aryan Nations and joining more mainstream single-issue groups that attack gun control, abortion or the Federal Reserve.¹⁸⁴

The trial took its toll on the defendants. Most simply returned to their prison cells to serve out other sentences. Butler and Miles, already older men, were worn out. In 1990, the Nation reported that Butler, in his seventies by this time, had recently undergone bypass surgery and was not as active in the supremacist movement as before. The Nation also noted that Miles seemed preoccupied with his wife's

¹⁸³ Cheryl Sullivan, "'White Power' Leaders Free to Rebuild After Acquittal," Christian Science Monitor, 11 April 1988, 3 (Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH) NEWS, CSM.

¹⁸⁴ Flynn, interview, 20 February 1995; Bill Morlin, Spokesman Review, phone interview by author, 13 January 1995, Spokane, Washington.

poor health, which may have been brought on by the strain of the trial. In any event, Miles subsequently announced that he would no longer publish his influential newsletter, From the Mountain.¹⁸⁵ He died quietly in August 1992 after suffering a stroke. Miles had become bitter after the Ft. Smith trial, and vowed to challenge government authorities to a fiery confrontation similar to Gordon Kahl's or Robert Matthews's. Rumors from within the movement blamed the stroke on FBI thugs who supposedly beat Miles senseless to keep him from orchestrating a showdown. Such rumors underscore the intense distrust and animosity the supremacist movement feels towards the FBI.¹⁸⁶

The supremacist movement was devastated by the conviction of Miller and Gale, the prosecution of Butler, Miles and Beam, and the allegations against Metzger, Pierce, Albers and Mohr. In a related case, Lyndon LaRouche, one-time leftist, sometimes supremacist, eccentric perennial presidential candidate, was convicted in 1988 of tax fraud and sentenced to fifteen years in prison, hobbling yet another right-wing group.¹⁸⁷ The FBI took credit for the dramatic decline of the supremacist movement in testimony

¹⁸⁵Elinor Langer, "The American Neo-Nazi Movement Today," The Nation, 251 (16/23 July 1990): 90.

¹⁸⁶Flynn, interview, 20 February 1995.

¹⁸⁷Mary H. Cooper, "The Growing Danger of Hate Groups," Editorial Research Reports 1, (12 May 1989): 271.

before Congress on April 20, 1988. In a written statement, the Bureau indirectly justified the investigation and prosecution of Butler, Beam and Miles when it noted that "the FBI's preemptive efforts have been very successful." The Bureau further declared, "It is not . . . the FBI's intention to remove the pressure from those elements of society that pose a threat to American persons or interests."¹⁸⁸ Those groups that monitored Aryan Nations noted that membership in 1988 was only about a dozen, down from the reported five hundred back in 1983.¹⁸⁹ Still, FBI surveillance continued. At the Aryan World Congress at Hayden Lake in July 1988, authorities took pictures and videotaped the attendees, and police checked the license plates of visitors' cars against their list of outstanding warrants. The supremacists were also denied a permit to burn their cross; they were reduced to illuminating it with Christmas lights.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁸ Congress, Senate, Committee on Appropriations, Commerce, Justice, State, the Judiciary, and Related Agencies Appropriations, Fiscal Year 1989, Part 1, report entitled Narrative Detail and Supporting Statements: Fiscal Year 1989 Appropriations Request - Federal Bureau of Investigation, 100th Cong., 2d sess., 20 April 1988, 644.

¹⁸⁹ Dick Wolff, "Verdict Disappoints Activists," Coeur d'Alene (Idaho) Press, 8 April 1988 (NEWSBANK, Newsbank, Inc., New Canaan, CT), 1988, SOC 38:E12; King, "Link Seen Among Heavily Armed Rightist Groups," New York Times, 1(A).

¹⁹⁰ Untitled wire release, United Press International, 17 July 1988, Hayden Lake, ID, 333 words (Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH), NEWS, UPSTAT.

The FBI reported that as of the first half of 1989, it was investigating forty cases that involved white supremacists. The ADL sounded a new alert, saying that the supremacist movement included thirty major organizations and splinter groups, including an estimated two thousand skinheads, an increase from only eight months before. Similarly, there had been a 41 percent increase in anti-Semitic acts from 1987 to 1988. The ADL helpfully noted that Willis A. Carto, head of the Liberty Lobby and a prolific disseminator of hate material through his newsletter The Spotlight, was "probably the most influential professional anti-Semite in the United States today."¹⁹¹

William Pierce came under renewed interest in 1990. Known as a quiet, Lincolnesque intellectual who had adopted a wait-and-see attitude towards Armageddon, he was attacked for writing the Turner Diaries, a book which the ADL cited as the terrorist manual for the supremacist movement. Pierce claimed that the book was simply a novel. Jerry Dale, the local sheriff, admitted that he had informers among the forty-four inhabitants of Pierce's compound in the woods of West Virginia. Despite Pierce's passivity and small following, Dale charged that Pierce was "the one who's planning the battles and keeping things going. He's the

¹⁹¹Cooper, "The Growing Danger of Hate Groups," 262-63, 271.

brains behind the white movement."¹⁹² Though FBI informants had accused Pierce of receiving stolen money from Robert Mathews, he was never indicted. Still, the FBI's file on his National Alliance ran to close to eighteen hundred pages as of April 1993.¹⁹³

The FBI announced that as of November 1992 it was conducting fifteen full domestic terrorism investigations.¹⁹⁴ One of these was the investigation of Randy Weaver. In the fall of 1989, Weaver was induced by an undercover agent to make illegal shotguns for sale to drug dealers. When Weaver reluctantly agreed, he was arrested and pressured to become an informant on Aryan Nations. Weaver refused and skipped bail. In August 1992, federal agents surrounded his home and ambushed him, his teenage son and another teenager--Kevin Harris--while they were chasing their dog. In the ensuing gunfight, the dog, Weaver's son and a deputy marshal were killed. The next day, the Hostage Rescue Team (HRT) was called in, though no hostages were being held. Richard Rogers, commander of the HRT, ruled that agents should shoot to kill any armed adult who emerged

¹⁹²Eric Harrison, "'Diaries': Racist Fantasy, or Primer for War of Hate?" Los Angeles Times, 18 February 1990, 25-26(A).

¹⁹³U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Conducting Research in FBI Records (Washington, D.C.: Office of Public and Congressional Affairs, Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1993) 40.

¹⁹⁴Ibid., Overview of FBI Investigative Programs (Washington, D.C.: Federal Bureau of Investigation, Office of Public and Congressional Affairs, 1992), 12.

from the cabin. A sharpshooter wounded Weaver as he came out on the porch to check on his dead son. A second shot, meant for Harris, missed and instead hit and killed Vikki Weaver--Randy's wife--who was at the time armed only with her ten-month old daughter, Elisheba. Despite the drastic measures, no progress was made in the standoff for a week, until a local friend of Weaver's was able to talk him into surrendering peacefully. Weaver and Harris were charged with conspiracy to kill the fallen deputy, but the FBI's clumsy and heavy-handed methods so offended the jury that the two men were acquitted.¹⁹⁵ In January 1995, twelve of the agents involved received punishment from FBI Director Louis Freeh ranging from oral reprimands to written censure and suspension without pay. Those sympathetic to the supremacist movement were quick to point out that no one in the FBI was fired for the killings, and prosecutors in Idaho considered filing criminal charges against some of the agents involved in the Weaver siege.¹⁹⁶ The incident not only inflamed those in the supremacist movement, but also caused considerable consternation among local residents who had known and liked the Weavers, despite disagreeing with their politics.

¹⁹⁵ Philip Weiss, "Off the Grid," New York Times Magazine, 8 January 1995, 49-50.

¹⁹⁶ Pierre Thomas, "Freeh Disciplines 12 FBI Employees Over 1992 Idaho Standoff," Washington Post, 7 January 1995, 7(A) (Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH), NEWS, WPOST.

In February 1993, the ATF attracted its own share of bad press when agents raided the armed compound of David Koresh's Branch Davidians near Waco, Texas. Though the Davidians had no connection to the white supremacist movement, they did live in a fenced compound and stockpiled food and weapons for the anticipated Apocalypse. The media was called in to cover the raid, which critics later charged was a showcase for the ATF's elite commando unit, the Special Response Team (SRT). The SRT's funding was up for renewal in March, and the entire ATF was facing absorption into the FBI under a plan advocated by Vice President Al Gore. The raid went badly; four agents were shot and killed, one reportedly by other agents. The offensive turned into a fifty-one day siege which involved the FBI and ended with the compound bursting into flames, killing eighty people, including twenty-five children. In March 1994, the government prosecuted eleven of the compound survivors. They were all acquitted of the most serious charges of murder and conspiracy. The National Review reported a litany of bad decisions and policy violations but concluded that "because the victims were religious cultists, no one seems very interested in punishing this official

malfeasance."¹⁹⁷ Friends of the Weavers could say the same thing when the victims were white supremacists.

The Weaver and Waco spectacles unleashed new protests against an agency suffering under a storm of criticism since before the Ft. Smith indictments. In 1987, the FBI's intrusive and possibly illegal investigation of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES)--a civil rights group concerned about the repressive tactics of the El Salvadoran government--resulted in a Congressional inquiry. Two civil suits, one by an African-American agent--Donald Rochon--and another by a group of Hispanic agents accused the Bureau of racism and harassment. Director Webster resigned in 1987 and was replaced by William Sessions. All of these events threw the FBI into turmoil and put it on the defensive.¹⁹⁸

Media attention surrounding the government's campaign against the supremacist movement raised questions about the effectiveness of government policy against this type of domestic terrorism. Joseph Melnichak, the chief of police of a small town in Iowa and a national lecturer, wrote an article for the Washington Post in January 1987. He reviewed the recent criminal history of militant extremists,

¹⁹⁷ Mary G. Gotschall, "A Marriage Made in Hell," National Review 46 (4 April 1994): 57-59.

¹⁹⁸ Ungar, "The F.B.I. on the Defensive Again," 46; Kessler, The FBI, 431-32.

including members of The Order, and explained how to deal with them. His chief concern was not about any supposed nationwide network of supremacist organizations. He stated that a violent criminal gang valued determination of its members over numbers. Melnichak worried that these small bands had such access to sophisticated weapons that they "are consistently better armed than most police departments." He also stated that they had no compunctions about challenging government authorities with force. He warned that violent extremist groups, no matter how small, were a threat to everyone, noting the thirty gallons of cyanide found at the CSA compound during the government raid in April 1985.¹⁹⁹ With powerful weapons readily available, a small but dedicated group of militants could cause a great deal of damage.

Melnichak's concern was echoed by Thomas Martinez, the Order member who cooperated with the FBI. Martinez pointed out that The Order was very small, yet it had been able to carry on an effective terrorist campaign not so much because of its ties to a large network of supremacist groups across the country, but because it was well-organized and had easy access to money and weapons. Though Martinez was not present at many Order meetings, he was close to Mathews, and

¹⁹⁹ Joseph M. Melnichak, "Home-Grown Terrorists: Neo-Nazis Are Killing Cops in America's Heartland," Washington Post, 11 January 1987, 1(C).

his recounting of the group's activities did not mention any substantial interaction between Mathews and other supremacist leaders. In fact, he pointed out that when Mathews distributed the stolen money from the Ukiah robbery, Butler, his supposed leader and mentor, allegedly received only \$40,000. In comparison, Glenn Miller and Tom Metzger, men whom Mathews barely knew, allegedly received from \$250,000 to \$300,000 each.²⁰⁰

The weapons issue was particularly disconcerting in North Carolina, where Miller's White Patriot Party had been convicted of obtaining stolen weapons from a military base. A New York Times article in February 1987 noted that \$900 million in parts and weapons had disappeared from military bases the previous year. In Fort Bragg, three soldiers were arrested after two machine guns disappeared. In another joint Navy, Marine and FBI sting operation, 134 Marines and dealers were convicted for weapons dealing. Part of the problem was the military's immense inventory of material and its new automated data processing system, which was susceptible to massive fraud.²⁰¹ The military weapons investigations provided frightening evidence of how easily determined individuals could acquire military hardware.

²⁰⁰ Martinez and Guinther, Brotherhood of Murder, 229.

²⁰¹ Richard Halloran, "Pentagon Fights to Stop Loss of Vast Amount of Arms and Supplies," New York Times, 12 February 1987, 13(B).

VIII. CONCLUSION

More than ten years after Gordon Kahl's death, racism is still rampant among the radical right. The FBI, ATF and other law enforcement agencies have amassed an impressive record countering domestic terrorism perpetrated by some supremacists, but their undercover operations may pose an even greater threat to civil rights than the criminals they pursue. The solution to both problems lies in knowledge and communication. In March 1986, after the Order trial but before the Ft. Smith indictments, the San Francisco Chronicle ran an article on the use of computer bulletin boards by the supremacist movement. Jack Kay, a speech professor at the University of Nebraska, worried that the slick and simple messages sent out by Aryan Nations and other groups over the computer terminals would attract disaffected teenagers. Kay argued that "traditional organizations" like churches and schools ignored supremacist groups and their messages; what was needed was a more conscious effort to counteract the influence of supremacist propaganda. Kay also stated that the media had failed to persuade the public that supremacist groups posed a real

threat to society.²⁰² The Chronicle article was exceptional because a major paper was looking at the phenomenon of the supremacist movement not just as a grotesque curiosity to be handled by the FBI but as a real social problem.

In August 1986, Bill Stanton of Klanwatch complained that the response of mainstream churches to the Christian Identity theology of hate and racism was "generally feeble." John Olson, the head of the Spokane Christian Coalition, said, "The fact that white supremacists justify their beliefs by their Christian faith should disturb us all. We who are Christian and white are the ones who ought to be at the forefront of those who oppose racial and religious hatred."²⁰³ Though supremacist explanations for what is wrong with this country are bizarre and irrational, their immediate concerns--unfair economic policies, government waste and corruption, the decline of traditional values--are shared by most Americans, making supremacists seem less crazy than they might otherwise appear. More needs to be done to address shared concerns if supremacists are to be coaxed out of their intellectual bunkers.

²⁰²Larry D. Hatfield, "Far Right Spreading Gospel of Hate Via Computerized Bulletin Boards," San Francisco Chronicle, 23 March 1986, 1, 16(A).

²⁰³Eva Stimson, "White Supremacists Take on Trappings of Religion," Christianity Today 30 (8 August 1986): 31.

Unfortunately, "coaxing" increasingly has been left to law enforcement agencies, with predictable results. Labelled as criminals, terrorists and subversives, many supremacists are more than willing to play the roles assigned to them and cut their ties with the American political system. And with every operation, the FBI pushes the bounds that restrict its effort to neutralize the criminal threat. The FBI insists that it must constantly monitor supremacist organizations in order to prevent dangerous activity. Congress and the public must constantly monitor the FBI for the same reason. The Weaver and Waco tragedies are stark examples of how undercover operations can get out of control without proper oversight. Gary Marx argued that undercover operations should be used sparingly, and only when no other investigative means will suffice. He recommended that judges issue warrants for undercover operations, and that civil suits be allowed against operations that are conducted illegally.²⁰⁴ With proper advance notice, such tragedies as the Weaver killings and the Waco inferno might have been avoided. When extremist talk turns to terrorism, it will always pose a danger to the United States. But if we continue to relegate the problem of political extremism to the FBI, to be handled with

²⁰⁴ Marx, Undercover, 194.

bullets and tear gas, we run the greater risk of losing the civil rights we are fighting to protect.

WORKS CITED

BOOKS

Aho, James Alfred. The Politics of Righteousness: Idaho Christian Patriotism. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1990.

Alito, Samuel A., Jr., Esq., Douglas L. Bandow, Esq., Congressman Rick Boucher and L. Gordon Crovitz, Esq. The RICO Racket. Washington, D.C.: National Legal Center for the Public Interest, 1989.

Coates, James. Armed and Dangerous: The Rise of the Survivalist Right. New York: Hill and Wang, 1987.

Elliff, John T. The Reform of FBI Intelligence Operations. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1979.

Finch, Phillip. God, Guts and Guns: A Close Look at the Radical Right. New York: Seaview Putnam, 1983.

Flynn, Kevin and Gary Gerhardt. The Silent Brotherhood: Inside America's Racist Underground. New York: Penguin Books, 1989.

Friedrich, Otto. Before the Deluge: A Portrait of Berlin in the 1920's. New York: Fromm International Publishing Corp., 1986.

Kessler, Ronald. The FBI: Inside the World's Most Powerful Law Enforcement Agency. New York: Pocket Books, 1993.

Martinez, Thomas and John Guinther. Brotherhood of Murder. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1988.

Marx, Gary T. Undercover: Police Surveillance in America. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988.

PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

- U.S. Congress. House. Committee on the Judiciary.
Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights.
Terrorism. Report entitled FBI Analysis of Terrorist
Incidents and Terrorist Related Activities in the United
States - 1985, prepared by the FBI's Terrorist Research
and Analytical Center. 99th Cong., 2d sess., 28 February
1986.
- U.S. Congress. House. Subcommittee on Civil and
Constitutional Rights. Departments of Commerce, Justice,
and State, The Judiciary, And Related Agencies
Appropriations For 1987, Part 6: Department of Justice.
99th Cong., 2d sess., 4 March 1986.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Appropriations.
Commerce, Justice, State, the Judiciary, and Related
Agencies Appropriations, Fiscal Year 1989, Part 1.
Report entitled Narrative Detail and Supporting
Statements: Fiscal Year 1989 Appropriations Request -
Federal Bureau of Investigation. 100th Cong., 2d sess.,
20 April 1988.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on the Judiciary.
Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism. Mercenary
Training Camps. 99th Cong., 1st sess., 2 October 1985.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. Select Committee to Study
Governmental Operations. Intelligence Activities and the
Rights of Americans, Book II. 94th Cong., 2d sess., 26
April 1976.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. Subcommittee of the Committee on
Appropriations. Departments of Commerce, Justice, and
State, The Judiciary, and Related Agencies
Appropriations for Fiscal Year 1988, Part 2. "Questions
Submitted by Senator Rudman." 100th Cong., 2d sess., 8
April 1987.
- U.S. Department of Justice. Federal Bureau of Investigation.
Conducting Research in FBI Records. [Washington, D.C.]:
Federal Bureau of Investigation, Office of Public and
Congressional Affairs, 1993.
- U.S. Department of Justice. Federal Bureau of Investigation.
Overview of FBI Investigative Programs. [Washington,
D.C.]: Federal Bureau of Investigation, Office of
Public and Congressional Affairs, 1992.

ARTICLES

"2 Linked to Aryan Groups Plead Guilty to Plot." New York Times, 5 February 1987, 17(A).

"2 More Suspects Seized in Brink's Holdup." San Francisco Chronicle, 9 January 1985, 4(A).

"40-Year Sentences Given to 5 In White-Supremacist Group." New York Times, 8 February 1986, 17(A).

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. "Religion as Bigotry: The Identity Church Movement." Special Edition (newsletter), October 1991, 1.

"Arrests of White Supremacists Comes From Fluke Tip." United Press International, 30 April 1987, Ozark, MO, 647 words. Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH, NEWS, UPSTAT.

Bishop, Katherine. "Conspiracy Trial of 14 White Supremacists Begins." New York Times, 18 February 1988, 17(A).

_____. "Plot Against U.S. Described in Court." New York Times, 28 February 1988, 25(A).

_____. "U.S. Dusts Off an Old Law." New York Times, 27 March 1988, 9(E).

_____. "White Supremacists, at Trial, Charge Persecution for Their Beliefs." New York Times, 19 February 1988, 13(A).

Brown, Hal. "13 Innocent of Sedition." (Little Rock) Arkansas Democrat, 8 April 1988. NEWSBANK, Newsbank, Inc., New Canaan, CT, 1988, SOC, 38:E14.

_____. "A Right-Wing Conspiracy With Deep Arkansas Roots." National Law Journal, 14 March 1988, 10. Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH, NEWS, NTLAWJ.

Campbell, James R. "White Supremacist Denied Bond." United Press International, 28 April 1987, Detroit, MI, 360 words. Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH, NEWS, UPSTAT.

Cash, Cathy. "Miller Receives 5 Years in Prison for Race War

Letter." United Press International, 5 January 1988, Raleigh, NC, 550 words. Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH, NEWS, UPSTAT.

_____. "Miller, Three Other White Supremacists Arrested." United Press International, 30 April 1987, Raleigh, NC, 871 words. Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH, NEWS, UPSTAT.

Clendinen, Dudley. "North Carolina Jury Getting Case Against Klan Paramilitary Group." New York Times, 25 July 1986, 8(A).

Coates, James. "Plot to Poison Water is Charged; Neo-Nazis Targeted Chicago's Supply, Prosecutors Say." Chicago Tribune, 28 February 1988, 5. Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH, NEWS, CHTRIB.

_____. Untitled wire release. Chicago Tribune, 25 January 1987, Phoenix, AZ, 1155 words, 19. Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH, NEWS, CHTRIB.

_____. "U.S. Aims to Break Neo-Nazis Indictments of 15 Part of Nationwide 'Clean Sweep'." Chicago Tribune, 26 April 1987, 8. Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH, NEWS, CHTRIB.

Coates, James and Stephen Franklin. "'Underground' of Racist Leaders Coordinated Crimes, FBI Taps Show." Washington Post, 28 December 1987, 16-17(A).

Cooper, Mary H. "The Growing Danger of Hate Groups." Editorial Research Reports 1 (12 May 1989): 262-275.

"Defense Closes Its Testimony in White Supremacist Trial." United Press International, 31 March 1988, Fort Smith, AK, 459 words. Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH, NEWS, UPSTAT.

Drew, Christopher and James Coates. "U.S. Targets White Supremacist Leaders." Chicago Tribune, 22 March 1987, 3. Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH, NEWS, CHTRIB.

"The Far Right; White Robes to Battle Fatigues." The Economist, 27 April 1985, 33. Lexis, Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH, NEWS, MAGS.

"Foiling a Revolt; White Racists are Indicted." Time (4 May

1987). Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH, NEWS, TIME.

"Former Michigan KKK Leader Takes Stand in Sedition Trial." United Press International, 30 March 1988, Fort Smith, AK, 535 words. Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH, NEWS, UPSTAT.

Franklin, Stephen. "A Militant Crusader Faces His Biggest Trial." Chicago Tribune, 8 December 1987, 1. Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH, NEWS, CHTRIB.

Gotschall, Mary G. "A Marriage Made in Hell." National Review 46 (4 April 1994): 57-60.

"Grand Jury Indicts 15 White Supremacists." Chicago Tribune, 25 April 1987, 1. Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH, NEWS, CHTRIB.

Green, Steve. "Racist Leader: Neo-Nazis Have United." United Press International, 21 July 1986, Hayden Lake, Idaho, 724 words. Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH, NEWS, UPSTAT.

Guillen, Tomas. "Civil-Rights Cases Often Hit Dead End - Justice Dept., FBI Investigate Fewer Than Half of Complaints." The Seattle Times, 1 April 1991, 1(A). Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH, NEWS, SEATTM.

Halloran, Richard. "Pentagon Fights to Stop Loss of Vast Amount of Arms and Supplies." New York Times, 12 February 1987, 13(B).

Harris, John W., Jr. "Domestic Terrorism in the 1980's." FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin 56 (October 1987): 5-6.

Harrison, Eric. "'Diaries': Racist Fantasy, or Primer for War of Hate?" Los Angeles Times, 18 February 1990, 25-26(A).

Hatfield, Larry D. "Far Right Spreading Gospel of Hate Via Computerized Bulletin Boards." San Francisco Chronicle, 23 March 1986, 1(A).

"House Burns with Gunman Inside." San Francisco Chronicle, 9 December 1984, 4(A).

Hurlbert, David. "Arizona Right-Wing Group Outgrows Age of

Innocence." United Press International, 22 December 1986, Phoenix, AZ, 731 words. Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH, NEWS, UPSTAT.

Jackson, Robert L. "5 Klansmen Accused of Plot to Steal Military Weapons." Los Angeles Times, 9 January 1987, 35(A).

James, Lamar. "Jurors Finish 'Hard Task'; Most Decline Comment." (Little Rock) Arkansas Gazette, 8 April 1988. NEWSBANK, Newsbank, Inc., New Canaan, CT, 1988, SOC, 38:E9.

King, Wayne. "Anti-Semitism Links Violent Groups." New York Times, 28 April 1985, 22(A).

_____. "Charges Reported Near in a Neo-Nazi Inquiry." New York Times, 4 April 1987, 7(A). Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH, NEWS, NYT.

_____. "F.B.I. Says It's 'Closing Net' on Armed Rightists' Group." New York Times, 4 April 1985, 16(A).

_____. "Indictment of 24 Neo-Nazis Expected Under U.S. Racketeering Law." New York Times, 12 April 1985, 13(A).

_____. "Link Seen Among Heavily Armed Rightist Groups." New York Times, 11 June 1983, 1(A).

_____. "Links of Anti-Semitic Band Provoke 6-State Parley." New York Times, 27 December 1984, 7(B).

_____. "Neo-Nazi is Focus of Searching by F.B.I." New York Times, 18 August 1986, 11(A).

_____. "Neo-Nazi Leaders Charged in Plot to Overthrow U.S. Government." New York Times, 25 April 1987, 1(A)

_____. "Neo-Nazis' Dream of a Racist Territory in Pacific Northwest Refuses to Die." New York Times, 5 July 1986, 10(A).

_____. "Neo-Nazis Shared Gains with Others, U.S. Says." New York Times, 3 October 1985, 19(A).

_____. "Survivalist and 4 Neo-Nazis Give Up." New York Times, 23 April 1985, 14(A).

_____. "Suspect Wanted in Shooting of Missouri State

- Trooper is Arrested." New York Times, 21 April 1985, 22(A).
- _____. "U.S. Indicts 23 in White Supremacist Organization." New York Times, 16 April 1985, 16(A).
- Knudson, Thomas J. "Right-Wing Group Accused of Bank Robbery Plot." New York Times, 17 December 1986, 24(A). Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH, NEWS, NYT.
- Kurtz, Howard. "Federal Grand Jury Indicts 15 White Supremacists." Washington Post, 25 April 1987, 2(A).
- La Ganga, Maria L. "Link Between Accused Tax Protester, Bombing Attempt Probed." Los Angeles Times, 12 March 1987, 32(A). Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH, NEWS, LAT.
- Langer, Elinor. "The American Neo-Nazi Movement Today." The Nation, 251 (16-23 July 1990): 82-108.
- Melnichak, Joseph M. "Home-Grown Terrorists: Neo-Nazis Are Killing Cops in America's Heartland." Washington Post, 11 January 1987, 1(C).
- Miletich, Steven. "Sentencing Set for 'Order' Defendants." National Law Journal 8 (January 27, 1986): 27.
- _____. "U.S. Aims RICO at 'The Order'," National Law Journal 8 (October 7, 1985): 13.
- Miller, Dean S. "Violence, Not Appeal Keeps White Supremacist Groups in the News." Christian Science Monitor, 9 October 1985, 6. Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH, NEWS, CSM.
- Parker, Laura. "U.S. Alleges Overthrow Plot." Washington Post, 12 December 1984, 3(A).
- Perkinson, Sharon. "Witness Testifies Klan Leaders Purchased Illegal Weapons." United Press International, 22 July 1986, Raleigh, NC, 781 words. Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH, NEWS, UPSTAT.
- Peterman, Peggy. "Don't Forget the Lessons of the Past." St. Petersburg Times, 24 January 1987, 5(B). Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH, NEWS, STPETE.
- Pomerantz, Steven L. "The FBI and Terrorism," FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin 56 (October 1987): 14-17.

- Reid, T.R. "'Neo-Nazis' Inspire White Supremacists." Washington Post, 26 December 1984, 3(A).
- Reinhart, Mary K. untitled wire release. United Press International, 15 June 1987, Phoenix, AZ, 675 words. Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH, NEWS, UPSTAT.
- "Rightist Danger Cited in Court." New York Times, 6 April 1985, 26(A).
- Schmidt, William E. "Soldiers Said to Attend Klan-Related Activities." New York Times, 15 April 1986, 14(A).
- Seiser, H.E. "FBI Arrests One of its 10 Most Wanted," United Press International, 20 February 1987, Fargo, ND, 565 words (Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH), NEWS, UPSTAT.
- _____. "N.D. Bank Robbers Get Prison Terms." United Press International, 17 June 1987, Fargo, ND, 348 words. Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH, NEWS, UPSTAT.
- Stimson, Eva. "White Supremacists Take on Trappings of Religion." Christianity Today 30 (8 August 1986): 30-31.
- Suall, Irwin and David Lowe. "The Hate Movement Today: A Chronicle of Violence and Disarray." Terrorism 10 (1987): 345-64.
- Sullivan, Cheryl. "Racists Take Violent Path." Christian Science Monitor, 12 January 1987, 36.
- _____. "'White Power' Leaders Free to Rebuild After Acquittal." Christian Science Monitor, 11 April 1988, 3. Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH, NEWS, CSM.
- Taylor, Stuart, Jr. "It's a Tough Job, This Business of Being Tough." New York Times, 24 April 1985, 20(A).
- "Terrorism Fight by F.B.I. Described." New York Times, 1 March 1986, 32(A).
- Thomas, Pierre. "Freeh Disciplines 12 FBI Employees Over 1992 Idaho Standoff." Washington Post, 7 January 1995, 7(A). Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH, NEWS, WPOST.
- Thornton, Mary and T.R. Reid. "Aryan Group, Jail Gangs

- Linked." Washington Post, 18 December 1984, 3(A).
- Turner, Wallace. "5 Neo-Nazis Get Stiff Sentences For Crime Spree." New York Times, 7 February 1986, 12(A).
- Ungar, Stanford J. "The F.B.I. on the Defensive Again." New York Times Magazine, 15 May 1988, 46-47.
- Untitled wire release. United Press International, 11 March 1987, Las Vegas, NV, 382 words. Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH, NEWS, UPSTAT.
- _____. United Press International, 21 April 1987, Phoenix, AZ, 492 words. Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH, NEWS, UPSTAT.
- _____. United Press International, 24 April 1987, Raleigh, NC, 529 words. Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH, NEWS, UPSTAT.
- _____. United Press International, 26 April 1987, Spokane, WA, 492 words. Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH, NEWS, UPSTAT.
- _____. United Press International, 2 May, 1987, Phoenix, AZ, 436 words. Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH, NEWS, UPSTAT.
- _____. United Press International, 21 December 1987, Spokane, WA, 330 words. Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH, NEWS, UPSTAT.
- _____. United Press International, 16 January 1988, Las Vegas, NV, 419 words. Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH, NEWS, UPSTAT.
- _____. United Press International, 3 March 1988, Fort Smith, AK, 1008 words. Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH, NEWS, UPSTAT.
- _____. United Press International, 30 March 1988, Fort Smith, AK, 695 words. Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH, NEWS, UPSTAT.
- _____. United Press International, 17 July 1988, Hayden Lake, ID, 333 words. Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH) NEWS, UPSTAT.
- Wallace, Bill. "10 Neo-Nazis Convicted on Racketeering

Charges." San Francisco Chronicle, 31 December 1985, 16(A).

_____. "Church Figure in Brink's Case." San Francisco Chronicle, 12 January 1985, 4(A).

_____. "'Inside Plot' at S.F. Brink's - 2 Arrested." San Francisco Chronicle, 31 January 1985, 16(A).

_____. "Neo-Nazis Organize New Secret Cells." San Francisco Chronicle, 30 December 1985, 6(A).

Warchol, Glen. "Aryan Nations Head Surrenders to FBI." United Press International, 25 April 1987, Coeur d'Alene, ID, 397 words. Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH, NEWS, UPSTAT.

_____. "Neo-Nazi Church Leader Anticipates New Allegations." United Press International, 3 April 1987, Hayden Lake, ID, 536 words. Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH, NEWS, UPSTAT.

_____. "Prosecutor Debates White Supremacist." United Press International, 11 November 1986, Post Falls, ID, 685 words. Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH, NEWS, UPSTAT.

Warnock, Elliot. "Violence Up Against Minorities, Says Group." United Press International, 15 December 1987, Raleigh, NC, 479 words. Lexis/Nexis, Mead Data Central, Dayton, OH, NEWS, UPSTAT.

Weiss, Philip. "Off the Grid." New York Times Magazine, 8 January 1995, 24-33.

"Witness Says Supremacists Sought to Avenge Death." New York Times, 23 February 1988, 17(A).

Wolff, Dick. "Verdict Disappoints Activists." Coeur d'Alene (Idaho) Press, 8 April 1988. NEWSBANK, Newsbank, Inc., New Canaan, CT, 1988, SOC 38:E12.

INTERVIEWS

Berlet, Chip, Political Research Associates. Phone interview by author, 24 August 1994, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Coates, James, Chicago Tribune. Phone interview by author, 12 January 1995, Chicago, Illinois.

Escobar, Linette, Congresswoman Anna Eshoo's Office. Phone interview by author, 25 October 94, Palo Alto, California.

Flynn Kevin, Rocky Mountain News. Phone interview by author, 20 February 1995, Denver, Colorado.

Morlin, Bill, Spokesman Review. Phone interview by author, 13 January 1995, Spokane, Washington.

PERFORMANCES

Stark, Tony. director and producer. Inside The FBI. television performance. PBS, 6 and 8 February 1995.