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NORTH AMERICAN FASCISM:
TRANSMISSION OF THE VIRUS

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MAY 3, 2000

In the wake of the April 19, 1995 terrorist bombing of the Alfred Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, some experts on terrorism believed that Islamic militants like those who had bombed the World Trade Center in New York in 1993 were responsible for the Oklahoma blast.

However, the FBI immediately declared an investigation of the possibility that domestic agents were responsible for the crime. On April 22, an Oklahoma State Trooper arrested Timothy McVeigh, who had ties to a variety of groups and individuals whose unifying connections are intense anti-government sentiment and white-supremacist ideology. For example, Timothy McVeigh had sold copies of William Pierce's futurist novel about racial conflict, *The Turner Diaries*, at gun shows, and had ties to militia groups in Michigan.¹ McVeigh had also been linked to extremists in Oklahoma.²

Although Federal District Judge Richard Matsch suppressed such evidence in McVeigh's murder trial for the Murrah bombing, there is at least strong circumstantial evidence that Oklahoma and Arkansas ultra-rightwing activists were involved with planning the bombing.

This study will show how the contemporary far-Right, nativist, white supremacist movement in North America is part of a continuum reaching back at least 131 years in American history, and has received modern ideological impetus from sources including Adolf Hitler, Houston Chamberlain and Edward Hine. Today's movement is an amalgam of often opposing groups, but Roger Griffin's theory of a "palingenetic fascist minimum"³ applies to the movement as a whole, and to a greater or lesser extent to individuals and groups within that movement.

Stanley Payne, in his overview of European fascist movements (like Griffin, Payne

always uses the small "f" to distinguish the ideology from the Italian movement and government of Benito Mussolini, and, arguably, from the government of Nazi Germany),⁴ says that Griffin's palingenetic nationalist definition of generic fascism, ". . . while admirably succinct, cannot describe certain of the characteristics fundamental to a definition of fascism."⁵ As we see from this divergence of opinion even among historians expert in the field, one of the difficulties in defining fascism is the eclecticism noted by Griffin as one of the ideology's distinguishing traits. Griffin states: "Fascism is thus inherently syncretic, bringing heterogeneous currents of ideas into a loose alliance united only by the common struggle for a new order."⁶

The concept of eclecticism well characterizes the late-twentieth-century North American far Right. The several Ku Klux Klans (these include national groups like the Imperial Klans of America, and the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, as well as regionally associated groups like the North Carolina and Oregon Knights of the Ku Klux Klan)(get several of the names), the American Nazi Party and its offshoots, (some of which, like Stormfront, have only come into existence due to the vastly increased networking and communications capacities which have become available through the existence of the Internet) the Christian Identity Movement, Posse Comitatus, and some of the now well-publicized paramilitary militias, are some of the major strains of American rightwing extremism. They are united by at least the following aspects of Griffin's fascist definition. They are anti-liberal, anti-rational, and charismatic. They are anti-conservative, where "conservative", a word so abused as to lose definition in modern usage, represents those forms of ideology and practice that ". . . imply a restoration of law and order that does not involve national renewal"⁷ -- for example, the rhetoric, though not the practice, of the

Nixon Administration. They are racist, and tend to be non-classist. Warren Kinsella, author of the best overview of the Canadian fascist movement, *Web of Hate*, further characterizes North American fascist groups as "essentially anti-democratic-- that is, they are prepared to use violence to pursue their various political and secular goals."⁸

The degree to which North American far-right organizations are "socialist" or "internationalist", two other components of Griffin's definition, varies widely from group to group. But there are definite Canadian-American links between various groups within the movement. Furthermore, there is a fair amount of communication between the North American movement and neo-fascist groups in Europe. On the other hand, the natures of the rather compact American (we must subsume the Canadian connection) nationalist aspect of far-right ideology and the pan-Europeanism Griffin cites as characteristic of fascist internationalism are somewhat different.

As to socialism, the inter-war fascists did not have to deal with the ethnic diversity that characterizes the United States, and to a lesser but still considerable degree, Canada. In 1914, the population of the United States was 99,111,000. Of that population, 10,631,000 were listed as "Negro or Other." By 1939, at the start of World War Two, the US population had increased to 130,880,000. "Negro or Other" population had increased to 13,355,000.⁹ All Hitler had to do in Germany, for example, was stigmatize the Jews (though of course, as time went on, he found plenty of other ethnic, social, religious and sexually preferential groups to stigmatize), and almost everybody else in German society comprised, at least at the outset, potential " . . .productive members of the new nation."¹⁰

On this continent, racial, ethnic, religious and social diversity makes it much more difficult for the new Ultra-Right to choose among "white" people as to who should share

in the putative benefits deriving from the institution of any such new nation. Certainly, neither Hitler nor Mussolini ever had to consider the idea of what to do with aboriginal native members of their societies that were plainly members of a different race. However, individuals in the Canadian movement in particular include aboriginal North Americans among those to be excluded and suppressed as part of the ascendancy of fascist racialism.

Payne includes other characteristic definitional aspects to be considered when arriving at a generic definition of fascism. Quoting Emilio Gentile, Payne adds to Griffin's criteria the following:

a civil ethic founded upon total dedication to the national community, discipline, vitality and the warrior spirit, . . . a political system . . . crowned by the figure of the 'leader', and . . . a corporative organization of the economy that suppresses trade union liberty, broadens the sphere of state intervention, and seeks to achieve, by principles of technocracy and solidarity, the collaboration of the productive sectors under the control of the regime, yet preserving property and class divisions.¹¹

With respect to these last three characteristics, the North American movement may only be said to fully ascribe to the first two. However, there are groups within the movement whose economic program is embodied in the third. Predictably, the National Socialist White People's Party (NSWPP)-- the American Nazi Party, renamed in 1967-- includes the following in its political program:

We believe that the proper function of the economy is to serve the needs of the people, not to make profits for big bankers or multinational corporations. We also believe that actual production is the only legitimate basis for wealth, not speculation or the manipulation of money and pieces of paper. Accordingly, the Aryan Republic will create an honest and self-sufficient economic system based on the productive capacity of the Aryan worker, which will guarantee conditions of full employment and price stability. All banking and credit institutions will be placed under public [read, government] control, as well as all the utilities and transportation facilities.¹²

Taking an obvious shot at the hated Jews, the Program continues:

Usury will be legally prohibited and all conglomerate holdings and accumulations of usurious profit will be confiscated and returned to the people through public institutions of community service and value. Basic industries will be operated under a system of profit sharing. A system of interest-free loans for farmers, small businesses and families will be instituted.¹³

The Political Agenda of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan does not go into such detailed projection of its intended economic policies. While equally insistent that Whites only will participate in, and benefit by, the changes it would make, the Agenda states only that

Americans are losing jobs to foreign nations because our industry is moving to Mexico to obtain cheap labor which is often only 60 or 70 cents an hour . . . The criminals in Washington have passed NAFTA and are now selling us out with GATT.¹⁴

Thus, the Klan's economic comments are more a reaction to Klansmen's perception that Whites are being discriminated against, rather than an outline of how they might restructure the economy.

Warren Kinsella, who has written the best overview of the Canadian fascist movement, *Web of Hate*, states that much of the economic theory of the far Right has its origins in the Social Credit writings of Major C. H. Douglas of England in the early part of this century. Kinsella notes that "you will find that these groups tend to flourish-- and [they] recognize that they do-- in times of economic downturn."¹⁵

Armed with this ideological background, we may now proceed to study the fascist virus, see what sort of matrix the two North American nations (Mexico is completely excluded from this study, because it is properly a part of Latin America rather than North

America) have provided for its inculturation, and see how it has been transmitted and transmuted from its European origins.

Fascism, Nazism, and the Christian Identity Movement-- the three ideological strains informing the ultra-Right in North America-- spring from European roots. Fascism proper, as an ideology and as a governmental system, is an Italian innovation. Benito Mussolini was the sparkplug of the squadristi during their period of their opposition and ascendancy between 1918 and 1922, and Prime Minister of a coalition government with Mateotti and the Liberals until Mateotti's assassination in 1924. He was then supreme leader of the Fascist Italian government from January 1925 until his death at the hands of Italian partisans in the spring of 1945. After September 1943,

Mussolini, demoralized and ill since the twin humiliations of his removal by his own regime and rescue by the SS, lived effectively in a state of house arrest . . . 'protected' by Nazi soldiers and stripped of any real power or influence,¹⁶

as the Axis writhed in its death throes.

Mussolini, then, represents the most that Fascism has ever been, both in ideology and practice. Roger Griffin also cites Giovanni Gentile, on education; Giuseppe Bottai and Ugo Spirito, on corporatist economics; Giovanni Giurati on the role of Youth in the movement; and others as having made important contributions to the intellectual core of Fascism. However, the Italian connection to the North American movement is remote. Much more important intellectually to the present-day ultra-Right is the intellectual, social, political and military phenomenon known and abhorred by almost everyone in the world, as we stand in the doorway of a new millenium, as Nazism.

Nazism is the most well-known and well-studied of these three ideologies. Although

both Griffin and Payne reserve the capital "F" for Italian Fascism, Griffin says that Fascism (and here he refers to Mussolini, as the chief representative of a Fascist government firmly entrenched in power) ". . . acknowledged Nazism to be its twin manifestation of revolutionary nationalism."¹⁷ It is beyond dispute that Adolph Hitler, in *Mein Kampf* and in all of his subsequent writings and speeches, was the primary shaper of Nazism as an ideology, and even more so as a government.

But what shaped Hitler? Mysticism, as manifested in the music of Richard Wagner, was surely one of the earliest and strongest factors that determined the path of the most important figure, for better or worse, of the twentieth century, Jean-Michel Angebert (actually a pseudonymic combination of two names, Jean Bertrand and Michel Angelini), notes the effect Wagner had upon the teen-age Hitler. Hitler's only close friend, August Kubizek, tells the story of their experience on a hilltop after listening to Wagner's opera, *Rienzi*, in Linz:

Adolf continued to climb, as though attracted to an irresistible force. When we got to the top, the fog had disappeared. Above our heads, the stars shone brilliantly in a cloudless sky. Adolf now turned to me and gripped both my hands and held them tight. It was a gesture I had never seen him make before. I felt how deeply moved he was. His eyes shone with excitement. The words did not come forth with their usual ease, but in choppy bursts; he was hoarse. I could tell from his voice how shaken he was.

Then the words began to flow. I had never heard him speak, nor would I ever again, as he did that night. Standing there under the stars, we felt as if we might be the only beings in the world. I recall that he painted a delirious picture for himself and the German people.

Until now, I had always thought my friend wanted to be an artist or an architect. But there was no longer any question. He spoke to me of more lofty ambitions, which I did not fully understand, particularly since in my opinion no vocation surpasses that of the artist. He spoke to me of a mandate, which the people would one day give to him, to lead them out of servitude and raise them up to freedom.¹⁸

Wagner, of course, was not just a composer but a writer. Hitler confidante Hermann Rauschning, president of the Danzig Senate before the coming-to-power of National Socialism, was perhaps the most influential contemporary recorder of Hitler's thoughts, although Angelini and Bertrand note that ". . . as a civilized man, [Rauschning] was terrified by what he saw but had no clue as to the Fuehrer's thoughts."¹⁹ Rauschning comments in his de facto biography of Hitler, *Hitler M'A Dit* (Hitler Speaks), in 1939:

Hitler had happened early on Wagner's doctrines, whether by pure luck or by predestination. With an exaltation bordering on the morbid, he discovered that everything he had read of this great mind echoed intuitive ideas which lay dormant in the depths of his own consciousness.²⁰

Wagner, in turn, was one of three Europeans of the nineteenth century who, while not exact contemporaries, had a tripartite, mutual influence on Adolf Hitler. The writings of these three men-- and Wagner's music, as discussed previously, had a profound effect upon Adolf Hitler, and, by extension, on the entire intellectual development of the White racialist/Aryan supremacist ideologies espoused by all the major North American-- and European-- ultra-Rightists of the present day. William Shirer, in *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, summarizes the contributions of both the Frenchman, Count Joseph Arthur de Gobineau, and Houston Stewart Chamberlain, an Englishman who "became a German in thought and language"²¹ by 1886, and remained so for the last forty years of his life, to Hitlerian thought:

Neither man, be it said at once, was a mountebank. Both were men of immense erudition, deep culture and wide experience of travel. Yet both concocted racial doctrines so spurious that no peoples, even their own, took them seriously, with the exception of the Germans. To the Nazis, their questionable theories became gospel. It is probably no exaggeration to say, as I have heard more than one follower of Hitler say, that Chamberlain was the spiritual founder of the Third Reich.²²

Shirer notes that Chamberlain was profoundly influenced by the magnum opus of Gobineau, in four volumes, *Essai sur l'Inegalite des Races Humaines* (Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races), published in 1853-1855. Briefly stated, the thesis of this work is that the world contains three races, white yellow, and black; the white race is the superior of the three; and the elite of the white race were the Aryans, among whom Gobineau included the Germans, ". . . or at least the West Germans, . . . [a] discovery the Nazis did not [italics Shirer's] gloss over."²³ Wagner became a member of the Gobineau Society six years before Count Gobineau's death in 1882.

Shirer continues: "Among the zealous members of the Gobineau Society was Houston Stewart Chamberlain." Chamberlain's great work was *Grundlagen des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Foundations of the Twentieth Century), which, as Shirer notes, "sent Kaiser Wilhelm II into ecstasies and provided the Nazis with their racial aberrations."²⁴ He took Gobineau's ideas a step further, and declared that "Teutons" (among which he included Celts and Slavs) were uniquely prepared-- nay, destined-- to rule the world. "God builds today upon the Germans alone,"²⁵ he rhapsodized.

Chamberlain-- whose second marriage was to Richard Wagner's daughter-- was ill, partially paralyzed, when he met Hitler in Bayreuth in 1923, a year before the writing of *Mein Kampf*. Chamberlain wrote to Hitler the day after he met him:

That in the hour of her deepest need Germany gives birth to a Hitler proves her vitality; as do the influences that emanate from him; for [these] two things-- personality and influences-- belong together . . . may God protect you!²⁶

Aside from a German prince representing Wilhelm II, Hitler was the only major public figure who attended Chamberlain's funeral.

In addition to these strong influences, Hitler's World War One experience as a soldier, and his enduring conclusion that Germany had been "stabbed in the back" by "the November criminals at Versailles"²⁷ disposed him toward a revanchist, expansionist view of future German foreign policy. Without Hitler and Nazism, the Ku Klux Klan and the Christian Identity Movement, no matter how ugly their influence in American society may be, would remain merely unpleasant racists, rather than the kind of ideologues with potential to "subvert the fundamental ideas of America . . . consign the remnants to the dead end of the unappreciated, the undefended, and the historically impotent . . . and point this country (and Canada) " . . . along the statist road [toward] collapse and ultimate dictatorship. "²⁸

Thus, Gobineau, Wagner, Chamberlain and Hitler constitute an unbroken spiritual and intellectual concatenation, which resulted in the establishment of the Nazi movement and government, the horrors of the Second World War and the genocidal "Final Solution." This is the strain of thinking that underlies the most virulent thoughts and activities of most of today's North American ultra-Right, neo-fascist organizations.

The third major intellectual influence on American ultra-Right thought and action is Christian Identity. The Christian Identity movement's intellectual roots, like those of Nazism, extend into the nineteenth century, with the writings of two men, Scotsman John Wilson and Englishman Edward Hine.²⁹ Wilson published a series of lectures in 1840 as a book entitled *Our Israelitish Origins*. Wilson believed that nearly all Western Europeans, including the Germans, French, Swiss and Scandinavians, were the lost tribes of Israel.³⁰ These tribes were the ten tribes of the Northern Kingdom of Israel, which were separated from the Southern Kingdom, Judah, as described in I Kings 11, because

of Solomon's unfaithfulness to Yahweh in the matters of women and worship.

Edward Hine particularized this theory by saying that only the English nation comprised the lost tribes. Richard Abanes notes that although Hine arrived in the United States in 1884, to an enthusiastic reception, his theory was already established there by the late 1870s. Abanes also notes that Americans tended toward Wilson's view that all Anglo-Saxons were of the Israelite lineage.

Wilson's theory of Anglo-Israelism, and Hine's variant, British Anglo-Israelism, have remained current in the United States throughout the twentieth century. However, as Richard Abanes points out, the theory has very gradually

metamorphosed from a European belief system into a distinctly American hybrid of myth and hate. The change occurred primarily through the increased stress placed on the allegedly tainted bloodlines of Jews.³¹

Abanes draws upon diverse sources to demonstrate this slide toward hate. In 1840, when John Wilson first coherently formulated the Identity theory, he said: "In speaking of the chosen people of God . . . we discriminate clearly between . . . Israel, of the house of Isaac, for the ten tribes; and [the house of] Judah, or the Jews, for the two tribes."³² Doctrinally speaking, Wilson is merely differentiating between the Northern and Southern Kingdoms.

But by degrees, Jews lose their chosenness, and even their identification with Judah, during later development of the theory: "true Judah . . . is undefiled by racial admixtures and are not Idumean-Hittites, masquerading as the true seed of Abraham."³³ By 1989, one Bob Hallstrom uses the pages of Richard Butler's newsletter, *Calling Our Nation*, to declare that the Jews are "basically a mixed race of Turko-Finn, Mongolian tribal people from Khazaria."³⁴

Butler is the high priest of the Christian Identity Movement, and the principal figure of Aryan Nations, an Idaho-based locus for ultra-Right activities. He believes that

There are literal children of Satan in the world today. These children are the descendants of Cain, who was the result of Eve's original sin, her physical seduction by Satan . . . We believe that there is a battle being fought this day between the children of darkness (today known as Jews) and the children of light (God), the Aryan race, the true Israel of the Bible.³⁵

Warren Kinsella, now an attorney for the Toronto law firm of McMillan Binch, once pointed out to Terry Long, "High Aryan Warrior Priest of the Church of Jesus Christ Christian Aryan Nations", that the accepted theological view was that Jesus was Jewish. [Long] produced a bible that his group had produced in which Christ was not, in fact, Jewish. Kinsella notes that groups in this part of the ideological spectrum typically possess "their own history books, magazines, newspapers and even academic texts."³⁶ This is a trend that goes back to the works of Chamberlain and Gobineau.

And, like most sects and denominations, its adherents argue among themselves. Sect member Tom Mitchell operates the British Israel World Federation's bookstore in Vancouver, and says that the term Christian Identity " simply describes our belief that the 10 lost tribes are Caucasian." However, Mitchell admits that the movement has been tainted by being linked with racist groups such as the Ku Klux Klan, that people "on the fringe" may advocate violence, and that Identity adherents such as Aryan Nations "have adopted extreme heresies." Genuine members of British Israelism, he says, are "sincere Christians who reject violence and who adhere to orthodox Christian beliefs such as the deity, virgin birth and resurrection of Jesus Christ."³⁷

But what is a heresy? Paul Orr, writing in the Worldwide Church of God's magazine

Plain Truth, comments about Christian Identity: "Rarely, if ever, are the disciplines of archeology, sociology, anthropology, linguistics or historiography applied to [British] Israelism." He continues: "It operates outside of science...whole passages of Scripture that undermine the entire system are ignored."³⁸

Thus, there are three main strains of thought ideologically influencing the contemporary North American extreme Right. The first, Italian Fascism, was totalitarian, but not particularly brutal in practice, as dictatorships are historically measured, and it was utterly secular, although Mussolini was eager to achieve accommodation with the Vatican-- as much on his own terms as possible. Fascism's relative lack of racism may account for its present peripherality. The second, Nazism, resulted in the most terrifying government in human history, and included pagan and occult underpinnings. The third, Christian Identity, has never come to governmental power, and may never, despite the efforts of its apocalyptically-minded adherents. Its distorted religious tenets are an echo and a transmutation particularly of Nazism. Christian Identity lends itself somewhat more readily, in conjunction with milder forms of right-wing Christian fundamentalism, to the uses of American extremists.

Every viral culture needs a medium in which to grow. So it is with the subject of this study. We shall now briefly summarize the roots of white racial supremacy in the United States leading up to the late 1950s, when figures and organizations directly prefiguring those now in existence began to emerge.

Six Confederate Civil War veterans, including General Nathan Bedford Forrest, started the Ku Klux Klan in Tennessee in 1866. From its beginnings as a social club, the Klan quickly grew into a terrorist organization which used violence, or the threat of violence,

against a complex of perceived threats to the Southern way of life. Their enemies included Union League officers, Freedmen's Bureau officials, white Republicans, black militia units, economically successful blacks, and African-American voters.³⁹

Although the Federal government, during the Grant administration, passed measures that effectively stopped Klan activities by the early 1870s, the thousands arrested under the Enforcement Acts (get statutes) largely remained unpunished, and Federal Jim Crow laws, together with even more repressive state codes, effectively accomplished all the aspirations of the first Klans. And then some: "throughout the 1880s and 1890s, an average of one hundred blacks were lynched annually in the United States, primarily in the South."⁴⁰ According to Michael Novick, "Twenty-five hundred black people were lynched between 1885 and 1910, in a period when the KKK did not exist."⁴¹

Later, after World War One, with Communist ascendancy in the world undeniable, and more Eastern European Catholics in this country than ever-- "One million two hundred thousand legal immigrants entered the U.S. in 1914 alone"-- the Klan gained more strength than ever. Though there were other factors, it was due in no small part to Klan pressure that the United States instituted immigration quotas in 1924, shutting off the wave of immigration. The Klan became the decisive force in a number of elections in important Southern states, and even in the defeat of the Democratic presidential candidate of 1928, New York governor Al Smith, who was a Catholic. Harry S. Truman, later President of the United States, and Hugo Black, a U. S. Supreme Court Justice, joined the Klan during this period, ". . . whether from conviction or opportunism."⁴²

The public murder of blacks continued. James Ridgeway's *Blood in the Face* includes a terrifying photo of a crowd of whites-- many of them very well-dressed-- burning a

black man to death in Omaha, Nebraska in 1919.⁴³

Warren Kinsella notes that

It was only a matter of time before the Invisible Empire would slip over the border into Canada. In 1922, cross burnings and Klan activity were being recorded in and around Toronto, Ottawa, Sault Saint-Marie, Welland, London, and even Niagara Falls.⁴⁴

Then, as the Canadian winter set in, Saint Boniface College, in Winnipeg, was burned, and ten students killed. The leader of the Ku Klux Klan in America, William J. (Doc) Simmons of Alabama, denied Klan responsibility. But the Canadian Klan continued to gain in numbers and influence, as in America. At one time, it had over 40,000 members in Saskatchewan alone.⁴⁵ That is a substantial percentage of the province's population. The Klan concentrated its efforts against Oriental immigrants and Catholics.⁴⁶ Of all the Canadian extremist organizations past or present, the interwar Klan may have been the most rabidly nationalist.

POPULATION FOR CANADA, SAKATCHEWAN AND ALBERTA, BY DECADE, 1911-1931

Year	1911	1921	1931
Alberta	377,000	588,000	732,000
Saskatchewan	492,000	757,000	922,000
Canada	7,207,000	8,788,000	10,377,000

All figures are rounded up to the nearest 1000 persons.⁴⁷

Between 1911 and 1931, the Jewish population of Canada had more than doubled, from 76,000 to 156,000. From 1901 to 1911, it almost QUINTUPLED, from 16000 to 76,000, as part of the early-1900s Europe-to America migration.⁴⁸ (By comparison to the

percentages of Jewish populations in the United States, comparable population figures for Canada were quite small, but significant enough to provide a convenient scapegoat for the Klan.)

Today's Ku Klux Klans are intertwined with today's Nazis, whether they want to be or not. Some members, particularly those, like David Duke, who attempt to mask their racism in some position that may appear more favorable to mainstream voters-- as in Duke's anti-immigration campaigns-- are apprehensive about direct linkage with Nazis. But others, like Louis Beam of Texas, and Robert Miles of Michigan, are not only working for the same ideological and practical goals, but work hand-in-hand with Aryan Nations and other explicitly neo-Nazi organizations.

Figures such as the Radio Priest, Father Charles Coughlin, passed on the racist torch through the 1930s. George and Wilcox describe his "self-made ideology" as ". . . a curious blend of far-Left and far-Right beliefs of the day, embracing anti-elitist elements of both."⁴⁹ He also became increasingly anti-Semitic. George and Wilcox note his alliance with Gerald L. K. Smith, of whom we shall say more presently. In one of his most famous radio broadcasts, Coughlin said,

America, instead of rescuing from the hands of the international bankers the right to coin and regulate the value of money . . . instead of bending her efforts to rescue the impoverished farmer, instead of guaranteeing a just and living wage to every laborer who is willing to contribute his honest work . . . is ready to join hands with the Rothschilds and the Lazerre Freres, with the Warburgs, Morgans and Kuhn-Loebs to keep the world safe for the inevitable slaughter.⁵⁰

By 1938, Coughlin was openly supporting an Italian-style fascist system for the United States. But when the United States entered World War Two, the government threatened him with sedition charges, and the Roman Catholic Church imposed radio silence.

Coughlin "dutifully" returned to his priestly duties, and never again tried to reach a mass audience before his death in 1979.⁵¹

Gerald L. K. Smith was a key operative in the campaigns of Louisiana governor Huey Long. He was also a legendary public speaker in his own right. George and Wilcox quote H. L. Mencken, a definitive judge of the use of the English language: [Smith] was the gutsiest and goriest, the loudest and lustiest, the deadliest and damnedest orator" he had ever seen.⁵²

Smith led a more interesting life than most political ideologues. George and Wilcox note that as an aficionado of antiques in California, he maintained very cordial relations, under the assumed name of Ken Smith, with the many Jewish antique dealers around Los Angeles. This was a man who published "a torrent of tracts with such endearing titles as 'The Jew Created Communism' and 'Jews Strive for World Domination'."⁵³

George and Wilcox conclude that Smith's life "could only be described as a relic, leaving no perceptible mark on our society."⁵⁴ A seven-story statue of Jesus, part of a theme park he promoted near Eureka Springs, Arkansas, remains his only physical legacy. But Ridgeway notes that "Smith's political legacy is the development of the organizations founded by his followers."⁵⁵ The most prominent of these was Wesley Swift, described by Kathy Marks as "Smith's right-hand man, who made broadcasts advocating destroying all Jews."⁵⁶

Warren Kinsella notes that Swift, leader of the Christian Identity Movement in California from about 1946 until his death in 1971, was "a one-time Methodist minister and well-known Southern California bigot with a penchant for genocide," and an early influence on American Nazi Party leader George Lincoln Rockwell.⁵⁷ Swift's "circle of

friends . . . included Dr. Bertram Comparet, a pro-Nazi lawyer who represented violent extremist organizations."⁵⁸ From 1946 on,

Swift proclaimed that Jews were responsible for international Communism, the two world wars, the U. S. Federal Reserve Banking system, homosexuality, abortion, race-mixing, the One-World government, Freemasonry, the United Nations, and flouridation.⁵⁹

This is a fairly inclusive list of bugbears, to which militias and other currently operative extreme-Right adherents still object. One wonders, if the state of meteorology had been more developed in Swift's day, whether he would have blamed the Jews, or the New World Order, for the manipulation of the weather, as Militia of Montana leader Robert Fletcher did in the Militia's film, "Invasion and Betrayal."⁶⁰

Swift's followers included William Potter Gale, who formed the Christian Patriot group, Posse Comitatus. Posse Comitatus was the ideological forerunner of much of today's militias movement, and the provided the ideological basis for Right-wing tax resistance. The organization achieved its greatest political notoriety in 1983 when Posse member and tax resister Gordon Kahl killed two federal marshals in South Dakota, and led the government on a chase which ended in Kahl's death in an Arkansas mountain shoot-out. Kahl remains a martyr to the entire Right-wing extremist movement.⁶¹

Kenneth G. Stern, in *A Force on the Plain*, quotes William P. Gale: "You got your nigger Jews, you got your Asiatic Jews and you got your White Jews. They're all Jews and they're all offspring of the Devil . . . turn a nigger inside out and you've got a Jew."⁶² Gale was prominent in the 1960s as one of the leaders of the Minutemen, the most direct practical forerunner of the militia movement. Minutemen publications, notes Stern, were directed at what leading far-Right organizations of the time, including Robert Welch's

John Birch Society, called the International Communist Conspiracy. The Minutemen published material on secret paramilitary operations that antedated the how-to literature current among militias by thirty years. Comparable literature circulating among left-wing militants during the 1960s and 1970s was much less extensive and more poorly organized.

Now, there may be another Posse martyr: Terry Dean Nichols, Timothy McVeigh's codefendant in the Murrah car-bombing. James Ridgeway's prediction that "the Nichols trial promises to open a window onto a weird corner of American life: the shadowy world of the Posse Comitatus"⁶³ did not pan out. Nonetheless, Ridgeway's article is an instructive case study of the mindset of a relatively committed adherent of the ultra-Right complex of ideologies.

Stern documents the continuity between the Minutemen and today's militias:

In 1994, material from the Militia of Montana (one of the most prominent of today's militia subgroups) said that United Nations troops were poised to attack Americans. The Minutemen's November 1963 issue of *On Target* (their newsletter) asserted: Most Americans do not realize that a number of United States Army troops were turned over to the United Nations Command to make practice seizures of a number of American cities as early as 1952. . . . When these facts are known, however, the possibility of our firearms being confiscated by the end of 1965 seems less fantastic. The actual procedure discussed . . . calls for the United States to be divided up into areas of approximately five states each. . . . Each of these areas is to be sealed off until all possible arms (supposedly) are found and confiscated.⁶⁴

Wesley Smith was also the primary influence on Richard Girnt Butler, who as pastor of the Church of Jesus Christ Christian/Aryan Nations, in Hayden Lake, Idaho, is the current godfather of the neo-Nazi movement. In 1964, Butler met William Gale, who directed him and his wife Betty to Swift's headquarters in Los Angeles. "Wesley Swift

tapped Richard Butler's soul that day and turned the aeronautical engineer into an unabashed neo-Nazi."⁶⁵

Butler and the Christian Identity Movement he heads were primary influences on Robert Mathews, the mastermind of the violent underground organization Bruder Schweigen, also called The Order, in the 1970s. Along with Tom Metzger, leader of White Aryan Resistance, based in California, and Louis Beam, the Texas Ku Klux Klan Grand Dragon who, on Aryan Nations stationery, challenged attorney Morris Dees of the Southern Poverty Law Center to a duel, Butler remains the most influential figure in Right-wing extremist culture today.

These are the roots of American fascism. We will now study the branches of the Canadian and American extremist movement. From Ku Klux Klan to Aryan Nations and Christian Identity, from Posse Comitatus to the Militias and Christian Patriots, an interlocking continuum of hate and violence leads to the Murrah Building in Oklahoma City, and many other places on the North American continent, up to the present day.

We will start with Canada. While to those Canadians who are directly affected by the proximity to hate groups and exposure to their propaganda, the problem may appear as serious as the same activity in the United States, there is less absolute volume of fascist activity in the Canadian population as a whole. Dr. Ben Barkow, a research psychologist affiliated with York University in Toronto, has said of rightwing extremism in Canada:

It's an off quality. Coming on strong about hate in a country like Canada is a little weird, it's not us. There is just not that much support for a lot of excess emotion. Western Canada may be a bit more receptive to this stuff than the more liberal East, just like in the United States. But really, Alberta and parts of British Columbia are where you'd find most of it.⁶⁶

Warren Kinsella states that while the "radical component" of the Canadian hate

movement-- those fully prepared to commit violence to further their aims-- probably number no more than a couple of thousand people, their ideological supporters probably comprise tens of thousands. Kinsella points out that the Murrah bombing "woke up many Canadians to the point some of us had been making for some time: that these groups, while small, constitute a significant threat."⁶⁷ As we shall see, the web of hate does extend into the United States' northern neighbor. The following legal case illustrates the degree of interconnectedness between racist extremists in the two adjoining nations.

In the case (henceforth to be called the Board of Inquiry) of Harvey Kane et al. versus the Aryan Nations, the complainants alleged that there was a cross burning, and a public display of Nazi and Ku Klux Klan symbols (made much more public by the media coverage these activities received). Further, the complaint alleged that those attending Aryan Fest 1990 made threatening displays such as chants of "Death to the Jews", "Sieg Heil" and other Nazi salutes, and threatened individuals present with violence.

This event took place on the property of one Ray Bradley, a welder, and a resident of Provost, Alberta, an "unremarkable central-Alberta town of about two thousand people, a twenty minute drive east to the Saskatchewan border."⁶⁸ The respondents-- that is, Aryan Nations, and its members and supporters-- did not dispute the allegations of those who made the complaint to the Canadian Human Rights Commission. The HRC action was a Board of Inquiry, convened under Canadian law by the Minister of Labor, the Honorable Elaine McCoy, Q. C. The Commission's chief counsel, J. A. Hustwick, Q. C., characterized the Board's action thus:

The function of the HRC in the administrative portion of this exercise is not judicial or quasi-judicial-- only administrative-- and there is no basis for asserting that the rules that govern natural(sic) justice have any

application. The intent of the [applicable] legislation-- the Individuals' Rights Protection Act-- is to prevent discrimination, not levy punishment.⁶⁹

Thus, the procedure-- or "exercise", as the attorney described it-- approximated to something less than a United States civil suit. Nonetheless, the testimony in the case indicates various points about the Canadian neo-Nazi, white supremacist movement: that it has significant psychological effect on Canadian citizens; that it has international components, involving movement figures from as far away as Texas; and that the participants are serious in their aspirations to create a national entity comparable to Nazi Germany. Terrorism analyst John Thompson of Toronto's Mackenzie Institute maintains that even the handful Canadian extremists (numbering, he estimates, a few hundred in British Columbia and Alberta "including family members") do "constitute a dangerous sub- community." Thompson observes that Northern Idaho "is right across the border from Creston, and the Christian Identity movement is quite active in the Interior of British Columbia." Canadian racists, he notes, 'visit the Aryan Nations compound in Idaho,' where 'armed robberies and murder plots are hatched.'⁷⁰

At the Board of Inquiry, [Milton] Carney Nerland, a one-time gun dealer, and at the time of the inquiry a Canadian prisoner convicted of manslaughter for killing a Cree Indian in his gun shop, identified himself as a Nazi and a KKK member. Nerland was later released into Canada's Witness Protection Program.⁷¹ In testimony not to be found in the report of the Board of Inquiry available to the public, Carney Nerland was identified as an informer for the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP).⁷² In testimony, Nerland confirmed the "goals and aspirations of the Church (Jesus Christ Christian/Aryan Nations) and its members."⁷³

Nerland stated that

'A racial nation' included the Western European Aryan descendants of the people. Natives [Indians], Orientals and Jews are neither included nor welcome in this racial nation. . . . In this nation only Whites would be allowed to vote, own property, conduct business, possess or keep arms, or hold office in government, industry or society. Only Whites could join the military [or] law enforcement agencies, or receive interest-free loans, and only Aryans [his distinction] would be free of taxation, except for a tithe.⁷⁴

Carney Nerland also stated that only whites could choose what sort of work they would do. Further, all Jews in the Aryan Homeland would be expelled, and their wealth and property expropriated and distributed by the state. Only Aryan culture would be permitted, and all media would be under Aryan control. This list of Church of Jesus Christ Christian/Aryan Nations principles was entered into the testimony before the Board of Inquiry under the heading, "The Philosophy of the Church: the National State Program."⁷⁵

Terry Long, self-identified as a National Socialist, was Carney Nerland's superior, appointed by Richard Butler as Canadian National Leader of the Church in 1986. (Nerland was identified as its leader in Saskatchewan.) Long testified that "these goals will not be met until after the battle of Armageddon, according to the teachings of the Church." At the same time, he verified that the Church is

working toward the formation of an all-White country. The Church subscribes to the 'Territorial Imperative' (apologies to anthropologist Robert Ardrey), according to which White families from throughout North America would move into a designated geographical area.⁷⁶

The Board of Inquiry's findings include a rough map of that area. The proposed White Homeland appears on an Aryan Nations map as the shape of a red boot overlying parts of the Canadian provinces of Alberta, Saskatchewan and British Columbia, and parts of the

American states of Washington, Oregon, Wyoming, Utah, Nevada and Montana. The state of Idaho is the central point of this "Whites Only" area.⁷⁷

Before the Board of Inquiry, the complainants testified that the Aryan Fest had been publicized on September 4, four days before it took place, on a popular Canadian radio talk show. Terry Long claimed that "we didn't expect or want-- nor want(sic) the press to be present or to publicize our meeting."⁷⁸ However, the Board did not believe him, for in other testimony, Carney Nerland admitted that "the media coverage was a very cheap form of advertising."⁷⁹

And Long agreed with Counselor Hustwick that he never reconsidered plans to hold Aryan Fest even though he had talked to Edmonton Journal reporter Rick McConnell about it on September 5, three days before the meeting.⁸⁰ McConnell went to Alberta Solicitor-General Dick Fowler with the news, and Fowler told reporters that he could not stop the event. "They're crazy, all of them, the Aryan Nations, crazier than hell," said Fowler, "but they have that right . . . and I will defend that right for them. That doesn't make them any less crazy."⁸¹

Now, had Aryan Fest 1990 been held in the United States, another course might have been followed. Participants might have been prosecuted under American hate-crimes statutes, or local authorities might have issued injunctions prohibiting the event. On the other hand, in 1978, an offshoot of the American Nazi Party, Frank Collin's National Socialist Party of America (NSPA), was permitted to march in Skokie, Illinois, "a predominantly Jewish town with a large population of Holocaust survivors."⁸² Protests and legal appeals over the march reached the U. S. Supreme Court. Too, Ku Klux Klan demonstrations have customarily been allowed in various states, particularly in the South.

Canadian legislation appears to allow a greater degree of censure after the fact, but given Solicitor-General Fowler's action, it does not appear that any higher level of prior restraint of expression is permitted.

Although Fowler and others may say that the Aryan Nations and its members are crazy, there is no question that their intentions are serious. According to respected experts, so is their effect upon society. Dr. Frances Henry, a professor of anthropology at York University, testified before the Board of Inquiry that the display of symbols such as the swastika and the burning cross tend "to promote latent discrimination." Henry described discrimination as "[the] denial of access to the goods, services, benefits and rewards of society, . . . and the rights and privileges of citizenship."⁸³ She explained that while confirmed bigots rarely are in position to effectuate such denial of access, they can use "public meetings and demonstrations, which will be picked up by the media," to disseminate their message of discrimination.⁸⁴

Dr. Ben Barkow, the applied psychologist from York University, described ways that the publicity Aryan Fest 1990 received could result in discrimination or violence "by those in the public that are initially disposed in that direction." Barkow stated that these psychological mechanisms range from a simple enhancement of the sense of violence among such persons because of the prominent display of weapons in the attendant publicity, to the distortion in some people's minds about the prevalence of bigoted views, to the well-documented "copy-cat" effect, in which persons who have seen or heard about a publicized violent act in the media commit similar acts themselves.⁸⁵ Relatedly, Dr. Henry testified that "studies in Canada indicate [that] twelve to fifteen percent of the population are attitudinally prejudiced against certain people."⁸⁶

Professor Catharine McKinnon (for whom the Board of Inquiry report lists no academic affiliation) testified that publicity such as Aryan Fest 1990 received would tend to terrorize those people and groups-- Jews and Natives, for example-- who were the focus of Aryan Nations' published hate. They might fear "to appear in proceedings like this one because they don't know who is here and what may be done to them."⁸⁷

Finally, there is the international connection. We have discussed the underpinnings and ideology of the Christian Identity Movement previously. Richard Girnt Butler, the American supreme leader of Aryan Nations and pastor of the Church of Jesus Christ Christian, named Terry Long head of the Canadian Church. At 19 years old, in 1984, Carney Nerland had gone to Hayden Lake for the fifth annual Aryan Nations World Congress, which is where he first met Terry Long. He also met Earl Hand, a former national organizer for the Louisiana-based Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and in 1984 leader of the National Socialist Liberation Front, an extremely violent offshoot of the American Nazi Party. (Hand is now serving fifteen years in Louisiana State Penitentiary for attempted murder). Nerland's itinerary over the next three years included weapons training with the NSLF in Louisiana, where he claims to have fought members of the Jewish Defense League; visits with William Pierce, author of *The Turner Diaries*, and other ultra-Right personalities from the United States; and several trips to Chile, where some people from his hometown have speculated that he met former German Nazi officers in hiding.

Speaking in 1997, Terry Long claimed that the provocative nature of what had been planned as a "peaceful" Aryan Fest '90 was because of Carney Nerland's instigation. In a press release, Long claimed that "the Provost gathering was Nerland's idea...in the first

place. He brought most of the signs and symbols to the meeting for which we were prosecuted, including the huge swastika flag. He handed out most of the guns to the young people and generally incited them. He is the one who dressed up as a drugstore Nazi and used most of the foul language at the gate and assaulted the reporter [Alberta Report staff member Brad Clark] and it was Nerland who led the chant of 'death to the Jews' at the cross lighting.⁸⁸

As to the German-American connection, Warren Kinsella notes that Ernst Zundel, of Toronto, is one of the most active Canadian links to the hate movement in Germany. Today's German authorities are justifiably loath to let Nazism take hold in that country again. It is illegal to print Nazi literature there, but Zundel "has supplied many of the nationalist groups in Germany with propaganda for a number of years."⁸⁹ So far as Kinsella is aware, Zundel is the only leading Canadian hate figure who speaks to Germans in their own language.⁹⁰

The case of *Board of Inquiry Decision, in the Matter of Section 2 of the Individual's Rights Protection Act, R.S.A. 1980, C. 1-2; and in the Matter of the Public Inquiries Act, R.S.A. 1980, C. P-29, between: Harvey Kane, Keith Rutherford, Jack C. Downey, Hal Joffe, Nate Feldman, Neil McKereghan, and Paul Armstrong, complainants, and Church of Jesus Christ Christian/Aryan Nations, Terry Long representing Members of the Church of Jesus Christ Christian/Aryan Nations, Terry Long, and Ray Bradley* is just one example of how closely the American and Canadian movements are linked. In fact, they are integral. When Long and his friends were being bathed in the light of official scrutiny-- though not, some would contend, brought to justice-- Long tried to get the Board of Inquiry to authorize travel and lodging expenses for Louis Beam, a former

Grand Dragon of the Klu Klux Klan in Texas, and a former helicopter door gunner in Vietnam, to testify on his behalf. The Board declined to pay Beam's expenses to come to Canada.

Beam, according to James Ridgeway, was the "reputed mastermind of the Aryan Nations computer network and assassination list. Beam's motto was, 'Where ballots fail, bullets will prevail.'"⁹¹ Beam's points system, through which members of the Church would earn promotion to the ultimate rank of "Aryan Warrior"⁹², was part of the evidence presented before the Alberta Board of Inquiry as proof that Terry Long and Aryan Nations intended to practice discrimination and intimidation by their activities at Aryan Fest 1990.⁹³

Beam, and Robert Miles, one of the Godfathers of the Ku Klux Klan in the United States (his formal title was Grand Dragon of the Realm of Michigan, United Klans of America), "edited a short-lived publication called the "Interklan Newsletter and Survival Alert."⁹⁴ The editorial position of this newsletter is a prime example of the type of rhetoric Roger Griffin might identify as palingenetic internationalism:

We do not advocate segregation. That was a temporary measure and its time is past. Instead, the Greater White Racialist Movement (their caps throughout) intends to establish for our White Aryan Race what every other race on Earth has: a racial homeland. . . . Our Order intends to take part in the Physical and Spiritual Racial Purification of ALL those countries which have traditionally been considered White lands in Modern Times. We intend to purge this land-area of Every No-White person, idea and influence. . . . IN SUMMARY: This continent will be White or it will not be at all.⁹⁵

Louis Beam clearly states the tenets of ultra-Right conspiracy theory in *Essays of a Klansman*. Beam refers to the Aryan Warrior's chart of enemies: inhabitants of the "control center," these shadowy foes are called "the Policy Formation and Decision-

Making leaders of the International Satanic Anti-Christ Conspiracy for the control of the world." Beam identifies them as "the Rothschild, Schiff, Bilderberger, Rockefeller crowd"⁹⁶-- in short, a Jewish-dominated banking cabal which dominates the world economy. Beam states that "Responsibility for actual execution of such a policy is left to the subordinate levels, leaving the originators out of view and unnoticed (or so they hope)."⁹⁷ He lists Henry Kissinger and Alexander Haig, as agents of American policy which " . . . gave away countries to our nation's enemies," as two of those subordinates.⁹⁸ Beam also lists the Ford Foundation, the Rand Corporation and the B'nai Brith as institutions which generate "pseudo-intellectual stud(ie)s showing the desirability and necessity of the policy."⁹⁹

At this stage, the mass communications media perform a twofold mission: they isolate those who might oppose these policies of control, and persuade the vast majority to support them.¹⁰⁰ Simultaneously, Congressional tools of the conspiracy pass " . . . a Civil Rights Bill," and the President, also a tool of the conspiracy, signs it.¹⁰¹ Then, the Supreme Court rules that it is constitutional. Next, various Federal agencies, among whom Beam most prominently includes the FBI, who, "because of their high level of training, are among the most competent malefactors the conspiracy possesses,"¹⁰² enforce the offending legislation.

Noisy but less significant troublemakers, like Black preachers decrying discrimination, activists threatening to riot, and frightened White mayors supporting affirmative action, plus "26 million negroes, 30 million Mexicans, Cubans and Puerta Ricans(sic), . . . and 20 million other non-Whites of various racial backgrounds, hues and colors" fill out levels six through nine. Beam says that "although occasional raids against these people

can be useful . . . it must be understood that the Conspiracy will not be harmed by such actions."¹⁰³

This line of conspiracy-mongering is broadly current among the militia groups of today. Richard Abanes notes that "Patriots not only borrow racist conspiracy plans, but also use terms and expressions strikingly similar to those of White supremacists. . . . The word 'Jew' is simply left out of Patriot literature."¹⁰⁴ In a chart illustrating these common themes, Abanes quotes representatives of the Patriots' movement. Referring to the communications media, Level III on the Beam conspiracy chart, Don McIlvany, who publishes the *McIlvany Intelligence Report*, states that "the liberal Eastern Establishment . . . controls the reigns(sic) of power in America-- the media, the entertainment industry, and the educational system."¹⁰⁵ Richard Butler of Aryan Nations, in *Calling Our Nation*, echoes this: "The Jews constantly whine . . . over THEIR media . . . THEIR film, magazines and publishing houses, and THEIR public schools."¹⁰⁶

There are non-racist militia figures. Mark Koernke, also know as "Mark from Michigan," has lectured recently to as many as a thousand people at a time in Oklahoma City.¹⁰⁷ Koernke is not a riveting speaker, but his message is attractive to more than racist extremists. He concentrates his railing against the New World Order, and exhorts his audiences to begin and maintain paramilitary readiness and actions. The same goes for Linda Thomson, whose film, *The Big Lie*, is widely distributed in conservative circles, and who, like Koernke, has received a hearing from more than just extremists.¹⁰⁸ Neither Koernke nor Thompson make anti-Semitism part of their presentation.

But the non-racist elements of this "Patriot" movement, say Abanes, "are obsessed with defeating the New World Order, not realizing that they have been duped into fighting the

White supremacist's battle against the Jew." He notes that militia leaders like Dean Compton, leader of the non-racist National Alliance of Christian Militia, [are] part of the 'Jew problem' that must eventually be solved."¹⁰⁹ *The National Christian News*, a Christian Identity publication, says that "all true patriots" should not "let the phony 'patriots' tell you, 'see, the conspiracy is not Jewish!'"¹¹⁰

Louis Beam wrote *Essays of a Klansman* in 1983. But the concept of the "Aryan Warrior" did not originate with him. In September of 1981, Robert Mathews, a young logger raised in Phoenix, returned from visiting William Pierce, author of the race-war novel *The Turner Diaries*, in Arlington, Virginia. Mathews assembled a small group of trusted friends at a secluded compound in the Pend Oreille Valley of Idaho, and swore them all to a solemn oath:

I, as a free Aryan man, hereby swear . . . upon the green graves of our sires, upon the children in the wombs of our wives, upon the throne of God Almighty, sacred is his name, to join together in holy union with those brothers in this circle and to declare forthright that from this moment on, I have no fear of death, no fear of foe; and I have a sacred duty to do whatever is necessary to deliver our people from the Jew and bring total victory to the Aryan race.

I, as an Aryan warrior, swear myself to complete secrecy to the Order and the total loyalty of my comrades. Let me bear witness to you, my brothers, that should one of you fall in battle, I will see to the wellbeing and welfare of your family. . . . We hereby invoke the blood covenant and declare that we are in a full state of war and will not lay down our weapons until we have driven the enemy into the sea and reclaimed the land that was promised to our fathers of old, and through our blood and our will, becomes the land of our children to be.¹¹¹

This oath was the formal beginning of one of the most violent, most secretive, and, at least for a while, the most successful underground extremist organizations ever constituted in the United States. The Order robbed armored cars, on one occasion taking about 3.8 million dollars,¹¹² to finance their continued activity, and that of other ultra-

Right extremists (Thomas Martinez, a former member of Mathews' group who turned informant in fear for his life, puts the take at 3.6 million dollars¹¹³). Robert Miles, the Michigan KKK Godfather, had told a meeting of movement leaders meeting at Richard Butler's house that "the Right Wing needs money, a lot of it," to fight the coming war against the Jews. "If we were half the men the leftists are," he continued, "we'd be hitting armored cars too." Miles was referring to a Weather Underground attack on a Brinks truck in Nyack, New York in 1981.¹¹⁴

Mathews, declaring to his fellow robbers that "We must share what Yahweh has given us," decided that portions of the stolen millions would go to William Pierce's National Alliance; Frazier Glenn Miller's Carolina Knights of the KKK; Louis Beam, Robert Miles, and Richard Butler's Aryan Nations.¹¹⁵ Thomas Martinez states that "In his statement to the FBI after his arrest in 1984, Order member Bruce Pierce [no relation to author William Pierce] stated that the Order had distributed \$300,000 to Miller, \$100,000 to Louis Beam, \$50,000 to William Pierce, \$40,000 to Richard Butler, and \$15,300 to Robert Miles." Martinez also notes that Californian Tom Metzger's White Aryan Resistance (WAR) received \$250,000, according to Bruce Pierce.¹¹⁶

The alleged recipients, of course, deny receipt of any such sums. But James Ridgeway notes that within six months of having been subpoenaed by the Seattle grand jury investigating the Bruders Schweigen (Silent Brotherhood) conspiracy, after pleading indigence in his request for a court-appointed attorney, Frazier Glenn Miller had "325 Klansmen marching in Raleigh [North Carolina]-- about six times more than had assembled at the capital any time in the past five years. They had snappy new uniforms and new Confederate flags, and came equipped with video equipment, headphones, and

other sophisticated communications gear."¹¹⁷ Flynn and Gerhardt further note that in 1987, Miller pleaded guilty to making threats in a separate case, and "returned the remaining(sic) stolen money Mathews had given him." They do not say how much that amounted to.¹¹⁸

The Order bombed pornographic movie theaters.¹¹⁹ They robbed banks,¹²⁰ and they counterfeited money.¹²¹ But the Order's most spectacular crime (though multi-million dollar armored-car robberies do not happen every day) was the murder of Alan Berg, a Jewish, and vociferous, talk show host in Denver, Colorado. Berg had insulted David Lane and Jack Mohr, two associates of Mathews, on his radio show. Instead of killing Morris Dees, a Southern Poverty Law Center attorney who once headed Mathews' list of Jewish enemies,¹²² the Order decided upon Alan Berg. Bruce Pierce hit Berg with at least a dozen slugs from a Mac-10 machine pistol in the slaying outside Berg's Denver house.¹²³

Mathews was eventually killed in a fiery shootout at a Silent Brotherhood hide-out on Whidbey Island, off the coast of Washington. The rest of The Order's inner circle (which included both Americans and Canadians) and some of its supporters, in an orgy of mutually incriminating testimony, was sentenced to terms ranging from five years probation after six months served, for several peripheral figures, to 252 years in prison for Bruce Pierce, the Berg triggerman.¹²⁴

But Mathews, the martyr, and The Order continued to influence the most current activities of the American extremist movement. On February 18, 1997, Mark Thomas, 46, "the leader of Aryan Nations in Pennsylvania, pleaded guilty to plotting seven bank robberies and using the cash to bankroll the gang."¹²⁵ Thomas, of Macungie,

Pennsylvania, was said to "turn young men into neo-Nazi soldiers" at his isolated compound.¹²⁶ According to U. S. Attorney Michael Schwartz (call for updates) in Philadelphia, Thomas will cooperate with the government in return for a reduced sentence.¹²⁷

Schwartz says Thomas did not actually participate in the robberies, but recruited the conspirators. William Brescia, Scott Stedeford, and Kevin McCarthy, all of Pennsylvania, and Peter Langan, of Ohio, plus Richard Guthrie, who committed suicide after pleading guilty to one of the robbery counts, were members of the Aryan Republican Army. In another bank robbery case in Ohio, Assistant U. S. Attorney Dave Peters said that Langan, no "young kid" at 38 years old, "asked one of his accomplices to read *The Silent Brotherhood* in preparation for the robberies. Peters said the book was 'a model' for the gang."¹²⁸

Peter Langan was convicted of bank robbery and bomb-possession charges on February 10, and on October 7 an assault charge stemming from his arrest was tacked on. Langan is in for a long stay in prison. Besides the two counts of which he was convicted, Langan is charged in twenty other robberies. Scott Stedeford is charged in connection with seven robberies, McCarthy with six, and Brescia with only one. All the suspects are in Federal custody in Pennsylvania, according to Michael Schwartz. The complicated web of Aryan Republican Army activity included robberies in Ohio, Iowa, Wisconsin, Missouri, Nebraska, Kansas and Kentucky in 1994 and 1995. The robbers did not make any huge scores like The Order's 3.6 million dollar Brinks armored car heist. Prosecutors claim that the robberies netted about \$250, 000 in all.¹²⁹

A Reuter News Service article datelined January 30, 1997 notes that Brescia, a part-

time student at LaSalle University, "was added last year to a civil suit filed by Edye Ann Smith, mother of two children killed in the Murrah bombing, against "suspect" (McVeigh had not been convicted yet) Timothy McVeigh". This suit alleges that Brescia, Michael Fortier and Andreas Strassmeir, a German national, helped McVeigh plan and execute the bombing."¹³⁰ Of Strassmeir we will say much more shortly.

The Oklahoma City bombing, of which Timothy McVeigh has now been convicted and for which he is sentenced to die, has been called the single worst incident of terrorism in American history. This is probably true, when only "private-sector" killings are considered. It has long been suggested that only non-governmental actions may be considered terrorism. However, during the Vietnam War, the program of selective assassination of village chiefs and other prominent Vietnamese civilians, code-named Operation Phoenix, and headed by then-CIA director William Colby, was specifically designed to create a general atmosphere of terror within the South Vietnamese popular infrastructure, with the aim of keeping South Vietnamese civilians from aiding the Viet Cong.

The trial of Terry Nichols, McVeigh's alleged co-conspirator in the bombing case, began on Sept 29, 1997. On December 29, 1997, Terry Lynn Nichols was convicted in Federal District Court in Denver of one count of conspiracy to use a weapon of mass destruction, the bomb that destroyed the Murrah Federal Building, and acquitted of the use of that weapon. Judge Matsch sentenced Nichols to life in prison for this crime.¹³¹

Now-former Oklahoma State Representative Charles Key (R-Oklahoma City) has been spending "more than 10,000 dollars each month"¹³² in an attempt to widen the scope of the investigation of crime. Among the more than 40 witnesses called before an Oklahoma

City grand jury was Carol Howe, a Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF) informant who sojourned at Elohim City, a White separatist commune near the Oklahoma-Arkansas border in rural Adair County, Oklahoma. At Elohim City, Howe became friends with Andreas "Andy" Strassmeir, a "reclusive" German national, and Dennis Mahon, leader of White Aryan Resistance (WAR) in Oklahoma, and a former KKK leader. These three figures, and their activities in the approximately one half year before the Murrah blast, are crucial to the defense case in the Nichols trial.

Although Federal District Judge Leonard Matsch suppressed testimony from Howe about Strassmeir and Mahon in the trial of Timothy McVeigh, he has "gotten educated" since then, says former McVeigh attorney Stephen Jones. Jones says that Howe has been allowed to testify at the Nichols trial. Jones says that Howe's testimony has been permitted in the Nichols trial because the judge realized "he'd made a mistake."¹³³ State Representative Charles Key goes further: he says Judge Matsch was probably pressured by "one or more persons in the [Federal] Justice Department not to allow Howe's testimony in the trial of Timothy McVeigh. He is sure that if the highest echelons of law enforcement were not involved in the management of this case before the bombing, they certainly became involved as soon as the bomb went off."¹³⁴

Matsch did not allow Howe to make her most damaging accusations during the McVeigh trial: that Mahon and Strassmeir discussed blowing up federal buildings in Oklahoma, and that they had surveilled the site of the bombing.¹³⁵ Matsch did allow Elohim City patriarch Robert Millar's daughter-in-law Joan to remind the jury that McVeigh had called Elohim City on April 5, 1995, a few minutes after calling a Ryder truck rental dealership in Arizona. McVeigh wanted to know if he could "visit in a couple

of weeks."¹³⁶

A BATF "Informant Agreement" document, signed by Carol Elizabeth Howe and Angela Finley, BATF Special Agent, on August 25, 1994, says that Howe would be conducting "undercover contacts, undercover telephone(sic), purchase of firearms and/or explosives." The Reviewing Agent in Charge (RAC) and Special Agent in Charge are David E. Roberts and Lester D. Martz, respectively.¹³⁷ The BATF detailed Howe to obtain information from Elohim City, described in BATF investigation 53270-94-0124-B as "the primary training location for WAR in Oklahoma," and also the home of minister Jim Ellison's Covenant, Sword, and Arm of the Lord, a Christian Identity organization. The BATF "opening report" states, "It is believed that many firearms are buried around and stored around and at Elohim City."¹³⁸

The BATF can hardly say that they did not consider WAR a threat. In this document, the organization is "described briefly" as

radical, paramilitary, neo-Nazi, anti-government, and violent. WAR has national and international affiliates to include the KKK and a racist following in Germany. WAR affiliates with John Metzger (Tom Metzger's son) who is a widely known White supremacist with the KKK.¹³⁹

In the same document, which the BATF excised considerably, Agent Finley says Howe provided her with

one answering machine cassette of messages that ____ had left, one cassette tape sent to CI-183 (Howe's BATF informant code designation) in the mail from _____, one video tape of an interview with _____, and a book, *The Turner Diaries*, which "he/she" [a government usage to protect the gender of the informant] said was the Bible of the organization.¹⁴⁰

The excised name is not excised well enough in one case. The excised name is always five characters long, and about half of a capital "M" is clearly visible at the beginning of

one of the excisions. It is clear that the name the BATF was trying to hide is Dennis Mahon. This document is dated August 20, 1994.

Who is Dennis Mahon? One of the most ironic aspects of this complicated case is that the most telling information about him has been released by the John Birch Society's magazine, *The New American*. This periodical, published by an organization that for decades has been associated with the far Right in America, reported that Mahon had told the popular tabloid news program, *Hard Copy*:

I hate the federal government with a perfect hatred. If I had a nuclear bomb, I'd put it in a truck and drive right up to the Capitol Building in Washington and blow it up, me included.¹⁴¹

The New American also reports that in 1991,

Mahon traveled to Germany to fan the flames of race hatred and spread the neo-Nazi gospel to a new generation of Germans. . . . Around the same time, he boasted in a Los Angeles Times interview: "We're the most violent Klan in America. We are trained in counterinsurgency."¹⁴²

The John Birch Society's own agenda seems to have been trampled on. On the same page of this report, *The New American* comments that

Mahon and his ilk provide mail-order fodder for the likes of Morris Dees . . . and other self-appointed "experts on extremism" who have been given carte blanche by the establishment media to viciously smear all principled opponents of socialist big government as hate-filled extremists.¹⁴³

Today, Mahon is unrepentant about his extremist views. In an interview with Diane Sawyer of ABC television's *Prime Time*, Mahon says of the Oklahoma City bombing: "Timothy McVeigh is a hero. . . . We need a thousand more like him."¹⁴⁴ On his relationship with Carol Howe, Mahon states, "I wanted to make her an Aryan spokeswoman." More personally, he adds that he brought her to Elohim City "to help her

find a boyfriend, since it looked like she and [Mahon] weren't going to make it."¹⁴⁵

Howe, who by her own admission was attracted to the ideology of hate on Dennis Mahon's Dial-a-Racist telephone service, recorded tapes for the service that exhorted callers to violence "since all other avenues had been exhausted."¹⁴⁶ Howe said she recorded these hate messages after she became deeply involved with the "bad crowd."¹⁴⁷ Later, for her safety, she had to continue to appear to be something she was not. She said that she "cringed" when the tapes were played at her trial on weapons charges, and that the statements thereupon were "not meant to be heard by any decent human being," but were only to help her maintain her cover. Near tears, she cited the tremendous support [she had received] from the Jewish community.¹⁴⁸

On September 2, Robert Millar, patriarch of Elohim City, showed Howe around the grounds, and Howe met Andreas Strassmeir for the first time. Although she didn't get his name at that time, she found out that he was head of Security at Elohim City, and she got to go shooting with him. The weapons included a Mini-14 (a .223 caliber rifle designed identically to the military M-14, but smaller), and an SKS (a Soviet-made .30 caliber rifle), as well as a .45 caliber pistol. "Andy" told Howe that "there exists a black market dealer who can get grenades, C-4 and a range of explosives."¹⁴⁹ In the same BATF report, Carol Howe tells Special Agent Finley that in a conversation with Dennis Mahon, Mahon said, ". . . the race war will begin on the hottest day of 1995 and they(sic) need to prepare for it."¹⁵⁰ In the same conversation, Howe reports, Mahon instructed her "how to shoot down powerlines."¹⁵¹

A week later, Howe visited the security building with Strassmeir, and saw many weapons and stockpiles of ammunition. Howe had apparently won Strassmeir's

confidence when he had ordered her to low-crawl under barbed wire, and fired pistol rounds at her feet. Howe commented that "this might have been a loyalty test."¹⁵² She also reported that Strassmeir was involved with underground caching of weapons. On September 19, Howe went with Mahon to "a location near Tulsa International Airport where many of the 'comrades' go to shoot their weapons." While they were there, Mahon told her whom to call in case of trouble: Tulsa attorney Gene Hough.¹⁵³

On January 18, 2000, Gene Hough pointedly denied any involvement with Dennis Mahon regarding the Murrah bombing. Hough said he represented Mahon in civil matters, about which he would say nothing, and that to his knowledge, Dennis Mahon had no involvement with Elohim City or Robert Millar. Further, any further consultation with him would cost \$125 per hour. He had never done any personal investigation into the case, and said that he was "just a bankruptcy and tax attorney." This was an extremely pointed "no comment."¹⁵⁴

Several ATF 30-day status reports on the Elohim City investigation remain unavailable. But the report of Agent Finley dated January 11, 1995 notes that Andi Strassmeir was identified as the security chief at Elohim City, and that he was an illegal alien, according to the Immigration and Naturalization Service in Oklahoma City. However, former Representative Charles Key says that the crucial documents relating to Strassmeir's alien status "have disappeared."¹⁵⁵ The report also discloses that Strassmeir had access to prescription drugs; that he had "questionable" weapons connections, according to another Elohim City resident, Zora Patterson; and that he makes purchases of weapons for those who cannot buy [them] for themselves, because of age, background, etc."¹⁵⁶ Strassmeir, for his part, said in a segment recorded in Germany of the Prime Time

story that he was in Elohim City "teaching Sunday school" and conferring informally with people there "as it comes(sic) to security matters."¹⁵⁷

In this same January BATF report, Howe states that patriarch Robert Millar told her that "Elohim City considers itself a supreme nation of Israelites which happens to be in the United States."¹⁵⁸ Howe adds that Millar told her "explicitly" that "they were preparing to fight a war against the government,"¹⁵⁹ and that the BATF was the main enemy of the people at Elohim City. Millar further told how that they were friends of the Weavers, and of the Branch Davidians.¹⁶⁰

Millar now says that Howe had misconstrued his statements. Talking with a *Prime Time* interviewer, Millar claimed that he has merely said that Elohim City had to be ready to defend itself in the event of a government attack like the one at Waco.¹⁶¹ In the January 11 report, Howe also tells of meeting an individual named "Mike" whom the BATF has identified as Michael Brescia, one of the Aryan Republican Army bank robbers. She reports that he wants her Tec-9 machine pistol, to "convert" it [to full automatic]¹⁶²

Interestingly, the February 30-day status report shows that Robert Millar met with a Native American preacher, with a mostly black and Hispanic congregation, from Oklahoma City. She tells her handlers that "the White supremacy issues are secondary to the anti-government attitude."¹⁶³ This report also shows that BATF and Oklahoma State Police agents over-flew Elohim City for the purpose of taking photographs and video footage in anticipation of a pending raid on the White separatist stronghold.¹⁶⁴

ABC/*Prime Time* possesses the 30-day status report from March, the last month before the bombing. In that crucial report, the "feuding" government agencies-- the BATF and the FBI-- planned and then scuttled a raid on Elohim City.¹⁶⁵ An intervening BATF

document entitled "Emergency Confidential Informant Removal", is dated March 21, 1995. Agents Finley, Roberts and Martz concur in the removal of Howe from the investigation because of problems Howe was having with prescribed drugs, and because of her activities in conjunction with "a skinhead group in Tulsa." In her request for the removal of Carol Howe from the case, Agent Finley says that she "strongly believes that [Howe] is no longer loyal or competent to act as an agent for BATF."¹⁶⁶

However, once the powerful potassium nitrate bomb went off at the Murrah Building, the United States Government changed its mind. A request to reactivate Carol Howe as an informant, in what was now the investigation after the fact of a horrendous act of terrorism, is dated May 18, 1995. As it turns out, this request is a stunning display of the BATF's inability to keep its paperwork, or its facts, straight.¹⁶⁷

The next investigative report in the series that has so far turned up is dated May 22, 1995. In it, Agent Finley reports that on the day after the bombing, April 20, Carol Howe called her up and reported that " 'John Doe Number Two' resemble[d] one of the residents of Elohim City, Tony Ward."¹⁶⁸

Finley adds that on the very next day, she and FBI Special Agent John Risenhoover brought Howe to Oklahoma City from Tulsa, where both BATF and FBI agents debriefed her. This is the "smoking gun" in the investigation. In the debriefing, the FBI states that "[Dennis] 'MEHAUN'(sic) has talked with CAROL [who up until now has always been listed as CI-183] about targeting Federal installations for destruction through bombings, such as the IRS Building, the Tulsa Federal Building and the Oklahoma City Federal Building."¹⁶⁹ On April 29, Howe had a crucial conversation with Dennis Mahon, whose name is no longer being excised. Howe says that they discussed "alibis for April 19,

1995, and the components of the explosive."¹⁷⁰

Evidently, the Elohim City compounded instituted tighter security measures after the bombing. After a visit from May 1 to May 3, Howe reported that was "excluded from daily worship meetings due to the media attention." She reported that "an unnamed individual told her that 'there is a big secret out here.'" On May 18, Agent Finley met with Howe to discuss returning to Elohim City "in order to determine what the 'big secret' was, and to try identify [bombing] suspect number two."¹⁷¹

Six days later-- two days after Finley submitted the report to her superior, Agent Roberts, but one week before Roberts signed it (Special Agent in Charge Martz does not sign this particular form, the only case in this entire series of documents in which all three do not sign)-- Agent Roberts told Agent Finley that Robert Millar suspected Howe of being a government informant. Howe had received calls on May 22 warning her not to go to Elohim City. Howe was scared. Her handlers "determined that CI-183 would not be sent to Elohim at this time or in the future."¹⁷² Thus, the BATF's May 18 request that Carol Howe be reactivated as an informant is utterly meaningless, given her intense involvement with the case for the entire month prior to that date.

The investigation remained "open," and in a report dated April 1, 1996, BATF agents appear officially outraged that Howe's name was given to defense attorneys for Timothy McVeigh by an FBI agent. Agent Graham (Howe's handler, the former Angela Finley, newly wed) assured Howe that "anything and everything" would be done to ensure her safety.¹⁷³ However, counter to the government's assertion that Howe was no longer working for the BATF as of "early 1995," Graham notes that "this informant was retained on the active informant roster due to the ongoing OKBOMB investigation."¹⁷⁴ In fact,

Agent Graham had requested that very retention two months before. An investigation report signed by Agents Graham, Roberts and Martz is stamped "Informant Retained," and the stamp is dated February 13, 1995.¹⁷⁵ As something of a postscript, Howe was eventually relieved, again, of her informant duties on December 20, 1996, with the McVeigh trial underway. The April 1996 report is stamped, "Informant Removed," with that date.¹⁷⁶ Naturally, such a chronology makes no sense, unless Howe was retained for eight months after the form upon which the removal stamp appears was filed, and no further reports exist.

In the *ABC/Prime Time* interview, the BATF says Howe was discharged for mental instability and suicidal tendencies. Presumably, the Agency was referring to the March 21, 1995 report. However, no reason is given for this second removal of Howe from duty. Further, the BATF and FBI refused to discuss their treatment of Howe with Diane Sawyer and ABC.¹⁷⁷

It is clear that Dennis Mahon and Andreas Strassmeir; Ernst Zundel; Richard Butler and Aryan Nations; the modern Ku Klux Klans; thousands of racist skinheads; and many others unnamed here, constitute an international network of White racists who favor a totalitarian, all-White government, whether of the United States or Canada, or of a putative "Aryan Nation." This is a hybrid type of palingenetic nationalism unlike any to be found in Europe. These individuals and groups are united in ideological opposition to both liberal and conservative elements of the United States and Canadian governments. Constituent organizations of this network adhere, with variations, to a theory of conspiracy that blames Jews and members of other non-White races for the full range of the problems they see as plaguing the two nations, and the world. Those for whom an

economic program can be documented favor centralized control of industry and financial institutions, a necessary condition if, as they also espouse, the existing system of money-lending-- credit-- is to be swept away.

While the movement has never come close to coordinating them, the activities of the various groups of skinheads (which would comprise another comprehensive study, and are beyond the scope of this one), and of those senior operatives like Tom Metzger who encourage them, constitute a youth element of the movement. Warren Kinsella notes that "Skinheads, while they remain disorganized, have recognized their innate power to effect change."¹⁷⁸ Kinsella believes that they are a significant threat to a pluralistic democratic society, not least because of their demonstrated enthusiasm for violence. Skinhead Nathan John Thill, 19, of Denver, killed a Mauritanian immigrant, and paralyzed a bystander who tried to help, in November 1997. It was one of three recent incidents involving skinheads in the Denver area that "has cops preparing for guerilla war."¹⁷⁹ Andrew Murr reports that Matthaeus Jaehnig, who, after a thirty-mile car chase, killed a Denver policeman, then grabbed the dying officer's pistol and killed himself, had "attended a 'training camp' at Hayden Lake, Idaho, home base of the Aryan Nation[s], a notorious neo-Nazi group."¹⁸⁰

The smell of a United States Government cover-up is getting stronger. Why would the BATF and other agencies wish to prevent Carol Howe's testimony at the trial of McVeigh's alleged co-conspirator Terry Nichols? At the very least, her reports to her handler, BATF Special Agent Angela Finley Graham, are prima facie evidence that the government knew that White supremacists were considering the bombing before the blast went off. Further, we have established that the government is lying when it says that

Carol Howe was no longer a government Confidential Informant as of "early 1995."¹⁸¹

Responsible observers are left with two dismaying options in understanding why the Murrah Building bombing occurred. Charitably, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, or both, acted incompetently in the face of a palpable threat to public security. The alternative is far more ominous: that the government had its own positive motivations for ignoring, and later suppressing, the information provided by Carol Howe. To establish those motivations beyond a reasonable doubt is properly the job of criminal court proceedings. Warren Kinsella is not convinced that theories of U. S. government involvement in the Murrah bombing are "anything other than the paranoid delusions of a small number of extremists."¹⁸²

However, former state legislator Key says the testimony of government informants who have not yet come forward may establish that government agencies may have been helping to plan the bombing scenario in order to catch the "bad guys" red-handed. Timothy McVeigh, on his own initiative, may have bombed the Murrah Building in an unexpected deviation from the plan. Key further adds that there is evidence that Robert Millar, even Andi Strassmeir, may have been government informants.¹⁸³

And so, up to the present moment: the bombing conspiracy case against Terry Nichols is considerably weaker than that against McVeigh. But whether one defendant or two is convicted, the sum of government efforts appears to be to limit public suspicion to isolated individuals with private grudges, or convenient classes of straw men like young men of Arabic extraction, rather than to vigorously pursue the possibility that neo-Nazis and other extremists encouraged, if not actually plotted or participated in, the Murrah bombing.

Some believe that there are even Canadian parallels to this inclination of American law enforcement toward scapegoating. *The Alberta Report* notes that Carney Nerland was "revealed as a police informer." Terry Long, the racist, claims that Nerland was actually working for the Canadian agency corresponding to the American FBI, the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS). *The Alberta Report* further notes that one Grant Bristow had been "exposed in 1994 as a CSIS agent who in 1989 insinuated himself as a senior administrator for the white supremacist Heritage Front." ¹⁸⁴ Long's attorney, Doug Christie, says that he believes "CSIS' purpose was not only to spy but to stimulate the impression that these are dangerous groups so that there will be a perceived need of CSIS." ¹⁸⁵

The pattern is a familiar one to an American populace enduringly unsatisfied with the findings of the Warren Commission in the case of the Kennedy assassination, and with those of the United States Congress in the case of arms sales to Iran to fund the Nicaraguan "contras." After Watergate, Iran/Contra, and the Savings and Loan disasters, the definitive revelation that the government had good reason to suspect that a massive bombing plot was afoot, but did nothing to stop it, would be another devastating blow to government credibility among average citizens, to say nothing of those extremists-- and at least some, I dare say, actual patriots-- who are already suspicious of government motives and actions. If even a partial government cover-up is proven (to say nothing of active government involvement in a bombing plot), despite all government efforts to suppress the evidence, it could mean the demise of the BATF, and would constitute a near-terminal discrediting of federal law enforcement investigation for the foreseeable future. The stakes have never been higher.

NOTES

1. Ridgeway, James, *Blood in the Face*, 2d Ed. (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 1995), 10.

2. Carol Howe said in testimony at the trial of Terry Nichols that she was present in KKK and neo-Nazi leader Dennis Mahon's home when he received a call from "Tim Tuttle", the alias used by Timothy McVeigh, and laughed about the name. Mahon denies ever having talked to McVeigh, by any name. (Daily Oklahoman, December 9, 1997)

3. Griffin, Roger, *Fascism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 4.

4. *ibid.*, 8.

5. Payne, Stanley G., *A History of Fascism, 1914-1945* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995), 5.

6. Griffin, *Fascism*, 8.

7. *ibid.*, 4.

8. Kinsella, Warren, Toronto, letter to William P. Homans, Stillwater, OK, November 28, 1997.

9. Vincent Barabba, ed. *Historical Statistics of the United States, Vol. 1* (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1975), A23-28.

10. Griffin, *Fascism*, 6. The reported figure for "ethnic origins" of "negro" extraction

was inexplicably tiny for the years 1871 to 1951. According to census data, no more than twenty-two thousand or so blacks lived in Canada at any time during those 80 years, and the population did not vary by more than six thousand during that time. Given the thrust of black intra-continental migration, especially during the 1930s and 1940s, factors beyond the scope of this study must have caused such a low reported figure.

11. Payne, *A History of Fascism*, 6.
12. *Political Program of the National Socialist White Peoples' Party*, 1997.
13. *ibid.*
14. *Political Agenda, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*, 1997.
15. Kinsella to Homans, November 28, 1997.
16. Griffin, *Fascism*, 87.
17. *ibid.*, 17.
18. Kubizek, Adolf Hitler, *Mon Ami de Naissance* (The Hitler I knew) (Paris: Gallimard, 1954), 123-129 *passim*, in Angebert, Jean-Michel, *The Occult and the Third Reich* (New York: MacMillan Publishing Co., 1974), 151.
19. Angebert, *The Occult and the Third Reich*, 178.
20. Rauschnig, Hermann, *Hitler M'A Dit* (Hitler Speaks) (Paris: Cooperation, 1939), in Angebert, *The Occult and the Third Reich*, 181.
21. Shirer, William, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich* (New York: Simon and Shuster, 1959; Greenwich, CT: Fawcett Publications, Inc., 1960), 153.
22. *ibid.*, 150.
23. *ibid.*, 151.
24. *ibid.*, 154.
25. *ibid.*, 156.
26. *ibid.*, 158.
27. *ibid.*, 55-56 *passim*.
28. Peikoff, Leonard, *The Ominous Parallels* (New York: Stein and Day, 1982), 326-327.

29. Wilson, John, *Our Israelitish Origins*, 1843 Edition (London: James Nisbet and Co., 1840), in Abanes, Richard, *American Militias: Rebellion, Racism, and Religion* (Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity Press, 1996), 159.
30. Abanes, *American Militias*, *ibid.*
31. *ibid.*, 160.
32. Wilson, *Our Israelitish Origins*, 114, in Abanes, *American Militias*, 161.
33. Parker, F., *A Short History of Esau-Edom in Jewry*, 2d Edition (London: Covenant Publishing Co., 1949), in Abanes, *American Militias*, 161.
34. Hallstrom, Bob, "Oprah, the Jews, and Ritual Murder," *Calling Our Nation* 61 (pamphlet, 1989), 22, in Abanes, *American Militias*, 161.
35. *Who, What, When, Why, Where: Aryan Nations* (tract), n.d., 3, in Abanes, *American Militias*, 162-163.
36. Kinsella to Homans, November 28, 1997.
37. Dawes, David F., *British Columbia Report*, Oct 7, 1997.
38. *ibid.*
39. *The Enduring Vision: A History of the American People*, ed. Paul S. Boyer et al., 2d Edition (Lexington, MA, D.C. Heath, 1994), 344-345.
40. *ibid.*, 454.
41. Novick, Michael, *White Lies, White Power* (Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press, 1995), 41.
42. *ibid.*, 48.
43. Ridgeway, *Blood in the Face*, 54.
44. Kinsella, Warren, *Web of Hate: Inside Canada's Far-Right Network* (Toronto: Harper Collins, 1995), 13.
45. *ibid.*, 13-22 *passim*.
46. George, John, and Wilcox, Laird, *Nazis, Communists, Klansmen and Others on the Fringe: Political Extremism in America* (Buffalo: Prometheus Books, 1992), 37.

47. F. H. Leacy, ed. *Historical Statistics of Canada*, (Ministry of Supply and Services, Ottawa, 1983), A1-14.

48. *ibid.*, A158-183.

49. *ibid.*

50. George and Wilcox, *Nazis, Communists, Klansmen and Others*, 38.

51. *ibid.*

52. 38-39 *passim*.

53. *ibid.*, 39.

54. *ibid.*

55. Ridgeway, *Blood in the Face*, 37.

56. Marks, Kathy, *Faces of Right Wing Extremism* (Boston: Branden Publishing Co., 1996),

57. Kinsella, *Web of Hate*, 107.

58. *ibid.*, 109.

59. *ibid.*, 110.

60. George and Wilcox, *Nazis, Communists, Klansmen and Others*, 372-373.

61. Stern, Kenneth S., *A Force Upon the Plain: The American Militia Movement and the Politics of Hate* (New York: Simon and Shuster, 1996), 145.

62. Stern, *A Force Upon the Plain*, 47.

63. Ridgeway, James, Beth Hawkins, Marina Zweifler, *Village Voice*, Oct. 1, 1997
WASHINGTON--The trial of Terry Nichols, which begins to unfold in Judge Richard Matsch's small Denver courtroom this week, is supposed to be a simple replay of Tim McVeigh's six-week trial. But the Nichols trial promises to open a window onto a weird corner of American life: the shadowy world of the Posse Comitatus.

If Tim McVeigh got his inspiration from the paramilitary right and the writings of William Pierce and his Neo-Nazi National Alliance, Nichols comes straight out of the topsy-turvy world of the Posse.

Founded as a revolutionary group of right-wing anarchists in the late 1960s, the Posse became the symbol of resistance across the American heartland during the farm depression of the 1980s. It preached guerrilla war and argued for a return to a simpler

government where the county sheriff was the highest elected official and the Posse's noose was law. Its adherents renounced their citizenship, proclaimed "sovereignty" under God, and declared war against a Jewish-dominated government.

Nichols grew up in rural Michigan, served a short stint in the army where he became friends with McVeigh, then returned home to farm in 1989. At the time, feelings against the government and the banks ran high. Nichols and his brother James began to dabble at the edges of the Posse. In March 1992, faced with a credit card debt of \$32,000, Nichols "revoked" his signature--Posse lingo for severing ties with the government--and declared himself "no longer a citizen of the corrupt political corporate state." When a judge ordered him to repay his debt, Nichols adopted a widely used Posse scam and in January 1993 wrote something called a "certified fractional reserve check" for \$17,861.68.

This phony check was similar to others issued by the Family Farm Preservation, a Wisconsin-based Posse group. Last April, its leader, Thomas F. Stockheimer, 65, was sentenced to 15 years after being convicted with three others of passing as much as \$80 million in bogus money orders.

On March 16, 1994, Nichols--by then living in Marion, Kansas--filed an "affidavit" with the state treasurer's office in which he declared himself to be a "NATURAL-BORN, FREE adult Citizen," and said studies had convinced him that he was not subject to the "internal" government of the U.S. He argued that "under the color of law," he was the victim of a "Constructive Fraud" by a certain "Criminal Element," which he hoped would be brought to book by a constitutional court. In challenging this "octopus," he singled out IRS agents who he insisted "have no written, Lawful 'Delegation of Authority' to my knowledge and that their so-called 'Form 1040' appears to be a bootleg document, lacking both a required OMB number and an expiration date."

Through the years, Terry Nichols and his brother James--who also renounced his citizenship--have drawn on the ideas of Karl G. Granse, 47, of Apple Valley, a suburb of Minneapolis. Granse is a tax protester and self-styled antigovernment legal adviser who runs Citizens for a Constitutional Republic.

In 1984 Granse unsuccessfully ran for Congress as a Reagan Republican. In 1988, he was sentenced to 90 days in jail in Ramsey County, Minnesota, for failing to pay \$10,000 in local taxes. According to the Minneapolis Star Tribune, federal court records show Granse has not paid federal income taxes since 1988, and there is a government lien on his home.

Granse has been questioned by the FBI about his close ties to Terry Nichols, who phoned him from jail in 1995. He first came under scrutiny when government agents found tapes of his seminars in James Nichols's car, and because James Nichols phoned him two days before the bombing, though no one has suggested that Granse is connected to the bomb plot. No charges have ever been brought against James Nichols in the Oklahoma City bomb case.

Granse has his own theory about the bombing: he thinks the Clinton administration set it up as a Whitewater diversion. The blast, he says, was touched off by a small missile containing a tiny nuclear device. Granse is pretty sure of that because the bomb-sniffing dogs used on the site, he says, have all died of radiation sickness.

. 64. *ibid.*, 48-49.

65. Kinsella, *Web of Hate*, 107.

66. Ben Barkow, Ph.D., interview by the author, telephone, October 15, 1997.

67. "It should be noted that on the day after the bombing on April 19, 1995, a pipe bomb went off at the Provincial Legislature on Prince Edward Island, injuring one person. That bombing was eventually linked to a man who communicated with the media using fascist insignia." (Kinsella to Homans, November 28, 1997)

68. Kinsella, *Web of Hate*, 187.

69. *Board of Inquiry Decision, In the Matter of Section 2 of the Individual's Rights Protection Act, R.S.A. 1980,, C. 1-2; and in the Matter of the Public Inquiries Act, R.S.A. 1980, C.P-29, Between: Harvey Kane, Keith Rutherford, Jack C. Downey, Hal Joffe, Nate Feldman, Neil McKereghan, and Paul Armstrong, Complainants, and: Church of Jesus Christ Christian/Aryan Nations, Terry Long Representing Church of Jesus Christ Christian/Aryan Nations, Terry Long, and Ray Bradley, Appendix 3, 1-2.*

70. Champion, Chris, "Return Of The Racist White Separatist Terry Long Draws Attention To Canada's Political Secret Police." *Alberta Report*, Feb. 7, 1997.

71. Kinsella, *Web of Hate*, 216-218 passim.

72. *Alberta Report*, Feb. 7, 1997.

73. *Board of Inquiry*, 42.

74. *ibid.*

75. *ibid.*, 39-41.

76. *ibid.*, 43.

77. *ibid.*, out-take 3.

78. *ibid.*, 19.

79. *ibid.*, 20.

80. *ibid.*

81. Kinsella, *Web of Hate*, 193.

82. George and Wilcox, *Nazis, Communists, Klansmen and Others*, 360.

83. *Board of Inquiry*, 53.

84. *ibid.*, 54.
85. *ibid.*, 56-57.
86. *ibid.*, 53.
87. *ibid.*, 60.
88. *Alberta Report*, Feb. 7, 1997.
89. Kinsella to Homans, November 28, 1997.
90. *ibid.*
91. Ridgeway, *Blood in the Face*, 105.
92. Beam, Louis, *Essays of A Klansman* (Hayden Lake, ID: A.K.I.A. Publications, 1983), insert between 46 and 47.
93. *Board of Inquiry*, Out-take 4.
94. Ridgeway, *Blood in the Face*, 105.
95. *ibid.*, 106.
96. Beam, *Essays of A Klansman*, 58.
97. *ibid.*, 64.
98. *ibid.*, 65.
99. *ibid.*, 66.
100. *ibid.*
101. *ibid.*, 67.
102. *ibid.*, 68.
103. *ibid.*, 70.
104. Abanes, *American Militias*, 176.
105. McIlvany, Don, "As the New Order Rolls on: The Plunge Toward the Black Hole," *McIlvany Intelligence Advisor* (n.p., December 1994), 2, in Abanes, *American*

Militias, 177.

106. *Calling Our Nation* 15, 6.

107. I attended a speaking appearance by Mark Koernke in Tulsa, OK, July 2, 1995. Koernke spoke to two audiences that day; I went to the morning presentation. Koernke filled a Best Western Motel banquet hall with a capacity of more than 500 people in both morning and afternoon appearances. Pamphlets from Second-Amendment rights groups, and various other far-Right publications, were prominently displayed, and anti-New Order sentiment was high. However, such religious publications as were to be found were merely fundamentalist, not Christian identity, and there were no Nazis present (at least not in uniform). The crowd was not even completely White. There were a few Native Americans, and at least two black women, attending.

108. I watched *The Big Lie* at the home of a militia member I know in Snow, OK, in 1995.

For a period of time exceeding one year I was part of a group called "Clear Sky Lightning," comprised primarily of Vietnam veterans and their families. This group included at least a couple of former or present members of Posse Comitatus. Due to personal animosity between this militia member and myself, I no longer belong to this informal organization.

I must admit that after having viewed this video, I am convinced of its premise: that the United States Government acted with the intention of destroying the Branch Davidian compound at Waco, and it did so with reckless disregard of, if not murderous intent against, human life. (This is the distinction between first and second-degree murder.)

The members of Clear Sky Lightning collectively deplored Linda Thompson's 1995 call for an armed march on Washington to arrest members of Congress who were allegedly threatening the sovereignty of the United States and of its citizens.

109. Abanes, *American Militias*, 175.

110. *ibid.*, 176.

111. Flynn, Kevin, and Gary Gerhardt, *The Silent Brotherhood* (New York, MacMillan Inc., 1989), 98.

112. *ibid.*, 247.

113. Martinez, Thomas, and John Ginter, *Brotherhood of Murder* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1988), 108.

114. Flynn and Gerhardt, *The Silent Brotherhood*, 396.

115. *ibid.*, 249.

116. Martinez, *Brotherhood of Murder*, 229-230.

117. Ridgeway, *Blood in the Face*, 120.
118. Flynn and Gerhardt, *The Silent Brotherhood*, 396.
119. *ibid.*, 150.
120. *ibid.*, 130.
121. *ibid.*, 222-224 *passim*.
122. *ibid.*, 193.
123. *ibid.*, 212.
124. *ibid.*, 392-399 *passim*.
125. *Lubbock (TX) Avalanche-Journal*, "Aryan Chief Pleads Guilty in Robberies," via HYPERLINK <http://lubbockonline.com/news/021997/aryan>
126. HYPERLINK <http://worldramp.net/-snag/nazi.html>
<http://worldramp.net/-snag/nazi.html>
127. Michael Schwartz, U.S. District Attorney, Philadelphia, PA, interview by the author, telephone, October 17, 1997.
128. *Columbus (OH) Post-Dispatch*, January 9, 1997.
129. *ibid.*
130. HYPERLINK <http://www.ftcnet.com/-adp /970130c.html>.
131. www.countty.com/casefiles/oklahoma/nichtranscripts.123. *Stillwater (OK) News-Press*, October 20, 1997.
132. *Daily Oklahoman*, December 9, 1997.
133. *ibid.*
134. Oklahoma State Representative Charles Key, interview by author, December 13, 1997, Oklahoma City, OK.
135. FBI internal document, debriefing of Carol Howe, April 21, 1995, in Evans-Pritchard, Ambrose, *The Secret Life of Bill Clinton: the Unreported Stories* (Washington: Regnery Publishing, 1997), 398.

136. *Daily Oklahoman*, December 9, 1997.
137. Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF) internal document, "Informant Agreement," August 30, 1994.
138. BATF internal document, "Opening Report," August 30, 1994.
139. *ibid.*
140. *ibid.*
141. HYPERLINK <http://www.jbs.org/vol12no13.htm#okc>
142. *ibid.*
143. *ibid.*
144. Dennis Mahon, interview by Diane Sawyer, *ABC News/Prime Time*, December 10, 1997.
145. *ibid.* Also, the *Daily Oklahoman* notes that Mahon and Howe were "romantically involved" until having a falling out. Mahon called Howe his "Aryan Goddess."
146. Carol Howe, *ibid.*
147. Robert Howe (Carol Howe's father), *ibid.*
148. Carol Howe, *ibid.*
149. BATF internal document, "Report of Investigation," September 26, 1994.
150. *ibid.* In the *Prime Time* interview, Howe tells Sawyer that she was driving at the moment that news of the Murrah bombing came over the radio, and she remembers saying to herself, "They've done it. The war-- this is it."
151. *ibid.*
152. *ibid.*
153. *ibid.*
154. Telephone Interview, Gene Hough, by William P. Homans, Jan. 18, 2000
155. Interview, Representative Charles Key, December 13, 1997.

156. BATF internal document, "Report of Investigation," January 11, 1995.

157. Andreas Strassmeir, interview by *ABC News*, Germany, 1996.

158. BATF internal document, "Report of Investigation," January 11, 1995. How widespread is Christian Identity thinking outside the specific realm of Nazi-organization propaganda? *Cry Aloud* cybermagazine, originating in Vancouver, British Columbia, is an indication. Unlike the outright propaganda of Butler's Aryan Nations, the magazine even includes a section of readings from "Antagonists of Christian Identity." However, despite its slick presentation, *Cry Aloud* is still a propaganda organ, written from a racially discriminatory perspective. On every page of *Cry Aloud's* website, a moving banner constantly crosses the page, urging readers to "Restore the right to be White. Support Christian Identity." And one heading, entitled "The Canadian Patriot Anthem", specifically warns Canadians about making treaties with Native Americans, who are threatening "on both sides of the border to have more authority than the [White] federal government." *Cry Aloud* even links offensive gun-control legislation with threats of Indian tribes to have "standing armies" and a "shooting war." [www.cryaloud.com])

159. *ibid.*

160. *ibid.*

161. Robert Millar, interview, *ABC News/Prime Time*, December 10, 1997.

162. BATF internal document, "Report of Investigation," January 11, 1995.

163. BATF internal document, "Report of Investigation," February 28, 1995.

164. *ibid.*

165. Diane Sawyer, *ABC News/Prime Time*, December 10, 1997.

166. BATF internal document, Emergency Confidential Informant Removal Request," March 27, 1995.

167. BATF internal document, "Request of Use of Confidential Informant," May 18, 1995.

168. BATF internal document, "Report of Investigation," May 22, 1997.

169. FBI internal document, "Debriefing of Carol Howe," April 21, 1995.

170. BATF internal document, "Report of Investigation," May 22, 1997.

171. *ibid.*

172. *ibid.*

173. BATF internal document, "Report of Investigation," April 1, 1996.

174. *ibid.*

175. BATF internal document, "Report of Investigation," January 31, 1996.

176. BATF internal document, "Report of Investigation," April 1, 1996.

177. Diane Sawyer, *ABC News/Prime Time*, December 10, 1997.

178. Kinsella to Homans, November 28, 1997.

179. Andrew Murr, "It Didn't Seem Like Much," *Newsweek*, December 1, 1997.

180. *ibid.*

181. *Daily Oklahoman*, October 18, 1997.

182. Kinsella to Homans, November 28, 1997.

183. Representative Charles Key, interview, December 13, 1997.

184. *Alberta Report*, February 7, 1997.

185. *ibid.*

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Dr. Ben Barkow, Ph.D., Toronto, interview by the author, telephone, October 15, 1997.

Oklahoma State Representative Charles Key, Oklahoma City, interview by the author, December 13, 1997.

Warren Kinsella, Toronto, letter to the author, Stillwater, OK, November 28, 1997.

Michael Schwartz, U. S. District Attorney, Philadelphia, PA, interview by the author, telephone, October 17, 1997.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Abanes, Richard. *American Militias: Rebellion, Racism and Religion*. Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity Press, 1996.

Intervarsity Press is "the book-publishing division of Intervarsity Christian

Fellowship, a student movement active on hundreds of college campuses, and a member movement of the International Fellowship of Evangelical Students." Abanes himself is "founder and Director of the Religious Information Center of Southern California. He has been cited as an expert on religion and cults by such publications as the New York Times, the Chicago Tribune and Christianity Today." His other works include *Prophets of the Apocalypse: David Koresh and Other American Messiahs*. Such qualifications indicate that Abanes is primarily concerned with the religious and pseudo-religious aspects of the contemporary American ultra-Right. Abanes assumes the reader's familiarity with the traditionalist Right, and almost exclusively concentrates on the current manifestations of White supremacism and Christian Patriotism. *American Militias* is most useful when describing the conspiracy theories espoused by the Patriot groups.

Angebort, Jean-Michel. *The Occult and the Third Reich: the Mystical Origins of Nazism and the Search for the Holy Grail*. New York: MacMillan Co., 1974.

Originally published in France under the title *Hitler et La Tradition Cathare*, this is a seminal text for anyone wishing to understand the mystical inclinations of Adolf Hitler, and the origins of Aryan philosophy (or pseudo-philosophy: Angebert leaves the reader much leeway in deciding which). Its usefulness, whether or not the author intended it so (and given the date of publication, I strongly believe he did not), is that it gives extensive definition to the anti-rationalist aspect of palingenetic German nationalism. Particularly compelling are the explanations of the influence of Richard Wagner and Houston Stewart Chamberlain upon the future Fuehrer.

Beam, Louis. *Essays of a Klansman*. Hayden Lake, ID: A.K.I.A. Publications, 1983.

A nasty, hate-filled little book of rantings against Jews, Blacks, and government dupes. Beam's overview of the international Jewish banking conspiracy is as well boiled down as any I have been able to obtain. Wash your hands after each use.

Boyer, Paul S., Clifford E. Clark, Jr., Sandra McNair Hawley, et al., eds. *The Enduring Vision: A History of the American People*. Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath, 1994.

A current, standard, college-level American History text, useful for general information on manifestations of racism in the United States.

Dees, Morris, and James Corcoran, eds. *Gathering Storm: America's Militia Threat*. New York: Harper Collins, 1986.

Morris Dees is in the first rank of the legal forces opposing the ultra-Right. He is a lightning rod for their hate. He was at the top of the Silent Brotherhood's hit list before the killing of Alan Berg. Like Richard Abanes, Dees concentrates on the militia movement and its connections. *Gathering Storm* illustrates not only the interconnectedness between the various extremist elements, but also between them and what sociologist James Aho calls the "moderate Right," including the Republican Party. Dees has been accused of using the Law to railroad those he opposes. However, to give

him due credit, he does at least admire fellow high-powered lawyer Gerry Spence for his defense of Ruby Ridge defendant Randy Weaver, against whom the United States Government and its agencies did conspire to violate various of his civil rights.

Evans-Pritchard, Ambrose, *The Secret Life of Bill Clinton: the Unreported Stories*. Washington DC: Regency Press, 1997.

Ambrose Evans-Pritchard, a highly respected British journalist, dedicates *The Secret Life of Bill Clinton* to three parties: first, to "the people of Arkansas who deserve better." That seemed just a little snippy, for surely Clinton's attributes run the gamut from admirable to execrable, but it may be supposed that Arkansans, and all of us, deserve the best that we are. And, of course, Bill Clinton is beyond the scope of this investigation. Only the first of three sections, and the appendices, are relevant.

But Evans-Pritchard's second dedication was to "the people of Oklahoma who deserve the truth." I have earlier spoken of an "interlocking continuum" of fascist/White supremacist development and organizations. Assessing the sources that I have consulted for this work, I would say that a critical mass of interests has developed that seek not only to document the fascists, but also to see that justice is done, even if it should mean the utter discrediting of United States federal law enforcement agencies. These interests include journalists, historians, politicians, and authors, some of whom inhabit the conservative Right of the political spectrum. Ambrose Evans-Pritchard, the journalist, represents the center of that spectrum, and his conclusion that justice has not been done in the case parallels my own.

Feagin, Joe R., and Hernan Vera. *White Racism: The Basics*. New York: Routledge, 1995.

As the title suggests, Feagin and Vera are concerned with racism as a social phenomenon, and not specifically concerned with neo-Nazi or other ultra-Right political groups. But their chapter, "Racism and Murder," uses the Mulugeta Seraw murder, committed by three Portland Oregon skinheads influenced by Tom Metzger's White Aryan Resistance, to show how the news media help to institutionalize racism in America. The authors' dialogue is reasoned, and may best be described as from the liberal perspective.

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

The Silent Brotherhood is the story of the Bruders Schweigen, otherwise known as the Order, whose originator, leader, and, eventually, martyr, was Robert Mathews, a White supremacist otherwise most closely associated with Richard Girnt Butler's Aryan Nations/Church of Jesus Christ Christian. The Order was a criminal and terrorist group, driven by ultra-Right ideology, responsible for armored-car robberies, bombings, murders, and other criminal activities in the mid-1980s. Flynn and Gerhardt's point of view is journalistic, without any discernable political bias. The book is narrative in style. While *The Silent Brotherhood* is the definitive historical account of the most violent far-

Right group since the second cycle of Klans in the Teens and Twenties, it reads like an action novel, demonstrating that occasionally, the truth can be as exciting as fiction.

George, John, and Laird Wilcox. *Nazis, Communists, Klansmen, and Others on the Fringe: Political Extremism in America*. Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books, 1992.

George is a historian, and Wilcox is a historian and archivist of American right-wing material whose collection is housed at the University of Kansas. In their preface they identify themselves as "more or less liberals. Both of us have been attached to the civil rights movement, and both of us are considered strong civil libertarians and champions of the underdog. At one time these traits would have put us on the moderate left, but this is less clear today. . . . Perhaps we might be most aptly described as pragmatists with libertarian tendencies."

Nazis, Communists, Etc. combines essays on what comprises extreme American ideologies with a compendium of descriptions of extremist organizations ranging from the far Right to the far Left, almost all currently extant, though some are-- pardon the wordplay-- extremely small.

Griffin, Roger. *Fascism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Along with Stanley Payne's *A History of Fascism, 1919-1945*, *Fascism* is one of the definitive texts that should be used as overviews in any serious study of the subject. Griffin provides excerpts from the writings of thinkers and actors in the historical development of fascism, not only in the two countries in which the ideology ascended to political power, but in every other place where men experimented, intellectually and/or politically, with the fascist phenomenon.

Kinsella, Warren. *Web of Hate: Inside Canada's Far Right Network*. Toronto: Harper/Collins, 1995.

At the time of his research, Warren Kinsella was an investigative journalist working for the *Calgary Herald*. *Web of Hate* incorporates journalistic interviews of leading White supremacist and racist figures in Canada, documenting their activities within Canada and their links to American and European collaborators. His point of view is moderate to liberal, but his youthful experience, fighting Nazis while a member of a non-racist punk-rock band, predisposes him to vigorous opposition. Today, Kinsella is an attorney for the Toronto law firm of MacMillan Binch. We are indebted to him for his up-to-the moment perspective on the Canadian fascist movement.

Marks, Kathy. *Faces of Right Wing Extremism*. Boston: Branden Publishing Company, 1996.

Kathy Marks' book is most useful on the subject of militias, although, like George and Wilcox's book, *Faces of Right Wing Extremism* is in part a compendium of far Right and White supremacist organizations and personalities. Marks is a social worker in child abuse investigation, and has worked " . . . as a Probation Officer and in law enforcement."

Although her bibliography is well balanced, containing at least as many liberal sources as journalistic (read, moderate or neutral) or conservative ones, one can not avoid the feeling that Marks would have to hold her nose-- gently-- to vote for a liberal or progressive Democrat. Marks is neither journalist nor historian: she most fits the title of concerned citizen who wants to be sure that the word gets out.

Martinez, Thomas, and John Guinter. *Brotherhood of Murder*. New York, McGraw-Hill, 1988.

A thoughtful account of the life and times of Robert Mathews and The Order by a reformed racist who became involved in some of The Order's activities until fear for his life drove him to become a government informant. Martinez's turning signaled the beginning of the end for the Silent Brotherhood, and Martinez presumably remains a target for any neo-Nazi wishing to avenge the martyr's death of Robert Mathews.

Novick, Michael. *White Power: the Fight Against White Supremacy and Reactionary Violence*. Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press, 1995.

Novick, based in Culver City, California, heads anti-racist workshops, and publishes a quarterly newspaper called *Turning the Tide*. He is a former journalist for the Left-wing newspaper *The Guardian*. Prominent African-American historian Manning Marable says of Novick, "Race and racism are central to American politics. Novick provides a vigorous and insightful analysis that helps us understand the ideology of White supremacy and its centrality to contemporary political debates." Though it is beyond the current scope of this paper, Novick's analysis of racism and White supremacy among police, and in California, is among his most important contributions to the literature of North American fascism.

Payne, Stanley C. *A History of Fascism, 1919-1945*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995.

This is the definitive overview of the fascist phenomenon. Besides providing the facts about fascism for every nation where the ideology became more than vanishingly insignificant, Payne provides a masterful overview on historiographical strains of interpretation, and points to indications in more current history of the potential for the resurgence of neo-fascist ideology.

Peikoff, Leonard. *The Ominous Parallels: the End of Freedom in America*. Briarcliff Manor, NY: Stein and Day, 1982.

Leonard Peikoff is an objectivist philosopher, and has been a Professor of philosophy at several New York colleges and universities. The thesis of *The Ominous Parallels* is that the philosophies underlying German Nazism are resurgent in America today (in 1982), and that Americans' rejection of philosophy in general creates an intellectual vacuum that allows this to happen. As a philosopher, Peikoff transcends liberalism, and is in fact very difficult to pigeonhole ideologically. His agenda is, very

simply, to induce Americans to think deeply, in order to avoid the consequences to be inferred from the book's title.

Ridgeway, James. *Blood in the Face*, 2d edition. New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 1995.

James Ridgeway is a longtime investigative and cultural reporter for the *Village Voice*. He has customarily written from the viewpoint of the New Left, although he has been more associated with cultural and environmental issues tangential to that part of the political spectrum than with New Left ideology. *Blood in the Face* is highly pictorial. Ridgeway, in his acknowledgements, thanks his partners in the making of a documentary film of the same title. But he documents what he concludes is a never completely repressible, Hydra-like ultra-Right culture.

Sargent, Lyman T., ed. *Extremism in America: A Reader*. New York: New York University Press, 1995.

Not all of this book is in any way relevant to the task at hand. A good deal of what is relevant may also be found on propaganda websites on the internet. Close reading does reveal some insights into the American Nationalist aspect of ultra-Right ideology in this country.

Shirer, William. *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*. New York: Simon and Shuster, 1959; Greenwich, CT: Fawcett Publications, 1960.

The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich is the quintessential overview of the Nazi period. Historiographically, Shirer focuses on the centrality of Adolf Hitler to Nazism. Not everyone agrees with this interpretation, but certainly, had there been no Hitler, there is at least a possibility that Germany would have found some other, more peaceful way of coping with its monumental problems following World War One. Shirer was a friend of my family for decades, and a personal acquaintance, late in his life. I am honored to somehow use his journalistic insights.

Stern, Kenneth S. *A Force Upon the Plain*. Simon and Shuster, 1996.

Kenneth Stern has been the American Jewish Committee's expert on hate and hate groups since 1989. His work in the area has ranged from writing publications to testifying before Congress. He was a full partner at the respected law firm of Rose and Stern and has argued before the United States Supreme Court. From 1985 to 1986 he was director of the National Organization Against Terrorism. He lives with his family in New York."

Stern's perspective is that of a career oppositional observer of terrorist, White supremacist and Right Wing organizations. The focus of *A Force Upon the Plain* is United States militia organizations. Stern is decidedly liberal, and very comparable to Morris Dees. He is high on the neo-Nazi hit list.

Alberta Report, February 7, 1997.

British Columbia Report, October 13, 1997.

Newsweek, December 1, 1997.

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Columbus (OH) Post-Dispatch, January 9, 1997.

Daily Oklahoman, October 18, 1997.

Daily Oklahoman, December 9, 1997.

New York Times, April 20, 1995.

Stillwater (OK) News-Press, October 20, 1997.

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"A Double Life": *ABC News/Prime Time*, telecast, December 10, 1997.

Board of Inquiry Decision, in the Matter of Section 2 of the Individual's Rights Protection Act, R.S.A. 1980, C. 1-2; and in the Matter of the Public Inquiries Act, R.S.A. 1980, C. P-29, between: Harvey Kane, Keith Rutherford, Jack C. Downey, Hal Joffe, Nate Feldman, Neil McKereghan, and Paul Armstrong, complainants, and Church of Jesus Christ Christian/Aryan Nations, Terry Long representing Members of the Church of Jesus Christ Christian/Aryan Nations, Terry Long, and Ray Bradley.

TRACTS, ARTICLES, AND OTHER WRITINGS BY NEO-NAZI AND OTHER COMPARABLE ORGANIZATIONS

A Short History of Esau-Edom in Jewry, 2d edition. London: Covenant Publishing Co., 1949.

"As the New Order Rolls on: the Plunge Toward the Black Hole." Don McIlvany, *The McIlvany Intelligence Advisor*, December 1994.

Calling Our Nation 15 (pamphlet), Aryan Nations, Hayden Lake, ID, n.d.

Calling Our Nation 61 (pamphlet), Aryan Nations, Hayden Lake, ID, 1997.

Political Program of the National Socialist White Peoples' Party, 1997.

Political Agenda, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, 1997.

Who, What, When, Why, Where: Aryan Nations (tract), n.d.