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Behind the Doors of White Supremacy

Abstract

What is the relationship between religious belief and acts of violence and terrorism? The American white supremacy movements of the Ku Klux Klan and Christian Identity are deeply rooted in Protestant Christianity and are also responsible for some of the gravest acts of violence on American soil. The intersection between religious belief and terrorist action illuminates the interplay between religion and acts of violence.

This study firstly provides a history of the ideology of Christian Identity with specific attention to the ways in which committing violence is rationalized and understood as redemptive. Secondly, this study identifies six characteristics of a fundamentalist movement and argues that the presence of the sixth characteristic, the belief that one has been called by God to be a warrior, increases the likelihood that an individual believer will commit, or try to commit, an act of terror. Thirdly, this study pulls data from the white nationalist internet forum Stormfront and the websites of Christian Identity websites and finds that all six characteristics of fundamentalism can be found in the writings of posters to the site. Elements of all six characteristics can also be found among violent actors from the past three decades.

This study concludes that religious theology itself can be violent, actively encouraging believers to commit terrorism. However, whether or not an individual decides to act depends on whether or not they feel that God has called them to be a warrior.

Final recommendations include practical suggestions for law enforcement and suggestions for further research. Firstly, law enforcement must take the religious beliefs of militia groups seriously and consult biblical experts before deciding to act. Secondly, the findings in this study should be applied to other, non-Christian, fundamentalist groups in order to better understand how, and why, religion becomes violent.

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Behind the Doors of White Supremacy

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In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

by

Catlyn Kenna Keenan

August 2014

Advisor: Antony Alumkal

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Introduction

The Bible is a book of war, a book of hate. – Michael

Teague, Christian Identity believer

While many people in America celebrated the election of the first black president in 2008 and everyone from pundits to politicians to the average American person began debating whether the election of a man of color to the highest office in the land meant



Figure 1

“the end of racism,” others saw the inauguration of Barack Hussein Obama as the beginning of the end. In the echelons of what the

historian Michael Barkun

calls the racist right, it became clear that the end of the world was at hand, that America, the new Rome, had fallen, paving the way for the rise of the New Israel and the Second Coming of Jesus Christ. Post-millennial dispensationalist white supremacists began planning for the end. On that November evening in 2008, the Aryan Nations believed the

war of Armageddon began.¹

The Aryan Nations declared that America had committed suicide and began preparing for war (see figure 1).² Scriptures for America Worldchurch dedicated a sermon to explaining how Obama fit the descriptors for the antichrist. The FBI reported that requests for background checks for weapons purchases for the week of November 3 through 9 rose 49 percent over the same period during the previous year.³ Many Americans, both members of organized supremacist organizations and those on the right, saw Obama as a direct threat to their understanding of what it is to be American and feared that the right to own guns, among other liberties, would erode.

According to the Southern Poverty Law Center, there are over 900 hate groups in the United States as of 2009.⁴ However, most of them are quite small, with memberships of a few dozen people. It is unlikely that there are more than a few thousand active white supremacists in the United States – “active” applying to members who participate in rallies, distribute literature, commit hate crimes, serve in leadership positions of white supremacist organizations, and engage in paramilitary training in preparation for Armageddon. But the impact of just one or two white supremacists can be quite

¹ The Aryan Nations, accessed 11.4.2008, <http://www.aryan-nation.org/>.

² “American Suicide,” image, 2008, The Aryan Nations, accessed November 4, 2008, <http://www.aryan-nation.org/>

³ Kevin Bohn, “Gun Sales Surge After Obama’s Election,” *CNN* (November 11, 2008), accessed December 1, 2012, <http://www.cnn.com/2008/CRIME/11/11/obama.gun.sales/index.html?s=PM:CRIME>.

⁴ “SPLC Map of Hate Groups in America,” Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed December 1, 2012, <http://www.realcourage.org/2009/04/splc-map/>.

profound: in 1995 Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols bombed the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City and killed 168 men, women, and children. In August 2012, Wade Michael Page shot ten people, resulting in six deaths, at a Sikh Temple in Oak Creek, Wisconsin. As we will see in chapter five, hundreds of people have been impacted by white supremacist terrorism. In 2011 and 2012, there were just over six thousand racially motivated hate crimes in the United States.⁵ This number does not capture the unreported attacks of racism that manifest as intimidation, discrimination, or bigotry. It is a small but virulent problem.

Though there are not a large number of active white supremacists (as previously defined), the internet is a hot spot of racist activity. Stormfront touts itself as the largest white supremacist organization in the world with a membership that hovers around 200,000 registered users. The beliefs and worldviews of these members are the foci of this project. White supremacists are involved in racial projects that define their whiteness through the strategic use of tension and maintenance of in-group/out-group distinctions. The ways in which they define and understand their own whiteness, the use of Christianity to bolster their belief in white superiority through a specific form of biblical inerrancy, their perceived deprivation at the hands of a demonic “other,” and the ways in which they perform and manage their identities all serve to support what Christian Smith calls an “embattled identity.” Using direct quotes from the Stormfront forum and selected other websites, I explore these dynamics in order to better understand how tension is

⁵ “FBI Releases 2012 Hate Crime Statistics,” Federal Bureau of Investigation (November 25, 2013), accessed January 23, 2014, <http://www.fbi.gov/news/pressrel/press-releases/fbi-releases-2012-hate-crime-statistics>.

maintained as the central feature of white supremacist identity. I am specifically interested in how and why, or perhaps more accurately *when*, tension erupts into violent action. Within Christian Identity churches, identity formation and maintenance through racial projects, ways in which scripture is interpreted in order to support perceptions of living in an embattled world, and community members' perception of economic and social deprivation at the hands of a demonic other, all serve to sustain personal and communal identity. In addition, charismatic leaders sustain a heightened level of tension, creating certainty in believers that the world is about to end by mining the Bible for proof and using personal prophecy, which they argue is also biblically sanctioned. Lastly, and most importantly, believers who commit violence do so out of the belief that they have been chosen by God to play a vital role in the final battle, Armageddon.

I am driven by interest in a number of interrelated research questions. First, I am interested in the debate about whether or not religion acts as a causal factor in some instances of violence. Is the maintenance of a sense of perpetual tension and embattlement related to instances of hate and terror? If so, how? Furthermore, it appears that the majority of white supremacists *do not* commit crimes. Are there identifiable differences between those who act and those who do not? White supremacy driven by Christian Identity beliefs serves as a case study for an exploration of these questions. More specifically, I am interested in how a group that does promote violence uses religion and scripture in support of bigotry, hate, and violence. White supremacy is a contentious ideology, and members often compete and argue. I am interested in the

subjects of these arguments and how individuals and groups maintain distinct identities within the larger movement. I am interested in differences in the rhetoric they use to speak to one another versus their public persona on websites.

Few people have listened to white supremacists in their own words. Interviews have typically been done with ex-members and observations have been collected at white power rallies. Ex-members remember their mindset while active supremacists through the veil of discontent that caused them to leave the group, and active members at rallies who speak with researchers perform the same rhetoric found on the websites of groups. Current members also try to recruit researchers and will often cease communication if they view the interviewer to be unsympathetic. Hearing their unadulterated conversations with one another has been difficult, creating a gap in the knowledge of researchers. Mark Juergensmeyer posits that Christian militias are the greatest source of threat to American citizens, and yet few people are actively listening to what they say and how they say it, and thinking about why they say it.⁶ My study seeks to remedy this lack.

In order to observe white supremacists conversing, the researcher must scrutinize covertly. When people know that they are being observed at public rallies or in an interview setting, members of racist groups perform to the message of their organization and to the expectations of the researcher. Only in private can their feelings and beliefs be clearly seen. However, undercover observation raises important ethical considerations.

⁶ Mark Juergensmeyer. *Terror in the Mind of God: The Global Rise of Religious Violence* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

The ethics of covert research must consider two groups of persons. First are the ethical considerations surrounding those studied without their knowledge. Secondly, the role of the researcher must be contemplated – this is especially important in cases in which disclosing that one is a researcher risks, at the worst, attack of one’s person and, at the very least, immediate expulsion from the community under study. To address both of these aspects, I will begin with a general discussion of covert research, move into a conversation about the domain of the internet, and conclude with the measures to protect those I observe.

Social scientists are increasingly aware of the need to infiltrate groups that engage in antisocial behavior, hate crimes, and terrorism. Ethics review boards oversee and approve of projects, but “codes of conduct often impose standards that are so high that they may actually discourage worthwhile research” because they require that data be collected under such controlled circumstances that the information becomes diluted.⁷ One requirement is that researchers must always disclose who they are and what they are doing. However, the groups I study are very suspicious, if not downright hostile, toward outsiders. Announcing oneself as a researcher makes the very research one is attempting to conduct impossible. Therefore, “[c]overt research is sometimes needed [*sic*] [in situations in which] the researcher requires information about something that those doing it would prefer to keep secret.”⁸ It seems clear that one of the reasons few people attempt

⁷ Peter Burnham et al., *Research Methods in Politics* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008), 299.

⁸ K. Wilson, “Thinking About the Ethics of Field Research,” *Fieldwork in Developing Countries*, ed. S. Devereux and J. Hoddinott (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1993), 186.

study in volatile situations is because it can be extremely difficult to get approval – “[o]ur formal ethical codes are sometimes inappropriate to the realities of practice.”⁹ There is some information that can only be viewed through the veil of deceptiveness. Because of this, “[u]nobtrusive observations are sometimes built on the edges of normally inaccessible social scenes” and justified in certain cases.¹⁰

All academic research must pass inspection by an Institutional Review Board (IRB). However, “IRBs typically require researchers to elicit informed consent using documents inspired by Western legal norms These requirements often create complications for researchers interested in collecting qualitative data outside the research setting.”¹¹ My observation takes place entirely online, a domain lending itself to anonymity. The participants in online forums may suspect that they are being observed, but they do not know for sure. Their permission was not obtained. I explain the procedures in place to protect the subjects of my study below.

In this project I use four interwoven methods. The first is historical overview: this information sets the stage in chapter one. Historiography “attempts to systematically recapture the complex nuances, the people, meanings, events, and even ideas of the past

⁹ Alexander M. Ervine, *Applied Anthropology: Tools and Perspectives for Contemporary Practice* (Boston: Pearson Education, 2005), 40.

¹⁰ Ibid, 167.

¹¹ Hayden Gore, “Institutional Review Boards and Issues of Informed Consent” (unpublished paper, print copy in author’s possession, 2007), 2.

that have influenced and shaped the present.”¹² The information in chapters one and five is drawn from texts such as newspapers and library archives, interviews both published and conducted by the author, the expertise of organizations such as the Anti-Defamation League, the Rocky Mountain Resource Center, The National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and the Responses to Terrorism, and the Southern Poverty Law Center, and the published materials of the Christian Identity groups themselves. In addition, there is a fairly large body of literature that outlines the development of racism in the United States. There are two types of literature: studies of religion and racism in the United States and material on Christian Identity specifically.¹³ In addition to giving me an understanding of the intersections between religion, perceptions of race, and to a lesser degree the role of politics in religious racism, I gathered valuable demographic data from this work. *Who* joins a white supremacist movement has been studied extensively: economic status, education levels, sex – all these data have been published.¹⁴ *Why* people join white supremacist movements has also been studied; however, not from the inside out. There is scholarship that speculates on why people join, basing conclusions on the census data. Additionally, a small number of interviews with white supremacists exist.

The historical information positions the reader to understand the development of the beliefs of Christian Identity and how Christian white supremacist groups, whether

¹² Bruce L. Berg and Howard Lune, *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences* (London: Pearson Publishing, 2011), 305.

¹³ Michael Barkun’s *Religion and the Racist Right* (1997) is the most comprehensive overview of the development of Christian Identity.

¹⁴ See Josh Adams and Vincent J. Roscigno (2005), Southern Poverty Law Center, the Anti-Defamation League, and the National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism.

they refer to themselves as Christian Identity or not, are influenced by the ideology of Wesley Swift and, before him, British-Israelism. Furthermore, the intersections and overlaps are explained along with the demographics and leaders of the movement taken as a whole. The concluding chapter also chronicles a number of hate crimes that have been committed by Christian Identity believers since 1980 and profiles violent offenders.

The second method is the ethnographic research done on Stormfront. In addition, I examine the websites maintained by Scriptures for America, Kinsmen Identity Ministries, two Aryan Nations sites, the National Alliance, and the Phinehas Priesthood. Ethnography has been described as an art or science, or the two combined, of describing a group or culture.¹⁵ I find that the value of ethnography is that the result is a combination of perceptions: mine and those of the conversants I study.

I examined attitudinal data specifically in order to better understand how the Bible is read and interpreted, the ways in which Christian Identity fits the definition of fundamentalism offered in chapter two, the subjects of internal dialogs, and how members engage in impression management, the performance of their identity to one another and to the outside world. From the summer of 2012 through the spring of 2013, I logged onto Stormfront, the forum maintained by Don Black, which claims to be the largest white supremacist network in the world. I spent several months reading through the conversations, trying to understand major concerns, identifying points of similarity and contention between different members, learning the coded rhetoric used by members,

¹⁵ David Fetterman, *Ethnography: Step by Step* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1987), 10.

and recognizing repeat posters. During November and December 2012 and January 2013, I copied and pasted hundreds of pages of data off the forum.

Coding qualitative data is a process by which the researcher attempts to make sense of, and categorize, the material gathered from interviews, conversations, or participant observation. On occasion “coding” and “content analysis” have been used in similar ways;¹⁶ the two methods are complements but not identical. As I began to code the data, I allowed the categories to emerge, informing the categories I introduce in chapter two. I ultimately narrowed my categories to the six: the claim of scriptural inerrancy, apocalyptic millennialism, charismatic leaders, “us” versus “them” and the sense of deprivation that “they” are depriving “us” of valuable goods and resources, perceptions of a satanic evil bent on overthrowing the earth, and the certainty of being critical players during the end of days. These categories are described and defined exhaustively in chapter two.

The material in chapters three and four is copied verbatim. All typographical, syntactical, and spelling errors are true to the originals. I used excerpts from longer posts, though I occasionally include a post in its entirety. Additional material is contained in Appendix B. Each post is followed by analysis. In many cases, the categories I established are intertwined in the same post, making it difficult to tease apart the different codes. Therefore, though chapter three is dedicated to the first three categories and chapter four is dedicated to the final three, I note areas that contain more than one

¹⁶ See Cartwright (1966) and Holsi (1968).

category. This overlap also allows one to analyze how all six categories combine into a holistic worldview.

I include screen pseudonyms for the posters. These are not their actual screen names but names I assigned them in order to protect their identity. This gives the reader a sense of how many distinct posters are included in my work and the personalities of each.

Some material lent itself to content analysis and is displayed in charts and Wordles®. The Wordle program works by presenting words that are used most in the largest font. It has been shown that “word clouds can be a useful tool for preliminary analysis and for validation of previous findings.”¹⁷ It is a quick visual reference to what word or words are repeated the most often in a body of text. I used the program to analyze material from Christian Identity websites, and I also pulled every biblical reference from the posts I analyzed in order to see if there are certain passages that are referenced more often than others.

Content or discourse analysis focuses specifically on the words and language used in a piece of written or spoken work. Discourse analysis is defined thusly: “A discourse analysis is a careful, close reading that moves between text and context to examine content, organization and functions of discourse.”¹⁸ I find discourse analysis useful because its goal is to locate language within a particular sociohistorical context and extrapolate meanings subjective to the persons speaking. More precisely, “It is useful to

¹⁷ Carmel McNaught and Paul Lam, “Using Wordle as a Supplementary Research Tool,” *The Qualitative Report* vol. 15, no. 3, May 2010: 642.

¹⁸ Rosalind Gill, “Discourse Analysis,” in *Qualitative Researching with Text, Image, and Sound: A Practical Handbook*, ed. Martin W. Bauer and George Gaskell (London: Sage, 2000), 188.

think of discourse analysis as having four main themes: a concern with discourse itself; a view of language as constructive and constructed; an emphasis upon discourse as a form of action; and a conviction in the rhetorical organization of discourse.”¹⁹ Stated in a slightly different way: “Discourse analysis focuses attention on the role that language, texts, conversations, the media and even academic research have in the process of creating institutions and shaping behavior”.²⁰ As such, discourse analysis illuminates not just what is being said, but who is saying it, why they might be saying it, and what constructs inform their words. Discourse analysis can also suggest the power structures surrounding those who speak: “Discourse analysis illuminates the dominant ideas and identifies those who legitimate these ideas.”²¹ Discourse analysis is helpful in analyzing the materials posted on Stormfront – the written conversations inside the forum community – and establishes the attitudinal data.

Finally, I conducted five key informant interviews. The first was with an ex-member who agreed to recount her experiences in a Christian cult.²² This interview allowed me to ask questions about how it felt to be in a bigoted, sexually exploitative movement and how and why she ultimately decided to leave. The second and third were with a man and woman who attended a Christian Identity service. Neither person had any interest in joining the group; they attended in order to fulfill a site visit requirement in a

¹⁹ Ibid, 174.

²⁰ Peter Burnham et al., *Research Methods in Politics* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008), 252.

²¹ Ibid, 257.

²² “Cult” is the word the subject used.

religious studies class. They observed demographics of the congregation and recorded the formal sermon and the informal conversations afterward. The fourth was with an ex-armed forces serviceman who served in the military with convicted murderer James Burmeister. The fifth was with an expert in hate groups and extremist movements. Due to Institutional Review Board requirements, I kept all identifying characteristics confidential and do not even indicate which interview produced which information.²³ All interviewees were given the opportunity to read what I wrote with regard to their interviews and give feedback on the accuracy of how I represented their accounts. They also received a copy of the completed project in its entirety.

Because it is my position that good ethnographers identify their own constructs, I offer a brief comment on how I approach research. While I do not consider myself fully a postmodernist, I am deeply influenced by that paradigm. In addition, structuralism and deconstruction are both important to my ways of thinking. In line with structuralism, I find language to consist of metaphors that are shared among members of a particular group. The signs and signifiers used by white supremacists are created by the group, evolve over time, and are self-affirming in that they function to give the illusion that the reality of white supremacy is authentic and concrete. From the deconstructionist perspective, I also find that terms rest upon a dualistic idea so that a concept relies upon an understanding of its opposite. (More on this momentarily.) However, unlike the social

²³ IRB also approved me to make contact with Christian Identity groups via email. On four separate occasions I emailed the site-masters of two different groups. I used two personas, one female and one male. I was unable to elicit any response. I do not know if the email accounts are not checked or if the recipients do not respond to unsolicited queries. Disappointingly, I was unable to initiate contact.

constructionists, I do think that reality is at least partially based in the natural environment. “Post-structuralists ... regard social structures as inherently ambiguous, incomplete and contingent;” however, there are reasons that structures form in the ways that they do.²⁴ Humans construct reality based on their experiences in the natural world, and while social constructs such as race, gender, sexual orientation, and religion are formulated from the shared human psyche to such an extent that their natural origin is not always identifiable, I think location matters. I would add that social structures are contingent upon factors such as environment and geographic location, as well as one’s understanding of history. It is my position that white supremacists often have a negative experience early in life that they blame on an evil “other,” who comes to be identified as “colored” or “Jewish” when the individual is exposed to organized racism. The individual, seeking camaraderie with others in order to give coherency to reality itself, learns the symbols of white supremacy in order to enter the ranks of an organization. Once membership or acceptance has been gained, the individual’s use and understanding of the symbols of the group serve to reinforce and undergird belief.

I also find that “the central semiological idea that a term’s sense derives not from any inherent feature of the relationship between signifier and signified, but from the system of oppositions in which it is embedded.”²⁵ Valuations of dyads such as racial equality on one side and racism on the other are reversed within white supremacist groups, so that it becomes good and noble to be racist. This supports the critical theory

²⁴ Burnham et al., *Research Methods in Politics*, 252.

²⁵ Gill, “Discourse Analysis,” 173.

position that understands language as created by communities and used to affirm worldviews. I am interested in the language white supremacists use to converse with one another and how they present themselves to the world.

The specific types of knowledge I hope to gain are representational knowledge and relational knowledge. Primarily, I want to be able to offer accurate information on people who have been demonized by the media and in academia, written off as “crazies,” and perceived as dangerous. While some of these characterizations may be accurate, categorizing people in such ways is not helpful. Identifying shared concerns, such as safety for children and family, economic wellbeing, and communal security, is key in developing methods of communication. Ethnography:

Ultimately has the greatest potential to identify actual processes and relationships; it provides the most powerful critique of the use of power and ideology, and the greatest potential for progressive social actors to take a situation forward on the basis of real understanding.²⁶

White supremacists have reasons for believing as they do. I seek to illuminate some of these reasons.

In order to orient the project, the first chapter provides an introduction to American white supremacist movements. I begin with the formation of the Ku Klux Klan in 1865 and trace the development of Christian racism through the twentieth century with the arrival of British-Israelism and the development of Christian Identity, the rise of the Neo-Nazis after World War II, into contemporary white supremacy: the Aryan Nations,

²⁶ Wilson, “Thinking About the Ethics of Field Research,” 182.

the National Alliance, Posse Comitatus, The Order, and several other organized groups.²⁷

Chapter one is a historical overview of American white supremacy for the last one hundred fifty years with special attention paid to how the belief systems developed.

Chapter two moves into a theoretical approach to religion, race, and violence. The first section of the chapter explores the theories of Christian Smith, Mark Juergensmeyer, James Aho, and Hector Avalos, among others. I pay particular attention to the term “fundamentalist” and identify five characteristics shared by American fundamentalists. I also identify a sixth characteristic. This final trait is what I argue becomes an impetus for violent action.

Chapters three and four are dedicated to the coded data. Chapter three contains examples from the first three hallmarks of fundamentalism: scriptural inerrancy, the role of charismatic leaders, and the belief in an imminent apocalypse. Chapter four moves into the fourth, fifth, and sixth characteristics of fundamentalism: “us” versus “them,” a belief in the literal antichrist alive on the earth, and the belief in being chosen warriors for God. The samples come primarily from Stormfront but also from the organizations listed previously.

The fifth chapter details examples of Christian Identity believers who understood themselves to be chosen by God to be warriors and play a role in the apocalypse. Michael Barkun, the leading historian of Christian Identity in the United States, argues that Christian Identity is not a violent religious movement. Chapter five challenges this

²⁷ Many white supremacist organizations have a political action and outreach arm, and a religious arm. Thus some organizations have two names.

assertion by chronicling incidents of hate crimes, murder, and terrorism committed by Christian Identity believers from 1980 through present day. Though Barkun may be correct that “most” Christian Identity white supremacists do not become violent, I will argue that those who believe that they have been chosen to be crucial players often become murderers and terrorists.

1: A History of Hate

The Lord God is a man of war. - Kerry Noble, Christian

Identity minister

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a contextualizing analysis of the development of organized white supremacy in the United States. The overlaps, intersections, divisions, and competing personalities of these groups are complex, and this chapter will serve to illuminate the tangle. There are several different kinds of white supremacy in the United States, Canada, and abroad. Groups vary in goals and beliefs. Some wish to eradicate all non-white people from existence. Others wish only that people be geographically segregated along racial lines to avoid intermixing and interbreeding. They call themselves, and are called by others, “racialists,” “racists,” “white nationalists,” “separatists,” and “white supremacists.”²⁸ Some groups are Protestant Christians and others are atheists. Still others follow Heathenry, also called Odinism, a revitalized version of the Norse religion, though not all Heathens are white supremacists. Many white supremacists form alliances across the boundaries of belief. Others refuse to collaborate. Furthermore, the coalitions that form are often tenuous and result in

²⁸ Dobratz and Shanks-Meile (1997) call the hate groups they study “white separatists” instead of “white supremacists,” arguing that “separatist” is a more accurate term. Advocating race separation and believing that all non-whites should be exterminated are two opposing positions within white supremacy.

animosity and competition, leading to schisms. Because of the degree of overlap, this chapter will provide a historical overview of the major organized white supremacist groups in the United States in order to highlight shared beliefs and factions. In spite of the aforementioned complexity, white supremacy in the United States has been driven by a small number of leaders who have been instrumental to the continuance of the movement.

The history of American white supremacy is deeply interwoven with the history of American Christianity. In order to understand the intersections between religion, race, and American white supremacy, it is necessary to examine how Christianity created race, starting in the fourteenth century, before the United States became a country. Protestant Christian views of the Jewish people are also part of this story, in large part because the whiteness of Jews has been questioned for the last several centuries. The position of the Jewish people in relation to the status quo of Protestant Christianity shifts in response to religious concerns in the seventeenth century in no small part due to the same economic concerns that drove the creation of race. These developments are necessary to understanding white supremacy in the United States.

Particular attention will be paid to how (religious) ideology serves to perpetuate a sense of embattlement and the “warrior for god” mentality, the mechanism by which tension is maintained as a marker of white identity. Once the overview of religion and race is outlined, the chapter will move in chronological order and address the following groups: the original Ku Klux Klan that formed in 1865, the resurgence of the KKK in the

1920s; the history of British-Israelism and the formation of Christian Identity, the American Nazi Party in 1959, the National Alliance and the Aryan Nations in the 1970s; Scriptures for America Worldchurch and The Order in the 1980s; Stormfront in the 1990s; and finally the current Aryan Nations (both of the major ones), the National Alliance, the National Vanguard, and the Phineas Priesthood. This is merely a selection of the white supremacist groups. An exhaustive list of white supremacist and white nationalist groups is provided in Appendix A.

Christianity and the Creation of Race

Essentializing race is a relatively recent phenomenon. Prior to the fourteenth century, race did not exist as a concept; people simply looked different, and these differences accounted for how they appeared but not who they were. Dark skin compared with light skin in the same way that blue eyes compared to brown. The color of one's skin mattered very little in the understanding of a person's inherent value. Race as a trait connected to one's character did not reach full formation until the seventeenth century.

The English, French, Spanish, and Dutch began what would become a free-for-all land-grab; driven by capitalism, imperialism, and geopolitics, Europeans began to establish settlements in the lands with which they had, up until this point, been trading. They realized that owning the land that grew the exotic spices the European palate had come to crave meant more profit when those goods went to market. The insatiable European appetite drove the rise of imperialism as the mentality shifted from purchasing

land, goods, and resources to taking them by force. Rationalizing the use of force gave birth, in turn, to a series of interconnected phenomena. Anne McClintock writes that “[t]he white Englishman gave birth to three orders – the male, *reproductive* order of patriarchal monogamy; the white *economic* order of mining capital; and the global, *political* order of empire.”²⁹ Property rights became inextricably linked to the white patriarch hoarding his belongings: wealth, land, women, and slaves. The three dominant characteristics of the modern era were birthed at the same time.

Let us not make the mistake of thinking it easy to exert ownership over people, that tyranny comes naturally. Paul Harvey writes that “the European participants sought some religious sanction for what was obviously a coercive and brutal activity.”³⁰ Oppression and enslavement needed to be justified, and the Europeans had a mechanism handy: religion, specifically Christianity, which remains the dominant religion of the western world.

Over the centuries Christianity came to associate blackness and darkness with evil. Historian George Frederickson notes that the “symbolic association of blackness with evil and death and whiteness with goodness and purity unquestionably had some effect in predisposing light-skinned people against those with darker pigmentation.”³¹

The people the white Europeans encountered in their excursions across the planet were

²⁹ Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (London: Routledge, 1995), 4.

³⁰ Paul Harvey, “‘A Servant of Servants Shall He Be’: The Construction of Race in American Religious Mythologies,” in *Religion and the Creation of Race and Ethnicity*, edited by Craig R. Prentiss (New York: New York University Press, 2003), 14.

³¹ George M. Frederickson, *Racism: A Short History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 26.

non-whites: black Africans, yellow Asians, red Indians, a whole rainbow of peoples who came to be ranked in descending order with limited rights given to those deemed closest to white, and no rights at all for those furthest away.

Verses in chapter nine of the biblical book of Genesis justified racism. In this chapter Noah's son Ham comes upon his father lying naked and drunk in his tent. Noah's other sons walked backwards to avoid seeing their father's shame, but Ham looked. Noah, knowing what his son had done, responded: "And Noah awoke from his wine, and knew what his younger son had done unto him. And he said, "'Cursed be Canaan! A servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren.'"³² This incident has been taken, not just by white supremacists but colonial supporters of slavery, as proof that black people, descended from Ham, are to be servile.

Though the Muslims first made the connection between the biblical Noah and the curse of Ham, "Christianity ... was central to the process of *racializing* peoples – to imposing categories of racial hierarchy upon groups of humanity."³³ Christianity used Genesis chapter 9 to make this leap.³⁴

The church men thumbed through their Bibles to construct elaborate justifications for slavery. Again and again they cited the same passages as God's warrant for bondage: "Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be." "Both thy bondmen and their bondmaids, which thou shalt

³² The Bible, Genesis, Chapter 9:24-25.

³³ Harvey, "'A Servant of Servants Shall He Be,'" 14.

³⁴ "Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be" – Genesis 9:25 is a reference to Ham beholding his father's nakedness. All biblical text is taken from the New Revised Standard Version (1989) unless otherwise cited.

have, shall be of the heathen that are around you.”
“Servants be obedient ... to your masters ... with fear and
trembling.”³⁵

These passages allowed for an interesting theological leap: only Christians could be white and only whites could be Christian.³⁶ Noah’s three sons are considered to be the forefathers of all people, and Ham’s descendants are the darker-skinned people of Africa and the Middle East, according to the religious history of the Abrahamic religions. Furthermore, when indigenous people did convert to the religion of their colonizers, often their old belief structures wedded with Christian iconography, creating new manifestations of Christianity that seemed ignorant, foolish, and even barbaric to white Christians. This made people of color even more suspect in the eyes of the white colonialists, and what the white Christians perceived as “‘deliberate unbelief’ made them seem ‘less than human.’”³⁷ Non-whites could never aspire to true Christianity; they would always be less than: less than pure, less than white, less than Christian, less than human. By the late fifteenth century, “the identification of black skins with servile status was complete.”³⁸ The slave trade could begin in earnest.

³⁵ James A. Marone, *Hellfire Nation: The Politics of Sin in American History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 132.

³⁶ The idea that race and religion are linked is rampant in modern white supremacist circles – “real” Christians are defined as those who have a racialized reading of the Bible. Even those who may call themselves Christian but who are not white supremacist are not deemed “true” Christians.

³⁷ Frederickson, *Racism*, 21.

³⁸ *Ibid*, 29.

By the turn of the nineteenth century, racism had become deeply encoded in political, economic, and religious systems. Though the concept of race had been invented over the course of a century, the color of one's skin now was used to define the intellect, physical capabilities, and emotionality of people. This is racial essentialism: "It is when differences that might otherwise be considered ethnocultural are regarded as innate, indelible, and unchangeable that a racist attitude or ideology can be said to exist."³⁹

The roots of racism grew deeply into the soil of the conquered land of America by the beginning of the 1800s. Slaves worked the plantations of the South, and the budding economy of the United States depended on their unpaid labor. Their servitude had been justified with the use of Christianity and deeply encoded in the civil laws of the "new" world. As the abolition movement began to heat up and cause tensions in the new country, racism had to find stronger and more inventive ways to justify itself. Christianity proved capable.

Belief that blacks had less intellectual capacity than whites lent itself to an ideology that cast them, males in particular, as sexually aggressive and unbridled. The image attempts to depict the

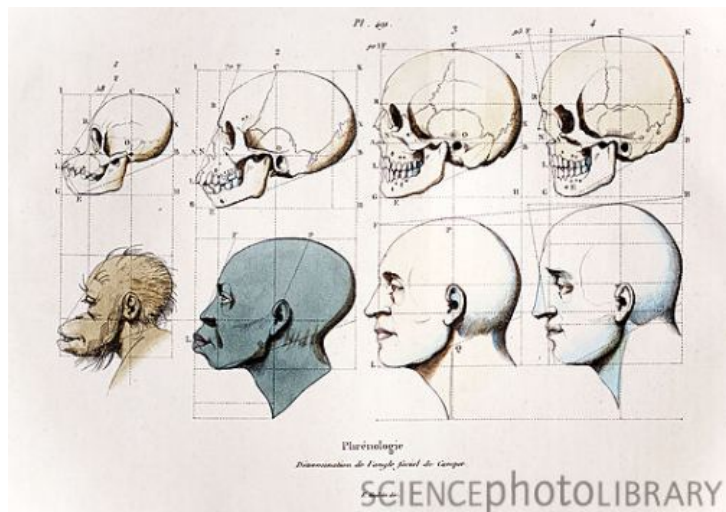


Figure 2

³⁹ Ibid, 5.

proximity of black Africans to apes by comparing the shape of the skull, a pseudoscience called phrenology (see figure 2, previous page).⁴⁰ Whites' understanding of blacks as lacking in intellect and controlled by bestial sexual urges and animalistic instincts served a particular concern in the Victorian era that repressed sexuality and increasingly preached that sex was for procreative purposes only. People of color and the lower classes were thought to act on their baser instincts, threatening the virtue of upper-class whites, women in particular.⁴¹

The conviction that people of color were biologically and intellectually closer to animals reached an extreme as political tensions between the North and the South heated up and slave rebellions threatened the stability of southern society. As people of color were thought to be polluted, dirty, and animalistic, “biological images of disease and contagion served what Sander Gilman has called ‘the institutionalization of fear,’ providing the Victorian elite with the justification it needed to discipline and contain the ‘dangerous classes.’”⁴² These apprehensions served to heighten the need to subvert and control, as “the fear of sexual pollution or violation by the allegedly subhuman race is close to the heart of murderous or genocidal racism whenever and wherever it appears.”⁴³

⁴⁰ “1760a Petrus Camper Facial Angle Eugenics,” image, Science Photo Library, accessed January 24, 2013, <http://www.sciencephoto.com/media/152171/view>.

⁴¹ The image from Science Photo Library illustrates how black people are one step from apes, while Asians are two steps removed. White people are the epoch of evolution and are the pinnacle of perfection.

⁴² McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 46.

⁴³ Frederickson, *Racism*, 120.

Racism was perpetuated by the intersections between economic justifications of slavery, classism, sexual phobias, fear of pollution and disease, and religion.

As the country geared up toward civil war, another consideration entered the picture. Though Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* would not be published until 1859, the academic community began to gain awareness of new theories on the earth's creation and the origin of the human species. Elaborate family trees hit the mainstream, depicting the relationships between the races. Whites were depicted as the most advanced, as the pinnacle of human achievement in intellect, political organization, and religion. The other races fell behind, with blacks usually depicted in last place.

These new theories necessitated negotiation between the Christian account of creation found in Genesis and new scientific knowledge. However, the solution seemed easy:

Those who were versed in scientific ethnology but wished to avoid contradicting the Genesis story simply adopted the eighteenth-century theory that blacks had degenerated from the original race of white Adamites, and then went on to comment that the deviation had become irreversible.⁴⁴

Now blacks had two strikes against them: they had degenerated while the white race had evolved and were scientifically inferior with no hope of recovery, and their blackness indicated that they could never be fully Christian, as their dark skin indicated a divine curse. This ideology heightened the belief that interbreeding produced racially disadvantaged children, mutations that were less servile than blacks and intellectually

⁴⁴ Ibid, 79-80.

incapable of rational thought. Furthermore, mixed-race children were understood to originate in sin and be abominations before God.

A new science of racism was born, influenced heavily by a group of men working in Charleston, South Carolina in the years preceding the Civil War. These men were John Bachman, Edmund Ravenel, John Edwards Holbrook, Lewis Gibbes, Francis Holmes, and John McCrady. This “Charleston Circle” of naturalists collected biological specimens in an attempt to catalog and trace the development of species on the north American continent. McCrady was one of the first people to claim that societies, like species, evolve from simple to complex in the same manner as organisms.⁴⁵ Views such as his contributed to racist projects, as whites claimed that northern European societies were more evolved and more civilized than the social structures of communities in other parts of the world, a belief maintained by modern Christian Identity believers.

John Bachman, a Lutheran minister by training, claimed a monogenesis version of creation, in contrast with the popular polygenesis of other white Americans. Polygenesis is the claim that different races were created as separate acts by God in the Garden of Eden. People who believe in polygenesis often claim that people of color were created along with the ranks of animals, making people of color less than human. Bachman disagreed on biblical grounds, arguing that the human creation story is clear that humans are created in a single act. However:

⁴⁵ Lester Stephens, *Science, Race, and Religion in the American South: John Bachman and the Charleston Circle of Naturalists, 1815-1895* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2000).

Bachman believed that blacks, while not originally inferior to whites, due to climate and circumstance, developed so low as to be permanently stamped with their inferior characteristics. Bachman, therefore, supported slavery on both moral and scientific grounds, as did his contemporaries.⁴⁶

Of course, many whites felt that both religion and science had misjudged the black person. Abolitionism rose as the response to racism and the system of slavery. Religion played a role in this movement as well:

What heated up the argument [over slavery] after all that time? Another religious revival. Evangelical fervor rolled across the United States for three decades, peaking in the early 1830s. The First Great Awakening primed Americans for their revolution, the Second lit the long fuse to the Civil War.⁴⁷

The Second Great Awakening brought forth the idea that blacks should be saved and then set free. Ultimately, arguments over the soul and mind of blacks caused the enormously popular Baptist denomination to schism. Before, during, and after the Civil War, altruistic whites set up churches for blacks and encouraged conversion and fidelity to the Christian worldview. However, allowing blacks and whites to worship in the same space remained socially, politically, and legally unacceptable.

⁴⁶ Alexander O. Boulton, "Old Wine in New Skins," review of Lester Stephens, *Science, Race, and Religion in the American South: John Bachman and the Charleston Circle of Naturalists, 1815-1895* (H-Net Reviews, March, 2001), np, <http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=5003>.

⁴⁷ Marone, *Hellfire Nation*, 123.

In the case of the Baptists, church law required that white churches provide oversight to the black churches. Though many white churches donated land, building materials, church structures, and training for black ministers, separate but equal policies perpetuated racism and oppression. It was not unusual for “blacks to congregate with little or no assistance from whites, even under difficult circumstances.”⁴⁸ Furthermore, persecution could take more violent forms as “black[s] ... found themselves harassed by lawmen, unprotected by federal authorities, and at times hunted by white terrorist groups.”⁴⁹ The violence and hatred only increased during the Civil War.

By the early twentieth century, the “racial segregation of the religious institutions was complete.” As one minister explained in the 1890s, “the emancipation of the colored people made the colored churches and ministry a necessity, both by virtue of the prejudice existing against us and of our essential manhood before the laws of the land.”⁵⁰ Though blacks converted to Christianity and played their part by dutifully emulating whites in behavior, dress, and family structure, and were viewed as “safer” than blacks who deviated from socioreligious norms, most people viewed segregation as a necessity to protect the virtue of the sacred space. Even whites who viewed blacks with compassion often still had paternalistic motives and understood blacks to be “less than.” Whites became willing to allow blacks the status of humanity as long as blacks

⁴⁸ Paul Harvey, *Redeeming the South: Religious Cultures and Racial Identities Among Southern Baptists, 1865-1925* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 51.

⁴⁹ Ibid, 53.

⁵⁰ Ibid, 46.

recognized their inherent inferiority and “stayed in their place.” Blacks could be human but only if they occupied separate, segregated space.

Religion played a role here as well.

Abolitionists who turned to Scripture were chagrined to find that the defenders of slavery could quote many more texts that simply took the institution for granted, or even regulated its operation, than there were passages that, even by implication, questioned its propriety.⁵¹

The Bible had come to be understood as a justification for slavery. Recognizing a degree of black autonomy had to be viewed through the lens of a religion that subjugated certain peoples, specifically *African* peoples, if the Genesis story of Noah and Ham was to be believed. Complete freedom for blacks proved difficult for many white Americans to envision.

The emancipation of millions of blacks at the end of the Civil War – people with no wealth, no homes, little education, and no stability – created an enormous social crisis in part because the introduction of an impoverished working class threatened the poorest class of whites. Blacks threatened white menial labor markets, as blacks, having nothing, felt compelled to work for almost anything, creating a labor crisis. In fact, “Frederick Douglass reported watching white carpenters throw down their tools rather than work with black freemen.”⁵² It is impossible not to draw parallels between this behavior and the current immigration “crisis” that spawned a virulent strand of racism in the twentieth

⁵¹ Mark A. Noll, *God and Race in American Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 33.

⁵² Marone, *Hellfire Nation*, 138.

and twenty-first centuries. If the economy enters a downturn, unemployment goes up, resulting in layoffs and workforce stagnation, causing people to look for a scapegoat. Today, it is undocumented workers. In the latter decades of the nineteenth century, it was poor blacks.

In addition to economic concerns in a country decimated by war, free blacks also generated political concerns. The Supreme Court case resulting in *Dred Scott* was rescinded, and suddenly, in addition to being free, black men became citizens. As blacks outnumbered whites in the South, in some places more than two to one, whites realized that blacks were potentially a huge voting bloc. In 1868, less than three years after the conclusion of the Civil War:

Congress enacted the Military Reconstruction Act of 1867, which allowed former confederate states to be readmitted to the Union if they adopted new state constitutions that permitted universal male suffrage. The Fourteenth Amendment, which conferred citizenship to all persons born or naturalized in the United States, was ratified.

It seemed best, in the minds of many whites, to keep blacks out of the polling stations by any means necessary.

Classism played a part as well. Prior to the Civil War, “[t]he creation of a black subclass enabled poor whites to identify with and support the policies of the upper class ... slavery also provided propertyless whites with a property in their whiteness.”⁵³ The

⁵³ Derrick Bell, “Property Rights in Whiteness – Their Legal Legacy, Their Economic Costs,” in *Critical Race Theory: The Cutting Edge*, edited by Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995), 79.

racialized social hierarchy is preserved when even the poorest of white people outranks the wealthiest of black people.

The need to keep blacks impoverished only grew more pressing after the Civil War. Keeping black people uneducated, ignorant of political processes, and very poor served the interests of many whites. Thus, the religious and scientific justifications for slavery, far from disappearing after the Civil War, only grew stronger and more virulent. The first white supremacist groups came into being: the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan were the first in 1865, the very year the Civil War ended. In fact, by “1900, the prevailing opinion was that science had resolved the issue in favor of black inferiority.”⁵⁴ Despite the fact that most whites did not join white supremacist groups, racist ideologies prevailed. Religion continued to justify racism.

Bleaching Jesus

Assuming that Jesus looked more or less like the other people living in and around Nazareth at the turn of the Common Era (assuming Jesus existed at all), we conclude that he probably had dark hair and eyes and a dark complexion. The first known image of Jesus comes to us in 235 CE (see figure 3).⁵⁵

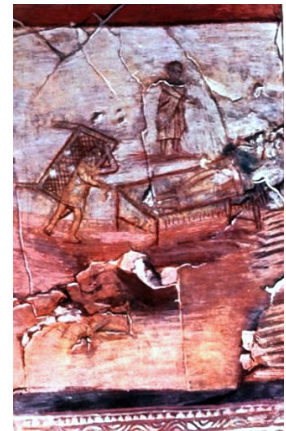


Figure 3

⁵⁴ Frederickson, *Racism*, 92.

⁵⁵ Artist unknown, *Christ Healing the Paralytic*, c. 235, paint on plaster, Yale University Gallery of Fine Arts, New Haven, Connecticut, accessed November 19, 2012, <http://artgallery.yale.edu/collections/objects/baptistery-wall-painting-christ-healing-paralytic>.

The image is not clear but what is interesting is the dark hue of Jesus, who is depicted in the top center of the frame.

Over the next two thousand years of Christianity, or perhaps more accurately *Christianities*, people have remade Christ in their images, as did the horses, cattle, and lions of Xenophanes make their gods. While antebellum Americans did not create an anglicized Jesus, they certainly embraced a white Jesus. Paul Harvey and Edward J. Blum, in their book *The Color of Christ: The Son of God and the Saga of Race in America* write, “Jesus changed shape as a white figure in the United States because who was considered white and what being white meant have mutated over time.”⁵⁶ In the United States, a light-skinned and often masculinized Jesus resonated with the population. Blum and Harvey continue:

From the end of the Civil War to the early 1920s, Jesus in the United States became a symbol of white supremacy, and his whiteness partly defined his essence. Further, his whiteness suggested racial adulthood, imperial dominance, martial power, anti-Semitism, and a Ku Klux Klan that was now all-American.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Edward J. Blum and Paul Harvey, *The Color of Christ: The Son of God and the Saga of Race in America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 7.

⁵⁷ Ibid, 167.

In 1941, when Warner Sallman released his painting *The Head of Christ* (see figure 4),⁵⁸ a Jesus with light skin, light brown hair and eyes, and Anglo features had become the norm. In fact, many images of Jesus popular in America feature a blue-eyed Jesus, including many cinematic versions. Americans are not uncomfortable with a Caucasian son of God in the slightest.

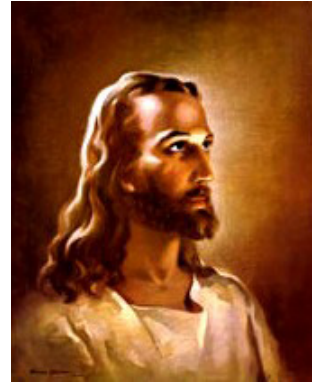


Figure 4

White supremacists take the skin color of Jesus a step further. Drawing from the theology that only white people can be real Christians which flourished in antebellum America, twentieth century Christian racists began to argue that Jesus must have been a white man. After all, we can't proclaim the chosen status of white Christians if Jesus was a man of color. But bleaching Jesus required a whitening of his heritage all the way back to Adam. Biblical justification for the whiteness of Jesus needed to be found. A return to the Christian Old Testament transpired.

Back to the east of the Garden of Eden, Cain rose up and slew his brother Abel. In punishment God cursed Cain to "be a fugitive and a wanderer on the earth" according to Genesis 4:12. Furthermore, God set a "mark" or a "sign" upon Cain's skin. Christian Identity white supremacist interpretations of this verse come to understand Cain to have murdered Abel as proof of his demonic heritage, a satanic plot designed to eradicate the

⁵⁸ Warner Sallman, *Head of Christ*, 1941, painting, Jessie C. Wilson Art Galleries, Anderson, Indiana, accessed November 19, 2012, <http://www.warnersallman.com/collection/images/head-of-christ/>.

pureblooded children of Adam and Eve from Earth. The mark on his skin is darkness, a sign of his true nature writ upon his flesh.

Christian Identity believes that from Cain comes a demonic bloodline and from Seth comes a pureblooded one. The Old Testament is thus coded in terms of race: Abraham and his children, descended from Adam and Eve through Seth, are white. Biblical references to their “Jewishness” are interpreted to mean that they lived in Canaan; the religious understanding of them as Jews is expunged. (I will return to different understandings of “Jew” in the following pages.) This reading allows Noah, David, Solomon, and the rest of the protagonists in the Old Testament stories to be effectively bleached as well. They become white Christians before the existence of Christ. The antagonists are the descendants of Cain, and all of the conflicts are understood in racial terms: those bearing the “mark of Cain” in the form of dark skin are always the bad guys. Jesus, descended from Adam through Abraham and David, is white. Jesus has been effectively bleached, transformed from a middle-eastern man, presumably of dark complexion, into the light-complexioned Aryan so common today. Colonialism, Christianity, and racism all conspired to transform Jesus. When God curses Ham for beholding his father’s nakedness it is the second time in the biblical accounts that God uses dark skin as punishment for infractions. Dark skin is proof of a divine curse. Thus the justification for racism that Christian Identity believes today is justified through a “racialized” read of the Bible.

White Warriors of God: The Ku Klux Klan

The oldest white supremacy organization in America is the Ku Klux Klan, formed in 1865 in Pulaski, Tennessee, shortly after the conclusion of the Civil War. The Klan refused to accept the message of liberation and equality espoused by pro-abolition churches. A small group of Confederate veterans formed a secret society that they called the Ku Klux Klan, drawing from the Greek word *kyklos*, meaning “circle,” and the Scottish-Gaelic word “clan,” which was most likely chosen for the sake of alliteration. This group dedicated themselves to pushing back against the process of Reconstruction and used violence as a means of spreading terror and social turmoil.

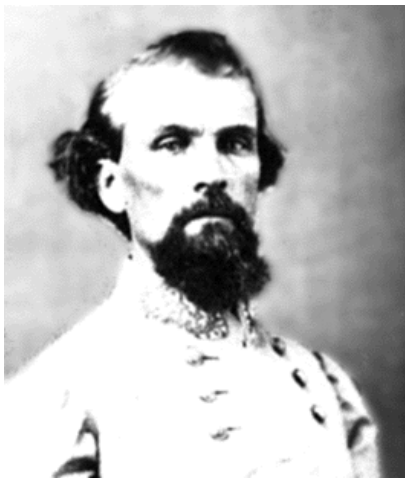


Figure 5

who were worried that their privileges would be eroded as blacks gained access to employment opportunities and the vote. Nathan Bedford Forrest (see figure 5),⁵⁹ a Confederate general and slave trader, became the first Grand Wizard of the KKK and organized Klan members into smaller groups. In the meeting that ratified the bylaws of the group, “[t]he organization was divided into a number of realms, dominions, provinces and dens, which were in turn led by Grand Dragons, Titans, Giants and Cyclopes.”⁶⁰ They harassed blacks, liberal Republicans who

⁵⁹ “Nathaniel Bedford,” nineteenth century photograph, accessed January 13, 2013, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nathan_Bedford_Forrest.

supported black rights, and anyone perceived to support – or even be uncritical of – equal rights for freed slaves. Klans organized to oversee polling stations and intimidate and threaten black men who showed up to participate in democracy. Sometimes intimidation turned deadly. Between 1865 and 1868, more than two thousand blacks were murdered in Louisiana alone.

By 1870 the Federal government decided to step in and address the activities of the Klan. Between 1870 and 1871, three acts, known as the Force Acts, passed into law. The first act, “An Act to enforce the right of citizens of the United States to vote in the several States of this Union, and for other purposes,” banned the use of terror, force, or bribery to prevent people from voting because of their race. The next, “An Act to enforce the rights of citizens of the United States to vote in the several states of this union,” permitted federal oversight of local and state elections if any two citizens in a town with more than twenty thousand inhabitants requested it. The third, “An Act to enforce the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and for other purposes,” made state officials liable in federal court for depriving anyone of their civil rights or the equal protection of the laws, authorized the president to call out the militia to suppress conspiracies against the operation of the federal government, and prohibited those suspected of complicity in such conspiracies from serving on juries. Additionally, the act authorized the president to suspend the writ of habeas corpus if

⁶⁰ “Ku Klux Klan: A History,” Anti-Defamation League, accessed February 3, 2013, http://archive.adl.org/learn/ext_us/kkk/history.asp?LEARN_SubCat=Extremism_in_America&xpicked=4&item=kkk.

violence rendered efforts to suppress terrorism ineffective. In response to pressure from government and setting the precedent for later white supremacist groups, the Klan quickly fell to infighting. Its reputation for violence drove many members, initially enthusiastic, away.

The history of the Klan did not end with the Force Acts. In 1915 D. W. Griffiths released *Birth of a Nation*.⁶¹ At over three hours in length, the film chronicles the story of a town that descends into chaos after the end of the Civil War. Black men (white actors in blackface - see figure 6) drag white women off the streets and rape them.⁶² Gangs of blacks rampage through the streets terrorizing the white citizens. In rides the Klan, dressed in the now iconic white robes and hoods, to save the day. The Klan, from atop their horses, roust the black gangs, round them up, and hang them, receiving the undying adoration of the citizens, particularly the women.

The film, though controversial at the time, played across the nation to a fair amount of acclaim. It even screened in



Figure 6

⁶¹ D. W. Griffith, *Birth of a Nation*, (David W. Griffith Corporation, 1915).

⁶² *Birth of a Nation*, screenshot, accessed December 12, 2012, http://oldschoolreviews.com/rev_20/birth_nation.htm.

the White House, famously provoking President Wilson to exclaim that the film “writes history with lightning.”⁶³ The film also served as the catalyst to a resurgence of the Klan, one that would gain more membership and success than its predecessor could have imagined.

William J. Simmons viewed the film and dedicated himself to reorganizing the Klan. In his hometown of Atlanta, he ran an advertisement next to the film announcement. His ad prompted immediate response of interested members of the area, and the KKK was reborn. As America entered World War I in 1917, the Klan promised to protect the homeland against “alien enemies, slackers, idlers, strike leaders and immoral women,” as well as African Americans, Catholics, and Jews.⁶⁴ The new Klan expanded its focus from blacks to anyone deemed “other” by its shifting sensibilities. In a time of war and economic uncertainty, public sentiment was sympathetic toward the Klan, and the organization successfully raised money, supported politicians, and even made a bid for the president’s office.

By 1921 membership in the Klan had soared to more than one hundred thousand, and chapters formed in every state of the union. Now promising to address “Niggers, Catholics, Jews ... dope, bootlegging, graft, night clubs and road houses, violation of the Sabbath, unfair business dealings, sex and scandalous behavior,” the Klan appealed to

⁶³ “Ku Klux Klan: A History.”

⁶⁴ Ibid.

white, conservative Protestants across the nation.⁶⁵ Money poured in. In 1924 forty thousand members marched in Washington, D.C. (see figure 7).⁶⁶ Inspired, the Klan decided to run a nominee for the presidency of the United States.



Figure 7

The 1924 Democratic Convention took place in Madison Square Garden in New York City. It became the longest continuously running convention in American history. The Klan-backed candidate, William G. McAdoo, faced off against rival candidate, Al Smith. Initial ballots placed McAdoo in first place, and Klan delegates took to the streets in celebration, burning crosses and advocating the

violent suppression of blacks, Catholics, and Jews. This riotous event came to be known as the “Klanbake” and eventually turned the tide against the Klan candidate. Ultimately, McAdoo lost the party's nomination to Al Smith, the governor of New York. Likely horrified by the spectacle of the Klan burning crosses in the streets of New York, the public elected the Republican Calvin Coolidge as president.

The Democratic Convention of 1924 marked the second decline of the Ku Klux Klan. Infighting broke out in the wake of the scandalous Klanbake, and by 1929 the

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ “1924: Hatred Wore a Hood in Jersey,” Capital Century, accessed January 24, 2013, <http://www.capitalcentury.com/1924.html>.

organization had disintegrated into fighting factions. Membership plummeted and the KKK fell out of the public eye. However, racism was far from dead. The racial sensibilities of the KKK influenced Wesley Smith, the founder of the next major white supremacist initiative on American soil. The racial Protestantism of the KKK, combined with apocalyptic visions of the end of the world and concern over the identity and fate of Jews as understood in the Book of Revelation, served as the impetus for new ideas. Drawing upon the same racial history of the Klan, but combining eugenic theory with the demonization of the Jewish people, Christian Identity was born.

Satan: The First Jew

The ideology that came to be known as Christian Identity has its roots in the seventeenth century in Europe. During 1665 and 1666 in Europe, particularly in Britain, apocalyptic visions swept through the populace. France seemed doomed to be in a state of war forever, the supremacy of the Catholic Church had toppled, religious persecution could be seen in the forms of the Inquisition and Catholic-Protestant wars in Western Europe, and the migration to the American colonies reached new heights. The Black Plague was a recent memory and a reminder of a wrathful God who seemed to have turned his face from Europe. It seemed the end of the world surely must be at hand.

The atmosphere of social turmoil contributed to a sense of anxiety that resulted in the targeting of certain populations as the cause of misfortune. The Inquisition targeted witches as the cause of a myriad of ills from peasant rebellions to the Black Plague itself.

However, the Catholic Church was not able to halt the havoc, and thus a new scapegoat needed to be found. Turning once more to the Bible, people concluded that the end of days must be approaching. Evaluating the events of the time against the prophecies in the Book of Revelation, many people became quite certain that the second coming of Jesus Christ was imminent.

Signs of the impending apocalypse made headlines in the papers and periodicals across Europe. The Bible was mined for predictions, the most prevalent of which was the prophecy concerning the reappearance of the ten lost tribes of Israel. These signs bridged the gap between the mundane and the outlandish: “by 1665 Europe was swept by reports [that the] reappearance of the Lost Tribes had already begun” writes Michael Barkun.⁶⁷

This excitement and concern over the end times carried through the seventeenth century and can be seen in the apocalyptic visions of that time. The ideology known as British-Israelism developed:

British-Israelism...refers to the belief that the British are lineal descendants of the “ten lost tribes” of Israel ... This linkage exerted particular force during the Puritan ascendancy in the mid-1600s, when anticipation of an immanent millennium was strong ... Two related but distinguishable tendencies were...at work: either Britain as a nation was specially chosen by God to help realize the divine design in human history, or some spiritually purified portion of it was destined to take on this role.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Michael Barkun, *Religion and the Racist Right* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 5.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

Many peoples throughout history have claimed to be the descendants of one of the missing tribes, so the idea that the British are one of the tribes is not particularly unusual. However, the confluence of several disparate events is crucial to understanding how American white supremacy can be traced to this particular time and place in seventeenth-century Britain.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, many British developed an almost obsessive preoccupation with returning the Jews to Palestine: “The English, absorbed in considerations of the Last Days, consequently found the fate of the Jews an absorbing topic.”⁶⁹ The link between the British peoples and biblical Israelites exerted a strong influence among some Puritans, including John Robins and Thomas Tany. A retired navel officer, Richard Brothers, popularized what would become a central tenet of British-Israelism: he argued that many Jews were hidden among the Gentiles, ignorant of their own heritage and importance in the divine plan. Discovering the “true” Israelites remains a core component of Christian Identity in America. Beliefs such as the aforementioned occupied a small but influential place in British intelligentsia and influenced foreign policy to some degree. Controlling the Holy Land and enforcing state religion were both concerns driven in part by British-Israel beliefs.

Based on the biblical Book of Revelation, returning the Jewish people to the home promised to them by God would usher in the End of Days, a prospect many Christians found appealing. British-Israelism viewed the Jews as “erring brothers who needed to be shown the true path to salvation by the spiritually more advanced Israel/Britain, now

⁶⁹ Ibid, 6.

made aware of its true Identity” as a lost tribe.⁷⁰ Instead of harboring hatred toward the Jewish people, “early British-Israel writers emphasized their ties toward the Jews and sought to exercise a protective and paternalistic role toward them.”⁷¹ These Christians believed that the fate of Jews and Christians was intertwined.

The man credited as being the first British-Israelite, John Wilson, published *Lectures on Our Israelitish Origin* in 1840. Wilson maintained that the ten lost tribes of Israel had migrated to Europe and were the ancestors of the modern Germans. The children of the lost tribes had succeeded spiritually by converting to Christianity, whereas their cousins who remained in the Middle East failed by remaining Jewish. Historian Michael Barkun writes, “the linkage Wilson made between the British and the other Teutonic peoples was reinforced by a number of tendencies in English political thought” suggesting the superiority of the Aryan race.⁷² It became trendy in a number of intellectual circles to believe “that a natural democracy had been practiced by the unspoiled Anglo-Saxon peoples, which presumably developed organically out of their tribal life in Germany and England.”⁷³ The reason these people had practiced democracy was because of their naturally superior proclivity toward spiritual excellence based in the fact that they were descendants of God’s chosen people.

⁷⁰ Ibid, 8.

⁷¹ Ibid, 122.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid, 9.

Edward Hine also contributed significantly to the way of thinking that would come to be known as Christian Identity through the publication of *Identification of the British Nation with Lost Israel*, published in 1871. Regarding Hine, Kevin Flynn and Gary Gerhardt write:

The crux of the doctrine is that European Jews are not descended from ancient Hebrew stock at all but from Khazars, residents of a warlike nation of southern Russia who converted to Judaism in the eighth or ninth century...today's Nordic-Anglo-Saxon-Teuton whites are the descendants of the lost tribes of the Biblical Israelites, making white Christians the true people of the covenant.⁷⁴

Both Hine and Wilson drew upon common consensus of their time: that whites had a natural superiority and that Jews demonstrated their depravity by failing to accept Jesus Christ as the messiah.

Though the Jews remained objects of suspicion, most English did not actively persecute or oppress them because it was thought that they would get another chance to convert to Christianity when Jesus returned to usher in the Last Judgment. In America, anti-Semitism turned in a different direction: Jews came to be understood as the offspring of Satan.

The belief system of Christian Identity developed over the course of a century in America, drawing heavily on British-Israelism but linking Jews to Satan in an addition to considering them religiously erring. By the end of World War I, the ideology of British-

⁷⁴ Kevin Flynn and Gary Gerhardt, *The Silent Brotherhood: Inside America's Racist Underground* (New York: The Free Press, 1989), 51.

Israelism had all but vanished from Britain. However, British-Israelism crossed the Atlantic and took root on American soil.⁷⁵ These new Christian racists called themselves Anglo-Israelites, the name taken from a couple of previous British-Israelite groups but popularized in American and Canadian circles to differentiate between English and North American groups.

Christian Identity is unique among American racist groups in that it has formed its own theology. This theology is now deeply embedded in the beliefs of other white supremacist groups that do not necessarily identify as Christian Identity. Though the religion is biblically based, the interpretation is a departure from any other traditional Christian denomination though in some ways it is aligned with Christian fundamentalism, as will be illustrated in the following chapter.

This belief system did not grow out of a void, nor is it the creativity of one author. Heavily influenced by British-Israelism, this belief system grew out of a number of theological positions that can be located in separate places by the 1920s in the United States. There are five major theological theories that form the foundation of Christian Identity thought.

First, is the belief that God created humanoid beings before placing Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden. This belief is evidenced by the fact that Cain, upon being exiled after slaying Abel, meets other people, as does Seth, who takes a mysterious wife not mentioned until the point at which she enters the Genesis story. The competing ideas of monogenesis and polygenesis were discussed in previous pages as ways of

⁷⁵ Barkun, *Religion and the Racist Right*.

understanding perceived differences between blacks and whites. Either way, a variety of humans existed outside the Garden.

The second belief is that the serpent in the Garden is not an actual snake but a humanoid creature, understood to be Satan or an emissary thereof. This belief can be found in much of Christian thinking and even in such popular films as *The Passion of the Christ*. However, what happens next is unique to Christian Identity.

Third, original sin did not occur when Eve ate of the apple, but later. Upon discovering herself as a sexual being, Eve copulates with the serpent Satan and becomes pregnant with Cain. This act of adultery is original sin. The belief that Jews are the descendants of Satan is crucial to understanding Christian Identity. According to Identity theology, the biblical Eve is responsible for two bloodlines: one, the pure Aryan race favored by God; the other, a corrupt and “colored” race fathered by Satan.

Adam and Eve had sexual relations...and their offspring was Abel...because pure-blood descendants are from the seed-line of Adam, the first white man, these descendants are inherently good. But another seed-line originates in the garden...Eve also had sexual relations with the serpent...The offspring of Eve and Satan was Cain, the first Jew, a literal child of Satan on earth.⁷⁶

These disparate seed lines are locked in battle, and this conflict is the root of all evil and strife on earth.

⁷⁶ Jerome Walters, *One Aryan Nation Under God: Exposing the New Radical Extremists* (Cleveland: The Pilgrim Press, 2000), 15.

Fourth, after birthing the son of the devil, Cain, Eve is impregnated by Adam and gives birth to Abel. After Abel is slain by Cain in the first Satanic attempt to exterminate the (non-Jewish) children of Adam, Eve births Seth, who becomes the father of the Aryan race. God intervenes to protect the seed line of Adam, and exiles Cain, placing a mark upon his skin.

The fifth and final element identifies Cain as the son of the devil and the father of all evil. Cain's seed line is committed to the mission of destroying the white sons of Adam and claiming the earth for Satan. Cain becomes the very first Jew, understood to be the biological son of Satan living on earth. Cursed to wander the earth for eternity, Cain remains the invisible and malevolent force behind the Jewish people, who are understood by Christian Identity, as well as some other Christian denominations, to be the killers of Jesus Christ.

Following the line of reasoning that Jesus is a white man, Christian Identity believers often refer to Jesus as the "Kinsman Redeemer," the one who came to offer salvation not to all people, but only to his kinsmen: white people. Jews are not just unworthy of salvation, but incapable. Their polluted blood prevents them from achieving deliverance. The demonic nature of the Jews is further illustrated in the book of Matthew, 27:25, which states, "Then the people as a whole answered, 'His blood be upon us and on our children.'" Of course, the use of this verse as "proof" that the Jews murdered Jesus has been utilized by anti-Semites for a long time. Christian Identity includes this tradition in their own beliefs.

The term “Jew” is used by Christian Identity in three interconnected ways. First, “Jew” is a geographical term applying to Judea. Understood in this way, the references to Jesus as a Jew in the New Testament are seen as terms of location in the same way as saying Jesus was “of Nazareth.” Second, “Jew” refers to a distinct race of people. This race is descended from Cain and is recognizable through murderous and barbaric acts. Though most members of this satanic race are marked with dark skin, some have managed to interbreed and can “pass” as white.⁷⁷ Third, “Judaism” is a specific form of ungodly religion. This religion is satanic in nature and arose during the Babylonian conquest of the southern kingdoms, according to Christian Identity. Jews (the race) are believed to be particularly susceptible to the ungodly forces of the satanic Jewish religion due to their inherently corrupt nature. These definitions can be clearly seen in the posts on Stormfront analyzed in chapters three and four.

The importance of these differing definitions for one term is that having “three different meanings for the term ‘Jew’ allows Identity adherents to choose the denotation that supports their two-seed theory; the term always seems to mean something other than what the ‘outsider’ thinks.”⁷⁸ Christian Identity can explain the references to Jesus as being a Jew by believing that “Jew” refers to the geographic location Jesus occupied during his life. The Jews of the New Testament, who play the villains of the story, are racially different from Jesus and are members of an ungodly religion.

⁷⁷ The concept of “passing” is of great concern in Christian Identity circles. They believe that Jews intentionally try to infiltrate their communities for purposes of subversion and sabotage. Entire websites are dedicated to spotting Jews and revealing their true identities:
http://www.angelfire.com/hailtosatansvictory666/How_to_Recognize_and_Identify_a_Jew_-_Part_1.pdf

⁷⁸ Ibid, 25.

Modern Christian Identity uses the term “Jew” in the same fluid way: Abraham, Moses, David, and the rest of the Old Testament prophets are “Jewish” only in their national affiliation. Such an understanding allows Christian Identity adherents to understand all pre-Jesus biblical figures as white and godly, while continuing to demonize non-whites and Jews, this time used in a religious sense, as evil. Additional explanation is provided in the following chapters.

Wesley Swift

Wesley Swift is credited with being the first Christian Identity preacher in America, and many of the theological connections made by Christian Identity groups can be traced to him. Born in 1913, Swift joined the Klan after its decline. Active for a brief period of time in the 1930s, Swift splintered off to form his own church in the 1940s. Ordained as a Methodist minister, Swift pulled the threads of Christianity and KKK-style white supremacy together, combining it with British-Israelism. Barkun states, “For both religious and political reasons, Swift emerges as the single most significant figure in the early history of Identity.”⁷⁹ Regarding Swift, the FBI writes:

Wesley Swift is considered the single most significant figure in the early years of the Christian Identity movement in the United States. He popularized it in the right-wing by “combining British-Israelism, a demonic anti-Semitism, and political extremism.” He founded his own church in California in the mid 1940s where he could preach this ideology. In addition, he had a daily radio broadcast in California during the 1950s and 60s, through which he was

⁷⁹ Barkun, *Religion and the Racist Right*, 60.

able to proclaim his ideology to a large audience. With Swift's efforts, the message of his church spread, leading to the creation of similar churches throughout the country. In 1957, the name of his church was changed to The Church of Jesus Christ Christian, which is used today by Aryan Nations (AN) churches.⁸⁰

Inspired by the Klan message of white racial superiority, Swift opened his own church, the Church of Jesus Christ Christian, in the 1940s. Swift taught that America is the promised land referenced in the biblical Book of Revelation in the Christian New Testament. Zionism, a religious belief that returning Jews to the biblical borders of the land of the covenant will result in the arrival of the messiah, was called by Swift "the worst sort of lie" perpetuated by the satanic Jews. According to Swift's version of Christian Identity, whites are the true Israelites, and it is America that must be claimed in order to usher in the return of the messiah. American white supremacists claim that it is the United States that is the "new Israel." Furthermore, white Americans are the chosen people of God, destined to play a role in the End of Days. However, there is a satanic plot afoot to prevent such a thing from happening. Since before the Garden of Eden, God and Satan have been locked in a battle of cosmic importance, with human souls as the spoils. The demonic Jews seek to prevent the chosen people of God from accomplishing their objective. Whites must fight back.

William Potter Gale, originally an initiate of Swift and later a leader in his own right, took the first steps toward militarizing Christian Identity, advocating gun

⁸⁰ Megiddo Report, accessed July 2, 2012, http://www.cesnur.org/testi/FBI_004.htm.

ownership and inviting members to live in close proximity, including establishing compounds.

One of Swift's associates, William Potter Gale, was far more militant than Swift and brought a new element to Christian Identity churches. He became a leading figure in the anti-tax and paramilitary movements of the 1970s and 80s. There are numerous Christian Identity churches that preach similar messages and some espouse more violent rhetoric than others, but all hold fast to the belief that Aryans are God's chosen race.⁸¹

It was Gale, a self-styled "reverend" with no formal seminary training, who popularized the "mud blood" theory, which states that non-white peoples are animals, above apes but below humans on the hierarchy of species. Furthermore, Gale connected the satanic plot of the Jews to Communism, feeding on the anti-communist sentiments of the Cold War. In sermons he championed outright violence, saying, "If a Jew comes near you, run a sword through him."⁸² This sentiment would become a rallying cry for white supremacist movements all across the country for the next several decades.

The term Christian Identity is used to refer to groups that accept all of the five theological beliefs outlined above. Christian Identity combines Christian apocalypticism, militancy, nationalism, and racism into a single package. Members view themselves as warriors of God, and some of them are willing to take violence into the streets. Christian

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Daniel Levitas, "Exploring What is Behind the Rare Phenomenon of Jewish Anti-Semites," The Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed July 2, 2012, <http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/intelligence-report/browse-all-issues/2002/winter/hate-and-hypocrisy>.

Identity “elevates white supremacy and separatism to a Godly ideal ... [It is] the ideological fuel that fires much of the activity of the racist far right.”⁸³ Typically, Christian Identity is specific to those who accept the seed line theory that Eve had sex with the serpent.

Some organizations embrace the term Christian Identity, but others that accept the same beliefs do not. Pete Peters, who is discussed below, chose to distance himself from the Christian Identity label after it became identified as a hate group by the Anti-Defamation League, the Southern Poverty Law Center, and other organizations that monitor hate groups and hate crimes. The decision to intentionally stop self-identifying as Christian Identity started a “flame” war between members of Peters’ Scriptures for America and Richard Butler’s Church of Jesus Christ Christian. Butler called Peters a coward for ceasing to identify as Christian Identity.⁸⁴ Nicole Nichols suggests that Christian Identity is not an organization but an ideology that many organizations have adopted in some form or fashion.⁸⁵ The myriad groups that claim the title KKK often accept most, if not all, of the premises of Christian Identity.

In an effort to illustrate connections, I created the graphic below. Notice how

⁸³ Nicole Nichols, “Christian Identity,” Anti-Defamation League, (2003; republished, Ontario Consultants on Religious Tolerance, May 30, 2006), <http://www.religioustolerance.org/>.

⁸⁴ “Flame” is the term used to describe an online fight using vitriolic insults conducted via email, in comments on websites and blogs, or via chat forums.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

overlap, though not all skinheads are racist – the SHARPs, Skinheads Against Racial Prejudice, standing as the leading example. American Neo-Nazis have adopted the skinhead style of shaved heads, boots, and military looking dress. The largest distinction within the Neo-Nazis is religious, as some are atheist, some are Christian, and others are Heathen. Because I am tracing Christian Identity beliefs and racist Christianity in this work, my treatment of the Neo-Nazis here will be perfunctory. However, one of the most important Christian Identity figures, William Pierce, started in the American Nazi Party and thus this overlap is worth examining briefly. Furthermore, the Nazi salute, the swastika, and the veneration of Hitler are ubiquitous in white supremacist circles today, including most Christian Identity ones. The origin of these symbols comes from the American Nazi Party and its derivative, the National Socialist White People's Party (NSWPP). Over time, the religious differences both within the Neo-Nazi faction itself and with Christian Identity began to blur. Often in the press the Aryan Nations and the National Alliance, both Christian Identity groups outlined below, are called Neo-Nazis due to their use of the Nazi salute and the Swastika. Both of these groups accept the seed line theory of Christian Identity.

The American Neo-Nazi movement began with George Lincoln Rockwell, a World War II veteran who returned from the war and found himself unable to procure lasting employment, despite having considerable artistic talent. Drifting through life, he came across *Mein Kampf* and decided to read the work of the man whose forces he had battled during the war. In its pages he found a truth that he had not consciously been

seeking: an answer to why he had not been able to find success in his life. It was because the American government had been infiltrated by evil Jewish forces, as had the German one prior to the Second World War. These forces of evil orchestrated World War II in a plot to make the rest of the world feel sorry for the Jewish people and give them a homeland: the state of Israel. “Within a year [of reading *Mein Kampf*] I was an all-out Nazi, worshipping the greatest mind in two thousand years: Adolf Hitler,” Rockwell reported.⁸⁷ Credited by many as being a brilliant orator and propagandist, Rockwell organized the American Nazi Party (ANP) in 1959 and quickly began making headlines with rallies, protests, and his vitriolic rhetoric. The America Nazi party was attacked by other supremacists for its use of Nazi propaganda – the KKK and the John Birch Society both denounced the group, in spite of a number of shared beliefs. Likely in response to this pressure, Rockwell changed the name of the American Nazi Party to the more benign sounding National Socialist White People’s Party.

The NSWPP favored race separation, and Rockwell determined to run for president on a platform of offering all blacks free passage to Africa. Any who did not willingly leave the United States would be rounded up and deported. Those who hid or tried to fight back would be shot.

However, Rockwell’s real target remained the Jews, and he made national headlines for saying that all Jewish people in the United States should be tried for treason. He suspected that 80 percent or more would be found guilty, and he advocated

⁸⁷ Alex Haley, “The George Lincoln Rockwell Interview,” *Playboy*, 1966, accessed February 9, 2013, <http://archive.org/stream/1966PlayboyInterview/MicrosoftWord-Document1#page/n0/mode/2up>

gassing them. He considered this an ironic method of execution, because he did not believe that Hitler had executed the Jews in gas chambers – that story was all part of the evil conspiracy.⁸⁸

In addition to treason, Rockwell accused the Jews of a myriad of other crimes, the most serious of which was a plot to get whites to interbreed with blacks: “Jews want to run the white people just the way they run the niggers. Once they get the white people mixed with the black people, the white people will be just as easy to run as the niggers.”⁸⁹ He went on to explain that the Jews are the most cunning of the “races” even intellectually superior to “gentiles.” He understood their deficiency to be of a spiritual nature, being very intelligent but morally bankrupt. “The Jews” have successfully infiltrated the highest echelons of government, but only so that they can be in power, argued Rockwell.

Interestingly, Rockwell claimed on a number of occasions to be agnostic. However, he was very comfortable using Christian rhetoric when it suited him, a tactic also used by Bob Mathews, the leader of The Order, outlined below. One Christian image that Rockwell mentioned frequently was the war of Armageddon. “There’s going to be a battle of Armageddon,” he said. “And it’s going to be not between communism and

⁸⁸ Today, the gassing of Jews and others during World War II is called the “Holohoax” by white supremacists. Most white supremacists and all Christian Identity believers think that no one was gassed during the war.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

democracy, but between the colored millions of the world and the small elite corps of white men....”⁹⁰

The latter statement is significant in two ways, the first of which is the use of Christian imagery from a man who did not claim to be Christian himself. The second important thing is the belief that a small group of whites would prove capable of winning against hordes of non-whites. Rockwell is perhaps the first twentieth century racist to define the success of his movement based not on successful recruitment or fundraising, but on the opposite: the *smallness* of his organization. Far from feeling discouraged at the lack of hundreds of converts, Rockwell used what would likely be seen as evidence of failure by most people as proof he was on the right track. White supremacists often determine the success of their movement based on exclusivity. I will return to this element of marginalized groups in the following pages.

Though initially lambasted for his use of Nazi symbolism, Rockwell made the connection between Hitler and Jesus: “If I were a religious man I’d say Hitler is the second coming of Christ,” he said.⁹¹ The understanding of a connection between Hitler and Christianity runs throughout the following thirty-five years of American white supremacy. Rockwell’s presence can still be felt as white supremacists give the Nazi salute and shout “White power!” – a phrase that Rockwell popularized.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ *Blood in the Face*, directed by Anne Bohlen, Kevin Rafferty, and James Ridgeway (1991) YouTube, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zfPx-f5Mpo4>.

Rockwell was assassinated by one of his own followers in 1967, and the NSWPP quickly fell into infighting and eventually disintegrated. Both titles, the ANP and the NSWPP, are currently held by a number of rival groups, all of whom claim to be the continuation of Rockwell's legacy.

The National Alliance

William Pierce was born on September 11, 1933, in Atlanta, Georgia. He received a Ph.D. in physics from the University of Colorado and accepted a teaching position at Oregon State University in 1962. However, his increasingly extreme political affiliations isolated him from the academic community, and he left Oregon in 1966, moving to Washington, D.C., where he became friends with George Lincoln Rockwell. Pierce never became an official member of the ANP but edited the organization's publication, *National Socialist World*, until 1967, when Rockwell was assassinated. Pierce then took over the NSWPP with fellow white supremacist Willis Carto. However, Pierce and Carto almost immediately begin feuding over the direction of the group, and the two men eventually split. William Pierce formed the National Alliance from the ruins of the NSWPP in 1974.

During the formative period of the National Alliance, Pierce also began writing the book now referred to as the "bible" of white supremacy, *The Turner Diaries*, which is detailed below. Pierce wanted his organization to have the protection of the First Amendment's guarantee of religious liberty and thus created "Cosmotheism," which is

Christian Identity with a fancy name. Pierce thus becomes the next person to make significant elaborations on Christian Identity theology.

Cosmotheism is based on social Darwinism, though Pierce did not explain it in these terms. Basically, the idea underlying cosmotheism is that the white race has proven its superiority through its takeover of the world.

In the Cosmotheist thoughtworld, evolution takes on a spiritual meaning as mankind follows predetermined courses of racial destiny. Pierce has described this process as an “upward path” with its end point leading to the goal of “oneness with the Creator.” This ultimate Cosmotheist objective, the white race’s realization of godhood, is viewed as a genetically wired certainty. According to Pierce, who has lectured on the subject to small gatherings of National Alliance members, the race’s “divine spark” has propelled it to greatness throughout history and separates it from all other forms of life.⁹²

Cosmotheism explains that the divine spark inherent in each white person is striving to be reunited with God. Put bluntly, the white race *is* God in the same way that Identity perceives the Jews to be Satan. The belief that the white race is divine is clearly seen in the tenets outlined on the Cosmotheist website⁹³ as a series of affirmations:

A:1 There is but One Reality.
A:2 That is Reality is the Whole.
A:3 It is the Creator, the Self-Created.
A:4 I am of the Whole.

⁹² Brad Witsel, “The Turner Diaries and Cosmotheism: William Pierce’s Theology of Revolution,” *Nova Religio* 1, no. 2 (April 1998): 25.

⁹³ The Cosmotheist Community Church, accessed July 5, 2012, <http://solargeneral.com/whitevolution/cosmotheism/>.

A:5 I am of the Creator, of the Self-Created.
A:6 My Purpose is the Creator's Purpose.
A:7 My Path is the Path of the Creator's Self-Realization.
A:8 My Path is the Path of Divine Consciousness.
A:9 My Destiny is Godhood.

It thus stands to reason, given the philosophy of cosmotheism, that all non-whites are not God; they are polluted, profane, and demonic. Like all Identity organizations, the National Alliance targets Jews, loosely understood to be anyone outside the white supremacist ideology, as the root of all evil. The NA accepts the seed line theory of Swift in full. The beliefs of the National Alliance can be found in the following, an excerpt from a document entitled "Who Rules America?" that can be downloaded from the National Alliance website.⁹⁴

The Jewish control of the American mass media is the single most important fact of life, not just in America, but in the whole world today. There is nothing – plague, famine, economic collapse, even nuclear war – more dangerous to the future of our people. [*sic*] By permitting the Jews to control our news and entertainment media we are doing more than merely giving them a decisive influence on our political system and virtual control of our government; we are also giving them control of the minds and souls of our children, whose attitudes and ideas are shaped more by Jewish television and Jewish films than by parents, schools, or any other influence.

In 1985 Pierce purchased a 346-acre farm near Mill Point, West Virginia, and established the Cosmotheist Community Church. Though establishing a church appeared

⁹⁴ "Who Rules America? The Alien Grip on Our News and Entertainment Industry must be Broken," The National Alliance, accessed July 13, 2012, <http://www.natvan.com/who-rules-america/>.

to be primarily motivated to achieve tax-exempt status for the National Alliance, the Mill Point compound became a hub of white supremacist activity. Pierce began weekly radio broadcasts and added email newsletters and a website in the early 1990s.

William Pierce remains known for his publication of *The Turner Diaries* under the pseudonym Andrew MacDonald in 1979. Pierce attempted to have the novel published via a publishing company but was refused by all those to which he submitted the novel for consideration. Ultimately, the National Alliance Press, a subcommittee in charge of the publications and propaganda of the group, printed the book. The Anti-Defamation League reports that the book has sold close to two hundred thousand copies in the last two decades. Additionally, the ADL describes the book as “required reading by virtually every member of the white supremacist movement in the United States” and by many extremists abroad.⁹⁵ The book describes the world takeover of an all-white guerilla army called The Organization, and the army’s systematic extermination of blacks, Jews, and “race traitors.”⁹⁶ Though *The Turner Diaries* is not explicitly religious, the main character Earl Turner is made to state, “We are truly the instruments of God in the fulfillment of His Grand Design.”⁹⁷ In this quote the religious ideology of cosmotheism can be clearly seen.

⁹⁵ “The Turner Diaries,” The Anti-Defamation League (2005), accessed June 25, 2013, http://archive.adl.org/learn/ext_us/turner_diaries.html.

⁹⁶ “Race traitor” is the term used to describe whites who intermarry with blacks or Jews and/or deliver mixed race children. It is also used against women who have engaged in sexual activity with non-whites. In the book, female race traitors are summarily executed.

⁹⁷ Andrew MacDonald, *The Turner Diaries* (Fort Lee, New Jersey: Barricade Books, 1978), 79.

The Turner Diaries offers an account of a race war through the eyes of the protagonist Earl Turner. The book is set in 1999, the year before the millennium. Turner and his cohorts, in an outfit called The Organization, overthrow the United States government, because it has become so corrupt that it can no longer be allowed to exist. Turner distinguishes himself as a solider and is initiated into The Order, a secret operation within The Organization. The Order seizes control of Southern California, including Vandenburg Air Force base, and uses the armory found there to ethnically cleanse the area of all non-whites, Jews, and white women who have had sexual relations with non-white men. The executions are graphically recounted and include hanging from lampposts, impaling, and crucifixion in addition to shot-to-the head-style executions. The novel ends with Turner preparing a suicide mission to bomb the Pentagon in order to eradicate the last holdouts of the government. An epilogue details how the white resistance effectively exterminates all non-whites on the entire planet.

William Pierce died in 2002. Erich Gliebe, the leader of Resistance Records, a white-power “hatecore” music label that was purchased by the National Alliance in 1999, took over after Pierce’s death. As is often the case when a powerful leader dies, the National Alliance fractured, as many members revolted against Gliebe’s leadership. He resigned in 2005 but took the reins again a year later. The Southern Poverty Law Center reports that as of 2012 the group’s membership has declined sharply, and it has become a

“joke.”⁹⁸ Resistance Records’ profits dropped from a million dollars a year in 2001 to less than half that today. Gliebe remains the group’s spokesperson and runs the website. However, he isolated other non-National Alliance white supremacists by making increasingly disparaging remarks. Feeling as though Gliebe hurt the cause of white supremacy, Shaun Walker and a faction of ex-members split off to begin the National Vanguard.⁹⁹

In spite of dwindling numbers and infighting, the National Alliance remains one of the most dangerous racist groups in the nation. Since 2002, four members have been convicted of carrying out over a dozen murders. At least one other has served time for sexual assault, and yet another is serving a thirty-two-year sentence for planning a bomb along a Martin Luther King Jr. Day parade route.¹⁰⁰ Thus, though the National Alliance is a shadow of its former self, its legacy remains.

The Aryan Nations

Another relic of Wesley Swift’s Church of Jesus Christ Christian is the Aryan Nations. Richard Butler got his start in the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, rubbing shoulders with men like Tom Metzger, the eventual founder of White Aryan Resistance

⁹⁸ Mark Potok, “Ten Years After Founder’s Death, Key Neo-Nazi Group a ‘Joke,’” *Intelligence Report*, The Southern Poverty Law Center, Fall 2012, accessed February 10, 2013, <http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/intelligence-report/browse-all-issues/2012/fall/ten-years-after-founders-death-key-neo->.

⁹⁹ “National Alliance,” Anti-Defamation League, http://archive.adl.org/learn/ext_us/n_alliance.html?LEARN_Cat=Extremism&LEARN_SubCat=Extremism_in_America&xpicked=3&item=na, accessed 9.26.2010.

¹⁰⁰ “National Alliance,” Southern Poverty Law Center, <http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/intelligence-files/groups/national-alliance>, accessed 9.26.2010.

(WAR), a white power group based in California that advocates a violent overthrow of the government. After serving in World War II, Butler met Swift in the 1960s and effectively became Swift's theological heir. The Aryan Nations incorporated the teachings of Christian Identity with the militancy of William Potter Gale and the Nazi symbolism of the American Nazi Party.

In 1973 Butler purchased a desolate tract of land in Hayden Lake, near Cour d'Alene, Idaho, seeking escape from the multiracial environment of California. Over the next several years, a bunker, a church, and a training facility were constructed in addition to Butler's residence. By the late 1970s, the Aryan Nations had begun a successful prison outreach ministry and had begun to hold yearly congresses that attracted several hundred people.¹⁰¹ Bob Mathews and Bruce Pierce, the leaders of the terrorist The Order (discussed below), attended these meetings. It is likely that the on-site printing press was used for the first round of counterfeiting that bankrolled The Order's activities. On at least two separate occasions, the bunker was used to initiate members of The Order in a closed ceremony held encircling a female child.¹⁰²

Butler also preached every Sunday to a small congregation who moved into the area to be near the church. In the sermons, as in the newsletter published by the organization, "Identity's emphasis on the descent of the Caucasian man from Adam is

¹⁰¹ Jeffrey Kaplan, ed., *Encyclopedia of White Power: A Sourcebook of the Radical Racist Right* (Walnut Creek: AltaMira Press, 2000).

¹⁰² Kevin Flynn and Gary Gerhardt, *The Silent Brotherhood*, 65.

blended with the ‘science’ of eugenics.”¹⁰³ Inspired by the appeal of a white enclave and Aryan superiority, a hundred or more people settled in the area. The military arm of the organization donned uniforms styled after Nazi attire and began patrolling the perimeter of the compound. They organized instruction every summer where dedicated men could attend several weeks of paramilitary training, crawling through the woods in survival training and practicing bomb making, though they never went as far as the Covenant, Sword, and Arm of the Lord (CSA) – located outside Elijah, Missouri, the CSA built a city block for urban warfare training.¹⁰⁴

In 1998 Victoria and Jason Keenan, a mother and son, experienced car trouble on the two-lane highway bordering the compound.¹⁰⁵ Their car backfired and, thinking that they were under attack, two Aryan Nations’ militia who were patrolling the perimeter opened fire on the car. Bullets sprayed along the vehicle, and Victoria, seeking to flee the barrage, lost control, sending the car into a ditch. The Keenans sustained minor injuries, and the Aryan Nations’ members held the Keenans at gunpoint. The traumatized family sued the Aryan Nations, and the Southern Poverty Law Center stepped in to represent the Keenans. In 2000 a jury found Butler guilty of negligence in the supervision and training of security guards and issued the Aryan Nations a fine of 6.3 million dollars. Unable to pay the fine, the Aryan Nations were forced to sign over ownership of the compound to the Keenans. Homeless, members drifted away.

¹⁰³ Ibid, 7.

¹⁰⁴ The CSA is profiled in chapter five.

¹⁰⁵ Victoria and Jason Keenan are of no relation to the author of this project.

In 2004 Butler died, leaving the organization in the hands of August Kreis III and Charles Juba. However, another faction, also claiming the Aryan Nations name, broke off. This group, led by Pastor Jerald O'Brien, maintains a hardline Christian Identity belief, feeling as though Kreis, and even Butler in the last years of his life, had allowed too much leniency by inviting white-power bands and skinheads who did not necessarily follow Christian Identity to participate in congresses. In 2005 Juba split with Kreis and formed the Holy Order of the Phinehas Priesthood, a group that resembles The Order to a large degree (more on them momentarily).

Finally, the Sadistic Souls Motorcycle Club formally merged with Kreis's AN in 2012. The SS MC is led by Dennis Michael McGiffen, charged in 1998 with weapons violations and planning to rob banks and blow up government buildings. After serving a seven-year sentence, McGiffen started the SS MC in 2010. Members of the club sport a patch of the distinctive AN logo (see figure 9).¹⁰⁶ Within the past



Figure 9

year as of this writing, the Sadistic Souls club split from Kreis, though they still understand themselves to be members of the Aryan Nations. The Sadistic Souls receive additional attention in chapter five.

The following graphic (see figure 10) attempts to outline the schisms in the Aryan Nations and the National Alliance since 2000. The Anti-Defamation League reports that

¹⁰⁶ Aryan Nations logo patch, image, The Aryan Nations, accessed November 13, 2012, http://www.churchofthesonsofjehovah.org/aryan_nations_catalog1.html.

there are currently at least seven fragments of the Aryan Nations.¹⁰⁷ Scriptures for America Worldchurch, discussed next, is also included on the graphic, as is the revitalized Minuteman Project, a group that has attracted increasing numbers of white supremacists from many racist organizations. A complete list of white supremacist groups as of 2013 is listed in Appendix A.

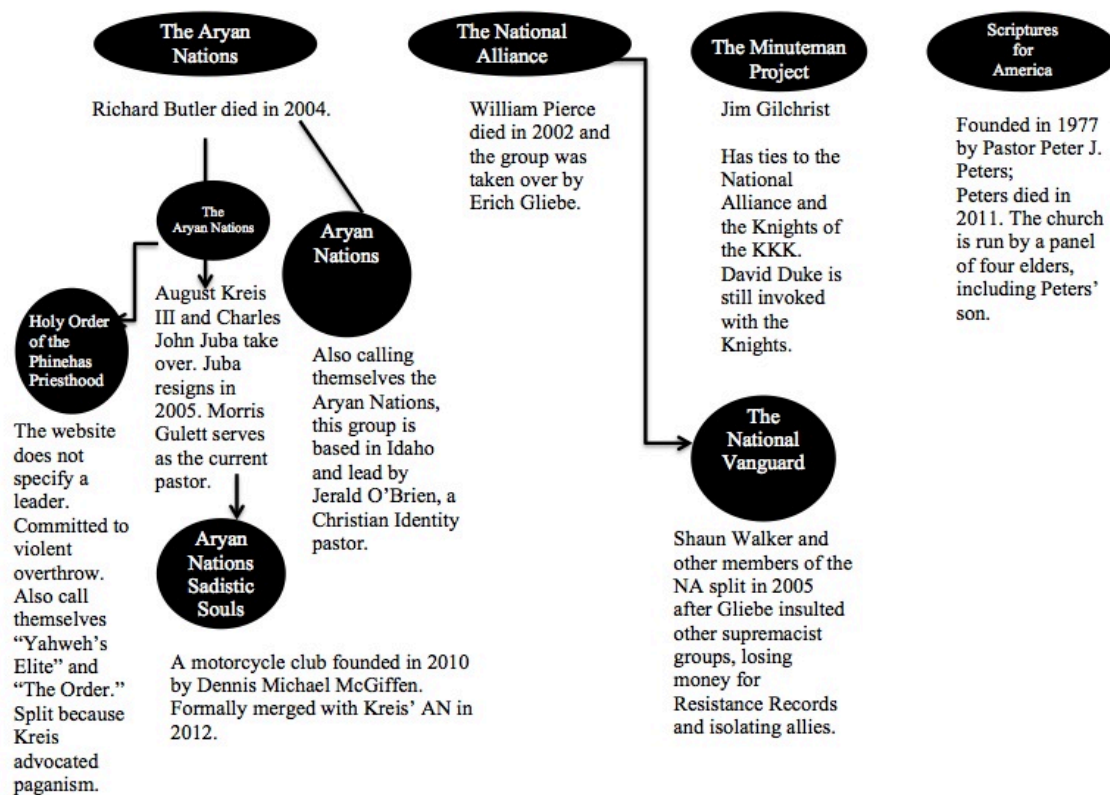


Figure 10

¹⁰⁷ "The Aryan Nations/Church of Jesus Christ Christian," The Anti-Defamation League, http://archive.adl.org/learn/ext_us/aryan_nations.html?xpicked=3&item=an, accessed 9.25.2010.

The Cowboy Preacher

Peter J. Peters was born in 1946 in western Nebraska. He obtained degrees from both the University of Nebraska School of Agriculture and Colorado State University. A lifelong interest in ranching led him to purchase a large tract of land in southern Wyoming, where he raised horses and cattle. He attended the Church of Christ Bible Training School in Gering, Nebraska, and graduated with a Bachelor's Degree in Sacred Literature in the mid-1970s.¹⁰⁸ At some point in his education, Peters learned of Wesley Swift's teachings, and in 1977 he opened the doors of the LaPorte Church of Christ, also called Scriptures for America Worldchurch.¹⁰⁹ Unlike the Aryan Nations and the National Alliance, Peters did not advocate militancy or a violent overthrow of the government.¹¹⁰ Within the overlapping circles of the racist right, he became a mediating figure, often drawing together differing factions and promoting unity in the shared bonds of race, downplaying religious differences. Today, a number of white supremacist groups follow his belief that race is ultimately more important than religion and seek to unite white supremacists across ideological boundaries (see Church of Israel, chapter five). Race and

¹⁰⁸ The Bible college only operated for a few years in the 1970s before closing its doors. Information obtained from the Gering Library and the Gering Town Museum.

¹⁰⁹ "About," Scriptres for America, <http://www.scripturesforamerica.org/about.html>, accessed June, 2008.

¹¹⁰ Interview. Name withheld to protect identity of interview subject. Interview conducted by author, September, 2012.

nation are considered to be synonymous, creating a white nation across the borders of country, religion, and ideology.¹¹¹

Peters' mission developed into an interest in reaching out to other members of the religious right, including James Dobson, the leader of Focus on the Family, located in Colorado Springs, Colorado, 140 miles south of the LaPorte Church of Christ.¹¹² Peters believed himself to have a direct pipeline to God through the Holy Spirit. According to an interview conducted during the summer of 2012, Peters would rest his hand on the back of the neck of people he met for the first time. If he "felt a cool breeze," that person "was a Jew" and would be asked to leave.¹¹³ A 2002 edition of the *Dragon Slayer* published by Scriptures for America states that the "preacher [Peters] will ... have escorted off the assembly grounds anyone he is lead [*sic*] by the Holy Spirit to have removed."¹¹⁴ The newsletter goes on to say "anyone coming with sinister motives be forewarned: This is no place for you." In the same newsletter, an advertisement for an upcoming Bible Camp promises faith healings. Thus, Peters is cast as the sort of leader who can perform the

¹¹¹ The debate concerning the hierarchy of importance between religion and race is a matter of contention. White supremacists who focus on the importance of race over religion are ostracized as ungodly by more religious members. The religious believers are denigrated by white nationalists for being too concerned with religion and not enough with race.

¹¹² Interview. Name withheld to protect identity of interview subject. Interview conducted by author, September, 2012. Interview subject indicated that Focus on the Family employees were not receptive to Peters' requests for a meeting.

¹¹³ Interview conducted by author, September 2012. Name withheld to protect identity of interview subject.

¹¹⁴ *DragonSlayer*, Vol. 6, 2002, accessed 4.9.2008.
<http://www.scripturesforamerica.org/newsletters.html>

miraculous. He is understood by his followers to have had a link directly to God through the force of the Holy Spirit.

Scriptures for America makes explicit what the National Alliance only hinted. SFA believes that the war of Armageddon is happening right *now*. In volume 6 of the 2001 newsletters, Peters explains that September 11 saw the fall of Babylon, one of the signs of the End of Days in the Book of Revelation. Peters' version of Christian Identity casts September 11, 2001, as the start of the new millennium. As post-millennial dispensationalists, Scriptures for America anticipates a war prior to the return of Jesus Christ.¹¹⁵ Peters suggested that the war began in 2001.¹¹⁶

Like many religious organizations, Scriptures for America changes its perception in reaction to current events. As we will see in the next chapter, fundamentalists often change their positions in order to respond to and maintain tension with the outside world. One example is that in the mid-1990s many leaders began distancing themselves from the term "Christian Identity." This was in response to negative media portrayals referring to Christian Identity as a form of racism. The Aryan Nations adopted the tagline "Stop the Hate ... Segregate!" in order to avoid being labeled a hate group. The National Alliance coined the term "racialist" in order to get around "racist." And Peters shifted his position:

¹¹⁵ Additional information on dispensationalism is provided in chapter two.

¹¹⁶ Exactly when Armageddon began, or is scheduled to begin, is a point of great disagreement among white supremacists. Events are interpreted as fulfilling a variety of biblical prophecies, but groups have different interpretations of these events. Furthermore, as is discussed at length in chapter two, they shift interpretations to match current events.

Certain Jews of this day attempt to take the Israel truth labeled Identity and make it into racism, violence, Nazism and hatred in the minds of the populace. Just as it would neither be wise nor a good Christian witness to claim to be “gay,” so it is with the label Identity. Now that the meaning has been transformed by our enemies, it is now foolish for one to call himself an “Identity Christian.”¹¹⁷

The maintenance of tension with outsiders is a tenuous project. It is difficult to know for certain whether Christian Identity members really believe that their beliefs are different than racism or are playing semantics in order to avoid stigma. Furthermore, these linguistic games are played at a cost: on Stormfront, Peters has been harshly criticized for abandoning Christian Identity rhetoric. Shifting labels is thought by some to be the white supremacist equivalent of selling out.¹¹⁸

On February 13, 1984, Peters appeared along with another white supremacist leader, Jack Mohr, on a Denver radio talk show hosted by Alan Berg, a Jewish speaker and commentator known for an abrasive on-air personality. The exchange was described as “rancorous” by Anath White, Berg’s on-air producer and apparently got Berg’s name put on a hit list.¹¹⁹ A few months later on June 18, Berg was gunned down in his driveway. The subsequent investigation resulted in the arrest of three members of The Order, a paramilitary organization linked most directly to the Aryan Nations. However, David Lane, the man eventually convicted of driving the getaway car after Berg’s

¹¹⁷ Pete Peters, “Framing Deceit,” 2008, accessed October 7, 2009, <http://scripturesforamerica.org>.

¹¹⁸ The Church of Israel, profiled in chapter five, also distances itself from the term “Identity.”

¹¹⁹ “The Murder of Alan Berg in Denver: 25 Years Later,” *The Denver Post*, June 18, 2009, accessed July 11, 2012, http://www.denverpost.com/commented/ci_12615628.

slaying, attended the Scriptures for America Worldchurch on a number of occasions in 1983 and 1984. Other members of The Order also attended the church, though not as frequently. Peters was never implicated in the assassination. It remains unclear if he knew of Lane's involvement. Additional information on The Order is detailed below.

White supremacy has always been a fractious ideology. Leaders rise into prominence and are often challenged by their closest followers, leading to continual schisms within the groups. Peters has made it his mission to resolve disputes and bring Christian Identity leaders together, along with other white supremacists from the Ku Klux Klan. At a 1992 retreat, "A Special Gathering of Christian Men" in Estes Park, Colorado, he is quoted as saying "our differences do not matter."¹²⁰ The Anti-Defamation League characterizes the meeting in this way:

In October 1992, Peters used his extensive far-right connections to convene a meeting in Estes Park, Colorado, that addressed the federal siege of white supremacist Randy Weaver's mountainside hideaway in Ruby Ridge, Idaho. Among the 160 in attendance were Richard G. Butler, founder and leader of Aryan Nations, and Louis Beam, an official of Aryan Nations and a former KKK Grand Dragon. At the meeting, the conferees formed a SWAT (Sacred Warfare Action Tactics) committee "to evaluate what our people would be forced to consider should tyranny and despotism become the order of the day." The SWAT committee recommended an essay by Beam in which he outlined a concept of "leaderless resistance," the formation of small, secret cells of violent activism directed against the federal government and its perceived allies -- a strategy now championed by a number of extremist leaders. The meeting has been seen by many observers as a

¹²⁰ DVD, recorded by an attendee of the retreat. DVD copy in possession of the author.

watershed in the anti-government movement of the 1990s.¹²¹

Also in 1992, Scriptures for America and Peters received nationwide attention when it was revealed that Larry Pratt, the campaign manager for presidential contender Pat Buchanan, had attended the Estes Park retreat. The direct link between Buchanan and the racist right effectively ended Buchanan's presidential campaign. However, the negative press also affected Peters. By the end of the 1990s, he became extremely exclusionist, limiting his contact with the public to appearances at white supremacist rallies in Missouri and Mississippi. He died of renal failure on July 7, 2011.

Scriptures for America Worldchurch continues to operate in La Porte, Colorado. According to the SFA website, it "remains dedicated" to the teaching of Peters and is run by four leaders, one of whom is Peters' son. Sunday sermons typically include a video of Peters or an audio recording. For the past year, the church has been grappling with leadership and remains small.¹²²

Novel Come to Life: The Order

Robert Jay Mathews imagined a utopian world of peace and tranquility, deer nibbling in windswept meadows, a bountiful earth, quiet homesteads surrounded by gardens and bucolic pastures, friends greeting one another over fences and hedgerows.

¹²¹ "Peter J. 'Pete' Peters," The Anti-Defamation League, accessed July 11, 2012, http://www.adl.org/learn/ext_us/Peters.asp?LEARN_Cat=Extremism&LEARN_SubCat=Extremism_in_America&xpicked=2&item=8.

¹²² Interview conducted by author, June 2012. Name withheld to protect identity of interview subject.

On Sundays families would gather together for worship in the small, white church in the center of town and meet in fellowship afterward. Hands would be shaken, cheeks kissed. Men would work the fields and small-town businesses, and women would raise and educate the children.¹²³

As a young man living in Arizona, Mathews found some literature published by the radical right-wing organization the John Birch Society. The JBS advocates small government and was initially organized as an anti-communist group. Within a few years the JBS had become too tame for Mathews, who discovered the Aryan Nations and moved to Idaho. Though Mathews was not a member of Christian Identity, his lieutenant Bruce Pierce was, as were David Lane and Richard Scutari, two other founding members. Mathews himself maintained Heathen beliefs. Interestingly, like George Lincoln Rockwell, he was not at all averse to using Christian Identity language when it suited him. Leaders employ a variety of rhetorical tactics to increase and maintain a sense of tension and anxiety in their followers, and they are not averse to using language that is not their own to do so.

In Idaho Mathews built a cabin on a small tract of forested land and attended the Church of Jesus Christ Christian, located on the Aryan Nations' compound. Inspired by the message of white patriotism and a land for white people alone, he modeled his actions after Earl Turner, the fictional character of William Pierce's *The Turner Diaries*. Quietly recruiting from among Butler's church and attendees at the Aryan Nations Congress, he

¹²³ This vision is based on Mathews' diaries and letters to his family in Thomas Martinez and John Guinther, *Brotherhood of Murder*.

built a following of men committed to action, men ready to go beyond talk, white power marches, and rallies. Over 1982 and 1983, the small group, working in secret even from their families, put their plans into action. They called themselves the Order of the Silent Brotherhood.

Bob Mathews' dream ended in gunfire and white phosphorus smoke bombs on Saturday, December 8, 1984. After a thirty-six hour siege, Mathews opened fire on FBI agents and a Seattle SWAT consisting of more than fifty officers. They returned fire and launched smoke bombs into the house in which he had barricaded himself. The house, packed with ammunitions stockpiled by fleeing members of The Order, exploded. Within minutes, Mathews died.

The Order is one of the most violent terrorist organizations in United States history. Though the Klan at its height in the 1920s claimed almost one third of the American population as members and spread fear and violence through public lynchings, voter intimidation, and cross burnings, The Order had only twenty-three members. And yet they perpetuated a series of armored car and bank robberies, successfully entered hundreds of thousands of counterfeit dollars into the monetary system (the exact amount is unknown), and committed several murders in less than two years. They stole almost four million dollars in one heist, the largest to date in United States history, and were well on their way to waging full-scale war on the United States.¹²⁴ According to Tom Martinez, who turned state's evidence and testified against members of The Order:

"Among the purchases Bob planned to make with his newly acquired wealth were laser

¹²⁴ The current record-holder occurred in 1997 and resulted in the theft of 17.3 million dollars in cash.

weapons with which he intended to knock out the Los Angeles power supply just as The Order had done in *The Turner Diaries*.”¹²⁵

When members were finally apprehended during the fall and winter of 1984 and into the spring of the following year, the FBI and ATF confiscated enough munitions to blow up a city the size of Atlanta.¹²⁶ Members had dedicated most of their time following the heist to purchasing more weapons as well as military combat devices such as grenades, flamethrowers, booby-trap devices, C4, dynamite, and an airplane.¹²⁷ It seems that the only reason The Order did not accomplish widespread destruction is that two members turned informant. Prior to obtaining inside information, the FBI did not even know that the crimes, spread across the United States, had any relation to one another.¹²⁸ At the time the Klan was experiencing widespread decline, an organization the media did not even know about posed one of the greatest threats to American life in the last three decades. Had they been successful, the bombing of the Oklahoma City federal building would pale in comparison.

Bob Mathews became a martyr for the cause, proving that a small and elite group could be highly effective. The leader of the Sadistic Souls Motorcycle Club, Dennis Michael McGiffen, modeled his actions in the 1990s after Mathews. McGiffen, a former Grand Dragon of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, decided that the KKK’s ideology was

¹²⁵ Thomas Martinez and John Guinthier, *Brotherhood of Murder*, 108.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Ibid, 10.

¹²⁸ Ibid, 209.

“too tame” and formed the New Order in 1997.¹²⁹ The group began stockpiling weapons, making plans to bomb the Southern Poverty Law Center and assassinate Morris Dees, the lawyer who is the public face of the SPLC and has successfully prosecuted white supremacist organizations. (Dees won the settlement for the Keenans against the Aryan Nations.) In 1998, after a member of the New Order carried a gun to a Morris Dees speaking event, the FBI arrested five members. McGiffen received a jail sentence of seven years. Additional information is contained in chapter five.¹³⁰

The current organization styling itself after The Order is the Holy Order of the Phinehas Priesthood, the offshoot of the Aryan Nations started by Charles Juba.¹³¹ The group takes its name from Identity believer Richard Kelly Hoskins, who published *The Vigilantes of Christendom* in 1990. In this book the Phinehas Priesthood, styled Templar fashion, do battle against the forces of darkness. Also calling themselves Yahweh’s Elite, the current group is strictly Christian Identity and advocates a violent overthrow of the ZOG (the “Zionist Occupied Government”). The homage paid to The Order is clear on the homepage. The statement on the homepage reads thusly:

There exists today a Holy Order of Priests. An order descended from the deeds of Phinehas, grandson of Aaron the Priest. In numbers chapter 25 it starts out by stating, “Israelites who worship false gods are slain- Phinehas slays

¹²⁹ “New Order,” National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, accessed February 15, 2013, http://www.start.umd.edu/start/data_collections/tops/terrorist_organization_profile.asp?id=3422.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ It is unclear who is in charge of the website run by the organization. There is no contact information or names listed on the site.

adulterers and stays plague- Israel commanded to vex the Midianites who had beguiled them.” The Israelites were tempted by Moabites and Midianites to worship the demon god Baal. Yahweh commanded, “And the Lord said unto Moses, take all the heads of the people, and hang them up before the Lord against the sun, that the fierce anger of the Lord may be turned away from Israel.” Numbers 25:4 One of the Israelites appeared before the judges of Israel with a Midianitish woman. Numbers 25:6 Phinehas rose up when he saw this and followed the couple back to their tent and thrust a javelin into their bodies. Thus ending the plague. Numbers 25:8 For the actions of Phinehas Yahweh made a covenant with him and his seed. “And he shall have it, and his seed after him even the covenant of an everlasting priesthood; because he was zealous for his God, and made an atonement for the children of Israel.” Numbers 25:13 That priesthood has indeed been passed down through the generations. We can see examples of this from the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, the warriors of the Waffen-SS, and the freedom fighters of Der Bruder Schweigen.¹³²

“Der Bruder Schweigen” is “Brotherhood of Silence,” or “The Silent Brotherhood,” the other name of The Order. In fact, the Yahweh Elite website has the text of the letter written by Bob Mathews declaring war on the United States government posted in full.¹³³ The connection with Christian Identity can also be seen in the biblical justification of the tradition. Of particular interest is the slaying of a “Midianitish woman.” *The Turner Diaries* dedicates a number of pages to the systematic execution of “race traitors,” women who have had intercourse with non-white men.

¹³² “Priests of Phinehas,” The Phinehas Priesthood, accessed February 15, 2013, <http://yahwehseelite.wordpress.com/priests-of-phinehas/>.

¹³³ Yahweh Elite, <http://yahwehseelite.wordpress.com/a-heros-declaration/>.

The site goes on to explain that Jews are “the sons of Satan” and that white people are the “chosen of God.”

We believe the sons of Satan, the Jews have stolen our birth rite and our destiny. We believe in exposing the parasitical Jews and their filthy usury system. For they commit the deeds of their father. “For ye are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do. He was a murderer from the beginning, and abode not in truth, because there is no truth in him. When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own: for he is a liar and the father of it.” -John 8:44 Cain the first murderer who killed Yahweh’s beloved son Abel, is the first offspring of the devil. A sin committed between Eve and the serpent. Thus starting the two bloodlines. The bloodline of Adam, the White race and Cain, the Jew. Adam was created in God’s image. Adam means blood in the face, because of Adam’s white skin he was able to blush. “This is the book of the generations of Adam. In the day that God created man, in the likeness of God made he him.” -Genesis 5:1

We believe in a Holy War being fought between the offspring of Satan and the races of mud. “And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed life into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul. And the Lord God planted a garden eastward in Eden; and there he put the man whom he had formed.” Genesis 2:7,8 We believe this is a Holy War, because Yahweh proclaimed, “And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel.” Genesis 3:15.

Though it has been thirty years since Bob Mathews died in an inferno, the legacy of The Order is alive and well. The Phineas Priesthood is small now, but The Order proved that a few can take on the many.

Individuals professing to be Phineas Priesthood members have engaged in terrorist activities such as bombing, robbery, murder and arson. Convicted bank robbers and bombers, Charles Harrison Barbee, Verne Jay Merrell, Robert Sherman Berry, and Brian Edward Ratigan, are several self-professed members of the Phineas Priesthood. Operating as individuals or in small groups of two or three individuals, Priests carry out attacks targeting Jews, racially-mixed individuals, non-white ethnicities, abortion clinics and their personnel, banks, and the government, whom they view as being run by Jews and other “undesirables.”¹³⁴

Like the White Aryan Resistance, the Phineas Priesthood advocates “lone wolf” activity.

The website serves as a source of information for interested parties, but individuals choose how and when to act, making violence extremely difficult to predict. The organization has been linked to a number of crimes – these individuals are profiled in chapter five.

The Rising Storm

The most active faction of the Klan still in existence is the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, the KKKK, based in Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Arkansas, primarily. In 1980 the KKKK was run by David Duke, who eventually made his mark by winning a seat in the Louisiana legislature. When Duke left the KKKK, his right-hand man, Don Black, took over. Black’s leadership would end in infamy, however. In 1981, barely a

¹³⁴ “Phineas Priests,” National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, accessed July 9, 2013, http://www.start.umd.edu/start/data_collections/tops/terrorist_organization_profile.asp?id=3244.

year after taking the reins, Black was arrested, along with several others, for planning to overthrow Dominica, an island in the Caribbean. After serving three years for his part in the plot, Black drifted at loose ends for several years, though he remained in contact with David Duke. In 1995 Black started Stormfront, the first and largest to date internet forum for all things white supremacist. As of 2013, Stormfront has more than one hundred forums, thousands of threads, and almost two hundred thousand registered members. Discourse from the website will be examined in chapters three and four, the ethnographic section of this project.

Reign of the White Man's God¹³⁵

We have a leather bound book with gilt edges that says we can't lose. I don't care if there's ten of us left, we're gonna win. He (pointing up) says so. – Christian Identity believer seen in Blood in the Face documentary.

This chapter provides an overview of the intersections between the organizations and beliefs of white supremacy in America. This list is not meant to be exhaustive, only illustrative of the web of people and ideas that form the movement. Racist Christianity has existed in the United States since the genesis of the nation and became organized into the first racist organizations in response to the Civil War. The introduction of Christian Identity and neo-Nazism in the twentieth century impacted the Protestant KKK, blending and combining symbolism and rhetoric until almost all groups demonize the Jew as “satanic,” even if a Christian theology is not used by the group. The combination of

¹³⁵ I owe this wording to Chip Berlet.

Christian symbolism, like the cross, with neo-Nazi symbols, like the double lightning strikes and the swastika, came about in the 1970s when William Pierce went from the a-religious Nazi Party to the Christian Identity National Alliance. People like Pete Peters of Scriptures for American Worldchurch emphasized racial unity over religious differences and brought groups together with a shared vision for a white America. Some alliances

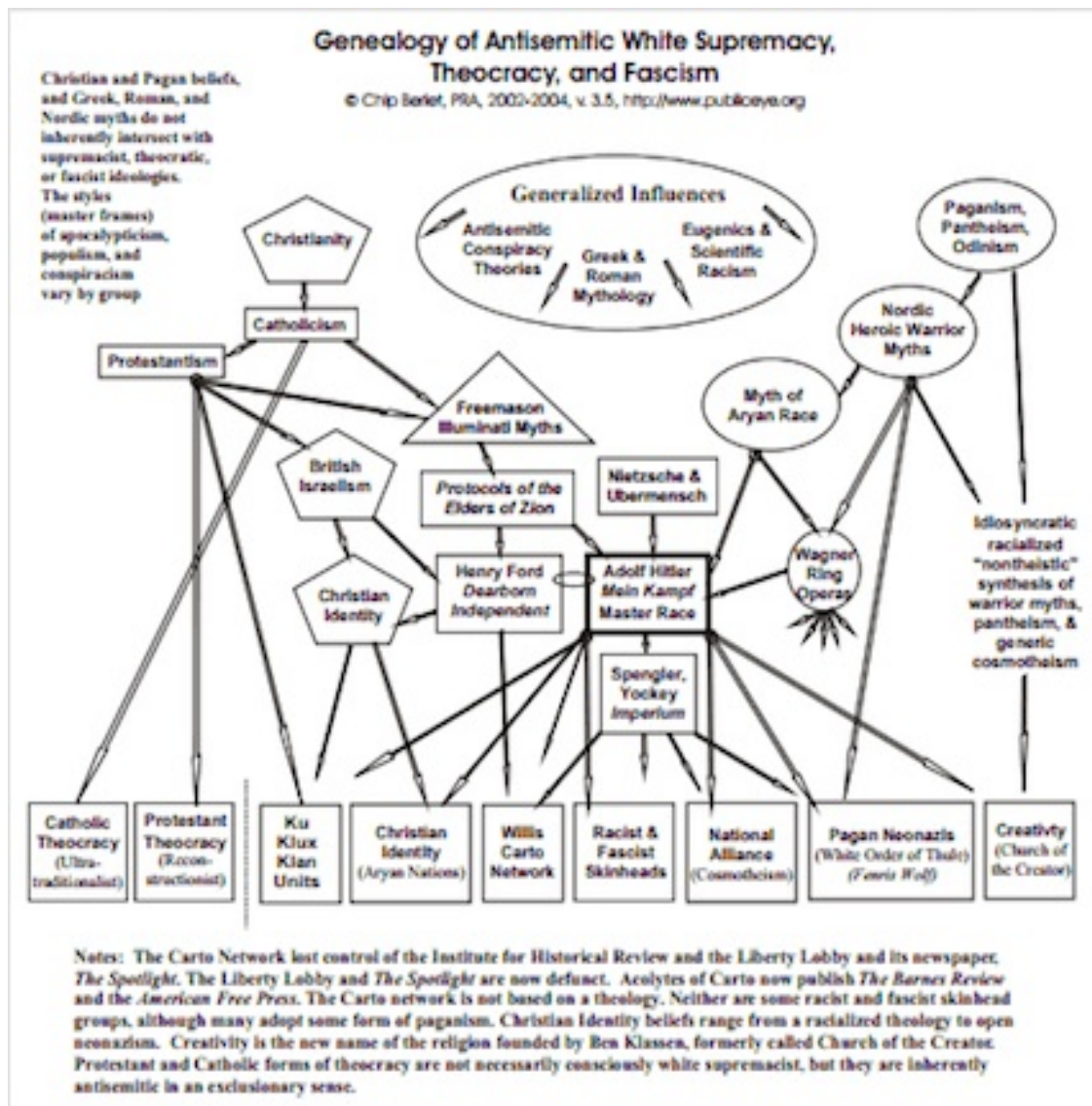


Figure 11

have been driven by necessity: Richard Butler formed relationships with the white-power music movement in order to bring in profits at the Aryan Nations Congress, held every summer. I have created graphics to show some of the intersections and overlaps. This image is Chip Berlet's attempt to visualize ideological connections (see figure 11, previous page).¹³⁶

Christian Identity has permeated most, if not all, of the racist right and can be understood in a variety of complementary ways. Historically speaking, it was the remnant of Christian racism, but it had been made afresh through the use of conspiracy theory¹³⁷ and the sort of nationalism championed by Oswald Spengler and Francis Parker Yockey.¹³⁸ Race, though fabricated in a particular time for largely capitalist reasons, is a very real phenomenon that continues to organize and categorize society. Christian Identity white supremacists continue to accept biblical justifications for racism.

American white supremacy of any style can also be understood sociologically as a reaction against affirmative action and civil rights. Some people always resist change, fearing a loss of social status. As blacks and other immigrants from Asia and countries south of the border gain recognition, rights, and autonomy, some people see social

¹³⁶ Chip Berlet, "Genealogy of Antisemitism, Theocracy, and Fascism," image, 2004, accessed December 30, 2012, www.publiceye.org.

¹³⁷ Concerns about a one world government are not only restricted to white supremacists. Many people share the belief that the Illuminati, often combined or conflated with the Freemasons, are establishing a single global political and economic structure.

¹³⁸ Francis Parker Spengler, drawing heavily from Oswald Spengler's work, argued in his book *Imperium: The Philosophy of History and Politics* for a race-based totalitarianism to preserve Western culture from dissolution.

progress as negatively impacting their own position in society. People of color become scapegoats for all manner of social ills, both real and imagined.

Through such a lens, white supremacy is nationalism and conservatism run amok. Christian Identity can be seen as the far-right extreme of the socioreligious American construct, emphasizing the same ideals as the religious right – patriarchal nuclear family structures, anti-intellectualism, chastity and female sexual purity, and conservative politics – but with explicit emphasis on the superiority of the white race upheld through biblical interpretation.

White supremacists are engaged in racial projects desiring to return the white race to a state of domination. Racist groups create and maintain tension in order to delineate themselves from the wider society, minimize internal differences, and cast themselves as the saviors of the world. They define themselves as successful in the face of social opposition and derision largely *because* of such disapproval and disdain. Contempt from law enforcement, media, and the academic community confirms their suspicion that they are in on a special secret no one else is wise enough to understand. In the words of Charles Lee, a Grand Dragon of the White Camelia Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (a Texas branch of the KKK), “I meet white people all the time who hate me and everything I stand for. What they don’t seem to understand is that I stand for them and the entire white race.”¹³⁹ Those drawn to white supremacist organizations see themselves as desperate, besieged by monolithic forces of evil. In the words of Lawrence Innacone,

¹³⁹ Howard L. Bushart, John R. Craig, and Myra Barnes, *Soldiers of God: White Supremacists and Their Holy War for America* (New York: Kensington Publishing, 1998), 5.

“Those most likely to join are those with the least to lose.”¹⁴⁰ Members of racist movements perceive society as depriving them of goods, resources, and prestige that are rightfully theirs but have been stolen by the emissaries of the adversary.

Such an embattled mindset serves to coalesce groups aimed at a common cause, but it also serves to inspire “lone wolf” activists. If small groups define success in part through rationalizing the lack of converts as being due to the radical truth of their message, then lone wolf individuals are even more prone to sudden acts of violence that can be extremely difficult to predict. In spite of the moniker, individuals who engage in solitary acts of terror are members of larger communities. But some of these organizations, such as White Aryan Resistance (WAR) and the Phineas Priesthood, depend on the activities of lone wolves and thus avoid being held legally culpable for violence while simultaneously strengthening their perceptions of success by memorializing individuals such as Bob Mathews and Timothy McVeigh. The next chapter will delve deeply into the theoretical frames that can be used to understand American white supremacy.

¹⁴⁰ Lawrence Innacone, “Why Strict Churches Are Strong,” *American Journal of Sociology* 99, no. 5 (1994): 1200.

2: Plowshares into Swords

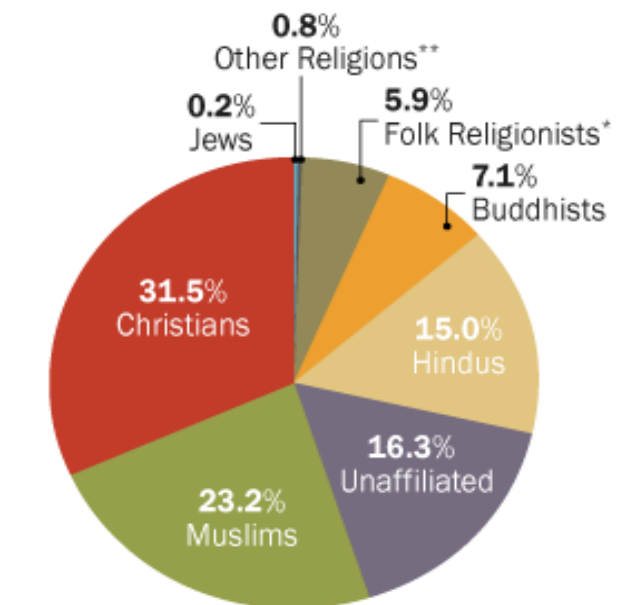
Prepare war! Wake up the mighty men! Beat your
plowshares into swords and your pruning hooks into spears.

- Joel 3: 9-10

The vast majority of religious people are not violent. In fact, most *people* are not violent. In a world in which around 84 percent of the population claims religious affiliation, (see figure 12), we should see a lot more violence if religion caused violence.¹ Furthermore, if religion causes violence, we should see a decrease in acts of hate and terror as the percentage of religiously

Size of Major Religious Groups, 2010

Percentage of the global population



*Includes followers of African traditional religions, Chinese folk religions, Native American religions and Australian aboriginal religions.

**Includes Bahai's, Jains, Sikhs, Shintoists, Taoists, followers of Tenrikyo, Wiccans, Zoroastrians and many other faiths.

Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Pew Research Center's Forum on Religion & Public Life •
Global Religious Landscape, December 2012

Figure 12

¹ "The Global Religious Landscape," The Pew Forum, December 18, 2012, accessed February 24, 2012, <http://www.pewforum.org/global-religious-landscape-exec.aspx>.

unaffiliated rises. In fact, it is likely that the underlying roots of violence are social in nature: economic inequality, cultural tensions, responses to globalization, political turmoil, scarcity of resources, and the like. However, religion is often invoked in these conflicts, begging the question, how is the religious justification of violence explained?

In the following pages, I summarize several contemporary theories regarding the intersections of religious belief and violent actions. Such a summary is necessary for moving into the theoretical approach that best explains Christian Identity. However, before an examination of the relationship between religion and violence is possible, a brief consideration of religion is necessary. What is religion? How has it been defined? How do Christian Identity believers define it?

Though definitions of religion vary widely, religion can be understood as a mechanism through which communities make sense of reality, both seen and unseen, through the use of a legitimating authority in the form of a religious institution or religious leader. Clifford Geertz defines religion as:

A system of symbols which acts to establish powerful, pervasive and long-lasting moods and motivations in [people] by formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and clothing those conceptions with such an aura of factuality that the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic.²

² Clifford Geertz, *Religion as a Cultural System: Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion* (London, Tavistock: M. Banton, 1985).

Robert Bellah defines religion as “a set of symbolic forms and acts that relate [humans] to the ultimate conditions of [their] existence.”³ More specifically, James Wellman argues that religion “is a system of symbols, composed of values and beliefs, embodied in ritual practices, developed in a communal setting, often institutionally legitimated that negotiates and interacts with a power or force that is experienced as within and beyond the self and the group.”⁴ Religions are structures that organize the world and inform believers as to morally correct and incorrect actions, the roles individuals play in social arrangements, and the guidelines that govern interactions both between members within the community and those outside it. No matter how ecumenical one may be, adherence to a certain religious tradition requires the belief that the tradition is “right” or “true.” All “religion involves making a lasting commitment, choosing between a number of possible loyalties in a way that affects *all* that we are and do.”⁵

In the last two decades the definitions of religion that focus on the ways humans establish meaning in a world that can be confusing, chaotic, and fearsome have come under scrutiny. Religion, many now argue, is not a static thing. How we understand it and define it shift over time in response to changing social circumstances and political environments. Talal Asad, critiquing the definition of religion supplied by Geertz, writes: “Religious symbols ... cannot be understood independently of their historical relations

³ Robert Bellah. "Religious Evolution," *American Sociological Review* 29, (1964), 359.

⁴ James K. Wellman Jr., *Liberal vs. Evangelical: The Clash of Christian Cultures in the Pacific Northwest* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

⁵ Robert McAfee Brown, *Religion and Violence* (Louisville: Westminster Press, 1987).

with nonreligious symbols or of their articulations in and of social life, in which work and power are always crucial.”⁶ In fact, “there cannot be a universal definition of religion, not only because its constituent elements and relationships are historically specific, but because the definition itself is the historical product of discursive processes.”⁷ Asad’s critique is in line with the social constructivist perspective that I find the most useful.

Christian Identity believers claim that their religion is immutable. Like fundamentalists everywhere they see themselves as being the recipients of an unaltered tradition based on history as recorded in the Bible. Furthermore, their definition of religion is deeply rooted in race as examples in chapter one demonstrate. More examples of how religion is defined by race follow in chapters three and four. However, their beliefs developed over time and continue to respond to changing circumstances as new thinkers elaborate on ideas and social circumstances change. How race itself is defined in Christian Identity churches is flexible and believing oneself to be white is as important as the actual hue of one’s skin.

Because religion is remarkably difficult to define, establishing its relationship with violence is equally challenging. Robert McAfee Brown argues in his book *Religion and Violence* that violence is *caused* by economic, political or social deprivations.⁸ Religion is then used to *justify* ensuing violence. Violence is not a normal or natural part

⁶ Talal Asad, “The Construction of Religion as an Anthropological Category,” *A Reader in the Anthropology of Religion*, (Blackwell Publishing, 2002), 129.

⁷ Ibid, 116.

⁸ Ibid.

of the human condition, the argument goes. It has to be rationalized. We saw one example of this in the last chapter in the discussion of the use of Christianity to justify slavery. Perhaps one reason Christianity created, or was complicit in the creation of, race was to defend slavery, an obviously barbaric and harsh enterprise that needed divine sanction to be sustained. And yet the practice of slavery, arguably, was driven by economic concerns. The source of violence, Brown argues, is typically economic, as individuals, communities, and nations struggle for resources or control over resources, both real and imagined. Thus, economic concerns drove colonialism, which subsidized slavery, which needed to be justified through the creation of race, which was justified using Christianity, which then perpetuated the practice of enslaving other human beings. Violence is caused by economics and social inequities, but religion enshrines violent ideologies in culture.

Mark Juergensmeyer, in his book *Terror in the Mind of God: The Global Rise of Religious Violence*, contends that, while there is nothing about religion that is inherently violent, religion lends itself to acts of terrorism once sociopolitical circumstances create tension within or between differing factions.⁹ Globalization, which often leads to increased secularization as Western democratic ideals infiltrate non-Western environs, increases tension and competition, and these increase the likelihood of violence. Furthermore, Juergensmeyer argues that there is no significant difference between religious violence and other sorts of violence: “Much of what I have said about religious

⁹ Mark Juergensmeyer, *Terror in the Mind of God: The Global Rise of Religious Violence* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

terrorism ... may be applied to other forms of political violence – especially those that are ideological and ethnic in nature.”¹⁰ Therefore, while religion is very good at rationalizing violence and even perpetuating conflict, it is not religion itself that is the cause. Juergensmeyer concludes that acts of terrorism have “much to do with the social tensions of this moment of history that cry out for absolute solutions.”¹¹ Finally, and most importantly to Juergensmeyer’s work, is the realization that the solution to religious violence might be more, not less, religion: “the cure for religious violence may ultimately lie in a renewed appreciation for religion itself” that tempers the absolutist extremism of some forms of religion with appreciation for diversity as a foundation for moral order.¹²

Religion’s ability to foster and maintain tension is understood by Christian Smith as leading to religious vitality within evangelical movements. Vital, successful religious movements attract members, raise money, and have socially engaged congregations. His book *American Evangelicalism: Embattled and Thriving* introduces subcultural identity theory, an attempt to explain how high-tension religious organizations that require members to sacrifice time and resources in exchange for inclusion, often see increases in membership.¹³ Like other theories examined below, Smith agrees that religion is about drawing sharp distinctions between the in group and the out group, and he argues that vitality is rooted in the maintenance of tension: a religious group “is strong not because it

¹⁰ Ibid, 220.

¹¹ Ibid, 248.

¹² Ibid, 249.

¹³ Christian Smith, *American Evangelicalism: Embattled and Thriving* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1998).

is shielded against, but because it is – or at least perceives itself to be – embattled with forces that seem to oppose or threaten it.”¹⁴ Indeed, such a group “*thrives* on distinction, engagement, tension, conflict, and threat.”¹⁵ Far from seeing such tension as problematic, Smith suggests that this is a winning formula for the modern world: “We suggest that a religious movement that unites both a clear cultural distinction and intense social engagement will be capable of thriving in a pluralistic, modern society.”¹⁶ It must be remembered that Christian Smith studies large evangelical congregations and his primary question is why American evangelicalism began to thrive at the end of the twentieth century. He concludes that religious groups must avoid becoming countercultural if they are to thrive. If a group begins to reject the traditions and mores of a society completely, members begin to leave. Thus, evangelical groups are successful in that they accept enough of the society to remain relevant and yet reject certain aspects of culture in order to allow their members feelings of unity in the face of evils such as secularism. In no way does he suggest that this tension, or sense of embattlement, provides a slippery slope into terrorism. It could be argued, though Smith does not discuss this directly, that belonging to a high-tension group that gives life parameters, meaning, and structure, can *lessen* the possibility for violence.

Smith, Juergensmeyer, and Brown place the cause for tension primarily in the socioeconomic realm. Smith argues that adaptability is the reason high-tension religious

¹⁴ Ibid, 89.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid, 90.

groups often thrive: when the group “possesses and employs the cultural tools needed to create both clear distinction from and significant engagement and tension with other relevant outgroups,” they retain their vitality.¹⁷ Contrarily, Juergensmeyer sees the malleability of religious groups as one way that the possibility of violence is maintained: if the perceived enemy is destroyed or proven to not be a threat, a religious group can shift the definition of the enemy to a new target. Robert Wuthnow agrees, claiming that “religious identity is always defined in relation to the *other*.”¹⁸ Religions need enemies.

Furthermore, Smith would agree with Juergensmeyer, who says, “I do not think that religion is the problem. But I do think that the involvement of religion in public life is often problematic.”¹⁹ Smith sees the involvement of a high-tension religious group in political affairs as largely unsuccessful, saying that typically they “do not get very far in figuring out how to transform the world” because they want to “affirm both absolutism and individual voluntarism” and thus typically end up spinning their wheels without gaining traction.²⁰ Juergensmeyer and Brown agree that, in cases where ground is gained, some religious groups use religious justification to wreak terror and havoc on the world. Activism may manifest when a small group gains the resources necessary to carry out an act of terrorism as a protest against injustice, real or imagined. Often, as was the case with The Order, a very small group can have a great impact. Smith would not define

¹⁷ Ibid, 218.

¹⁸ Robert Wuthnow, *After Heaven: Spirituality in America Since the 1950s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 96.

¹⁹ Mark Juergensmeyer, “Is Religion the Problem?,” *The Hedgehog Review* 6.1 (Spring 2004): 25.

²⁰ Christian Smith, *American Evangelicalism*, 212-213.

these groups as possessing “vitality” in the sense that gaining membership and persisting over time were not accomplished. The Order and other groups like them are countercultural. However, The Order certainly defined *themselves* as successful, something Smith does not include in his analysis, and their ability to enter hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of dollars into the American economic system, inspire a generation of other white supremacists, and approach the goal of attacking Los Angeles is no small matter. How a group defines itself and understands its own success is often overlooked. Furthermore, the impact the actions of Christian Identity believers have on other Christian Identity believers must be taken into consideration. As seen in chapter five, the actions of one group or individual can serve as the impetus for action by another group or individual years later.

Some argue that religion, or at the very least monotheistic religion, can be a root cause of violence. Jonathan Fine writes:

Comparison between terrorist groups with secular and religious agendas...suggests that ideology matters for both and that downplaying religious inspiration for terrorism in an effort to emphasize tactical motivations is both inaccurate and dangerous.²¹

Fine goes on to explain that secular groups that resort to terrorist tactics are attempting to win actual goals: territory, independence, a seat at the table. These groups target government officials, military installations, and the like. Their objectives are strategic.

²¹ Jonathan Fine, “Contrasting Secular and Religious Terrorism,” *Middle East Quarterly* (Winter, 2008): 59.

Religious groups want to win intangible goals, such as the beginning of the war of Armageddon, and view all non-believers as the enemy. They target civilians in populated areas. Their objectives are symbolic. Because of these differences, negotiating with secular groups is more likely as long as a tangible solution is offered. Negotiation with religious groups can be difficult because conversion, or pretending to convert, might be the only way to communicate.

Religion also tends toward violence because it “others” in the sense that it advocates a truth claim that is rooted in cosmic reality. Anyone who does not accept the truth claim is the “other,” the one who is different. In the words of James A. Aho, “The warrior needs an enemy ... if an enemy is not ontologically present in the nature of things, one must be manufactured.”²² The warrior is an archetype that is often lauded in religious myths, and doing battle against evil can be found from Hinduism to Islam. It is certainly present in modern Christianity. Aho would agree with Smith that tension is one of the things that religions manufacture very well, but unlike Smith, Aho sees tension creation as highly problematic because othering is the first step toward violence. A person must be seen as less-than, evil, or aberrant in order to be attacked, and this is the business of religion. Aho argues that religion, because of its often brutal myths, creates in believers a sense of anxiety, a fear of attack. Religion makes believers feel marginalized – Christians continue to be the status quo in the United States, and yet many feel threatened and ostracized. Feelings of being under attack lead directly to violence as

²² James A. Aho, *This Thing of Darkness: A Sociology of the Enemy* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994), 26.

religious groups defend themselves against a real or perceived threat. In the case of Christian Identity, the threat is almost always imagined.²³

Hector Avalos, in his book *Fighting Words: The Origins of Religious Violence*, states unequivocally that “religion is inherently prone to violence” and argues that “religious conflict relies solely on resources whose scarcity is wholly manufactured by, or reliant on, unverifiable premises.”²⁴ His argument is that religion creates and maintains tension by mediating between believers and a desired good such as salvation, an “unverifiable premise.” Followers, valuing the desired good above all else, are driven into a heightened state of anxiety over the perceived unlikelihood of achieving the unverified resource, creating circumstances ripe for violence.

Avalos goes on to offer a critique of Juergensmeyer. Juergensmeyer locates a major source of tension in secularization, a claim Avalos challenges. Avalos writes, “Juergensmeyer ultimately concludes that much of modern religious violence is a reaction against secularization ... [R]eligious violence occurred long before secularization became an issue in the world.”²⁵ Religion, as characterized by Avalos, is in the business of creating orienting worldviews that, when exposed to differing worldviews, begin to crumble and shake. The religious person, feeling his or her cosmos tremble, lashes out violently. Violence erupts when people are frightened and fear can be

²³ In certain cases when the government sends ATF or FBI agents into a compound, the threat can be seen as actual.

²⁴ Hector Avalos, *Fighting Words: The Origins of Religious Violence* (Amherst: Prometheus Books, 2005), 18.

²⁵ Ibid, 85.

traced to a scarcity, actual or perceived, of resources, from the tangible, such as food, education, healthcare, and jobs, to the intangible, such as feelings of safety and the sense of security that all is right with the world. Ultimately, a “resource is anything believed to be necessary or advantageous to a certain mode of living.”²⁶ However, “when religion causes violence, it often does so because it *has created new scarce resources*.”²⁷ One resource that religion can make scarce is territory – because “not everyone has access to, or can live in, a sacred space, it becomes a scarce resource.”²⁸ This is certainly true of white supremacists who feel that America, rightfully the land of the white race, is being infiltrated by people of color: blacks, Mexicans and other Central and South Americans, and Jews. Whites are being deprived of what they believe to be rightfully theirs: land, jobs, racial dominance, and even democracy and freedom.

David Aberle identifies three points of reference against which a person can gauge deprivation. The first is “one’s past versus one’s present circumstances.”²⁹ If one’s circumstances degrade based on shifting social or economic conditions, the person is likely to remember better times with nostalgia and longing. However, it is also possible to re-remember one’s past, or the past of one’s ancestors, as an idyllic time of peace and

²⁶ Ibid, 110.

²⁷ Ibid, 18. Italics in original.

²⁸ Ibid, 107.

²⁹ David L. Aberle, “A Note on Relative Deprivation Theory as Applied to Millenarian and Other Cult Movements,” *Millennial Dreams in Action: Studies in Revolutionary Religious Movements*, ed. Sylvia L. Thrupp (New York: Schocken Books, 1970), 209.

prosperity. I return to this idea below in a brief discussion of Foucault's idea of counter-memory.

The second type of deprivation Aberle lists is "one's present versus one's future circumstances."³⁰ He goes on to elucidate that "*prospective actuality* is worse than [the current] standard of living."³¹ It seems that one could turn this around: a person or community could imagine a better, utopian world, meaning that the current reality is one of deprivation when measured against an ideal not thought to exist yet. The one thousand years of peace believed by many Christians to be the reward for spiritual excellence during the end days is one relevant example.

Aberle's third type of deprivation occurs when a person measures "one's own versus someone else's present circumstances."³² This is of particular poignancy when a person perceives others to have goods or resources, or access to those things, that are believed to be one's right. White supremacists view affirmative action programs to be giving non-whites access to resources and jobs that are rightfully the property of white people.

While Aberle is careful to point out that deprivation cannot be used to predict the development of a particular type of belief system or behavior, deprivation theory is useful in understanding the dynamics of groups that feel that their access to goods and resources is threatened. Furthermore, if religion creates the perception of deprivation as Avalos

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid, 210. Italics in original.

³² Ibid, 209.

suggests, then perceptions of deprivation must be considered when studying a group advocating violence.

Ultimately, violence gives those who feel marginalized a sense of control.³³ Religious groups often view their beliefs and their very bodies to be under attack from an evil force bent on breaking them spiritually by depriving them of resources such as wealth, jobs, and political power. Feeling deprived of resources they feel should be rightfully theirs, combined with the religious justification of being on the right side of God, believers lash out in protest and violence. When the society or government responds with force, it confirms the perception of being embattled. The events at the Branch Davidian compound in Waco, Texas, in 1993 and at Ruby Ridge in Idaho in 1992 resulted in a flurry of white supremacist activity that led to the bombing of the Oklahoma City Federal Building.³⁴ Violence truly is a vicious cycle: “the key to these right-wing invocations of religious memory – and the convergences between white supremacy and the Christian right that they make possible – lies in the power fantasy through which identification with an ideal produces an imaginary body”³⁵ that is filled with God’s righteousness. In chapter five a belief held by members of the Covenant, Sword, and Arm of the Lord is explained wherein believers are not afraid to die because they think that God will resurrect their bodies. Violent religious people are unwilling to sit back in the

³³ N. J. Demerath, *Crossing the Gods: World Religion and Worldly Politics* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2003), 53.

³⁴ Timothy McVeigh visited Waco during the siege of the Branch Davidian compound and began making plans to bomb a government building that same spring. More information contained in chapter five.

³⁵ Ann Burlein, *Lift High the Cross*, 29.

face of what they perceive as violence against them and death ceases to be a deterrent. Instead, rather than “wait for an apocalyptic end to history, they (are) determined to change the way history is written.”³⁶ An eschatology wherein righteous warriors win battles for God leads directly to the possibility of terrorism and hate.

In spite of differences of opinion regarding the causal relationship between religion and violence, many agree that it is “fundamentalism” that is the culprit for fostering intolerance, bigotry, hate, and acts of religious terrorism. The next section will define fundamentalism and analyze how the fundamentalist worldview may be particularly prone to violence, while simultaneously recognizing that the majority of fundamentalist groups and movements never resort to any violence at all. This will be followed by a brief explanation of how Christian Identity and other forms of religious American white supremacy can be seen as fundamentalist groups.

Rituals of Violence

Over the past decades, there have been numerous endeavors to define fundamentalism as a cross-religious phenomenon. The overlap between fundamentalism and evangelicalism can be represented as a Venn diagram (figure 13):

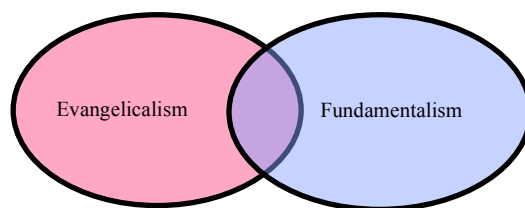


Figure 13

³⁶ Nancy Tatom Ammerman, *Bible Believers: Fundamentalists in the Modern World* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1987), 14.

Taking into account demographics and population, it could also be shown as this (figure 14):

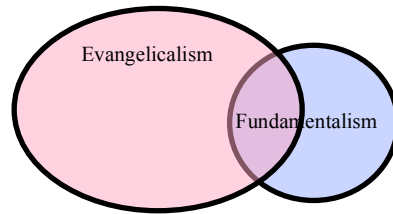


Figure 14

Not all evangelicals are fundamentalists, or vice versa, but there has come to be a degree of overlap. The middle group has characteristics of both groups simultaneously and is where Christian Identity is located, though Christian Identity has beliefs that differ from other Christians, as described in chapter one.

Some have argued that both terms, evangelicalism and fundamentalism, have become so laden as to be useless, and yet others define and redefine the terms depending on the argument being made. While there is merit to the critiques, the term “fundamentalism” is prevalent in the twenty-first century and is used more or less consistently, including its application to religions other than Christianity. In a 2001 *New Orleans Times-Picayune* article, the journalist Catherine Wessinger writes:

“Fundamentalism” is the belief that one has access to an infallible source of authority. That source of authority may be a text, a tradition, a leader, or a combination of these. The fundamental-ist, whether Jewish, Christian, Muslim, Hindu, or Buddhist is certain that he or she knows the “Truth”, and that truth resides in an idealized earlier way of religious life. There is no openness to alternative points of view. Fundamentalism involves the belief that pure Good is

battling pure Evil. This dualistic perspective pits believers against unbelievers, us versus them.³⁷

Academics are not the only ones using this term – it is ubiquitous in the media and popular culture. The above definition is written by a professor of religious studies but published in a newspaper. The term has become accessible not only to academics but also to the public at large.

Though some authors including Michael Barkun, wish to reject the term, I find it useful. It is not the purpose of this project to offer critique of the theories and definitions, only to provide an overview of the field so that we can move forward with a shared understanding of the term fundamentalism as it is applied to Christian Identity in this project.

Manuel Castells defines fundamentalism as “the construction of collective identity under the identification of individual behavior and society’s institutions to the norms derived from God’s law, interpreted by a definite authority that intermediates between God and humanity.”³⁸ William O. Beeman defines it thusly: “a general designation for revivalist, conservative religious orthodoxy.”³⁹ However, these terms are quite broad and could apply to anyone who understands God, or some divinity, to be

³⁷ Catherine Wessinger, “Bin Laden and Revolutionary Millennialism,” *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, October 10, 2001, accessed August 8, 2004, <http://www.mille.org/cms/home/wessladen.html>.

³⁸ Manuel Castells, *The Power of Identity* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1997), 13.

³⁹ William O. Beeman, “Fighting the Good Fight: Fundamentalism and Religious Revival,” in *Anthropology for the Real World*, ed. J. MacClancy (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 129.

literally true and active in reality. Therefore, others link fundamentalism with particular religious, political, cultural, and/or social attitudes.

Robert Wuthnow and Matthew P. Lawson note that fundamentalism “is like nationalism in the political sphere: it is a reaction that tries, largely within the private realm, to reconstruct meaning in an otherwise chaotic universe.”⁴⁰ Furthermore, they go on to state, fundamentalism “perpetuates itself by moulding the lived experience of the believer to the point that this experience is the same as the idealized language of the community itself.”⁴¹ So it is reactionary, specifically against the fear of chaos, a meaning-making mechanism that links the experience of individuals to the larger community.

Fundamentalism is:

A distinctive set of beliefs and practices, a language, a discursive style, a way of talking, of communicating something important to oneself, and to one’s fellow believers about the sacred, about how to live, and even about how to act out one’s values in broader social settings.⁴²

Fundamentalism defines reality in concrete terms by linking morality and community with the individual believer in a dialectic of identity formation wherein the dualistic definition of reality becomes internalized, accepted as divine will or law. Morality is transmitted from the divine will into the religious community; thus community is the

⁴⁰ Robert Wuthnow and Mathew P. Lawson, “Sources of Christian Fundamentalism in the United States,” *Accounting for Fundamentalisms: The Dynamic Character of Movements*, vol. 4 of the Fundamentalism Project, ed. Martin Marty and R. Scott Appleby (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1994), 20.

⁴¹ Ibid, 21.

⁴² Ibid, 39.

vehicle through which morality is enforced. Morality dictates that some actions and beliefs are good while others are evil, creating a concrete dualism of good and evil, righteous and sinful. Wishing to define oneself as good, the individual accepts the religious vision of morality. To question the vision of reality validated by the religion and accepted by the community is to risk ostracization. Therefore, the believers believe in order to be accepted by the community, and the community is made up of believers who enforce belief in one another. But this still could apply to almost any religious movement or school of thought. More specificity is needed.

Martin Marty defines fundamentalism as “a strategy or set of strategies, by which beleaguered believers attempt to preserve their distinctive identity as a people or group.”⁴³ It is a particular way of seeing the world that is deeply dualist in nature, bifurcating reality into opposing, mutually dependent, categories. The idea is that a fundamentalist mentality relies on maintaining a “distinctive identity” by setting their beliefs about who they are in opposition with others who are seen as different. To illustrate, dualism divides reality into opposing categories:

Us	Them
Good	Bad
Godly	Ungodly
Orthodox	Heterodox

⁴³ Martin Marty and R. Scott Appleby, eds., *The Fundamentalism Project*, vol. 3, *Fundamentalism and the State: Remaking Politics, Economics, and the State* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993), 3.

The tension between the categories is what maintains the integrity of each group. In order for “us” to exist, there must be a “them” who are not-us. Furthermore, each category takes on the essence of the other characteristics on that side of the division. In other words, the “us” are also good and godly and orthodox. Such is the underlying attitude of the fundamentalist mind, and it relies on feelings of threat and anxiety. There is also often a sense of urgency, a suspicion, or even a hope that God will set things right and return the world to a state of order. Seeing the world in such stark terms leads to an awareness that the “them,” who are bad and ungodly and heterodox, are a constant and worrisome presence. The “other” is cast in religious terms, as a satanic or demonic force whose only purpose is to annihilate the righteous. People who perceive themselves to be joining a group sanctioned by God feel relief, welcome, and purpose. Ultimately, “[d]ifferent cults appeal to different people ... but they all ... trade on the same basic appeal: By accepting our truth, they say, you prove yourself to be a superior being – others may not be capable of understanding but you are.”⁴⁴ Fundamentalists feel special, chosen, and unique because they see themselves as understanding a truth that others do not.

The Fundamentalism Project identifies nine criteria which define fundamentalist movements, both Christian and non-Christian. The definition is designed to apply to a multitude of different movements from a variety of religious backgrounds. The nine criteria are as follows:

⁴⁴ Thomas Martinez and John Guinther, *Brotherhood of Murder* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1988), 27.

1) *Reactivity to the marginalization of religion.* Fundamentalist movements are “concerned first with the erosion of religion and its role in society”, and they therefore protect “some religious content, some set of traditional cosmological beliefs and associated norms of conduct”.

2) *Selectivity.* Fundamentalism is not merely defensive of the tradition, but “selects and reshapes aspects” of it, that differentiate fundamentalist ideology from the religious mainstream. Similarly, fundamentalists accept some sides of modernity (particularly its technological and organizational features), but refuse others (mainly the ideological underpinnings of modernity, such as relativism, secularism, and pluralism), some of which are singled out for special attention, usually in the form of focused opposition.

3) *Moral manicheism.* The fundamentalist worldview considers reality to be “uncompromisingly divided into light [...] and darkness [...]. The world outside the group is therefore contaminated, sinful, doomed; the world inside is a pure and redeemed ‘remnant’”.

4) *Absolutism and inerrancy.* Fundamentalists share a belief in the inerrancy of their sacred texts, or its analogues (e.g., papal infallibility, a privileged school of Islamic jurisprudence, etc.); with a recognizable approach to sacred sources, which opposes the hermeneutical methods.

5) *Millennialism and messianism.* In their view, history has a miraculous culmination, when “the good will triumph over evil”; and “the end of days, preceded by trials and tribulations, will be ushered in by the Messiah, the Savior; the Hidden Imam”.

6) *Elect, chosen membership.* The militants of the fundamentalist groups tend to consider their membership as ‘elect’, chosen, divinely called.

7) *Sharp boundaries.* The idea of a separation between the faithful and the sinful is widespread among fundamentalist movements, with the notion of a dividing wall and other spatial metaphors. The separation can be physical, or implemented through audiovisual boundaries, through a distinctive vocabulary, and through control over access to the media.

8) *Authoritarian organization.* Although membership is voluntary, with frequent trends towards equalitarianism, the

typical form of fundamentalism organization is charismatic, a leader-follower relationship. The tension between these two features makes movements sometimes fragile. Moreover, since there can be no loyal opposition, there is a tendency toward fragmentation.

9) *Behavioral requirements*. The member's time, space, and activity are a group resource, not an individual one. In order to create a powerful affective dimension, an imitative, conforming dimension, "groups thus have distinctive music, [...] rules for dress [...] drinking, sexuality, appropriate speech, and the discipline of children" with censorship of reading and audio-visual material.⁴⁵

Fundamentalism is thus an outlook characterized by feelings of threat and anxiety that shape beliefs and actions based on feelings of apprehension. The outlook positions itself within a religious cosmology and uses a sacred framework to explain the feeling of threat and to create a strategy to maintain identity within a world thought to be dangerous to life and the soul. Fundamentalist groups

[Objectify] an Other, and [identify] it as an oppressor. Usually the movement advocates resistance – sometimes violent – to that oppressor. Members of fundamentalist movements see themselves as saviors of society [and] these movements invariably create a dual myth that links a supposedly Golden Age in the past with a Utopian future.⁴⁶

This definition combines Aberle's three aspects of deprivation, detailed above, so that perceptions of the past correlate with beliefs concerning the future – the present is seen as

⁴⁵ Luca Ozzano, "Religious Fundamentalism and Democracy," *Politics and Religion*, Изворни научни рад, accessed October 2, 2013, http://www.politicsandreligionjournal.com/images/pdf_files/srpski/godina3_broj1/luca%20ozzano.pdf.

⁴⁶ Beeman, "Fighting the Good Fight," 131.

degraded and deprived in reference to both. The utopian future will be a return to an idyllic age of heaven on earth.

Once a fundamentalist movement is established, it persists by maintaining the tension and anxiety that caused its formation in the first place. In-group cohesion is maintained by downplaying differences and sharing secrets of initiation that set the group apart and promote the feeling that the individuals are special and chosen for greatness.

Fundamentalist groups are themselves liminal. Normal social rules are suspended within the movement. Members undergo special rituals and training. Their goal is usually to enact an extended social drama, leading an entire society into a liminal state that will eventually bring about social change.⁴⁷

An attribute of fundamentalism is a deep dissatisfaction with the world as it is and suspicion that it is corrupt. Some fundamentalists, inspired by their religious worldview, see themselves as playing a key role in enacting the change they desire.

Conversely, social ties reinforce belief and can give coherency to impressions and suspicions. Maintaining the sense of tension is central to the survival of fundamentalist groups because congregations must be kept in a state of heightened anxiety or else there is little reason to remain in the community. Within Christian Identity churches, identity formation and maintenance through racial projects, ways in which scripture is interpreted in order to support perceptions of living in an embattled world, and community members' perception of economic and social deprivation at the hands of a demonic other, all serve

⁴⁷ Ibid, 132.

to sustain personal and communal identity. Much of the tension is maintained by a leader who shifts the message in response to both internal pressure from within the community and events in the world. Sometimes fundamentalists become prone to violence: George Marsden states, “Fundamentalist militancy typically arises when proponents of a once-dominant religious culture feel threatened by trends in the larger surrounding culture.”⁴⁸ However, according to George Marsden’s definition of fundamentalism, believers are unlikely to take matters into their own hands. One of the themes that arise in [American Christian] fundamentalism is “dispensational premillennialism,” the belief that believers will be taken off the earth in a rapture prior to the tribulations that are believed to be a precursor to the last judgment. Because of the ideology of premillennial dispensationalism, fundamentalists do not consider themselves capable of saving the world, according to Marsden.⁴⁹ The saved will be taken into Heaven, and it will be up to those left behind to usher in Armageddon. Traditionally, since the rise of American fundamentalism in the nineteen teens, sects have withdrawn into isolated compounds or communities. Because of their isolationism, academics have long labeled fundamentalists as “apolitical” or “anti-political” in the sense that they often do not vote, support government-funded social programs, or run for office. However, Susan Harding points out that “[d]ispensationalism is not always political in the sense of advocating specific

⁴⁸ George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 237.

⁴⁹ Ibid, 6.

actions that count as political in American culture, but it *is* always political.”⁵⁰ One can argue that non-action is a form of action, but Harding goes a step further: dispensationalism “is political insofar as it constitutes not only current events for many born-again believers, but also their understanding of and place in history itself.”⁵¹ Furthermore, since the rise of the religious right in the late 1970s, fundamentalists have taken note of the political victories of their less stringent brethren in the Moral Majority, Christian Coalition, and tea party movements. Martin Riesebrodt and Don Reneau, in their book *Pious Passion: The Emergence of Modern Fundamentalism in the United States and Iran*, undertake a comparative study of how fundamentalism is becoming increasingly political. The authors distinguish between “world fleeing” fundamentalists who withdraw from society and “world mastering” ones who seek to exert social and political control. The Fundamentalism Project, picking up on this trend, lists four categories of fundamentalist: world conqueror, world transformer, world creator, and world renouncer.⁵²

While some fundamentalists continue to practice seclusion, many have aligned themselves with conservative, politically active Christians and have begun to vote, run for political office, and lobby for and against specific legislation. One tactic used by

⁵⁰ Susan Harding, “Imagining the Last Days: The Politics of Apocalyptic Language,” in *Accounting for Fundamentalisms*, ed. Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby, vol. 4 of the Fundamentalism Project (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), 60.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Gabriel A. Almond, Sivan Emmanuel, and Appleby R. Scott, “Explaining Fundamentalism,” in *Fundamentalisms Comprehended*, ed. Martin E. Marty and Appleby R. Scott (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995).

white supremacists, as well as members of what Evelyn Schlatter collectively refers to as the patriot movement, is to sue the city, county, or state for as many things as possible in order to gridlock local judiciaries.⁵³ It is a way of using the system against the system in order to create chaos. At the very least, this behavior displays a willingness to learn and use laws to accomplish goals, indicating that, if fundamentalists were ever truly apolitical, most of them aren't anymore. Furthermore, unlike many other fundamentalists, Christian Identity is a postmillennial dispensationalist movement. More on this momentarily.

The ways in which fundamentalism has been defined previously do not explain how and why individuals sometimes commit acts of terrorism. Nor do they explain the ways in which religious belief may contribute to the decision to act violently. However, it may be possible to identify certain traits that, when found in combination, indicate an increased possibility for violence.

For the purposes of this project, fundamentalism is defined as possessing the following six criteria.⁵⁴ It is important to keep in mind that the motivations of specific individuals within these movements vary. Each person will have different reasons for joining a group or participating in a chat forum, though certain similarities between individuals are explored in the following chapters. We must keep that in mind as we

⁵³ Evelyn A. Schlatter, *Aryan Cowboys: White Supremacists and the Search for a New Frontier* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006).

⁵⁴ While I find the nine criteria of the Fundamentalism Project useful, I have combined the aspects in a slightly different way. For example, scriptural inerrancy is the root of the separation of reality into stark groups of "us" and "them" which results in the formation of sharp boundaries. Thus, three of the Fundamentalism Project's criteria are combined in my version.

examine the commonalities and begin to distinguish the differences between nonviolent fundamentalists and violent ones. However, once we have identified the characteristics that distinguish between groups prone to violence and those that are not, it is still important to realize that the vast majority of violence perpetuated by white supremacists is of the “lone wolf” variety, with a single person or small group taking action on their own. Therefore, even if a group has all six of the criteria outlined below and the leader actively espouses violent solutions to perceived problems, the leader himself is typically not prone to act. It is likely to be an individual within the group who will take steps.

The categories I have identified entwine and overlap. Therefore, a visual is in order in the form of this graphic (see figure 15, next page). These categories serve to identify fundamentalist groups, differentiate the ones prone to violence, and organize the data presented in the next two chapters.

Scriptural Inerrancy	Charismatic Leaders	Millennialism/ Apocalypticism	Us/Them	Demonic Other	Warriors for God
<p>Believers claim that scripture is perfect and without error, as equally applicable now as when it was written.</p> <p>However, interpretations of scripture are fluid and constantly changing, revealed by God to believers.</p>	<p>Assist with impression management both for individuals within the group and also outsiders' perceptions of the group</p> <p>Maintain a heightened sense of tension to keep focus and energy</p> <p>Promote "lone wolf" activity</p>	<p>Belief that the end of the world is near or already unfolding</p> <p>Beliefs are shared and legitimized by the leaders using scripture to "prove" their beliefs</p>	<p>Sharp distinctions between in-group and out-group organized dualistically, necessitating the "performance of whiteness"</p> <p>Leads back to millennialism - the out-group is thought to be depriving the in-group by stealing or hoarding goods and resources</p>	<p>The Other is understood to be demonic and acting under the direction of the antichrist(s)</p> <p>Reinforces the belief that members are chosen and special</p>	<p>Believers maintain that they have a special role to play in the apocalypse.</p> <p>Definitions of "success" vary from mainstream and scholastic understanding in that the smallness of groups proves their elite status.</p>

Figure 15

First, fundamentalists believe in scriptural inerrancy. They believe that every word of the Bible⁵⁵ is the word of God; furthermore, historical context does not matter when the Bible is interpreted. Every component is assumed to be timeless; thus, the Bible is as relevant today as it was two thousand years ago. Christian Identity has a very specific understanding of scriptural inerrancy, which will be explored below.⁵⁶

Of course, unless one happens to have a scripture with no contradictions that is relevant to one's current circumstances, it is impossible for a scripture to be inerrant.

⁵⁵ Groups often refer to a specific translation to be definitive.

⁵⁶ Scriptural "inerrancy" and "literalism" are often used interchangeably. There is a subtle distinction: scriptural literalists are willing to accept that different versions of the same story exist in the Bible. Someone who believes in scriptural inerrancy will reconcile different accounts by creating an explanation. I use the term "scriptural inerrancy," but not all authors make the same decision.

Michael Barkun suggests that the inherent tension of scriptural inerrancy is part of the fundamentalist package:

[C]onviction of control appears to contradict the stereotypical conception of fundamentalism as doctrinally rigid and textually literalist. These characteristics are in part reflections of claims to exclusive religious authenticity. However, they mask significant elements of uncertainty.⁵⁷

Fundamentalists manipulate and control their worldviews in response to events, while simultaneously claiming to be unchanging. The “stories that tell them who they are also tell them who they are not, setting out both a vision of future triumph and a litany of the world’s woes. And as with all good stories, the plot is malleable enough to adapt to changing audiences and new circumstances.”⁵⁸ Though one of the hallmarks of fundamentalist beliefs is the position that they are espousing some sort of “purified” or “original” version of religion, in fact, their beliefs are constantly in flux, shifting to meet changing conditions. The voice of the fundamentalist “mixes horror and hope, nightmare and dream, destruction and creation, dystopia and utopia” in an ongoing dialectic.⁵⁹ In the face of conspiracy, evil plots, and demons masquerading in human form, “[m]embers of fundamentalist movements see themselves as saviors of society. For this reason they are able to justify almost any action, however extreme, and any personal sacrifice, however

⁵⁷ Michael Barkun, “Religious Violence and the Myth of Fundamentalism,” *Politics, Religion, & Ideology*, vol. 4, no. 4, ed. Leonard Weinberg and Ami Pedahzur (Winter, 2003): 13.

⁵⁸ Nancy T. Ammerman, “North American Protestant Fundamentalism,” in *Fundamentalisms Observed*, ed. Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991), 15.

⁵⁹ Kathleen Stewart and Susan Harding, “Bad Endings: American Apocalypse,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 28 (1999): 286.

great, for their cause” and defend their actions by manipulating scripture to justify beliefs.⁶⁰ Believers search their scripture for answers to questions, but they often reason toward a predetermined conclusion. They interpret what they read through the lens of desire – they want to find a certain answer, and, unsurprisingly, they do. Skin color is not mentioned in the Bible, and yet Christian Identity white supremacists see evidence of race all through its pages.

The second trait shared by fundamentalists is the existence of a charismatic social and religious leader. The Fundamentalism Project lists a strong leader as one of the common characteristics of fundamentalist movements, and the role of leadership in Christian Identity movements is important, as will be shown in the following pages. The first Identity preacher in America, Wesley Swift, is credited with establishing Identity theology in its current form. Swift is often referenced by Identity and KKK pastors, though the preacher in each group serves as a local charismatic leader. To others, Hitler serves as the charismatic ideal. The leader may be alive or dead but always serves as the focal point of belief and action. Furthermore, all of the white supremacist organizations in the United States center on one (male) leader. When the leaders die, the group founders. The death of George Lincoln Rockwell meant the end of the American Nazi Party. The leaders of the Aryan Nations, the National Alliance, and Scriptures for America have all died in the last ten years, sending all three groups into crisis and causing a hemorrhage of membership. A strong leader is crucial.

⁶⁰ Beeman, “Fighting the Good Fight,” 131.

However, some individuals may rely on the message of the leader without actually joining the group. Timothy McVeigh did not belong to a white supremacist organization, but he read and reread *The Turner Diaries* and regularly corresponded with members of Christian Identity groups. He listened to what leaders said and acted on their message. Though leaders are rarely implicated in violence, they are deeply involved. Ex-FBI domestic terrorism agent Mike German writes in *The Washington Post*:

Imagine a very smart leader of an extremist movement, one who understands the First Amendment and criminal conspiracy laws, telling his followers not to depend on specific instructions. He might tell them to divorce themselves from the group before they commit a violent act; to act individually or in small groups so that others in the movement could avoid criminal liability. This methodology creates a win-win situation for the extremist leader -- the violent goals of the group are met without the legal consequences.⁶¹

German goes on to note that the “lone wolf” tactic is driven by “a pack mentality.” One way that the leaders promote action is through careful use of tension maintenance.

Maintaining the sense of tension is central to the survival of fundamentalist groups whether they are violent or not. Therefore, as established previously, the messages of fundamentalist groups are not consistent, no matter how much they may protest to the contrary. Leaders make subtle shifts in their messages in response to changing circumstances. They manipulate their audiences to keep them energized and focused. One

⁶¹ Mike German, “Behind the Lone Terrorist, a Pack Mentality,” *The Washington Post*, June 5, 2005, accessed July 10, 2013, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2005/06/04/AR2005060400147.html>.

way they do this is by constantly reminding followers that the end of the world is either coming soon or already here and that the apocalyptic battle will be waged against demonic others seeking to destroy the righteous. Leaders are placed in a difficult position of having to distance themselves from calls for violence while simultaneously tacitly encouraging followers to act. When violence does take place leaders turn the actors into martyrs and champions of the cause.

Third, modern fundamentalism is characterized by the conviction that the end of the world is at hand. This is apocalyptic millennialism. These terms, especially used in conjunction, necessitate a definition. I use them in the same way as investigative journalist Chip Berlet, who specializes in far-right religio-political movements and white supremacy. In today's common usage, "the word 'apocalypse' has come to mean the belief in an approaching confrontation, cataclysmic event, or transformation of epochal proportion, about which a select few have forewarning so they can make appropriate preparations."⁶² Millennium, of course, refers to a span of one thousand years. Berlet continues:

Contemporary Christian Fundamentalists interpret Revelation as a prophetic warning about tumultuous apocalyptic events marking End Times that herald the second coming of Christ. Most also believe that when Christ returns, he will reign for a period of one-thousand years – a millennium.⁶³

⁶² Chip Berlet, "Dances with Devils: How Apocalyptic and Millennialist Themes Influence Right Wing Scapegoating and Conspiracism," Political Research Associates, 1999, accessed July 9, 2013, http://www.publiceye.org/apocalyptic/Dances_with_Devils_1.html#P51_420.

⁶³ Ibid.

Therefore, apocalyptic millennialism is the belief that the end of the world, marked by a battle between good and evil, will usher in one thousand years of peace and prosperity, either prefaced or concluded by the arrival of Jesus Christ.

Because of the belief that the end times are imminent, time is spent interpreting world events to match the scriptures of Revelation and preparing to survive the seven years of apocalyptic battle that will herald the second coming of Christ. Leaders focus on current events and attempt to decipher the meaning, often using scripture to discover hidden messages in the occurrences. For example, the terrorist attacks on the United States in September 2001 are either a sign of the apocalypse, actions of the antichrist, or God's punishment for human sin, depending upon whom one asks.⁶⁴ Whatever the meaning, American fundamentalists are certain that there is significance that can be understood by the select few who are chosen to receive it. Berlet quotes Lee Quinby who contends that "Apocalypticism in each of its modes fuels discord, breeds anxiety or apathy, and sometimes causes panic."⁶⁵ It is a belief system that is inherently unstable, though it can manifest in a variety of ways, ranging from the merely antisocial to outright terrorism.

The fourth fundamentalist trait is a strong communal identity leading to a sharp division between "us" and "them." Fundamentalists have a persecution complex rooted in relative deprivation, the perception that one is deprived of resources, physical or

⁶⁴ Pete Peters of Scriptures for America Worldchurch used 9/11 as proof that the end of the millennium arrived in 2001, instead of 2000, and that the end of the world was beginning, albeit a year later than anticipated.

⁶⁵ Chip Berlet, "Dances with Devils."

intangible, that are available to others. The “other” is blamed for hoarding resources, and thus fundamentalists objectify the other, usually attributing outsiders with demonic characteristics. As early as 1962, the anthropologist Yonina Talmon linked relative deprivation and millennialism, stating that “the conditions giving rise to millenarian movements are those of deprivation, there being a markedly uneven relation between expectations and the means of their satisfaction.”⁶⁶ The coming apocalypse is believed to be the solution to inequity; God will intervene to restore the deprived to their rightful place.

The us/them distinction leads to a performance of race as supremacists seek to assert their identities. White supremacists perform their whiteness at rallies and white-power concerts, through tattoos and clothing. These signs allow people with similar sensibilities to identify one another. Having white skin is not enough – symbols are required to conclusively identify members of one’s own tribe. Like all performances, symbolic representation takes on ritualistic overtones as the symbols are overdetermined and take on meanings that only the initiated understand. For example, the word “rahowa” means “racial, holy war,” and the number 14, or sometimes “the 14 words,” stands for the catchphrase coined by David Lane of The Order: “We must secure the existence of our people and a future for White Children.” The number 88 stands for the eighth letter of the alphabet, “h” which, when repeated twice, stands for “Heil, Hitler.” These symbols, along

⁶⁶ Yonina Talmon, “Pursuit of the Millennium: The Relation Between Religious and Social Change,” *Archives Européennes de Sociologie* (1962): 125.

with many others, serve as secret signs that members use to recognize one another and communicate their identities.

The out-groups are defined by their perceived affiliation with a satanic force bent on destroying the righteous. This leads to the fifth trait of fundamentalism.

Fundamentalist movements and organizations worldwide share the perception that an “other” stands against them, usually understood as a Satanic or otherwise demonic force. Robert Fuller documents obsessions with the antichrist, understood as “the most dreaded of the obstacles standing between believers and the fulfillment of Christian hopes.”⁶⁷ These groups see themselves as warriors for God against the armies of evil. Furthermore, far from being easily identifiable, these demons masquerade as normal people, and thus their nefarious ways must be discerned, ferreted out. The individuals in these groups believe that they see something that others do not and are the only ones who are capable of seeing evildoers for who they really are. What many call paranoia serves to reinforce in-group cohesion.

Conspiracy theorists can identify absolute truths about the world while dismissing holders of power as sinister, corrupt and deceptive; they can also resurrect agency and the sense of a privileged community ‘in the know,’ and an otherwise bleak present can become charged with purpose and focus.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Robert C. Fuller, *Naming the Antichrist: The History of an American Obsession* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 3.

⁶⁸ Stewart and Harding, “Bad Endings: American Apocalypse,” 294.

These individuals believe that they see behind the surface of reality – like mystic practitioners they have secret knowledge that gives them power and empowers them to act. The antichrists give life meaning and direction. This tendency can also be understood as a psychological mechanism:

The Antichrist is ... a projection of the 'unacceptable aspects of the self.' The act of naming the Antichrist thus provides a symbolic vehicle for projecting disloyal – and hence loathsome – tendencies onto a cosmic backdrop against which people might gain a more acceptable understanding between good and evil.⁶⁹

Chip Berlet calls demonizing the illusory antichrist “scapegoating.”

We use the term *scapegoating* to describe the social process whereby the hostility and grievances of an angry, frustrated group are directed away from the real causes of a social problem onto a target group demonized as malevolent wrongdoers. The scapegoat bears the blame, while the scapegoaters feel a sense of righteousness and increased unity. The social problem may be real or imaginary, the grievances legitimate or illegitimate, and members of the targeted group may be wholly innocent or partly culpable. What matters is that the scapegoats are wrongfully stereotyped as all sharing the same negative trait, or are singled out for blame while other major culprits are let off the hook.⁷⁰

The term antichrist is used in two overlapping ways by Christian Identity believers. The first is the belief in the biblical Antichrist, the physical son of the devil on

⁶⁹ Fuller, *Naming the Antichrist*, 190.

⁷⁰ Chip Berlet, “Christian Identity: The Apocalyptic Style, Political Religion, Palingenesis and Neo-Fascism,” in *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, vol. 5, no. 3 (Winter 2004): 484.

earth. This is one man who initially seems kind and charming but who is actually bent on the destruction of the righteous through world domination as described in the biblical Book of Revelation.⁷¹

The second way the term is used is to refer to anyone who threatens the cause. For example, in white supremacist groups anyone who challenges Christian Identity or definitions of whiteness are called out as “the enemy.” These antichrists are people who seek to undermine the white cause. The lawyer and chief counselor for the Southern Poverty Law Center, Morris Dees, is often called an antichrist, for example. There are references on Stormfront to “antichrists,” as we will see in subsequent chapters. These “little antichrists” do the work and bidding of the Antichrist.

The Antichrist is characterized as being smart and cunning. He knows that righteous people are trying to discover him and his plots. Therefore, he lays traps to catch and corrupt. The most effective way to avoid the insidious snares laid by the Antichrist and his minions is to steer clear of anyone and everything that are not in line with the ideology of the in-group. Fuller notes that “the snares of the Antichrist [can be avoided] by avoiding the kinds of intellectual processes that undermine unquestioning faith.”⁷² Certain questions and lines of thinking themselves become taboo, leading to constant vigilance of oneself and others. Expressing doubt is a sign that the Antichrist has infiltrated one’s consciousness. This is one reason that members on Stormfront attack

⁷¹ The beast in chapter thirteen of the Book of Revelation is understood to refer to the Antichrist and give hints as to how he may be identified.

⁷² Fuller, *Naming the Antichrist*, 171.

posters who raise the kinds of questions that are viewed as threatening to unquestioning belief.

Fundamentalism is thus characterized by a worldview that transforms reality into something frightening and malevolent, populated by demons masquerading in human skins. Fundamentalism is an attempt to grapple with an uncertain and chaotic world by making symbolic statements that, while not impacting policy or achieving a real-world goal, accomplish a cosmic purpose. Additionally, attempts at large-scale terrorist activities are often designed to make an impression, not change the world, because “creations of terror are not done to achieve a strategic goal but to make a symbolic statement.”⁷³ Unlike Christian Smith’s evangelicals who define success as attracting recruits and passing legislation, fundamentalists define success in terms of elite forces making small strikes that they view as doing God’s work.

Fundamentalists who have all or most of the previous five characteristics are not necessarily prone to violent terrorism. Religious traditions can be antisocial and skeptical of the wider world, believe in an imminent end of the world and a literal devil, and never resort to violence. Traditionally, American fundamentalists have isolated themselves from the larger society that they view as corrupt. They homeschool their children or send them to private schools and restrict their associations to like-minded friends and family. It is only if they have the sixth and final characteristic that they become prone to violence. The presence of the next characteristic is the impetus for individuals to act upon their religious tradition.

⁷³ Ibid, 125.

Michael Barkun gives us the final piece of the puzzle, pointing out that an “apocalyptic script” is essential, perhaps even the causal factor, in the eruption of violence.⁷⁴ Believing that the end of the world is in motion, believers see themselves as playing a crucial role. Scripture is mined for predictions and the identifying characteristics of the players. Recognizing themselves in the holy text, believers mobilize.

[This] scenario performs two functions: first...it establishes the necessary and/or sufficient conditions for world-transformation; and second, it assigns roles to various actors. Critical roles may be identified not only for the deity and the forces of evil, but for believers themselves.⁷⁵

If a fundamentalist group views themselves as the catalyst of the end of the world, there is an increased likelihood of violent action. If the eschatology includes a war to end days, in which believers play a role, one of the members committing violence seems inevitable.

Violence still often needs a catalyst. At the Branch Davidian compound outside Waco, Texas, and at Ruby Ridge in Idaho, the United States government served as the stimulus. When the FBI and ATF sought to apprehend David Koresh at Waco and Randy Weaver at Ruby Ridge, their arrival was understood as a portent of the end of the world.

⁷⁴ Barkun, “Religious Violence and the Myth of Fundamentalism,” 14.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

Michael Barkun lists Aum Shinrikyo's 1995 bombing of the subway in Tokyo as the only time in recent history that a religious group has acted first without a catalyst.⁷⁶ However, I would add The Order in 1983, Timothy McVeigh's bombing of the Federal building in Oklahoma City in 1995, and Wade Michael Page (the Sikh Temple shooter) in 2012 as examples of people convinced by white supremacist ideology to act first (these events are explored in chapter five). The final chapter of this work contains descriptions of nine Christian Identity organizations and an additional ten individual believers who committed violent crimes from kidnapping and murder to bombings. The players in these events were all convinced that they were acting according to a divine script. They took it upon themselves to take the first step.

One final distinction must be explained. Religion is often used as an explanation of a variety of things, both positive and negative. In conflict zones, religion can be used to explain and even justify violence when the struggle itself has little to do with religion. In Sri Lanka, for example, Hindu Tamils sought to create an independent nation in the northern part of the country. The Buddhist Sinhalese majority fought back, resulting in one of the longest civil wars in human history. Religious iconography was used on both sides, and also as a way of framing and making sense of the conflict. However, the root of the disagreement lay in political and economic inequities. In the case of Sri Lanka, ethnic differences between the Tamils and the Sinhalese manifested as religious differences because religion represented ethnic and cultural differences. Furthermore, as the war dragged on, the sides became more polarized and more radical, including

⁷⁶ Ibid.

religiously. While some people argue that each side had elements of violent fundamentalism, at least by the end, neither side fits the definition I have outlined above.

Christian Identity: White, American Fundamentalism

I'm tired of waiting. If God doesn't start the riots soon and the collapse of our government, then I will! - Randall Rader

Christian Identity can be understood as a trajectory within a larger fundamentalist tradition. Chip Berlet states, "Christian Identity is a particular version of Christian fundamentalism, in the broad sense of the term, but it developed at the same time as, and in opposition to, the original Christian Fundamentalist movement of the early twentieth century."⁷⁷ Unlike the other Christian fundamentalists populating America in the 1940s and 50s, Christian Identity has always been an activist tradition. Christian Identity promotes the belief that God requires active human agents to bring about the end of the world – this distinguishes it from other forms of religious fundamentalism. What makes Christian Identity particularly disposed to violence is the belief that members are chosen by God to bring about a battle that will facilitate the return of Jesus Christ. Violence is deeply interwoven into the Christian Identity worldview.

The six characteristics of fundamentalists that I outlined above all apply to Christian Identity. The common traits are scriptural inerrancy, charismatic leaders, belief

⁷⁷ Berlet, "Christian Identity," 487.

in an imminent apocalypse, an embattled worldview that sets “us” against “them,” belief in a literal evil defined as satanic, and the view that believers are important players in God’s plan to end the world. A brief explanation of each category, with examples specific to Christian Identity, is offered below. Chapters Three and Four contain much more detail with examples from Stormfront.

Scriptural Inerrancy

The things which you have heard from me among many witnesses,
commit the same to faithful men, who will be able to teach others
also. -Paul’s Second Letter to Timothy, 2:2⁷⁸

The Bible does not give instructions on how it should be read. Though the references to “the word of God” are numerous within its pages, the idea of taking every word as the timeless command of the divine is not to be found within the text itself. The closest the Bible comes is in statements like the one above, taken from a letter attributed to Saint Paul to Timothy. Furthermore, absolute biblical inerrancy still forces a believer to pick and choose. For example, what place does the Old Testament occupy? Should the Leviticus commands be followed to the letter? Or does the New Testament supersede the Old? Christian Identity makes choices along with every other Christian. But what makes Christian Identity fundamentalist is their *claim* to scriptural inerrancy.

⁷⁸ All biblical text is taken from the New Revised Standard Version (1989) unless otherwise indicated.

Many Christian Identity adherents keep kosher in an attempt to follow scripture to the letter.⁷⁹ Though to my knowledge Christian Identity believers wear clothing of mixed fibers (a violation of Leviticus 19:19), they are more willing than other fundamentalist Christians to allow polygamy and to engage in violence against unbelievers.

For example, Deuteronomy 7:5 states, “Then shalt thou bring forth that man or that woman, which have committed that wicked thing, unto thy gates, even that man or that woman, and shalt stone them with stones, till they die.” Another text used to justify execution and acts of terror is Second Chronicles 15:12-13: “Everyone who would not seek the Lord, the God of Israel, was to be put to death, whether small or great, whether man or woman.” Murder, assaults, and bombings are justified by mining biblical texts, making Christian Identity members more prone to violence than members of other religious movements, including other forms of Christianity.

The seed line theory, explained in chapter one, is another example of scriptural inerrancy. While obviously not a mainstream understanding of the Bible, Christian Identity theologians understand themselves to be espousing a true, *verbatim* read of the Bible. They see non-white people as a “‘negroidal’ and ‘mongoloid’ species of the genus *hominid*. They are known as ‘mud people,’ people whose cast of skin reveals their filthy origin, in contrast to white-skinned Aryan ‘spirit folk.’”⁸⁰ Viewing Adam and Eve as white is justified in the following way: “Adam is translated from the Hebrew word ‘AWDAWM’ and means White Man. The basic derivative means: ‘*Ruddy complexion*,

⁷⁹ Martinez and Guinther, *Brotherhood of Murder*, 73.

⁸⁰ Aho, *This Thing of Darkness*, 112.

show blood in the face, transparent white skin.’ The skin of the black and yellow races is not transparent nor is it with mongrels.”⁸¹ This quote comes from the website *The Saxton Messenger* and is ubiquitous in white supremacist conversation. Relying on a particular understanding of Hebrew translation, Adam is considered white because he can “show blood in the face” or flush. White supremacists argue that the ability to blush in shame or excitement demonstrates the emotional and moral superiority of white people.⁸² It is an example of how scripture is interpreted and then explained in a way that reinforces racist beliefs.

A final example of scriptural inerrancy is how Christian Identity members understand themselves as the chosen people of God. Millennial Christians, both white supremacist and not, identify themselves as the “faithful remnant” or simply the “remnant.” This language is rampant on Christian Identity websites. Isaiah 10:20-22 (“A remnant will return, a remnant of Jacob will return to the Mighty God. Though your people be like the sand by the sea, Israel, only a remnant will return”) is used extensively. New Testament verses that refer to a faithful remnant include Romans 11:5 (“So too, at the present time there is a remnant chosen by grace”) and Revelation 12:17 (“And the dragon was wroth with the woman, and went to make war with the remnant of her seed, which keep the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus Christ”). While many Christians either recognize themselves as the remnant or hope to be included in that

⁸¹ “Adam the First White Man,” *The Saxton Messenger*, May 29, 2011, accessed March 8, 2013, <http://newensign.christogenea.org/adam-first-white-man>.

⁸² White supremacists ignore the fact that non-whites also flush in excitement, exertion, and embarrassment.

category, Christian Identity believers see themselves as the remnant *now*, playing out the final events of the end of days. This plays into my idea of small groups who understand themselves to be special, chosen, feeling as though they are an elite force. The remnant are chosen to play a special role. I will return to this theme below in the section dedicated to warriors for God and the end of the world.

Christian Identity believers understand that the Bible has hidden messages that are revealed to the faithful. It is a living document that continues to speak to those who God has made ready to hear. Pete Peters of Scriptures for America claims that he received revelations from God in visions. The Covenant, Sword, and Arm of the Lord, profiled in chapter five, believed that God would speak to individual members, making prophecy a cornerstone of religious experience within the community. Biblical inerrancy is thus a complex theological position that often involves seeing behind the words to the secret heart of God.

Charismatic Leaders: Tension Manipulators

Turn to Leviticus 20:24 and read. “I have said unto you, ye shall inherit their land, and I will give it unto you to possess all land that flows with milk and honey. I AM the Lord your God, and I have separated you from other people.” So from the very beginning of divine instruction concerning the operation of the race which God had called to carry His ministry to bring in His kingdom, He said. I have segregated, separated you from other people. More than that, God's law of segregation continues in our midst. He said in Leviticus 19:19, “Ye shall keep my statutes: thou shall not let thy cattle gender with other kind, thou shall not sow the field with mingled seed, and shall not mingle thy garments with linen and wool, or let it come upon thee.” So

it is with divine, instruction how to raise pedigree cattle, how to raise good crops, how to preserve our culture and raise a race and build a great nation that would carry forth the responsibility of God not to commit or society to become mongrelized, not to permit the influence of the forces of darkness to change our way of life. – Wesley Swift⁸³

Charismatic leaders are often the only reason a movement sustains. A leader with vision, who is capable of keeping the group in a heightened state of excitement, can keep members determined and engaged. These leaders are also the ones who interpret and reinterpret scripture and current events to fit the mission of the organization. Chip Berlet writes:

Wesley Swift may not be in the same league as St. Thomas Aquinas, but Swift's numerous sermons are detailed, internally logical (if one accepts a contorted seminal premise), and constructed in the longstanding fundamentalist tradition of searching for and citing biblical sources for guiding current analysis and action.⁸⁴

Though other leaders have come since, Swift is the founder of Christian Identity, pulling together disparate ideological threads, as we saw in chapter one. Furthermore, Swift began a lineage of Christian Identity thinkers who drove the movement forward through the twentieth century. Though the leaders do not participate in violence themselves, they legitimate violence in a variety of ways. Barkun writes:

⁸³ Wesley Swift, "Preserving Our Racial Self Respect," accessed March 22, 2013, <http://newchristiancrusadechurch.com/sermons/sermon4.htm>.

⁸⁴ Berlet, "Christian Identity," 475.

In religious traditions with decentralised and potentially competing authorities, it is often possible to locate someone willing to provide the necessary religious warrant for violence. In some cases, the believer first desires to commit the act and then searches for a legitimizer. In other cases, an individual first comes in contact with a religious justification for violence and then decides to act upon it.⁸⁵

Leaders serve as the focal point of legitimation. Through their authority they condone, often tacitly, different forms of action. Leaders also popularize the symbols members use, often taking the words of others. For example, a number of websites have Bob Mathews' declaration of war, written in the last days of his life, reproduced in full.⁸⁶ Letters written from prison by Eric Rudolph, who is profiled in chapter five, are posted by the Army of God.

Christian Identity leaders know better than to directly advocate violence. They speak in broad terms using war imagery and pepper their sermons with scriptural references to violence in order to reinforce believers' perception of being warriors for God. "Organizationally, the Klan, the Aryan Nations, the National Alliance, among others, have preached violence, but have always done so in a public way to attract members, to keep them enthusiastic, and to keep them contributing money," not to actually cause action.⁸⁷ The Order met at the Idaho compound of the Aryan Nations,

⁸⁵ Barkun, "Religious Violence and the Myth of Fundamentalism," 11.

⁸⁶ This letter can be found on the websites of White Aryan Resistance, the Aryan Nations, and the Phineas Priesthood.

⁸⁷ Martinez and Guinther, *Brotherhood of Murder*, 225.

attended services at Scriptures of America Worldchurch, and contributed money to the latter organizations as well as to the National Alliance and the Church of Israel, and yet the leaders of those groups were never implicated in The Order's terrorist rampage. William Pierce of the National Alliance, who received at least ten thousand dollars from The Order, some possibly in counterfeited bills, was never questioned. Leaders stir up passion but keep themselves distant from the fray.

An effective leader will manage tension, both internal and external, in order to facilitate group cohesion. For example, as we see in chapter five, the leader of the Covenant, Sword, and Arm of the Lord subtly set his followers in competition against one another so that they constantly vied for favor. Furthermore, he convinced his flock that the world exterior to the group was a dangerous place filled with hostile forces seeking to fragment the group.

Religious leaders use religion as a social glue "through its highly symbolic expressions and interpretations, [that bundle] together individual motives – sometimes even contradictory understandings – into highly energized communities with shared goals and actions."⁸⁸ Violence "can be subjectively used for an unwanted but wished for vicarious satisfaction of sadistic impulses, for the fulfillment of one's urge to subjugate another human being, to reduce his or her consciousness to a reactivity of the flesh alone."⁸⁹ Through the act of inflating one's own sense of worth, the other is denigrated.

⁸⁸ Lawrence E. Sullivan, "'No Longer the Messiah': US Federal Law Enforcement Views of Religion in Connection with the 1993 Siege of Mount Carmel Near Waco, Texas," *Numen* vol. 43 (1996): 228.

⁸⁹ Kakar, *The Colors of Violence*, 36.

What Kakar calls sadism is created through acceptance of the fundamentalist worldview and a re-remembered history in which one's people have lost their God-given position of hegemony to a demonic other seen as actively attacking one's person, family, wellbeing – one's very self. Leaders intensify the sense of danger and threat in order to keep members functioning as a tightly organized unit.

However, white supremacy is a highly contentious group. Like gangs or terrorist cells, internal disagreement is common.

Those labeled fundamentalists are frequently in conflict with internal as well as external enemies. While they may confront 'civilisational' adversaries, their primary enemies are often those within their own tradition, including its nominal religious authorities.⁹⁰

Leaders attempt to manage internal tensions by keeping the focus on the perceived external threat. However, such tactics do not always work, and thus fracturing is common, as seen in the graphic in chapter one.

The End Is Nigh

Be ye also patient; stabilize your hearts: for the coming of
the Lord draweth nigh. - James, 5:8

There is disagreement between different factions of Christian Identity regarding the exact timing of the apocalypse. Some believe that the earth is approaching the end of

⁹⁰ Barkun, "Religious Violence and the Myth of Fundamentalism," 7.

days, and others believe that the war of Armageddon has begun. But they are all in agreement that the end is near. As we shall see in the following chapters, end-of-times prophecies, primarily from the Old Testament, are mined extensively to corroborate the belief that the earth is in the final hours.

Of particular importance is the United States, which Christian Identity believers understand to be the New Israel referenced in the Book of Revelation. (The more common Christian understanding of the nation of Israel as playing an important role at the end of time is thought by Christian Identity members to be a lie of the Antichrist.) The Book of Revelation states that four calamities will strike the earth. Many Christian Identity adherents view the terrorist attacks on New York City and Washington, DC, on September 11, 2001, to be one of these calamities. Superstorm Sandy, which hit the East Coast in the fall of 2012, is being considered as a second candidate by members of Stormfront.

They also have a number of contenders for the Antichrist, including Barack Obama. Entire forums are dedicated to cataloguing the different references to Obama in an attempt to prove that he has 666 names, indicating that he is Satan on earth. Other antichrists, understood to be either demons in human form or humans who have pledged their support to the devil, are identified and discussed at length in Christian Identity circles.

Understanding the end of the world to be unfolding lends Christian Identity an urgency that is directly related to its proclivity for violence. Michael Barkun writes:

In its early days, fundamentalism eschewed violence, but by the 1980s, small coteries, for whom the final days were a time to take up arms, had broken away. Among the latter were Christian Identity believers, who saw themselves approaching a racial Armageddon against non-whites and Jews ...⁹¹

Many Christian Identity believers understand that they will have to take up arms in the final battle. Some have already made first strikes.

Us versus Them

As long as this alien tyranny evil occupies our land, hate is
our law and revenge is our duty. - William Butler, Aryan
Nations

Religion is one way that Christian Identity differentiates between themselves and the rest of the world, deemed either delusional or evil. Race is the other. A racialized religious worldview creates a sharp dichotomy between “us” and “them” that serves to dehumanize and demonize the other.

Michael Omi and Howard Winant state that “racial formation is a process of historically situated *projects* in which human bodies and social structures are represented

⁹¹ Ibid.

and organized.”⁹² While many cultures engage in the performance of race in some way, white supremacy uses the color of one’s skin to separate people into visually recognizable categories. White supremacists themselves make up the first category. Viewing themselves as the remnant called upon to be God’s righteous warriors at the end of time, they are distinguished by their white skin: in their eyes a sign of spiritual purity.

The second category consists of white people who do not recognize the truth of their chosen status. In some ways, this category of person is the most denigrated within Christian Identity circles. Often called “race traitors” or “race betrayers,” white supremacists have a number of derogatory labels for whites who identify as liberal, appreciative of diversity, and as being against racism and bigotry. One such label is “libtard.” They hold special scorn for white people whom they view as attempting to imitate black people in dress or speech. They refer to such people as “wiggers.”

The third category of people is non-white “mudbloods.” Thought to have been created separately from Adam in the Garden of Eden, people of color are believed to be ape-like and lacking full intelligence. Furthermore, in keeping with the antebellum perspective of the bestial nature of blacks, people of color are understood to be prone to violence, especially sexual violence. Black men are of particular concern, viewed as dangerous to white women. “Arabs” are often lumped into this category, though there is no distinction made between Persians, Arabs, Serbians, Kurds, and so on.

⁹² Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States From the 1960s to the 1990s* (London: Routledge, 1994), 55-56.

The final category, the polar opposite of the white “spirit folk,” is the demonic Jews. These beings are not thought to have been created by God but by his adversary, the devil. Because of their inherent lack of intelligence, people of color can easily be fooled into doing the bidding of the Jews and work as their servants in an unholy alliance. Liberalism itself is thought to be a demonic plot to saturate the system with affirmative action, welfare, income taxes, and legal restrictions such as gun control. Because people of color are thought to be the main recipients of social services and Jews are thought to have infiltrated the highest levels of government, white supremacists see the Jews as using people of color for their nefarious scheme to drain the system and deprive whites of resources.⁹³ An example is the shooting of Treyvon Martin in February 2012. Martin, a black teenager, was fatally shot by George Zimmerman, defined as a white man. Conversants on Stormfront suspect that this is a conspiracy: Jews set the whole thing up in order to justify stricter gun laws, restricting whites’ access to firearms in preparation for the final battle. The shootings at Sandy Hook Elementary school in December 2012 are also viewed with suspicion as a potential antichrist plot – see Appendix B.

Armageddon is being played out in the bureaucracy of politics. Howard Winant writes that “[t]his imaginary white disadvantage – for which there is almost no evidence at the empirical level – has achieved widespread popular credence and provides the cultural and political ‘glue’ that holds together a wide variety of reactionary racial

⁹³ See Appendix B for additional examples from Stormfront.

politics.”⁹⁴ Objectification of the other is not unique to white supremacy. However, the “us” and “them” of “white” and “not white” drives white-supremacist rage and maintains tension between those in the in-group and those outside of it. The mindset within white supremacist groups, and indeed many fundamentalist organizations, holds that “[s]ociety ... is held to consist entirely of competing self-interests.”⁹⁵ Everything is framed as competition over scarce resources.

White supremacists imagine themselves as targets in a cosmic plot. To do so casts them in the role of innocent victims and allows them to imagine themselves as the downtrodden heroes of their own stories:

An oppressed population defending itself from an oppressor is favorably viewed by most people. For this reason, fundamentalist movements often gravitate toward creating martyrs or emphasizing their oppression by the larger society in order to create the appeal of their objectives both for their members and for the outside world.⁹⁶

They create themselves for a sympathetic audience.

In order to sustain the “us” and “them” dichotomy, white supremacists invest substantial time in identifying who, and exactly what, is white. The primary identifier, of course, is skin pigmentation and the self-identification of oneself as white. Every other

⁹⁴ Howard Winant, *The New Politics of Race: Globalism, Difference, Justice* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004), 52.

⁹⁵ Martinez and Guinther, *Brotherhood of Murder*, 211.

⁹⁶ Beeman, “Fighting the Good Fight,” 138.

factor understood as important stems from racial identification: religion, concepts of good and evil, feelings of persecution, territorial concerns – it all comes back to race. An exchange from Stormfront exhibits tension between how the importance of religion and race are ranked:

Conversant A: Which is more important? Religion or race?

Conversant B: Religion. Dedication to God's will is the primary responsibility of all people. Failure to recognize Jesus Christ as the Lord and Savior, the only begotten Son of God, results in damnation.

Conversant C: Race and loyalty to nation comes first.

Conversant B: How can you say that? God bestows nation upon a people.

Conversant C: Race is the most important. So who would be your friend? A white Muslim or a Christian black man?

Conversant B: A black man can't be a Christian. That's an oxymoron. He might *think* he's a Christian....

Conversant A: What about the white Muslim?

Conversant B: Anyone who rejects Christ is no friend of mine.⁹⁷

Christian Identity white supremacists grapple with the connections between religion and race. Whereas many people could assume that, during pre-Civil War American slavery, only whites could be Christian (see chapter one), it is difficult for Christian Identity believers to reach the same conclusion easily today. They are surrounded by whites claiming to be Christian and also by people of color, many of whom also claim to be Christian.

⁹⁷ Screen names have been removed for the protection of the participants. This is an extremely edited version of the exchange – the conversation went on for many pages. I pulled the most salient lines for purposes of illustration.

Furthermore, they also struggle with their own whiteness. In a country wherein the vast majority of people are from ethnically diverse backgrounds, they cannot be sure that they themselves do not have American Indian, African, or Asian blood somewhere in their lineage. One attendee at a Christian Identity church appeared to have at least some non-white ancestry, and yet his determination of himself as white appeased the congregation.⁹⁸ It is common on Stormfront for believers to self-identify as white and justify their identity because they “feel” white. In the following chapters, I offer a detailed analysis of this contradiction with additional examples.

The Antichrist

We felt the presence of a force in our lives more powerful than we. The force exploited us. It sought to do us harm. It blocked our way to success and happiness. When, in our search to combat this evil power, we turned to organized racism, we learned that, far from being inferior to the force, we were under attack by it precisely because we were superior. – Tom Martinez, Christian Identity ex-member

Many of us have a difficult time understanding how a person can see satanic forces in the everyday events of the world. It seems naive to think that the actions of humans are in fact the manifestation of some demonic plot. However, the belief that there are both demonic and divine forces moving behind everyday events is not uncommon.

Flynn and Gerhardt note that:

⁹⁸ Information based on a confidential interview, December 5, 2011. Interviewee attended a Christian Identity church and noted the demographics as being all visibly white except for this one young man. Ironically, a dark-complexioned researcher who attended the same church was asked to leave in spite of resembling the church member to a great degree.

Beneath the surface [of America] there are a significant number of people to whom it's not a melting pot at all. To them, it's a boiling cauldron; not beautiful spacious skies, but acid rain destroying the land; not amber waves of grain, but the fallow fields of a foreclosed family farmer. It's no longer the land of opportunity, but one of stifling regulation that robs the common folk and is headed toward a centralized economic, if not political, dictatorship.⁹⁹

Events and social conditions that are happenstance or the result of socioeconomic forces seem to others evidence of the imminent dissolution of America at the hands of an evil force. Tom Martinez says:

Very often, racist reasoning starts out from a sound basis. A grasp of a serious problem is in evidence – for example, the burden drugs cause society, the flight of American business abroad, bank foreclosures on farmers. It is only after the premise is stated that the thinking begins to go awry.¹⁰⁰

Instead of attributing the outsourcing of jobs, the collapse of the housing market, and social ills to political and economic factors, some people see the hand of the devil. We all start with the same facts and observations. But where some of us see social forces and politics, others see pure evil.

To young white males who have been told their entire lives that they can have the American Dream, who come out of high school feeling entitled to a job with a living wage, only to find work difficult or impossible to attain, feelings of anger and

⁹⁹ Kevin Flynn and Gary Gerhardt, *The Silent Brotherhood: Inside America's Racist Underground* (New York: The Free Press, 1989), 5.

¹⁰⁰ Martinez and Guinther, *Brotherhood of Murder*, 193.

helplessness are understandable. White supremacy tells them that there is nothing wrong with them; in fact, everything is right. To be white and American is cause for jealousy from those who are not white and thus, according to this line of reasoning, not worthy of the status of American citizenship. It becomes reasonable to assume that some plot impedes the access of white males to the things – jobs, resources, property – to which they feel entitled, to which they have been told that they are entitled by the deeply embedded structures of white privilege that continue to undergird American society.

Tom Martinez recounts how he came to white supremacy:

It was because of my need to believe in black inferiority that I became an anti-Semite. [But] if the blacks had succeeded in becoming powerful and dangerous on their own, how could I continue to believe that they were inferior? The only conclusion I could draw is that someone must have helped them.¹⁰¹

White supremacists believe that no other adversary is worthy of suppressing them than the devil himself. And the devil works in mysterious ways.

Satan does not reveal himself, working instead behind the scenes to corrupt and manipulate, infiltrating the most powerful institutions in the country: the media and the government. The “state has been captured by ‘race mixers’ and will have to be recaptured by white nationalists in order to end the betrayal of ‘traditional values’ that a racially

¹⁰¹ Ibid, 38.

egalitarian and pluralistic national politics and culture would portend.”¹⁰² White supremacists watch with horror as blacks and whites intermingle on television and in the capitol building, as homosexuality becomes more accepted, as divorce becomes common and acceptable, and the number of people in traditional nuclear families decreases. All are seen as signs that the devil is winning, that the Book of Revelation is coming true right in front of us. Liberalism and progressive social policies are the most obvious signs: “the Antichrist hides in any intellectual system that promises to bring liberty, equality, higher standards of living, illumination, knowledge or science.”¹⁰³ Racists utilize a “mode of articulation [that] cloaks racialized interests within the context of a political struggle; adversaries are not so much specifically identified as implicated in a structural conspiracy against whites.”¹⁰⁴ White supremacists do not necessarily think that white progressives know themselves to be in league with evil; Satan is known only to the select few. But he infiltrates the minds of all who believe in liberal ideals. Evil is understood to be actively engaged in overthrowing the righteous order that fundamentalists view themselves as observing. Thus, “tolerance itself may be dangerous ... a kind of bargain with the devil.”¹⁰⁵ Ecumenicalism is itself a demonic plot; tolerance is the devil’s sly method of opening the door to dangerous ideas. Threats arrive not just in physical form; the most

¹⁰² Howard Winant, “The Dark Side of the Force: One Hundred Years of the Sociology of Race.” (2006): 55, accessed October 10, 2010, http://www.soc.ucsb.edu/faculty/winant/Winant-Darkside_final.html.

¹⁰³ Fuller, *Naming the Antichrist*, 169.

¹⁰⁴ Josh Adams and Vincent J. Roscigno, “White Supremacists, Oppositional Culture and the World Wide Web,” *Social Forces*, no. 84 (December 2005): 767.

¹⁰⁵ Wuthnow, *After Heaven*, 184.

insidious dangers come in the guise of rational thinking and common sense, both thought to undermine faith. Thus the Antichrist infects other minds, creating many antichrists to do the bidding of evil.

Warriors for God

Identity...far from wishing to avoid this period of tumult,
yearns for an opportunity to engage the forces of evil in
apocalyptic battle. – Michael Barkun

A group or individual can have all five of the previous characteristics and pose no threat to anyone. It is the belief that one is a warrior for God, chosen to play a role in the apocalyptic end of days, that serves as the warning sign. To such a person, anything can be construed as an attack because the stage has been set: the devil has sent his emissaries to earth to wage war against the righteous.

The devil disenfranchises white people by restricting their access to resources. He moves behind the scenes, whispering messages of tolerance and acceptance of diversity. “These white males saw themselves as targets of all other empowerment movements, from women’s liberation to black power to gay pride,” taking away what was rightfully theirs.¹⁰⁶ The only solution is to fight back, but this often puts white supremacists on the

¹⁰⁶ Flynn and Gerhardt, *The Silent Brotherhood*, 9.

wrong side of the law. American white supremacists respect the law; they believe democracy is godly – a system created by superior Aryan peoples to be upheld in order to fulfill God’s kingdom on earth. They want to live in a land that is ruled by Christian leaders who will benevolently oversee the populace. But because they see the government as occupied by satanic forces, they see no other choice than to fight back. Breaking the law can only be rationalized if law enforcement is itself an arm of the demonic plot. Because racists see themselves as superior in every way to people of other racial and ethnic backgrounds, their seemingly inferior status in the world must be explained in a way that does not erode their feelings of primacy. As Thomas Martinez explains, the need to maintain dominance in the face of seeming subordination can only be explained if the enemy is clever enough to be a worthy adversary of superior whites.

[T]he theory being expressed is that the enemies of the racist movement are so diabolically clever that they can force otherwise law abiding white supremacists into committing crimes to carry out the goals that they, the supremacists, say they want to accomplish. Much the same kind of logic is displayed when the Neo-Nazis claim that the Holocaust never occurred. In order to do that, they have to deny that their hero Hitler, with whose anti-Semitism they are in agreement, ever intended to harm the Jews. Instead, the Jews wanted to harm Hitler and bring the entire sacred Aryan supremacy movement into disrepute, which they did – with diabolical cleverness – by fabricating the Holocaust. *[sic]* In this way, claims of Aryan superiority become riddled with admissions of Aryan inferiority, which admissions – because they are psychologically insupportable to those making them – are readily denied through the creation of a fantasy world [like] the written

one described in *The Turner Diaries* or the one that [The Order] played out in real life.¹⁰⁷

Once the fantasy results in breaking the law, it becomes more and more difficult for individuals to go back, to revert to abiding by the rules of the land. The fantasy must be supported and maintained, or else the individual must face the fact that his whole belief structure is based on a lie, that his actions – including illegal ones – have no rational justification. It becomes easier to stay in the fantasy. The most powerful way to sustain one's illusion is to convince oneself that God approves of one's actions.

If the devil limits and restricts access, God grants and affirms. God promises to protect the righteous and hide them from their enemy's eyes. The sense of rage caused by perceived wrongs or evils manifests in "images of collective violence borrowed from ... religious traditions: the idea of cosmic war."¹⁰⁸ Combating militia members' fears can be a formidable task because "[o]nce a man believes his fight is for God and country, he becomes invincible. It's impossible to limit what he can accomplish if he believes his quest is righteous and his death a martyrdom."¹⁰⁹ One of the strongest underlying beliefs of violent fundamentalists is the belief that they are the chosen few who have insight into the terrible secret of the devil's plot to overthrow Christendom.

In the Christian Identity view of the world, the struggle is a secret war between colossal evil forces allied with the

¹⁰⁷ Martinez and Guinther, *Brotherhood of Murder*, 206.

¹⁰⁸ Juergensmeyer, *Terror in the Mind of God*, 26.

¹⁰⁹ Flynn and Gerhardt, *The Silent Brotherhood*, 46.

United Nations, the United States, and other government powers and a small band of the enlightened few who recognize these invisible enemies for what they are – satanic powers, in their view – and are sufficiently courageous to battle them.¹¹⁰

The sense of chosenness, of being special, of seeing the truth while others do not, makes fundamentalist beliefs very difficult to combat. Furthermore, the post-millennial dispensationalism of Christian Identity gives believers a place in the cosmic battle:

Those who believe Jesus Christ returns at the end of a thousand years of Christian rule are called post-millennial dispensationalists because they believe they have to intervene in earthly affairs and seize society and hold it for one thousand years – a millennium – before Christ returns. Post-millennial dispensationalism is therefore an inherently interventionist theology.¹¹¹

Furthermore, “the sheer beauty of the symbolism of the Antichrist [is] that it [is] fluid and ambiguous, allowing for groups of people with different political agendas to rally together against a common enemy and, if necessary, to redefine the enemy from time to time.”¹¹² Christian Identity believers take an active role, which they understand to be God-given, against an enemy that hides in the shadows of mainstream society. White supremacists come and go, leaders change and schism, and new evils are identified. It is a

¹¹⁰ Juergensmeyer, *Terror in the Mind of God*, 36.

¹¹¹ Berlet, “Christian Identity,” 479.

¹¹² Fuller, *Naming the Antichrist*, 38.

movement in flux, responding to new circumstances by repositioning. Sometimes violent action is called for, and a warrior rises to the occasion.

While it can be argued that all people view reality and history through the lens of their ideological position, this is especially true for fundamentalists. Ann Burlein explains, “Religious symbols and rituals, texts and practices, institutions and moods help form identity and subjectivity ... by shaping how people remember their histories, orient themselves within particular identities, and invest in their world.”¹¹³ For fundamentalists, the degree of conviction and their unwillingness to accept divergent points of view and perspectives on culture and history function as a sort of blindness. In fact, they re-remember history through their religious lens. In “Nietzsche, Genealogy, History,” Foucault defines counter-memory as “a transformation of history into a totally different form of time” that reshapes the past according to the needs and desires of the present.¹¹⁴ In the minds of the racist right, the framers of the American constitution become Christians who believed as they believe, Jesus becomes white, and, in the most extreme echelons of the racist right, Jews become the devil. Evidence that contradicts their ideology is ignored, discounted, or reframed.

¹¹³ Burlein, *Lift High the Cross*, 4.

¹¹⁴ Michel Foucault, “Nietzsche, Genealogy, History,” *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice*, trans. Donald F. Bouchard and Sherry Simon, ed. Donald F. Bouchard (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977), 160.

3: Thou Art my Battle Axe

Thou art my battle axe and weapons of war: for with thee
will I break in pieces the nations, and with thee will I
destroy kingdoms. - Jeremiah 51:20

In the next two chapters, I provide an analysis of extensive amounts of qualitative data pulled from Stormfront and the websites of other Christian Identity and white supremacist organizations: Scriptures for America Worldchurch, the Aryan Nations, Kinsmen Redeemer Ministries, White Aryan Resistance, and the National Alliance.¹ When I coded the data, I allowed the categories to emerge, and these categories informed and supported the six characteristics of fundamentalist movements I identified from the various literature on the subject.² Thus, I am able to conclude that the term “fundamentalism” remains useful if carefully and narrowly defined, that there are important differences between fundamentalist religious groups and extremist political groups, and that the presence of the sixth characteristic – the belief that members are key

¹ Additional data is contained in Appendix B.

² These data could be coded in numerous ways. I focused specifically on the six characteristics I have established.

players in the end of the world – is critical to anticipating the possibility of violence within fundamentalist groups.

As mentioned in chapter two, there is some controversy around the use of the term fundamentalism. Some argue that, because the word initially identified a particular movement within Christianity, it should only be used in reference to Christian groups. However, fundamentalist Islam is a common term both in academia and in the press, and we also hear reference to various Hindu and Buddhist groups as fundamentalist – consider the Tamil Tigers. Additionally, there is debate surrounding the question of whether fundamentalist groups are more prone to violence than non-fundamentalist groups and if the term should only apply to organizations that promote and perpetuate violence. Because of these conversations, some, such as Michael Barkun, advocate dropping the term from our lexicon altogether.

People who advocate discarding the term often support their claims with the valid observation that there are cases of violent organizations and movements that overlap to a great degree with fundamentalist groups but who are not religious. Some are even anti-religion. Furthermore, groups such as the Tamil Tigers use the trappings of religion, but their goal is, or at least started out being, purely political and this-worldly.

It is my argument that fundamentalism remains useful and relevant. However, it should be restricted to religious groups who claim that scripture is inerrant, who believe in an imminent end of the world, who have charismatic leaders as the foci of their work, who sharply delineate between the in-group and the out-group(s), and who identify the

others in the out-group(s) as evil or satanic. Most importantly, the groups who are most prone to violent actions are the ones believing that they play an important, divinely sanctioned role in the end of the world. A group having the first five characteristics but believing that God will work things out in his own time, or that humans are not given to know when or how time will end, are unlikely to be a danger.³

Stormfront: The Largest White Nationalist Forum in the World

Don Black, who got his start in the American Nazi Party and then in the Klan as a compatriot of the white-supremacist-turned-politician David Duke, started the first white supremacist chat forum in 1995 after leaving the United Klans of America. He remains the moderator of the forum, but he shares moderation with a number of other members. In order to become a moderator, one must have been with Stormfront for a number of years (I was unable to determine how many), pay annual membership fees, and be approved by Black.

The forums on Stormfront are divided by category and have rules that posters must follow. A moderator can remove a post at his or her discretion. These are the rules of the theology subforum, an area for members only, as explained by one of the three moderators for the Christian Identity subforums:

³ It also seems that a group might develop that sixth characteristic under certain circumstances when the other five characteristics are present. There is no evidence that the Branch Davidians planned to attack anyone. However, when the ATF and FBI stormed their compound, David Koresh interpreted the events and developed the idea that his people were warriors in the battle of Armageddon. Stressed and frightened by the events unfolding on their lawn, members of the group became willing to use violence in what they understood as self-defense.

Mama Lupis,⁴ July 17, 2012, accessed December 12, 2012: Guidelines for Posting: *DO NOT* advocate or suggest any activity which is illegal under U.S. law. Keep discussion civil and productive: No profanity. Avoid racial epithets. No personal flames. No attacks against other White nationalities. If you wish to debate religion, you must request to join the Theology usergroup. Religion is a personal issue which often becomes bitterly divisive. Make an effort to use proper spelling, grammar and capitalization (no ALL-CAPS posts). No spamming. Don't post unless you have something relevant to say. Post only to appropriate forums. Post only under one user name. Anyone with "multiple personalities" will have all their accounts deleted. If you're here to argue with us, confine your posts to the "Opposing Views" forum if you don't want them deleted. Before you post *anything*, remember that words have consequences, both for you and others. This is true even if they're posted pseudonymously on a discussion board. Don't post anything you wouldn't want attributed to you in a court of law, quoted on the front page of the *New York Times*, or read by your mother. Don't come back in a few months or years and ask us to delete all your posts because you can't take the heat or you've "changed your mind." It wouldn't make much difference anyway, since public posts are cached by search engines and recorded by countless other people with varying motives. If you have any questions, feel free to ask a moderator. In addition, confine your conversations to the proper sub forums. DO NOT insult other religions in any forum. Stating your own beliefs in comparison is fine. Breaking the rules will result in permanent dismissal from the Theology group.

A number of themes can be found in these guidelines. First, is a plea for civility. As we shall see in the following pages, this plea is often ignored, often by other moderators who use their role to inflict their views on others. Toward the beginning of the guidelines, we see the mandate to "[a]void racial epithets. [*sic*] No attacks against

⁴ All screen names have been changed.

other White nationalities.” It is unclear if this is meant to avoid all racialized epithets or only insults exchanged by multiple groups or individuals who all identify as white. Stormfront is certainly filled with derogatory slang lobed against non-whites, though there is less vitriol between members identifying as white. The main point of disagreement appears to be religious, and insults are exchanged between members of the Christian Identity forum and members identifying as atheist, heathen, pagan, and other forms of Christian. There are also instances where someone’s whiteness is called into question.

Second, is the directive to post only in appropriate forums. In order to give the reader a sense of the scope of Stormfront, I am including screen shots of the top two pages as seen on January 11, 2013. There are sixty-two unique forums and 653,483 threads. There are 9,164,112 separate posts on Stormfront. The screen names have been blacked out to protect the identities of the users.⁵ Many forums are marked “private” and can only be accessed by registered users – the theology forum where I pulled data is one such private forum. There is a third level of communication within Stormfront, the ability to private message. By clicking on user’s profiles, it is possible to see the number of messages they have exchanged, but not the messages themselves.

The banner across the top changes every few weeks (see figure 16 next page). It typically features historical figures who are championed as outstanding examples of the white race. On the day that I took this screen shot it pays homage to Elizabeth Blackwell,

⁵ Though Stormfront started small and grew exponentially, assuming that the forum went live on January 1, 1995, this means it has been live for 6,210 days by January 2013. Averaged evenly, there would be 1,475 new posts *a day*.

the first female physician in America. Blackwell can be seen to illustrate the intelligence of white women.

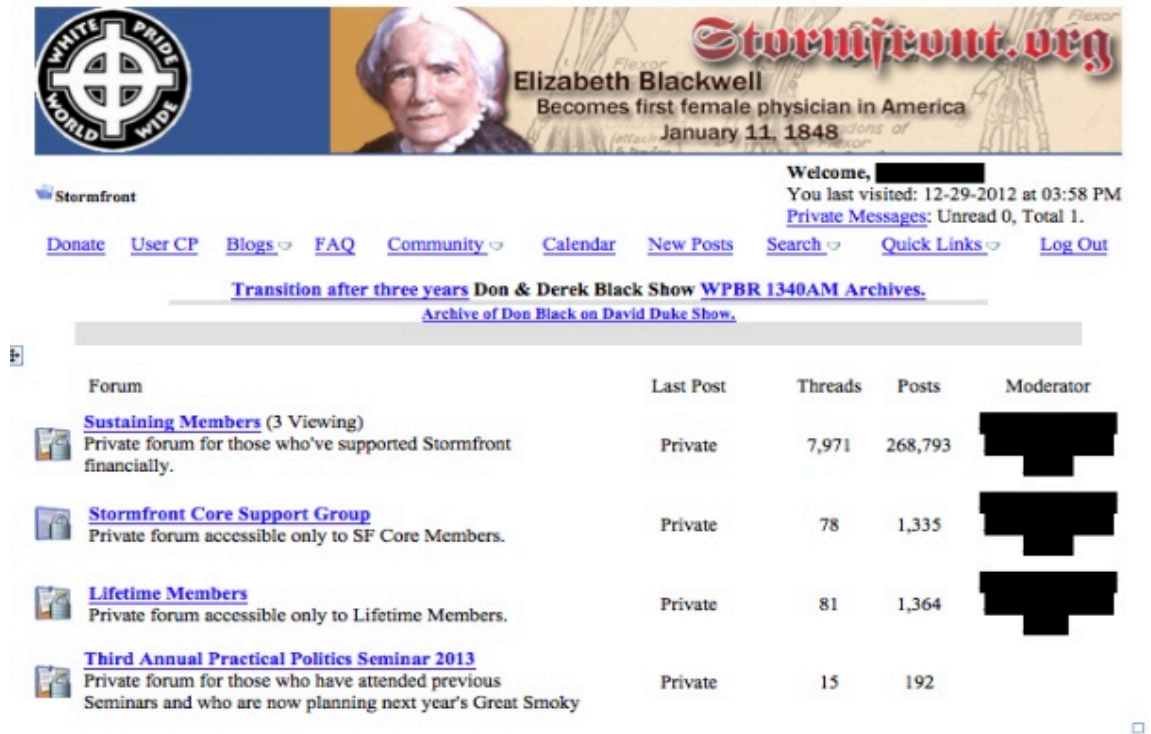


Figure 16

At the very bottom of the list of threads and forums appears this graphic (figure 17):

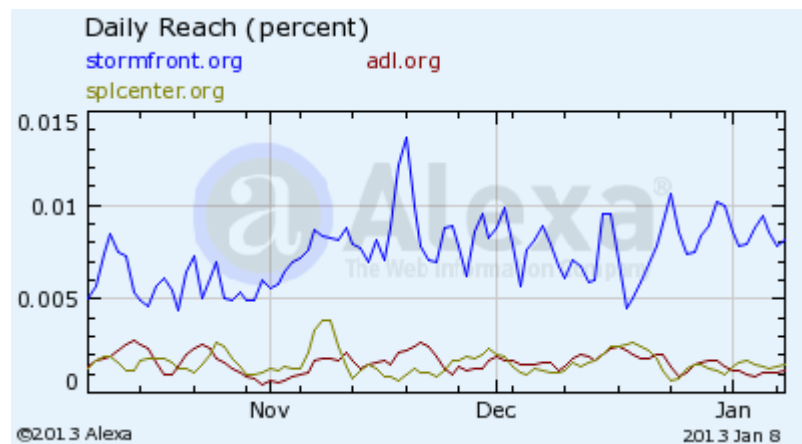


Figure 17

The graphic is generated by Alexa, a company that offers website-to-website comparisons based on amount of traffic. The site attempted to show that they receive more traffic a day than the Anti-Defamation League and the Southern Poverty Law Center, demonstrating that racism and hate are more popular than the top two watch sites for extremist groups. White supremacists like to believe that their ideas have widespread support, and they constantly look for evidence that white people who do not belong to racist organizations still support the white cause. This graph is one example. More examples are contained below.

This chapter begins with analysis of examples demonstrating how Christian Identity white supremacists understand the role of scripture.

Literally Scriptural

My religion is simply old-time religion, straight from
Scriptures, Straight from God. - Charles Lee, Christian
Identity believer

Religions use the language of myth, a figurative and symbolic way of communicating truths about reality through story and parable. Like great works of literature, myth contains truths about the human condition and yet is not true. However, some people in every religious tradition take myths as actual fact. Because of the highly

figurative language of religious literature, traditions contain contradictions and paradoxes, forcing the literalist believer to interpret and pick and choose.

Every believer makes choices about what value or weight to accord passages and which sections to discard entirely. In light of this, those who believe in scriptural inerrancy are those who believe that they are taking a scripture as fact. They support their actions and beliefs by referencing scriptural passages – references are meant to end discussion or debate. Once the text has been cited, any conversation is considered over because the divinely inspired text has been evoked. The following passage appears on the website of the Sons of Yahweh:

We believe the entire Bible, both Old and New Testaments, as originally inspired, to be the inerrant, supreme, revealed Word of God. The history, covenants and prophecies of this Holy Book were written for and about a specific elect family of people who are the children of YHVH (Luke 3:38; Psalm 82:6) through the seedline of Adam (Genesis 5:1). All scripture is written as a doctrinal standard for our exhortation, admonition, correction, instruction and example; the whole counsel to be believed, taught and followed (2 Timothy 3:16).⁶

The following pages are dedicated to how Stormfront members, posting in the Christian Identity subforum, use scripture to justify their religious position. There are significant overlaps with identity formation – how they understand their whiteness in contrast to others’ non-whiteness. I have provided large excerpts in most cases in order to

⁶ “Fundamental Beliefs,” Church of the Sons of YHVH, accessed April 21, 2013, http://www.churchofthesonsofyhvh.org/fundamental_beliefs.htm.

capture the full import of messages. This also illuminates the conversations taking place between members.

The first examples are a discussion of how the white race can be traced back to Adam through Noah. In previous chapters I have outlined the understanding and biblical justification of Adam being white, and now we will see that justification in the words of Christian Identity believers themselves.

We start with a post by “Joe Smith” explaining the connection between Christian Identity and white supremacy:⁷

Joe Smith, April 17, 2012, accessed December 28, 2012: I don’t believe a person can be CI and not also be a White Supremest. Now supposedly that label means a White person that intends to enslave non-Whites. I’ve seen folks here at Stormfront run with that definition. In all reality “White Supremest” is an oxymoron. It should be obvious that Whites are at the top of the food chain. The reason a White Christian should be a White Supremest is because a White Christian, especially a CIer is because White folks were created in God’s own image. Therefore we are superior to all and are honor bound to hold that position like a jealous house wife. Unfortunately you will always run into the “Jesus loves everybody” crowd but the Jewish question is always solved by a White Supremest by who did God model Adam after. Judaism and Christianity are not compatible and proof of this is in their own book the Talmud. The Talmud is a playbook on how the rip everybody else off. A CI church will only be a gathering of Adamites. Jew need not apply anymore than a negro should.

⁷ All text copied verbatim. Typographical, syntactical, and grammatical errors appear in the original.

The first thing to note is that “Joe Smith” is responding to the idea that Christian Identity believers uphold slavery. I didn’t actually come across this idea in my observation – most posters seem to favor segregation and desire to avoid contact with non-whites. However, there is a difference of opinion within the community, and “Joe Smith” is positioning himself in the discussion.

The second important aspect is the very common observation that the term white supremacy is an “oxymoron.” White racists grapple with the negative connotation that society has given their beliefs in some interesting ways. Many – more examples of this follow – attempt to illustrate that the terms “white supremacist” and “racist” are devoid of meaning by either dismissing them in the way “Joe Smith” does, or by attempting to illustrate that they mean something different than society thinks. The phrase “Stop the Hate: Segregate” pops up frequently, both on Stormfront and on various supremacist websites. In this way white supremacists can frame themselves as being against hate through an understanding that racial segregation will accomplish the same goal of progressives: ending racial tensions.

“Joe Smith” goes on to explain that a white Christian should be Christian Identity because it’s “obvious that Whites are at the top of the food chain.” Furthermore, “[w]hite folks were created in God's own image.” These things are taken as fact and reflect the belief that Adam was white, as is his genetic lineage.

Finally, the additional claims regarding the incompatibility of Judaism and Christianity are written off with a quick reference to the Talmud as a book that teaches

Jews how to “rip everybody else off.” Though “Joe Smith” does not spend time here explaining why Judaism and Christianity are incompatible, other white supremacists spend a great deal of time on this issue. Consider the following post by “KenDoll”:

KenDoll, December 6, 2011, accessed January 11, 2013:
...if Whites are the descendants of Shem, and Jesus is the descendent of Shem, wouldn't that be the, THEE, most important aspect to focus on when dispelling the myth that Christianity is jewish? I always thought the best example was jews themselves and the rejecting of Christ by them. As well as the destruction of Christian symbols, etc., by them. However, as most of us know, discussing the jewish question with non-racial Whites is one heck of a hurdle. One sometimes best built up to, or led up to, first. I would think that the lineage aspect of Shem (which, just in case some didn't know, has been shown in this thread for the first time to me, includes Jesus) would be the best route to go. For those of us who are racial, what better example to be shown than one that shows a direct blood link?

Christian Identity white supremacists expend a lot of effort trying to demonstrate that Christianity is not a historical offshoot of Judaism. They accomplish this in a variety of ways, and “KenDoll” utilizes a couple of tactics here. The first is that Jews do not accept Christ; Christian Identity is not the only group that takes issue with Jewish people on the legitimacy of Christ.

The second method “KenDoll” uses is that of bloodline. Christian Identity spends extensive time discussing the genealogy of Jesus, tracing his bloodline back through

Noah to Adam in an attempt to demonstrate the whiteness of all of the major biblical figures. “KenDoll” does not offer many details. Others do.⁸

An even more explicit description of this understanding of biblical genealogy follows. “Cyclops” is a frequent poster and is also one of the moderators, having the power to approve and delete posts. “Cyclops” offers an extensive genealogy of Noah:

Cyclops, date unknown,⁹ accessed January 11, 2013: The Bible clearly states that Noah and his family were “Perfect in his generations” meaning that they were racially pure from Adam to Noah. Therefore, Noah’s three sons Shem, Ham and Japheth were the same as their father. There is overwhelming secular and scientific evidence that the Negroid and Mongoloid races existed before Adam by thousands of years. The three primary races then, could not have descended from Noah’s sons.

You have another problem by saying one of Noah’s sons was White. You mention “Semitic”, which is Shem, so that one is cancelled, leaving either Ham or Japheth. Ham became the “cursed” people through his son Canaan, who became racially mixed mongrels. So that only leaves Japheth as being the purported White race. But this is also problematic in that they also mongrelized and one of his sons was Ashkenaz; now we know that most jews in the world today emanate from the Eastern European Ashkenazi, who emmigrated from the southern steppes of Russia, known as the Khazar empire that converted to judaism in the 9th century AD. When jews scream “antisemitism”, they are promoting a fraud, because they are not descendants of Shem, but rather Japheth.

⁸ It’s also very interesting how “KenDoll” refers to himself as a “racial.” Some white supremacists embrace the term “racist.” Others prefer less loaded terms such as “racialist” or “racial.” These choices are part of the impression management that members utilize.

⁹ This particular entry was copied and pasted into another post, making it impossible to know the original date of posting.

This gets real interesting when you understand that Jesus was not a Jew and the Bible clearly traces His lineage back through the line of Shem, which can only be the White race, that kept their generations perfect.

“Cyclops” is using a King James Bible,¹⁰ and he takes Noah being “perfect in his generations,” a reference to Genesis 6:9, to mean that Noah was white. Noah’s whiteness is passed to his three sons who would also be white.¹¹ The three non-white races, understood by Christian Identity to be “negroid,” “mongoloid,” and “Jew,” were not descended from Noah, according to “Cyclops.” Two of Noah’s sons, according to “Cyclops,” polluted their bloodline by breeding with non-white women, and one of these, Japheth, is the ancestor of Khazar Judaism.

The whole point of this exercise is to make Jesus white. In order to get back to Noah, the lineage must go through Shem. However, this presents a serious problem for Christian Identity because many modern Jews trace their ancestry to the ancient Semites, understood religiously to be the “people of Shem.” The “Cyclops” post accomplishes two things: it ensures the whiteness of Jesus, and it disrupts a common understanding of the identity of the Jewish people.¹²

¹⁰ The New Revised Standard Bible (1989) translates this verse thusly: “This is the account of Noah and his family. Noah was a righteous man, blameless among the people of his time, and he walked faithfully with God.” There is no reference to “generations” or “perfection.”

¹¹ The unstated assumption is that Noah’s wife, unnamed in the Bible, was also white.

¹² There is also a fascinating reference to “overwhelming secular and scientific evidence that the Negroid and Mongoloid races existed before Adam by thousands of years.” This is a nod to the idea that the earth is 4.5 billion years old and that modern humans have been around at least 200,000 years. Christian Identity resolves the question of evolution through the belief that only *white* people are 6,000 years old and were created by God in the Garden.

The “Cyclops” presentation of white genealogy raises some controversy on the forum. Fotus pushes back:

Fotus, December 6, 2011, accessed January 11, 2013: The original jews (Idumeans/Edomites) were actually descendants of Shem as well. Although the father of the Edomites (who was Jacob/Israel’s brother, son of Isaac) who’s name was Esau/Edom, was actually a pure white. Although he sold his birthright and took mud-race wives, thus earning him God’s hatred. So I guess you can say those Edomite Jews are descendants of Shem as well, but they are mixed race anyway. It is the Khazari Jews who are definitely not descendants of Shem.

“Fotus” agrees that the Khazari Jews are not descendants of Shem but points out that Edomite Jews are. His point is that Shem, being white, is the ancestor of Jesus, who is also understood to be white, but also “mud-bloods” as well. This move alleviates the possible criticism that Christian Identity is not historically accurate. However, this interpretation receives a question:

Descendant, August 26, 2012, accessed January 11, 2013: This is the first I have heard anyone claim that whites are descendants of Shem. Even the 1st century historian Josephus says that the European peoples are descendants of Japheth. addition to the Japhetic peoples of Europe, the Semitic peoples were equated with all Middle-easterners, Arabs and Israelites, and Hamitic peoples with Africa. I’m not claiming anyone’s claims of Europeans and Biblical Israelites being descended from Shem is wrong but it conflicts with all of the evidence I have found to date.

Fascinatingly, the first response is actually not an answer to “Descendant” at all. “Nature

Lover” attacks “Descendant” for breaking posting rules: “You’re all over Theology posting in many subforums. Are you aware of the rule to not cross-post?” (Nature Lover, August 26, 2012, accessed January 11, 2013.)

This confrontation provokes an amiable reply from “Descendant:”

Descendant, August 26, 2012, accessed January 11, 2013:
Yes I am aware of the cross posting rule but am not of any particular religion and am just looking for where I might fit in. I had no intentions of openly debating anything I was just looking for information from people that may know the answer to my questions. I will stay out of the CI forum from now on. Anyone that has the information I was looking for please feel free to PM me with it....

This exchange is an aside to the conversation on genealogy but is one example of a different kind of exchange within the forums. Questions are often met with hostility: ridicule, scorn, and verbal abuse. Christian Identity posters will often ask one another for sources, recommendations on what to read, suggestions for resources in their area – these questions are met with helpfulness. However, any questions that challenge the positions being advocated are subject to attack. “Descendant’s” question was not even that provocative: he simply indicated a lack of familiarity with the historical interpretation under discussion. In order for “Nature Lover” to know that “Descendant” posted in several areas, “Nature Lover” would have to have paid a visit to “Descendant’s” profile – a log of users’ posts is kept on their profile pages. It is not difficult to find out where people post, but it does take an extra step. “Nature Lover” felt provoked enough to track “Descendant’s” behavior and point out that posting in multiple subforums is a violation

of the rules.¹³ “Descendant” responds as amiably as in his initial question and promises to leave the forum. In my time on Stormfront, I did not see this user post in the Christian Identity forum again.

“Cyclops” is a moderator and is not held to the same standard as regular posters like “Descendant.” “Cyclops” posts in numerous forums and often attacks non-Christian Identity Stormfront members. In fact, “Cyclops” averages three posts a day, often in other forums. He jumps in and answers “Descendant” even though “Descendant” has left the forum:

Cyclops, August 26, 2012, accessed January 11, 2013: The Japhethites: Genesis 10:2-5 Gomer (Genesis 10:2). Difficult to document, the historian Josephus made the mistake of associating Gomer with the Kelts, an error probably derived from an early Greek name for them, Κιμμέριοι, and many of his copyists have followed this mistake, which is based solely upon this phonetic similarity. That the Kelts actually sprung from a portion of the children of Israel deported by the Assyrians (see Missing Links Discovered in Assyrian Tablets by E. Raymond Capt) is evident from many factors, including their late (7th century B.C.) appearance in history, their location today, and their role in history in fulfillment of many of the prophecies concerning Israel: a topic beyond the scope of this discussion. Simply note that the “Galatians” of Paul’s epistle are Kelts, and Paul certainly was writing to Israelites [which the contents of that epistle proves]. By contrast, in Ezekiel chapter 38, Gomer is allied with those who are in opposition to the children of Israel, [*sic*] Some commentators feel that Hosea’s taking of a wife named Gomer (Hos. 1:3) is an indication that Gomer was one of the tribes that the Israelites were dispersed among after their deportation by the Assyrians. This hypothesis is

¹³ Other posters seem to interact on a variety of subforums without being chastised. The rule against participating in different forums seems to only be enforced when a poster is asking challenging questions.

quite credible, though I have not been able to positively identify any tribe of the secular records with Gomer. [Gomer is not found in Assyrian inscriptions. It can be established that Khumri, the Assyrian name for the children of Israel whom they deported into northern Mesopotamia, is the source for the Greek name Κιμμέριοι, or Kimmerians.]

“Descendant” indicates that the first-century historian Josephus thought the Europeans to be descended from Japheth, and “Cyclops” attempts to clear up this confusion by discrediting Josephus. If Celtic people are of a lineage that can be traced to Israel through the Assyrians, then their connection with Shem is safe, and their whiteness is thus ensured.

“Cyclops” is also willing to admit that he does not know the full explanation, lacking “secular” verification. He follows traditional Christian Identity thinking in having Paul communicate with “Kelts,” understood to be pure-blood white and thus morally and spiritually superior. Others try to make similar connections in other ways: “Heb. 8:10 ‘brith’ means covenant, ‘ain’ means land (Britain- covenant land) ‘ish’ means man (British- covenant man) Joseph's coat of many colors, forerunner of Scottish plaid” (Nature Lover, December 30, 2003, accessed December 28, 2012). “Nature Lover” conflates the Brits with the Scots, suggesting that tartan has a biblical origin. This is an attempt to demonstrate cultural similarities between the Joseph of the Bible and cultures Christian Identity associates with whiteness. Different posters have a different understanding of who the “Kelts” are and their exact location in the genealogy of the white race. Celts, Norse, and other Germanic peoples are claimed as white, and tracing

their lineage back to Jesus and then further back to Adam occupies a lot of time and space on the forums.

Blood lineage is of paramount importance to Christian Identity. “KenDoll” asks this question: “So, my question is, if Whites are descended of Shem, and Jesus is a descendent of Shem as well, that makes Jesus a blood relative of all of us no? Even more so than Moses. Right?” (KenDoll, December 5, 2011, accessed January 11, 2013). The need to establish a blood link with Jesus Christ is common for Christian Identity, driven by the same need to trace and verify the whiteness of biblical figures right back to Adam. “Freya” points out that “all would be kindred with Jesus as the descendants of Shem, and even the Japhethites would be distant cousins of Jesus. All pure blood children of Adam are capable of becoming heirs to the promise to Abraham” (Freya, December 5, 2011, accessed January 11, 2013). “Freya’s” point raises a problem, however, because this would mean that Jews, and everyone else potentially, are also related to the line of Jesus. She is careful to point out that it is only “pure blood” descendants who are capable of fulfilling Abraham’s covenant with God.

“European King” explains the differences between Judaism and Christianity as follows:

European King, October 26, 2010, accessed December 28, 2012: You know, we’ve all heard it, that us Christians follow a Jewish religion and that our religion was started by a Jew, and that true WNists reject anything Jewish. Well let’s put it to the test. Firstly let’s define a modern Jew. A Jew is anybody who is descended through their mother from the Ashkenazi or Sepharic Jewish population. Modern Jews number about 15 million and have White, Asian and

Negroid traits along with a specific Jewish gene unique to Jews themselves. Firstly can we prove that the modern Jews are descended from the ancient Israelites, no, even Wikipedia admits in its article that findings can only trace Jews to so-called exiled Israelite populations, meaning Jews claiming to be Israelites while probably not, quote Genetic studies indicate various lineages found in modern Jewish populations; however, most of these populations share a lineage in common, traceable to an ancient population that underwent geographic branching and subsequent independent evolutions. While DNA tests have demonstrated inter-marriage in all of the various Jewish ethnic divisions over the last 3,000 years, it was substantially less than in other populations. The findings lend support to traditional Jewish accounts accrediting their founding to exiled Israelite populations, and counters theories that many or most of the world's Jewish populations were founded entirely by local populations that adopted the Jewish religion, devoid of any actual Israelite genetic input unquote. So to prove that the ancient Israelites are the same people as the Jews of today is not proven, but most modern Jews have been proven to have roots in Khazaria or Russia.

There are a number of claims in this post, and, as Wikipedia is the only source “European King” cites specifically, it is impossible to discern the origin of these claims. What is of interest is that “European King” spends his time discounting the claim that Jews are direct descendants of the ancient Israelites but no time on the question of whether whites can prove that they are descended from the Israelites from the time of Abraham. He also is careful to point out that the “Jews” to whom he refers have “Asian and Negroid” traits along with a gene that is “specific to them.” This “Jewish gene” is supposedly of demonic origin and proves that Jews are related to the devil.

In the next section of the post, he switches tactics from the genealogy of biology

to the genealogy of religion:

So the ancient Israelites were not the same as the Jews of today, since Christianity began with the Israelites and the Word of God given to Moses, to say that Christianity came from Judaism is not true. What then is the Jewish religion, Judaism is based on the Talmud. The Talmud originated in ancient Babylonia and was finally written down about 500 years after Christ, the Talmud has nothing to do with the Old Testament and/or Christianity. The Jews pay lip service to the Old Testament and keep it as their own, but they didn't write it originally, they adopted it. Many peoples adopt things from other peoples, but it doesn't make it their own. So we can see that Christianity has nothing to do with Judaism religiously or racially. Might I also point out that nowhere in the Bible is Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, David, Solomon, Christ Yahshua or even St. Paul called a Jew, they are all referred to as Israelites. The word Jew doesn't even appear in the Old Testament until 2 Kings 16:6, almost halfway through the Old Testament. I think anybody reading this, before they call Christianity a Jewish religion and accept the lies of the Jews as being God's Chosen people should look over the facts and realize that Christianity has nothing to do with Judaism or what we would call Jewish today.

Unlike other posters, such as "Cyclops," "European King" does not substantiate his claims through reference to scripture or "secular" sources, to use "Cyclops" term. He also does not offer any evidence to support his claim that "Christianity began with the Israelites." This post is not about proving Christian Identity claims to be correct, but to discredit Judaism: both Judaism as a religion and Jews as the heirs to Abraham and Moses.

In “European King’s” post we get a glimpse of the fluid and interchanging ways the term “Jew” is used by Christian Identity. In Chapter one, I outlined three ways that Christian Identity uses “Jew,” and we can see all three in “European King’s” post. He points out that “Jew” is a geographic locator synonymous with “Israelite.” Thus the poster can differentiate between “Jew” as a description of where a person is from, and a “Jew,” a person adhering to a particular religion.

The third definition of Jew, as the biological descendant of Satan, can be seen in the conclusion of “European King’s” post:

A lot of people don’t believe the lies of the Jews, the Holohoax for example, but for some reason they believe that the Jews are the People of the Book, when they clearly are not. Let’s go onto what is Jewish, Hollywood movies, sick Jewish movies, MTV, disgusting filth projected on the one eyed monster, that is all Jewish. On top of that whenever somebody criticizes Jewish productions, you’ll always find somebody who defends it. I’m not talking about the Lord of the Rings, or decent White music, or some great Epic movie, I’m talking horror movies like Saw, filthy disgusting sexual movies like American Pie. Trash like that, that often gets defended, I thought you reject anything Jewish? To sum this up, I don’t think anybody can continue to call Christianity Jewish, or should I say true Christianity. Christians have kept the Jews under control for the past couple of thousand years and only in recent years after the Holohoax have attitudes changed. Christianity is the fighting force that saved Europe from the Mongols, the Turks, the Moors and the Huns. We all owe Christianity a debt of gratitude and I think it’s about time if we really want to attack religion we attack the religions that are a real threat, Islam and Judaism. People are crazy about attacking Christianity, but I often notice that they don’t go as harshly against Islam and Judaism, I should know, I see it here in my country and in other countries. It’s about time we put our priorities in order.

This post contains a number of interlocking and overlapping characteristics. The Jew is cast as the demonic “other,” perverting and corrupting society through lies and the creation of “filthy” media. These hoaxes fool the unsuspecting into feeling sorry for the Jews, but this is all part of the demonic plot to subvert Christianity. Christianity itself is perceived as being under attack, people are “crazy about attacking Christianity” while being lenient or sympathetic toward Judaism and Islam.

Unlike “European King,” “Cyclops” uses biblical references as well as historical documents to support his interpretation of scripture. I am providing this lengthy quote in full, as it is the most complete explanation of Christian Identity theology that I have found from a believer.

Cyclops, October 30, 2010, accessed January 11, 2013: - The Old Testament accounts found in the Book of Genesis demonstrate that there was a rivalry between Jacob and Esau. Esau, it is also clear, was a race-mixer who had taken wives of the Canaanites and the Ishmaelites (Genesis 36). The rivalry between the brothers later turned into a national enmity among their descendants, and the Edomites were eventually enslaved by the Israelites (1 Chron. 18), and later revolted (2 Chron. 21). When the Chaldeans finally took Jerusalem and destroyed the city, we find that the Edomites were in league with them, and are blamed for the temple’s destruction (Psalm 137:7-9; 1 Esdras 4:45 in the Septuagint). When the Israelites moved into the land of Canaan, they were instructed to destroy all of the Canaanite peoples. They failed to do this, and were warned that harm would later come to them because of this failure (Num. 33:55; Josh. 23:13; Jdg. 2:3). It is evident that both in Jerusalem and elsewhere, the later Israelites did indeed have a problem with infiltration and race-mixing by the Canaanite tribes (Jer. 2:13, 21-22; Ezek. 16:3, 45 et al.).

This was one of the chief reasons for their chastisement and removal. The prophecy found in Ezekiel chapters 35 and 36 discuss the fact that the Edomites had moved into the lands of Israel and Judah after the removal of the Israelites by the Assyrians and Chaldaeans (cf. Ezek. 35:10). The theme of the prophecy found in Malachi chapters 1 and 2 is that Jacob is distinguished from Esau, and that the sacrifices of the priests are not acceptable, because the covenant is with Levi. With this Malachi fully infers that there were (or that there would be) priests who should not have held the office. In the Biblical records after the Assyrian and Chaldaean deportations of the Israelites, concerning the return of merely 42,000 or so Israelites to Jerusalem we have only the books of Ezra and Nehemiah and a few of the Minor Prophets. These books are focused upon the activities in Jerusalem over a short period of time, and concerning the rest of the country, or concerning the time from approximately 455 to 3 BC, in the Bible we have nothing. It is evident, in Ezra and Nehemiah, that these returning Judaeans did struggle to maintain their race and keep themselves separate from the Canaanites and Edomites in the neighboring districts. Yet this attitude did not prevail, and with the works of the first-century Judaeon historian Flavius Josephus and the apocryphal 1 Maccabees along with secular sources we can fill in some of the historical gaps between the testaments. From Greek and Roman records, we can see that from the Hellenistic period all of the southern portions of the land once known as Judah and Israel were called Idumaea, after the Edomites. Strabo, the early first century Greek geographer, attests that the Idumaeans were “mixed up” with the Judaeans, and that they “shared in the same customs with them” (Book 16). From Josephus it can be determined that shortly before 130 BC, the reigning Maccabean high priest (who had all the authority of a king), John Hyrcanus, decided to conquer all of the surrounding cities of ancient Israel inhabited at that time by Edomites and Canaanites, and to either convert them to the religion of Judaea (first called “Judaism” by the Greeks) or to let them leave the land, or to be slain. (Maccabee was a name given to the Asamonean dynasty of high priests who ruled Jerusalem from about 150 BC down to about 36 BC, when the last of them was slain by Herod.) Josephus states that from this point these Edomites

became “none other than Judaeans” (Antiquities, 13.9.1 et al.). Therefore we see with certainty the fulfillment of Ezekiel 35. Judaea from 130 BC forward was a multiracial polyglot of a nation. The first Herod, an Idumaeon by race who usurped power from the Maccabees, bribed the Romans for the kingship and from that time the temple priesthood at Jerusalem was used as a political tool. Both Josephus and the ecclesiastical historian Eusebius admit that many of the priests were not worthy of the distinction under the former Levitical traditions, and the veracity of Malachi’s prophecy becomes quite clear with their testimony. The usurpation of political control in Jerusalem is the primary reason for all of the division recorded in the New Testament. In Romans 16:20 and 2 Thessalonians, Paul alludes to the temple priesthood as “satan” (which means “the adversary”), and this is also attested to in Revelation 2:9 and 3:9. Yahshua (Jesus) Christ informs the priests and other leaders in many places that they are the children of the adversary, i.e. Luke 11:47-51, John 8:33-47 and John 10:26. In Romans chapter 9, Paul makes a clear distinction between Israelites of Judaea and the Edomites of Judaea, calling the one “vessels of mercy” and the other “vessels of destruction”. It can be shown from the New Testament that many of the Israelites converted to Christianity during the ensuing years, losing their identity as Judaeans. The Edomites never did, clinging to their traditions found in the Talmud – which has absolutely no authentic connection to the ancient Hebrew religion. Today these people, and all of their many proselytes and those whom they have intermarried with, are known as Jews.

Tribal affiliations are identified by “Cyclops” as being racial differences, and disputes over territory are also racialized in order to differentiate between Judeans, understood to be white, and those of mixed blood, understood to be impure. Christian Identity codes the Bible in terms of race, using the text itself, as well as additional sources, to justify its reading.

Interestingly, “Cyclops” appears to controvert another of his posts. He discredited Josephus’s genealogy of Gomer but relies on Josephus here to prove that Edomites were Judeans. While he may have an explanation for when he finds Josephus reliable, he does not offer it in either post.

The previous pages offer a representative sample of the type of rhetoric and thinking that Christian Identity believers use to uphold their interpretation of the Bible, an interpretation that they claim is historically validated through “secular” sources and more accurate than mainstream readings of the Judeo-Christian text. Posters such as “Cyclops” and “European King” claim that the scripture is inerrant, having discovered the true message of the Bible.

Numerous references to specific texts appear above. Additionally, hundreds of references appear in posts that I do not include. I mined the data set for every biblical reference and created a Wordle[®] (see figure 18, next page). The program creates a “word cloud” that shows words or phrases used more frequently in a larger size. Carmel McNaught and Paul Lam studied the use of Wordles in the qualitative analysis of text and conclude about word clouds:

[A]n understanding of the general composition of the frequently used words allows viewers to have an overview of the main topics and the main themes in a text, and may illustrate the main standpoints held by the writer of the text. Comparison of the word clouds generated from different texts should quickly reveal the differences between the ideas contained in these texts.¹⁴

¹⁴ Carmel McNaught and Paul Lam, “Using Wordle as a Supplementary Research Tool,” in *The Qualitative Report* vol. 15, no. 3 (May 2010): 630-1.

They go on to state that “Wordle seems to be particularly useful for studies that involve qualitative/thematic analyses of written or transcribed spoken text.”¹⁵



Figure 18

This is a quick visual allowing patterns to emerge (figure 18). We can see that Numbers 24:7, Jeremiah 3:18 and 51:20, Genesis 12:3, Genesis 24:60, Second Samuel 7:10, Hosea 1:10, Deuteronomy 33:17, Isaiah 43:10 and 12, and Isaiah 49:3 appear most frequently, ten or more times. The smallest, which can barely be seen, are only used once. Thus the scale of the different citations indicates frequency. It is an overwhelming number, but what is missing is also significant.

¹⁵ Ibid.

The immediately remarkable thing is that the most frequent references are all from the Old Testament. In fact, the vast majority of scriptural references cited on the Christian Identity forum are from the Christian Old Testament. The Book of Revelation, a favorite among apocalyptic Christian movements, is hardly referenced at all. And New Testament references appear infrequently.

Here are the most frequent citations. I used the King James Bible, as it is commonly used by Christian Identity believers.

Numbers 24:7: He shall pour the water out of his buckets, and his seed shall be in many waters, and his king shall be higher than Agag, and his kingdom shall be exalted.

Jeremiah 3:18: In those days the house of Judah shall walk with the house of Israel, and they shall come together out of the land of the north to the land that I have given for an inheritance unto your fathers.

Jeremiah 51:20: Thou art my battle axe and weapons of war: for with thee will I break in pieces the nations, and with thee will I destroy kingdoms.

Genesis 12:3: And I will bless them that bless thee, and curse him that curseth thee: and in thee shall all families of the earth be blessed.

Genesis 24:60: And they blessed Rebekah, and said unto her, Thou art our sister, be thou the mother of thousands of millions, and let thy seed possess the gate of those which hate them.

Second Samuel 7:10: Moreover I will appoint a place for my people Israel, and will plant them, that they may dwell in a place of their own, and move no more; neither shall the children of wickedness afflict them any more, as beforetime....

Hosea 1:10: Yet the number of the children of Israel shall

be as the sand of the sea, which cannot be measured nor numbered; and it shall come to pass, that in the place where it was said unto them, Ye are not my people, there it shall be said unto them, Ye are the sons of the living God.

Deuteronomy 33:17: His glory is like the firstling of his bullock, and his horns are like the horns of unicorns: with them he shall push the people together to the ends of the earth: and they are the ten thousands of Ephraim, and they are the thousands of Manasseh.

Isaiah 43:10 - 12: Ye are my witnesses, saith the LORD, and my servant whom I have chosen: that ye may know and believe me, and understand that I am he: before me there was no God formed, neither shall there be after me. [11] I, even I, am the LORD; and beside me there is no saviour. [12] I have declared, and have saved, and I have shewed, when there was no strange god among you: therefore ye are my witnesses, saith the LORD, that I am God.

Isaiah 49:3: And said unto me, Thou art my servant, O Israel, in whom I will be glorified.

Numbers 24:7 appears in a vision by the biblical character Balaam about the prosperity of the house of Jacob spreading throughout the land, as seeds spread through water. It is taken as a promise by God that the white race will prosper. Genesis 12:3 is used in the same way, to certify that God will protect the chosen people and curse his enemies.

Jeremiah 3:18 is used to prove that it is America, not Israel, that is the promised land. Christian Identity believes that only when white people occupy the United States, or a portion of it ordained by God, the conditions will be right for the second coming. Second Samuel 7:10 is another reference to a promised land that is devoid of threat, a

safe place of prosperity. Hosea 1:10 proves that white people are the children of God, understood literally by the cosmotheists of William Pierce to mean that white people *are* God.

Jeremiah 51:20 is interpreted to prove that it is white men who will be the weapons of God. It is the duty of white men who have “true” insight into the Bible to rise up and be the “axe” of God. Deuteronomy 33: 16-17 speaks of the biblical Joseph, who is prophesied to have “a blessing come on ... [his] head, and on the crown of the head of him who was separate from his brothers,” who will push people to the ends of the earth and reunite those who have been separated. This passage is taken to mean that the chosen of God will vanquish the enemies of his chosen people and reunite with their brethren.

Genesis 24:60 is used to certify that Rebekah was white and thus her children with Isaac are also of pure blood. Certifying white genealogy, as seen in the previous pages, is of great importance to Christian Identity.

The verses from Isaiah are both references to being chosen or set apart. They are used to demonstrate that God selects people for special blessing.

Taken together and understood in the way that Christian Identity believers do, these passages are the central theme of beliefs. The seed line theory that is based on Genesis chapter 3, does not appear as a frequently cited source.

The last example summarizes how Christian Identity believers combine their understanding of the biblical stories to support their racialized reading of the Bible.

MathewB, December 26, 2012, accessed December 29, 2012: Here's featured passages from this awesome sermon

which I hope y'all enjoy ... Yah Bless! "Adam was told, 'Now don't get mixed up with these pre-Adamic races who have evil so ingrained in them that you are not going to be able to lift them out of it; they will make you like one of them. You are here to have good only, and not evil, in your character and your conduct.' Then he let himself be persuaded by Satan that the way to have power in this world, and rule, you had to get down off your pedestal and mingle with these people and learn their ways and out-smart them, and you had to be more clever, more crooked than they were-until, what was the result? Satan, who had been the superintendent of this planet and probably others, was deposed because he disobeyed God, he rebelled against God. Well, what did Adam do? He did the same thing. When our ancestors the people of Israel were on the march, were on the march and ready to go into Palestine, God gave us our instructions very plainly. He said of the people who were in the land He was telling them to take possession of, 'You shall exterminate them totally; you shall not leave one man, woman, or child, alive; because, if you do, if you leave them there, you are going to have integration, your children will grow up with theirs, they will inter-marry with them, and you will become as polluted as they are, until finally I will have to exterminate you for the very same reason that I am telling you to exterminate them.' The Israelites were not Jews; no Israelite was ever a Jew, and no Jew was ever an Israelite."

"MathewB" claims to be quoting a sermon but he does not list the source or the name of the speaker. However, it serves as a retelling of Genesis chapter three that makes clear that racial intermarriage is an abomination and that God approves of the extermination of unspecified others. "MathewB" is inspired by this sermon, presumably delivered by a Christian Identity preacher. On that note, we now turn to the role that charismatic leaders play in the perpetuation of racist beliefs.

The Power of Charisma

During the L.A. riots there were 40 Skinheads who were ready to go down to Florence and Normandie and start wasting black people. What stopped them, believe it or not, was Tom Metzger. - T.J. Leyden, (former) Skinhead¹⁶

White supremacy has survived because of leaders. In spite of several leaders lacking qualities that most people would consider captivating – Richard Butler of the Aryan Nations read from prewritten sermons in a high reedy voice, rarely making eye contact with the audience – the power of their ideas inspires terrorist activities. In the *Washington Post* article “Behind the Lone Terrorist, A Pack Mentality,” Mike German notes, “Extremist group leaders produce a tremendous amount of literature, including training manuals on ‘leaderless resistance’ and lone wolf terrorism techniques. These manuals have been around for years and now they’re even available online.”¹⁷ Leaders are the idea men, the ones who provoke and inspire. They are the masterminds: “By providing both the motive and method for violence, these leaders become part of the conspiracy. Their cynical reliance on First Amendment rights, which they would not grant others, does not negate their role.”¹⁸ They teach their followers how to manipulate the law, how to acquire munitions, and techniques for converting others.

¹⁶ Tom Metzger is the leader of White Aryan Resistance (WAR).

¹⁷ Mike German, “Behind the Lone Terrorist, a Pack Mentality,” *The Washington Post*, June 5, 2005, accessed July 10, 2013, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2005/06/04/AR2005060400147.html>

¹⁸ Ibid.

The charismatic leaders of white supremacist movements meet the criteria Max Weber outlines in *Economy and Society*, his epic contribution to sociology. Weber explains:

In order to live up to their mission the master as well as his disciples and immediate following must be free of the ordinary worldly attachments and duties of occupational and family life. Those who have a share . . . in charisma must inevitably turn away from the world.¹⁹

Fundamentalists have “turned away from the world” for their entire existence – one of the original trademarks of a fundamentalist movement is isolationism. White supremacists are not dissimilar today, though their anti-worldliness manifests perhaps differently than in the past: most members hold jobs, keep households, and interact with the rest of society. Their supremacist lives are lived behind the public gaze in racist spaces created by the community. In the case of Stormfront, the community is online. The signs white supremacists use – the double lightning strike, the number 88, the broken-armed cross, and others – become a secret language used by members to identify one another. Digging more deeply into this hidden world, “one discovers that the properties of pure charisma are virtually identical with those of liminality, anti-structure and *communitas*.”²⁰ White supremacist leaders have created an “anti-structure” in which lone wolf activities are encouraged, and many perpetrators of racist crime are no longer affiliated with an

¹⁹ Max Weber, *Economy and Society*, ed. Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1978), 1113-1114.

²⁰ George P. Hansen, *Trickster and the Paranormal* (Philadelphia: Xlibris, 2001), 103.

organization. In fact, it is striking how often newspapers will make note that a hate crime has been committed by someone who has left a white supremacist organization. Timothy McVeigh, Wade Michael Page (the Sikh Temple shooter), James Burmeister (who killed two black people in an effort to be worthy of the spider web tattoo), and Eric Rudolph (who bombed the Atlanta Olympic games) were all previously connected with white supremacy, and they are not the only ones.²¹ However, at the time of their crimes, all were officially unaffiliated with organized groups. Mike German, a former FBI agent who worked undercover in white supremacist groups, thinks that this is intentional: leaders direct their followers to leave the group before committing crimes so that the group will not be implicated. Lack of culpability is part of the strategy.²²

Three of the most influential leaders have died within the past ten years, leaving the powerful Aryan Nations, National Alliance, and Scriptures of America leaderless. However, the legacy of the leaders remains strong. This post from the Aryan Nations website illustrates how the charisma of Richard Butler lives on:

Who are we, and who was Richard G. Butler? We are the continuing direct-line Church of Jesus Christ Christian as originally founded by Dr. Wesley Swift of Lancaster, California. After Dr. Swift's death, the church has been carried on by Richard G. Butler, who named Harold Ray Redfeairn his successor to Aryan Nations in 2003. The church is now being carried on within Aryan Nations by ordained Church of Jesus Christ Christian Pastor Morris L. Gullett who is Pastor Ray Redfeairn's successor. The Church of Jesus Christ Christian is the true Church of

²¹ More details on these crimes are contained in chapter five.

²² German, "Behind the Lone Terrorist."

Christ, teaching not the “doctrines of men” - but rather the doctrines of the Prophets and Jesus The Christ, Yahweh Yahshua.²³

The Aryan Nations provides their own genealogy in order to legitimize their platform.

Notice that they trace their roots right back to Swift.

Scriptures for America (SFA) continues to post that they are “directed by Pastor Peters” (as of July 2013), even though the man died two years previously. His charisma lives on. As of July 9, 2013, “This Week’s Sermon” on the website shows a much younger Peters and is obviously a recycled sermon that appears to be from the late 1980s or early 1990s. SFA is not acknowledging that their leader is dead. The bibliography of Peters on the “About” page has recently been changed to the past tense, but a date of death is not listed, though Peters’ birth date is. The memorial statement that appeared on the site following Peter’s death has been removed. It is impossible for a casual viewer to know that he is dead.

Leaders are larger than life figures, occupying a significant place in the minds of their followers. Though groups split and fragment after the death of a leader, the memory of the person is inflated to the point that even death cannot diminish the importance of the role the person occupied. However, charisma “cannot remain stable, but becomes either traditionalized or rationalized, or a combination of both.”²⁴ Following the death of its leader, the once powerful and wealthy Aryan Nations is a shadow of its former self with

²³ “About A.N.,” The Aryan Nations, accessed April 21, 2013, <http://www.aryan-nation.org/aboutus.htm>.

²⁴ Weber, *Economy and Society*, 246.

two men competing for leadership. Currently, both sides have a small membership of less than twenty. However, as we will see in the next chapter, violence can easily come at the hands of one person following the directive of a powerful leader.

A current strong voice in Christian Identity is Pastor Mark Downey, the leader of Kinsmen Redeemer Ministries.²⁵ This website is referenced frequently on Stormfront, and the sites contain links to each other. Downey outlines the role of a leader:

The structure of our church is based on Christian leadership, not democracy. A pastor-leader, who is a man of God, shall maintain the integrity of the sanctuary as hallowed ground; shall establish the vision for which God has ordained him; shall lead the body of Christ in the direction of Truth; shall make godly decisions and judge things righteously; shall deliver weekly messages through inspiration of the Holy Spirit; and shall minister to the needs of the saints.²⁶

The most interesting thing about these directives is that many Christian Identity believers uphold democracy as the most holy social and political order directed by God. Downey disagrees, advocating something more like a theocracy. Though the followers are referred to as “saints,” they are overseen by a pastor who appears to have absolute power over all things religious and social.

²⁵ Downey does not provide his credentials on the website. It is not clear if he is ordained by a religious organization or not.

²⁶ “Church Guidelines,” Kinsmen Redeemer, accessed April 20, 2013, <http://kinsmanredeemer.org/>.

The End is Nigh?

We understand that the enemies of God are at war against us, but with the faith of our fathers, we will be victorious.

– Kinsmen Redeemer Ministries

The apocalyptic eschatology of Christianity appears mostly in the books of Isaiah, Daniel, Ezekiel, and Revelation. Christian Identity, as previously established in chapter two, sees its members playing a crucial role in the end of the world as the “faithful remnant” of God. Given the central position of this belief in Christian Identity, I expected to find frequent references to the end of the world and conversations concerning prophecies predicting the end of the world on Stormfront. My expectations went unfulfilled.

There is very little conversation regarding prophecies on the Christian Identity forums on Stormfront. However, there is a great deal of conversation regarding war and fighting back. Christian Smith’s term “embattlement” is apt here: members maintain their own sense of identity and self-worth by placing themselves in opposition to an “other.”

The following post exemplifies this type of thinking:

White Templar, December 22, 2012, accessed January 11, 2013: I can’t even say the jew is as bad as the negroid. The Jew is different. the jew attacks us Internally. they dress like us, talk like us, and undermine us so they can destroy our race from the inside. Jews are the biggest threat to our race. Jews our indeed our most dangerous enemy, but even they aren’t as bad as the negroid. the Negroid would be

doing far worse to us than the jews are doing if the negroids have the intelligence. Negroids are the most violent, hideous, barbaric, and unintelligent race. Sure the jew wants to destroy the white race, but they tried for thousands of years and failed. They could not destroy us without their secret weapon, the negroid. they use this animal to destroy everywhere it goes, mixing with every white person it sees until there are none left, and ravaging everything beautiful. Nothing beautiful will remain once the Negroid is through with ravaging and destroying what was once a Proud White civilization.

“White Templar” outlines an alliance between Jews and blacks that threatens to destroy the white race. Like many others on the thread, he fears that the whites will lose. This anxiety is ubiquitous on the forum and seems at odds with the belief that whites are the chosen of God. There is a real fear that whites will lose the battle, become extinct, and that Satan will be victorious. The future is not predetermined; whites win only if they recognize their chosen status and take up arms for God.²⁷

Mark Downey of Kinsmen Redeemer suggests that the war of Armageddon has been delayed because God is punishing us for our transgressions. Furthermore, only God knows when it will happen, and he refuses to speculate, saying, “Thinking the worst leaves no room for happiness and we know misery loves company. We’re not supposed to feel sorry for ourselves. ‘Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall all manner of evil against you falsely, for My sake. Rejoice, and be exceeding

²⁷ Different elements of this post are analyzed in chapter four.

glad' Mt. 5:11-12.''²⁸ It's all part of God's plan, though humanity can speed things along by taking matters into their own hands. Downey continues:

Jewish chemistry has interceded in the water we drink, the air we breathe and the food we eat to curse our immune system. We should never confuse our Christian duty to obey God and act according to His Law with procrastination that God will do it all. That's why the Kingdom of God has been delayed for so long. God had to interject judgments along the way, because His Law was not being fulfilled. We shouldn't think that God's judgments are making things worse, but rather that they're corrective measures.²⁹

Downey expresses the commonly held belief that "Jews" have infiltrated every aspect of existence, including compromising the health of white people. But God allows this to happen as a lesson to his chosen people. Only the select few will see the truth, and they will become God's warriors during the end of days.

Downey does not come right out and say that the war has begun. Instead he says this:

Are things Jesus foretold of His return happening? He said it would be as in the days of Noah and Lot. What was going on way back then? It was rampant miscegenation and the squalid perversions of Sodom and Gomorrah. So are these things coming to pass right now? I would have to say that it sure looks like it.³⁰

²⁸ "It's going to Get Worse," Kinsmen Redeemer, accessed April 20, 2013, <http://kinsmanredeemer.org/>.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

This is as close as he comes: admitting that the signs point to the impending apocalypse.

The Aryan Nations are much more direct in this post in the “About Us” section of the website:

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 (Yahweh, The Ever living God), the Aryan Race, the true Israel of the bible. Revelations 12:10-11 [*sic*] WE BELIEVE that there is a day of reckoning. The usurper will be thrown out by the terrible ³¹might of Yahweh’s people, as they return to their roots and their special destiny. We know there is soon to be a day of judgment and a day when Christ’s Kingdom (government) will be established on earth, as it is in heaven. “And in the days of these kings shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed; and the kingdom shall not be left to other people, but it shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms and it ³²shall stand forever. The saints of the Most High, whose ³³kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey Him.” Daniel 2:44; 7:18; 7:27.³¹

For many Christian Identity believers, the war has already begun. The end is nigh.

³¹ “About A.N.”

4: White Warriors for Yahweh

We grow stronger every time we're attacked. – Christian

Identity believer, Stormfront

In the last chapter examples of rhetoric supporting scriptural inerrancy, emphasizing the importance of charismatic leaders, and expressing belief in an imminent apocalypse were introduced. In this chapter, examples of Us/Them speech and the belief in a demonic “other,” are examined before moving to an examination of how Christian Identity believers understand themselves as warriors for God. The latter sets the stage for chapter five which concerns itself with those who have inspired action and those who have committed terrorist acts motivated by the belief that they were doing God’s will.

White versus Not

As seen in chapter two, white supremacists spend a lot of time and energy differentiating between the “us” - the white, the righteous, the godly - from the “not us” – the non-white, the depraved, the demonic. One of the ways that the “us” is distinguished from the “not us” is through the performance of race. What it means to be

white is demonstrated to the public, often to other believers as much, if not more so, than outsiders. The performance of whiteness has two related components: the definitional and the managerial.

White supremacists spend a lot of time defining what it means to be white. Often this involves defining who is not white, a manifestation of the dualistic thinking inherent in fundamentalist thought. A large part of what it means to be white, as expressed in Christian Identity forums, revolves around being deprived of goods and resources by non-whites. There is a great degree of fear in these posts: fear of violence, fear of losing one's identity, fear that one is not receiving what one is entitled to. The deprivation experienced by white supremacists falls into three broad categories: loss of self and identity, loss of safety, and loss of goods and resources.

The second thing that white supremacists do to differentiate between "us" and "them" is engage in impression management, manipulating how they are seen. They often appeal to wider society to legitimate their claims, believing that untold numbers of whites support them but are too frightened or intimidated to become join a white supremacist group. Christian Identity believers are responsive to criticisms from wider society, and thus they create catch phrases such as the Aryan Nations' "Stop the Hate: Segregate" or replace the label "racist" with the less loaded "racialist." They want to be the opposite of that which they abhor – the "Jew," the "libtard," the "negroid," and yet they also manipulate their own identities in response to the things that are lobbied against them by those very groups. This post by "Lena" is an example:

Lena, November 19, 2010, accessed December 29, 2012: I don't *hate* anyone, I hate their actions and I simply want to be in a country where all I see are White faces and can feel safe. My whole life I've experienced unprovoked hatred towards me for MY White skin from non-whites. There is no "coexisting" only separation.

"Lena" is quick to point out that she is not a hater – she is simply responding to hate directed against her by non-whites. Her belief is that non-whites hating her makes her unsafe – a sign of deprivation, and thus she supports racial segregation so that she, and her white brethren, can feel secure.

There is widespread fear on the forum of violence against white people. Thus the perception that white nationalists/supremacists are violent can be downplayed. This post by "Angry" is an example:

Angry, December 25, 2012, accessed December 29, 2012: There are more threats - direct threats - of violence and murder - and there are more actual acts of violence and murder - being perpetrated in the United States today, and this year, by self-proclaimed "progressives", red-shirted thug-unions, bully Obama cultists, closet communists, and other left-breeds, than there are instances of violence and murder by all the members of Stormfront combined.

Violence that is perpetuated by white supremacists is self-defense. In chapter five, I recount a number of murders committed by members of the white racist community; the perpetrators of these crimes become heroes and martyrs. They are not understood to be violent terrorists, but champions. White supremacists believe that they live in a violent world, that their safety is constantly in danger. It is "them" who commit violence, and

white supremacists believe themselves to be caught in the crossfire, making self-defense justified.

There are two basic camps within the Christian Identity forum on Stormfront: segregationists, who often refer to themselves as WN or “white nationalists” and seek a homeland for white people only, and annihilationists, who want white dominion of the entire earth.¹ The latter category are much more violent and embrace all-out war. There is a degree of overlap with people who are willing to use violence to remove non-whites from American soil but who would not go so far as to commit global genocide.

The first example comes from “John” who falls into the segregationist camp.

John, December 28, 2012, accessed December 29, 2012:
As a WN, I consider myself a representative of my group (as all of us should) and therefore I insist on dispelling the typical stereotype attributed to WNs, that of angry hateful irrational people. Now a lot of members here say why should we care what anti-whites or non-whites think? We care because we have a mission to recruit as many Whites into our cause as possible. Don't forget that WNs are a very small percentage of the White American population (though a growing one) and we need to impress our misguided White brothers and sisters through our intelligence, kindness, and undying patience. There are many people (a lot of them White) who show up in our site just to read the discussion thread. The majority of them will never post anything but they will read the replies of our members. We need to give these silent readers a good impression because they are the present and the future of our movement. I know how frustrating these trolls and anti-whites are but REMEMBER this, they want us to explode. They want us to get angry and insult them and unfortunately the majority of us do just that. They

¹ Dobratz and Meile (1997 and 2006) have studied the distinctions between white supremacy and white nationalism, which they call white separatism.

know our righteous anger will scare of potential recruits, recruits who don't understand why we are angry and are filled with lies by the media. So don't give them what they want. Always remember that you are representing US, all of us. Be polite, courteous and use facts and numbers to back up your argument. We have plenty of proof on our side. Give all trolls the benefit of the doubt. Even if they seem to be trolls, give them the benefit of the doubt. Trolls enjoy making us angry, don't give them their source of enjoyment. Shame them with your intelligence and courtesy, traits that are natural to our race.

“John” begins by outlining a certain type of behavior primarily as a recruitment strategy. Like many other people in this community, he thinks that there are “many people” out there who are “silent readers,” people sympathetic to the message of White Nationalism who might be scared off by the “righteous anger” of some posters. “John” pleads for “intelligence and courtesy” on the site, which he sees as a demonstration of the “traits natural to our race.”

However, this stance forces him to explain the behavior of those who do not act with intelligence and courtesy, the “trolls.”² There are two possibilities here. The first is that flaming posts are written by people who are rightfully angry. The second possibility is that the posts are written by “anti-whites” who are intentionally provoking white nationalists in order to make them look scary and frighten away potential converts. “John” is not able to differentiate between the two, and one possible motivation for his post is that he is trying to make it easier to tell the difference between people with different motives.

² “Trolling entails luring others into pointless and time- consuming discussions.” Herring, et. al. (2003), 342.

He uses very clear “us” and “them” language: “They want us to get angry,” but “don't give them their source of enjoyment,” “John” says. “John’s” post is a plea to rise above anger and hate and to engage differences of opinion with courtesy. The motive for this is to recruit more members who are biding their time and will also serve the purpose of differentiating people based on their behavior. “John” does not want white people to sink to the level of insults and name-calling.

Another example of white supremacists’ believing that they are surrounded by sympathizers comes to us from the Aryan Nations website and can be seen in the screenshot below (see figure 19, next page).³ This is a downloadable flier offered on the website and begins with the tagline: “The Aryan Nations Says What You Think: The Voice of the Silent Majority.”⁴ The header is followed by a list of questions, all of which are a form of deprivation, concerning loss of identify, loss of money (tax dollars), loss of control, and so forth that an unspecified “they” have taken. The readers, who are presumed to answer “yes” to the list of questions, are prompted to think about feelings of betrayal, loss of traditions and identity, and marginalization. The flier plays on a person’s concerns and emphasizes the perception that white persons can be second class citizens in their own country.

³ Aryan Nations, fliers, accessed July 21, 2013, <http://www.aryan-nation.org/fliers.htm>.

⁴ Similarities with the Moral Majority of the late 1970s are interesting: leaders of the religious right marketed themselves as representing the majority of silent Americans.

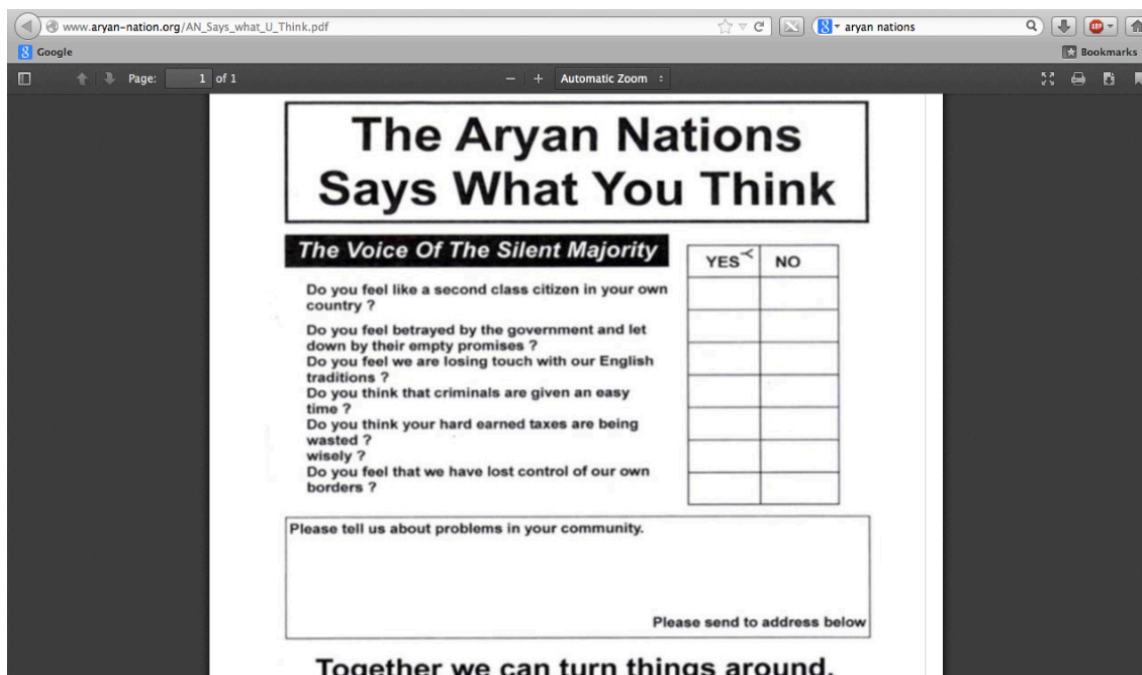


Figure 19

Posts like “Progressive Man’s,” below, serve to reinforce the perception shared by “John” and the Aryan Nations that there are sympathizers waiting to be convinced:

Progressive Man, December 25, 2012, accessed December 29, 2012: Merry Christmas SFers, I’m a 35 year old white man from [REDACTED]. I’m not going to pretend that I support your views because I don’t. My wife and my whole extended family are white but if my two young boys end up marrying non-white women then I’m okay with it. Now before you call me a traitor or a troll or a Jew, hear me out. Just because I have different views from yours doesn’t mean that I’m an enemy. In fact, isn’t it the job of WNs to change the minds of White liberals like myself? Then why don’t you have a reasoned debate with me instead of calling me names and telling me to go away? Isn’t that what the OV forum is all about? There are much more white liberals than WNs in our nation and the reason we don’t join your camp is because a lot of you (not all) come off as violent and hateful people. Yes, I said it. I don’t think you should include and encourage white supremacists in your site. I initially started surfing SF to

hear more about white pride and why we should be separate, not to hear racist insults towards non-whites and mocking non-whites because of their IQ and calling their countries “turd world ****holes”. Members like [REDACTED] scare me and do not make me want to join. I speak on behalf of white liberals, tone it down. If you can give some good reasons as to why my boys should stick with white women, I will change my mind.⁵

“Progressive Man’s” post appears on the “Opposing Views” thread, a forum specifically for raising arguments and asking questions. He appears sympathetic to some of the ideas of white nationalism but is turned off by some of the more heated and racist posts. However, he ends the post by asking for additional evidence for racial segregation.

His post incites immediate response. The following is representative:

Angry, December 25, 2012, accessed December 29, 2012:
I doubt you came here with an open mind. Most here are not supremacist, just Nationalist. Actually, you didn’t seem to counter the arguments about their overall lower IQ or their subpar countries much at all other than calling it hateful. Can the truth be hateful? I think not. You are the enemy because you wouldn’t contest your son’s miscegenation if it became apparent.

There are a number of interesting things to be derived. The first is the labeling of “Progressive Man” as “the enemy” simply for disagreeing and raising questions. This is an example of how some questions by their very nature get a person dismissed as “them.” Secondly, “Angry” “others” “them,” whom he or she doesn’t even bother to list by name, as having “lower IQ” and “subpar countries” though he or she cites no

⁵ Screen names and “Progressive Man’s” location, which he provides, have been removed.

examples. Thirdly, white supremacist views are defended as being true, and “Angry” points out that the truth cannot be hateful. This is an example of how white supremacists define themselves, not as hate mongers, but as reasonable people in pursuit of a better world. The comment that “[m]ost here are not supremacist, just Nationalist” is also part of this racial project – the poster is differentiating between him- or herself and supremacists, those who believe that white people are superior. White nationalists “only” want a country for whites alone – segregation of the races into different countries, though people of color are perceived to have lower IQs, resulting in sub-par living conditions.

“White Nationalist” posts next in the thread: “I would argue that most White liberals in a certain respect are de facto WN-ists, as they live exclusively among other White people, although unlike us, they harbour malice and contempt towards their own people, whereas we are the opposite.” (White Nationalist, December 25, 2012, accessed December 29, 2012.) Again, we see the idea that “most white liberals” are actually white nationalists even if they do not admit it. There is a demonstrated need among this community to believe that there is widespread agreement with their cause even if the evidence for such support is lacking. The distinguishing characteristic that defines a white nationalist is racial pride, whereas other whites “harbor malice and contempt toward their own people.” “White Nationalist” points out that most white people live in neighborhoods with other white people, suggesting that they want to be around their “own kind” even if they do not admit it.

“Austere Light Warrior” has a different understanding of what is happening with whites who are not white nationalists or supremacists. He or she thinks that they are “ignorant.”

Austere Light Warrior, September 1, 2011, accessed January 11, 2013: Our people, if they weren’t so ignorant as a whole about racial realities, which is in large part due to the jewish media deliberately blocking out incredible amounts of negro savagry, would thank us if they knew better. I have no doubt that many wish now that they had listened to our warnings, rather than screaming “racist!” like trained idiots. Or worse, banging drums at anti-klan rallies.

First of all, “Austere Light Warrior” lays the blame for the ignorance of non-supremacist white people at the feet of the “jewish media,” who he or she believes are deliberately obscuring crimes against white people. So it is not entirely the fault of non-racist whites – they do not know any better because they have been deliberately deprived of the truth. On a related note, the argument to which he or she is responding, that there are not actually very many crimes committed by black people against white people, is written off as being untrue; such crimes are thought to happen frequently but kept out of the press. Thus, Jews and blacks are thought to collude against white people. These beliefs allow “Austere Light Warrior” to conclude that more white people would join the white nationalist cause if they knew the truth. “Austere Light Warrior” and others on Stormfront know themselves to be part of the elite few who have discerned what is really going on.

Now, let us turn to definitions of whiteness. I have chosen a long post by “Lawman” as representative of the conversation. The post, like many, has interwoven elements, and thus I have broken it apart into sections to facilitate analysis. I have also cut the post for redundancy.

Lawman, accessed January 11, 2013: [W]hat folks really need to get started on this path of White Nationalism is a simple working definition that can be readily applied to almost any situation. So in response to the question, “Who’s White?” we answer: “Non-Jewish people of wholly European descent. No exceptions.” What comprises “European?” Those areas north of the Mediterranean and west of the Urals corresponding roughly to what was formerly known as European Christendom. Note the word “wholly” – “of wholly European descent.” Sometimes a person might volunteer that he is some small part non-White, like 1/64th or 1/128th, and then ask if we still consider him White. The answer is that if a person identifies with his non-White part so much that he is concerned about it and feels compelled to tell us about it, then we consider him to be non-White. If someone were to say that they were 12.5% Amerindian then, as far as we’re concerned, that’s what they are, 1/8th non-White. This is something about which we can’t compromise. You’re either White or you aren’t.⁶

The first thing that “Lawman” offers is the definition of whiteness: “Non-Jewish people of wholly European descent.” However, he concedes that these people may be difficult to find. There are Jewish people of “wholly European descent,” and there are also non-Jewish people of European descent who may have some non-European blood.

⁶ Date of post indeterminable.

Therefore, the definition is expanded to include only people who do not admit or recognize the non-European parts of themselves.

There is a commonly held belief that a person is white if they *believe* that they are. So whiteness itself is a belief. “Lawman” continues, “In personal encounters if someone looks White, sounds White, acts White, says they’re White, then we can pretty much assume they’re White.” Whiteness is looking a certain way and acting a certain way. But because anonymous message boards such as Stormfront lend themselves to anonymity, “Lawman” recognizes that people could be hiding who they are:

[O]n an anonymous message board we don’t have those visual and auditory clues. A poster can post a picture of anybody at all and claim to be that person but unless we have met that poster in person, we don’t know who they are. On an anonymous message board all we have is what a poster writes and if he writes that he is part non-White, then that’s what he is, part non-White.

The idea seems to be that a person gets to self-define. However, this way of defining whiteness leaves no room for questioning: the minute a person begins asking questions about the percentage of white blood necessary to be considered white or admits that they have some non-white blood, they are no longer white.

In the next section “Lawman” appeals to the authority of William Pierce, the late founder of the National Alliance.

Dr. William Pierce had this to say about the matter: Quote: Who can say that he has no non-Aryan ancestry at all in his family tree? Not I. Most people can say who their parents and grandparents are. Only a few Americans can

go back as far as four generations, however. I doubt that as many as one percent of Americans can go back six generations with any degree of certainty. Jews and liberals seize this fact to confuse people with the claim that we're all mongrels, that there is no such thing as a "pure" race, etc. -- therefore, it doesn't do any good to try to preserve the White race, because it really doesn't exist. I'm sure that you are not fooled by that sophistry. We must be practical. We know that there is a White race, and that it is easy to select individuals from that race who constitute a relatively "pure" sub-group. I'm not an expert on Amerindian ethnology, but I do know that the Indians consisted of many tribes which were racially distinct, ranging from essentially Caucasoid to essentially Mongoloid. So if one has Indian admixture, it depends a lot on what tribe. As a very rough rule, if a person looks White and thinks of himself as White and is the kind of person our other members wouldn't mind their sisters marrying-and if we know that he's no more than one-sixteenth non-White, we consider him White.

There are two necessary components to being considered white. The first is to be of "relatively pure" ancestry. There are certain types of backgrounds – to be from a "Caucasoid" Indian tribe, for example – that are negotiable. The ambiguity makes the second trait even more important: "If a person thinks of himself as white." In a personal interview with an attendee at a Christian Identity church, I learned that one member of the congregation did not "look" white: he had swarthy skin and dark hair and eyes. But he was an accepted member of the congregation because he "claimed to be" white and acted with "white racial pride."⁷

⁷ Name withheld to protect identity of interview subject. Interview conducted by the author, September 2012.

Now that “Lawman” has outlined the definition of whiteness, he moves into a discussion of how, and why, arguments about definitions can be the work of “anti-whites.”

This type of question, about being partly non-White, is asked endlessly on Stormfront. Some posters are asking an honest question but often others are anti-Whites desperately looking for ways to show that we are all mongrels, that there is no such thing as race, that miscegenation is good and natural, that we should all just go home and let things follow their course. [*sic*] Their agenda is to get us on that slippery slope because that slippery slope ends with “there’s only one race, the human race.” With that, the White race is defined out of existence. Another tactic of the egalitarian crowd is to try to reduce the basis of White Nationalism to something as absurd and as superficial as skin color. Our contention is that we are a distinct and unique people with our own culture, history and destiny. We have not only the right but the moral duty to perpetuate ourselves. To do anything less would amount to racial suicide. We go to great lengths to preserve bio-diversity, the spotted owls, snail darters, mountain gorillas, etc. etc. Are White Europeans any less worthy of preservation?⁸

“Lawman” identifies two enemies: “anti-whites” and “egalitarians.” He believes that both have nefarious motives, though “anti-whites” are intentionally attempting to subvert loyal Stormfront members by causing them to question their heritage. That is the effect of “egalitarians,” though not necessarily their motive. The latter excerpt serves as an example of how “othering” results in a number of identifications: white people who are not sympathetic to the white nationalist cause, and enemies who seek to faction

⁸ All of the “Lawman” excerpts are from one long post, March 10, 2009, accessed December 29, 2013.

white nationalists so that they fall to infighting. Both are “the enemy” because they are seen as a threat to the identity of whites, either directly or indirectly, through accepting practices that can result in race-mixing.

Race-mixing through procreation between a white person and a non-white person is “racial suicide.” The concept of “racial genocide” is rampant on Stormfront and on other white supremacist sites and forums – this is a plot to eradicate the white race. “Lawman” believes that, if the enemies he perceives convince white people that their race is either unimportant or not real, whites will commit “suicide” by intermarrying with non-whites as part of the plot of racial genocide. Many Christian Identity people believe in telegony, the belief that a woman who has sexual intercourse with a non-white person receives an indelible genetic stain, making any children she bears non-whites, even if their father is white. Female virginity upon marriage is prized highly in these circles because this is the only guarantee that a woman can give birth to racially pure children.⁹

Picking up on the idea of racial suicide/genocide/extinction, we turn to a post by “Bright Dawn.” The post begins by addressing the question of what it means to be white and then moves into a discussion of racial extinction or genocide.

Bright Dawn, December 25, 2012, accessed December 29, 2012: Ok heres why we should have pride in our races accomplishments: Take a look at the world, you know all those little things that make your life so much easier? That was the White race. Almost every single tiny little thing

⁹ Not all Christian Identity adherents believe in telegony, though many do, including Scriptures for America.

which is of benefit to humanity was given by us! No other race has been as beneficial to humanity as our own. You want to know why we should be allowed to live separately from other races: Because every other race can already do that. Every other race already has their own nations for their own people **except us!** We are already the minority in the world and soon to be the minority in our own nations. What you are looking at is the gradual extinction of the White race! Now I know you already said you don't care if your kids grow up and marry a non White but some of us would rather not see our race become extinct. Do you care if an endangered species becomes extinct? Does it tug at your heartstrings when you hear there's only a couple hundred snow leopards left in the wild? Do you worry about the plight of the whales or some rat in the rainforest whose habitat is being destroyed? If you answered yes to any of these then should you not also care about a whole section of humanity disappearing? And please don't do the liberal thing of "well who cares if White people die off because humans will still exist" because not once have I heard any liberal ever say "screw the snow leopards! Big cats will still exist and who cares if that rat in the amazon goes extinct? Rodents still exist and they outnumber humanity!". If you care about the extinction of an animal then you should care about the extinction of a race, if you don't care about the extinction of a race then you are just another genocidal monster and I have little to say to you.

The post begins by claiming that "all" of the things that "make lives easier" were invented by white people. No examples are given, and no documentation supports these points – it's taken as a given that readers will be able to fill in the blanks. The white race is thus intellectually and creatively superior in every way.

Next, the post goes on to claim that all races have their own lands except for the white race. This is a claim of deprivation – that whites have been deprived of the lands

that are rightfully theirs. There is fear that whites, by losing their land, lose their identity. Furthermore, because of the presence of non-white people in close proximity, whites ignorant of the plot to eradicate them will intermarry and thus in one generation will cease to exist. “Bright Dawn” likens the white race to an endangered species and uses the belief that most people do not see elimination to prove the point that only a “genocidal monster” would not care about something facing extinction. Of course, the analogy with endangered animals implies, though is not explicitly stated, that whites are more than a race – they are a species.¹⁰ “Bright Dawn” is undoubtedly influenced by the arguments that non-whites are genetically different than white-skinned people. Humanity is not facing extinction, but the white “species” is.

Like their predecessors through history, white Christian supremacists combine religion with science to support their claims of genetic or biological superiority. The National Alliance website explains:

Our world is hierarchical. Each of us is a member of the Aryan (or European) race, which, like the other races, developed its special characteristics over many thousands of years during which natural selection not only adapted it to its environment but also advanced it along its evolutionary path. Those races which evolved in the more demanding environment of the North, where surviving a winter required planning and self-discipline, advanced more rapidly in the development of the higher mental faculties -- including the abilities to conceptualize, to solve problems, to plan for the future, and to postpone gratification -- than those which remained in the relatively unvarying climate of the tropics. Consequently, the races

¹⁰ The comparison between whites and endangered animals is widespread on Stormfront. “Cyclops,” “Nature Lover,” and “European King” all use it and in more or less the same words.

vary today in their capabilities to build and to sustain a civilized society and, more generally, in their abilities to lend a conscious hand to Nature in the task of evolution.¹¹

The National Alliance is more willing than other groups and individuals to accept evolution. However, they do so because they can use it to prove that whites are superior peoples. Living in the “demanding environment of the North” allowed them to develop superior characteristics such as intelligence and emotional fortitude. People of color, living in milder climates, never evolved because they never had to face hardship.

Other white supremacists who accept the account of the creation of humans given in the book of Genesis chapters one and two reach a couple of other possible conclusions. Some believe that people of color predate whites. They understand people of color to be evolved from apes, making them a particularly intelligent form of animal. They accept that the planet is four and a half billion years old but argue that the white race has only been around about six thousand years. Others are more closely aligned with Christian creationism and believe that the planet and everything on it is only about six thousand years old. They think that people of color were created when God created the animals on the fifth day. The humans created by God on the sixth day are the white people, God’s seminal creation.

As illustrated in the previous examples, the Us/Them bifurcation is complex. It is more than a matter of defining whiteness in terms of race. Elements of deprivation, performance of race to both peers and external players, identification with silent

¹¹ “General Principles,” The National Alliance, accessed April 21, 2013, <http://www.natvan.com/what-is-na/nal.html#summary>.

sympathizers, and maintenance of perceptions are all interwoven. The previous posts were discussions of who is white and how whiteness is to be determined. The next section deals exclusively with the demonic others.

Satan and His Lapdogs

White supremacists believe that they are surrounded by a silent majority of white sympathizers who will become willing participants if a strong argument is made or if the right action is taken. Figuring out ways to convert other white people is a concern. Separating white people who are not members of white supremacist groups is thus a topic of considerable conversation. However, there are other concerns: the demons.

The biological descendants of Satan through his son Cain, the Jews, occupy a significant portion of posts on Stormfront. Included are discussions of people of color who are typically considered the agents of Satan. While white supremacists believe that Jews and people of color are the enemy, opinions differ as to why. Some focus on perceived biological differences between races of people – counting the Jews as a race – and, like the National Alliance, seek ways of demonstrating the genetic superiority of whites based on evolution. Christian Identity believes that the Jews are Satan on earth and that blacks are his servants. (Opinions differ as to the role of non-black people of color.) This section focuses specifically on the ways in which blacks and Jews are “othered” and turned into representatives of the devil.

The Christian Identity belief concerning the Jews is explicitly stated on the

Aryan Nations website in the “About A.N.” section.

WE BELIEVE that there are literal children of Satan in the world today. These children are the descendants of Cain, who was a result of Eve’s original sin, her physical seduction by Satan. We know that because of this sin there is a battle and a natural enmity between the children

of Satan and the children of The Most High God (Yahweh). Genesis 3:15; 1 John 3:12.¹²

In addition to identifying Jews as the “literal children of Satan,” the Aryan Nations also believes in a battle between Satan and God. The use of the present tense indicates that this battle is happening now, having begun in the Garden of Eden when Cain rose up and slew his brother Abel.

One aspect of this war is the use of subterfuge and lies from the children of Satan. When they cannot recruit people to their cause, they fool the unwary majority by propagating falsehoods. “Cyclops” offers this:

Cyclops, October 26, 2010, accessed January 11, 2013: Jews believe/teach that Moses was given a second set of instructions/laws that were orally given by God, which is of course a fantasy and fabrication. In essence, the second set of laws comprise a circumvention of the first set of laws aka The Ten Commandments and lesser laws. For example, bearing false witness is overturned by the kol nidre; the Levitical law prohibiting sodomy is sanctioned in the talmud; usury is notoriously practised by the jews whereas the Bible has prohibitions. The jews have cleverly taken on names of the Old Testament to steal the identity of Israel, including the name of Israel. They need the Old Testament to promulgate their fraud and criminal

¹² “About A.N.,” The Aryan Nations, accessed April 20, 2013, <http://www.aryan-nation.org/aboutus.htm>.

enterprises. The Jews pay lip service to the Old Testament and keep it as their own, but they didn't write it originally, they adopted it. Many peoples adopt things from other peoples, but it doesn't make it their own. As I said above they trashed the Mosaic law; whatever was adopted was adulterated and twisted by the demented mongrel minds of the rabbis. There really is no connection to the Old Testament and the Jewish Torah or Talmud or other rabbinical writings. This is why Christ soundly denounced these congenital murderers and liars and why God hath indignation against them forever.

The first thing to note is the “othering” language that is used here. Rabbis have “demented mongrel minds,” and are “congenital murderers and liars.” This is a clear example of how the Jews are demonized as being the “them” against whom the righteous must fight. More examples of this way of speaking follow in later pages.

Presumably, the second set of instructions to which “Cyclops” refers is an allusion to the two stories of the Ten Commandments in Exodus 34 and Deuteronomy 10. However, unlike in his other posts, “Cyclops” does not include citations to support his points, so it is impossible to know for sure.

Fascinatingly, the text regarding how Jews are thought to have “adopted” the Old Testament for nefarious purposes is almost exactly the same, even down to the wording, of a post (seen previously in chapter three) by “European King” that was made on the same day. It is clear that either these two posters are drawing from the same source or that they are in communication with one another. Neither of them cites the other, and yet they make the same point, using similar wording, on the same day. Stormfront, in spite of having around two hundred thousand registered users, consists of relatively insular

communities. “Cyclops,” in a previous post, states, “The jews fulfill the prophecy of Esau’s minority status: ‘For, lo, I will make thee small among the heathen, and despised among men’ Jer. 49:15.” (Cyclops, November 10, 2010, accessed January 11, 2013.) This is both use of scripture, which “Cyclops” does in virtually all of his posts, and an example of how Jews are the enemy and despised by all people deemed righteous according to Christian Identity beliefs. “Cyclops” states elsewhere that the word “Jew,” which is a subversive word planted by an enemy, never should have appeared in the Bible. (Cyclops, December 6, 2011, accessed January 11, 2013.) The Talmud, believed to reveal the true nature of the Jew, is read to contain hints about their satanic plan. The Bible, both the old and new testaments, is purely white and purely Christian. References to “Judeo-Christian” as a lie allude to this belief.

The use of the Talmud to prove that Jews are subverting the Old Testament is widespread. On his website Mark Downey, leader of Kinsmen Identity Ministries, refers to Jews as “Talmudic antichrists.”¹³ Many Christian Identity believers believe that modern Jews are the antichrist, often referred to in the plural, and is alive right here, right now. These agents of Satan work behind the scenes to infiltrate and subvert white people as part of their plot to win the war against God. They do this by taking over, among other things, the media, as feared by “Man’s Best Friend”:

Man’s Best Friend, December 26, 2012, accessed December 29, 2012: An issue [*sic*] which I find intriguing and ominous both, is the way the big cable and satellite

¹³ Mark Downey, “It’s going to Get Worse,” Kinsmen Redeemer Ministries, accessed April 20, 2013, <http://kinsmanredeemer.org/>.

providers (which like virtually all mass communication, are owned or controlled by Jewish individuals) allow only “Judeo-Christian” programming to go out over their systems. Before coming to know of Christian Identity, the nefarious implications of that never dawned on me, in spite of for years having become increasingly aghast at the oh so wrong notion of “Judeo-Christianity.” Without a knowledge of CI, I had become a heretic to those I knew who just accepted that oxymoron without a bit of doubt or noticing the complete contradiction it represented. “How can anti-Christ be partners with Christians?”, other than when joined by a hyphen, was my “crazy” and never answered query which earned me nothing but contempt. My coming to accept CI was based on more than just that one revelation, but it was a great relief to find I wasn’t alone in that.

“Man’s Best Friend” contends that “virtually all mass communication[s]” are “owned or controlled” by Jewish individuals. It is unclear how he is using the term “jew” here: there are three possibilities, which overlap, as explained previously. Furthermore, he does not offer any justification for this belief; however, the implications are “nefarious” in that it perpetuates the “oh so wrong notion of ‘Judeo-Christianity.’” “Man’s Best Friend” is relieved that he has found a community of like-minded believers, a group of people who see the truth, a special chosen few.

The following post by “White Templar” (which was discussed previously in chapter three) offers a grim view of “the jew.”

White Templar, December 22, 2012, accessed January 11, 2013: I can’t even say the jew is as bad as the negroid. The Jew is different. the jew attacks us Internally. they dress like us, talk like us, and undermine us so they can destroy our race from the inside. Jews are the biggest threat to our race. Jews our indeed our most dangerous enemy, but even

they aren't as bad as the negroid. the Negroid would be doing far worse to us than the jews are doing if the negroids have the intelligence. Negroids are the most violent, hideous, barbaric, and unintelligent race. Sure the jew wants to destroy the white race, but they tried for thousands of years and failed. They could not destroy us without their secret weapon, the negroid. they use this animal to destroy everywhere it goes, mixing with every white person it sees until there are none left, and ravaging everything beautiful. Nothing beautiful will remain once the Negroid is through with ravaging and destroying what was once a Proud White civilization.

There are a number of interwoven elements in this post. First, is the conviction that the Jew "attacks us internally" by dressing and talking like "us." As we saw in the previous section, in order to be white, a person must look and act white. However, some people who look white are not, they are merely "passing" for white. One way that the devil infiltrates the ranks of the righteous is by appearing to be one of them.

However, "negroids" are even worse in the estimation of "White Templar." Because Jews tried for "thousands of years" to destroy the white race and were unsuccessful, they began using the "negroid" to "ravage everything beautiful," presumably by sexual conquest. It is this union between the demonic Jew and his lapdog the blacks that is the real threat to the white race. While most Christian Identity believers are content to separate themselves from a society they view as irredeemably corrupt, as fundamentalists have often done, others wish to take up arms and become warriors for God.

Plowshares into Swords

As long as believers are content to wait for God to make his move, they do little more than share ideas, vent their frustrations, and hoard food and weapons. Though American fundamentalists believe their scripture is the inerrant word of God, follow and emulate charismatic leaders, believe that the apocalypse is imminent, divide people into in-groups and out-groups, and believe in a demonic other at work in the world, the vast majority of them have remained nonviolent. They may commit small acts of civil disobedience, such as refusing to pay taxes or have a driver's license, but even when pushed, most people either acquiesce to the law or find a way to accommodate local law enforcement. For example, they may compromise by not driving off their property and by earning less than the taxable income. There are fundamentalist survivalists in every state who pose little threat to anyone.

When persons believe that they have been chosen by God to act in the apocalypse, they have the potential to become dangerous. Combined with a belief that the apocalypse is not imminent but has begun, they become much more prone to action. Furthermore, their definition of success shifts so that even minor acts of terrorism become major victories in the name of God.

The following sections begin by analyzing examples of believers identifying either themselves or Christian Identity believers to play a special role in the apocalypse. Then, analysis of how members view victories and success is offered through examples of how martyrs for the cause are viewed.

Mark Downey, of Kinsmen Redeemer Ministries, runs a website and mail-order service out of Kentucky. This appears to be a one-man operation; everything on the website is authored by Downey, and the mailing address is a post office box. I could find no physical church building or evidence that the ministry has any membership. However, Downey is extremely active in white supremacist circles and white patriot groups. He is also affiliated with the Fellowship of God's Covenant People, a Christian Identity church, and the Northern Kentucky Liberty Group, a libertarian group organized to support Ron Paul. Downey is often quoted by other white supremacists and is considered by them to be a leading authority on a racial reading of the Bible.

In order to understand Downey's rhetoric, we must understand that Christian Identity believers imagine two wars taking place. The first began in the Garden of Eden when the serpent Satan seduced Eve. That war has been taking place ever since and is the war between God and the devil, with human souls as the spoils. Richard Butler, of the Aryan Nations, explains it this way:

The war between the Race of Adam and the seed of the Serpent has been and now is, marked by a constant series of milestone events. Beginning with the seduction of Eve, and the murders of Abel and the Prophets through John the Baptist, the crucifixion of the embodiment of the Everliving God, and continuing with the Apostles starting with Stephen, this unending warfare, launched against the image or representation of the Everliving God, Yahweh, (which is the Adamic-Aryan Race on earth) has been relentless, unremitting attack, maintained each hour of

every day, century after century, through the Milleniums of time.¹⁴

The other war is the war of the Apocalypse, the war to end all wars, which will result in the second coming of Jesus Christ and judgment day. Christian Identity believers seem to think that they are losing the war that Satan is waging on God's chosen people, the white race, but that they will win the final war because God will always be victorious. People chosen to participate in the final war are elite warriors chosen by God.

Mark Downey alludes to the people who will be chosen as needing to pass a test based on "your attitude."

Jesus spoke in parables because the mysteries of His Kingdom (government) were given only to a specific people and denied to others. It is the glory of God to conceal a thing, but the honor of kings is to search out a matter. Your attitude will determine whether or not the truth be revealed.¹⁵

The preceding quote is from a document entitled "Will the Real Armageddon Please Stand Up? Volume One" that purports to reveal the truth of the end of days.

Downey begins by pointing out that only a chosen few will know the truth because God conceals the truth from the enemy. Like the Covenant, Sword, and Arm of the Lord

¹⁴ Richard Butler, "The Last Battle," The Aryan Nations, accessed July 21, 2013, <http://www.aryan-nation.org/RGB/TheLastBattle.html>.

¹⁵ Mark Downey, "Will the Real Armageddon Please Stand Up? Volume One," Kinsmen Redeemer Ministries, accessed July 19, 2013, <http://kinsmanredeemer.com/armageddon.htm>.

(profiled in chapter five), Downey believes that the Bible is a living document that speaks to believers. It is thus an inerrant and living document of God's voice.

In Volume Two of the work, Downey goes on to claim that "[c]onditions are reaching a crescendo of confrontation as predicted in Joel 3:2 and 9. Several factions are maneuvering and preparing for a racial war."¹⁶ In his work Downey is unwilling to predict with exactitude, but he does indicate that the signs point to an impending racial war that will set the stage of judgment day.¹⁷

"Austere Light Warrior" states bluntly, "Things are only going to get worse until we White men stand up and put down the remote and pick up the shotguns. The darkest days are yet to come ... " (Austere Light Warrior, September 1, 2011, accessed January 11, 2013.) This post reads clearly as a call to action, and, while there are not a lot of such direct statements on Stormfront, they can be found. The poster does not indicate that he or she is about to take action but clearly thinks that it's time for "white men to stand up" with shotguns.

Purchasing weapons in preparation is a common theme and "Nature Lover" reports:

Speaking of the gun rights issue, Pastor [REDACTED] reminded us at church yesterday: Arming ourselves is not a right given to us by the 2nd Amendment, but a

¹⁶ Mark Downey, "Will the Real Armageddon Please Stand Up? Volume Two," Kinsmen Redeemer Ministries, accessed July 19, 2013, <http://kinsmanredeemer.com/armageddon2.htm>.

¹⁷ Joel 3:2 "I will gather all the nations and bring them down to the Valley of Jehoshaphat. And I will enter into judgment with them there, on behalf of my people and my heritage Israel, because they have scattered them among the nations and have divided up my land ... " Joel 3:9: "Proclaim ye this among the Gentiles; Prepare war, wake up the mighty men, let all the men of war draw near; let them come up ... "

RESPONSIBILITY given to us by God; and that is mentioned over and over and over again in the Bible. (December 24, 2012, accessed December 29, 2012.)¹⁸

It is unclear *where* in the Bible God mandates his followers to pick up guns, but “Nature Lover” understands it as a divine mandate.

Mark Downey of Kinsmen Identity Ministries brings together several threads in a podcast entitled “Christian Terrorism.”

There is a war being waged against the white race in order to destroy Christianity once and for all ... The antichrist factions have been working hard for years legislating against Christian ethics and morality ... it's no longer just hate crime laws, which only white people can commit. [*sic*] Leaderless resistance is fine for your own backyard. But leaderless Identity nationally is the water that douses the flame of Jacob Israel (the white race) to fulfill our destiny. [*sic*] General George Washington and the Sons of Liberty became Christian terrorists to the evil Red Coats who would not have Christ to reign over them. [*sic*] Is it time for judgment? ... Just how many tares in government does it take to fulfill Mathew 13:41? ... There are many more scriptures that it is white Christian warriors that will heed the call to arms when it is time. Is it time? ... Isn't it time to fight back now, in full faith and knowledge that our Lord and savior will deliver us from this enemy? I believe the Lord not only approves but he expects and demands actions to cleanse the land of all the offensive abominations that curse his people. [*sic*] These kindred are told to give the wicked so much torment and sorrow. The enemy would like very much for you social Christians to sit back in your comfort zone with a bag of potato chips and do nothing. But the time for castration is over ... Don't let anybody tell you that it's not time for God to do a miracle through us.^{19 20}

¹⁸ Pastor's name removed to protect identity.

In the preceding, Downey is more direct than he is in other places on the website. He clearly references a war that is being waged now. He goes on to state that the sort of leaderless, or “lone wolf,” resistance that is examined in the next chapter of this work, is “fine for your own backyard” but suggests that it will “douse the flame.” Instead, what is needed is “Christian terrorists” under the command of a George Washington-like leader. Downey ends this section with a call to action, stating multiple times that the time is now. Later in the speech, he longs for Armageddon because “Armageddon is good and will lead us to a new age and a new world order.”

In this one post, we find almost all of the hallmarks of violent fundamentalism. There is a reference to the Bible to support the belief. There is a call for a charismatic leader. There is clearly belief in an apocalyptic war. There is a delineation between “us” and “them,” the latter of which is labeled antichrist. Finally, there is the belief that “we” are charged by God to rise up in opposition.

In another streaming audio file, Downey states that he wishes to be present for the tribulation and not raptured. He states:

So, is there going to be a Rapture [*sic*] while the rest of us racist hate mongers are left behind in a tribulation of hellfire, expecting 144,000 antichrist jews to convert to

¹⁹ Mark Downey, “Christian Terrorism,” audio file, Kinsmen Redeemer Ministries, September 1, 2002, accessed April 17, 2013.

²⁰ Matthew 13:41: The Son of Man will send his angels, and they will gather out of his kingdom all causes of sin and all law-breakers ...

Christianity? I want to be left behind, so I'm not going to hold my breath. The race mixers are going to be raptured, but they aint going to heaven. And when that glorious day arrives, when they are removed, I don't see how things could get worse... do you? Indeed, it will finally be a relief to get rid of them.²¹

Many Christian Identity believers want to participate in the war, be it the battle leading to the tribulation or the final battle itself. While not all of them take action, they are primed to do so. For some it takes a catalyst; for others they decide to make the first strike.

T. J. Leyden is a former skinhead who left the movement and now speaks and teaches about racial tolerance. In books and interviews, he is very candid about his activities as a white supremacist. In the following interview he talks about the desire to start the final war:

But these guys are becoming more adamant about terrorism. It's not a joke anymore, not when they're starting to do surveillance on families, police officers, politicians. They want to know where these guy's wives work, where their kids go to school. They're learning from the IRA and the PLO.²²

²¹ Downey, "It's going to Get Worse."

²² "Former Skinhead T. J. Leyden Tells His Story: An interview with a Former Racist," Southern Poverty Law Center, *Intelligence Report*, Winter 1998, no. 89, accessed July 17, 2013, <http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/intelligence-report/browse-all-issues/1998/winter/a-skinheads-story?page=0,0>.

Leyden is a former recruiter for the white supremacist movement and recalls teaching his followers terrorist tactics. He studied terrorist organizations in other countries because:

We didn't have enough soldiers to overthrow the U.S. government. The only way we could attack was the terrorist way — IRA, PLO-style. Our big thing was blowing up ABC, NBC, CBS, CNN. Blow up one of those, and you get worldwide coverage.²³

The objective is coverage, even if members are lost in the attack. Violent white supremacists are willing to become martyrs to their cause and define success only through the attention that their exploits receive. One person who successfully carries out an attack proves the viability of the movement, even if only a few, or no, converts are acquired. The Aryan Nations' Richard Butler gives the call to action: "The hour is late. The need is great. The cause is just. The action is IMPERATIVE. The solution is Aryan Nations. AWAKE! AWAKE! to your call to arms!"²⁴ With such direct orders, it is surprising that more white warriors do not take matters into their own hands.

Leyden frames his perception of the bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, as a way of sending a message:

I believe the Murrah Building [in Oklahoma City] was picked because it was a very easy federal target and it had a day care center. They wanted to send a message: "Hey,

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ "Call to Arms," The Aryan Nations, accessed July 21, 2013, <http://www.aryan-nation.org/RGB/CalltoArms.html>.

look, we're going to start killing children in this war. So I hope you're ready to die for what you believe in, because we're ready to kill your children for what we believe in."²⁵

Leyden thinks that Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols targeted the federal building in Oklahoma City at least partially because it had a daycare and the explosion would likely kill children. The deaths of children would increase the visibility of the crime and allow the men to be successful even if caught. In sentencing McVeigh to death, he was made a martyr for the cause. Terry Nichols is rarely mentioned on white supremacist sites. Though he was involved in the bombing almost as much as McVeigh, he has been virtually forgotten in the depths of prison.

To be successful in white supremacist circles, one must either recruit people and money for the cause or become a martyr. Warriors are willing to die for their cause. Unlike suicide bombers, white supremacist terrorists do not kill themselves – suicide is absolutely forbidden in Christian Identity circles. After all, they believe that the white race is experiencing a genocide and that committing suicide would play right into the hands of the enemy. If at all possible, they want to survive the attacks that they commit. Dying in a police standoff or in prison is acceptable, however. Dying in a violent confrontation is part of the risk, not the goal itself.

Though all white supremacists who murder Jews or people of color are memorialized on white supremacist sites, special attention is paid to Robert (Bob) Mathews of The Order and to Timothy McVeigh. These two men are held up as role

²⁵ "Former Skinhead T. J. Leyden Tells His Story."

models, and their actions define success in the terms Leyden describes above: as causing widespread destruction, gaining notoriety, and being willing to take the lives of children.

The Aryan Nations has a page dedicated to Bob Mathews that replicates his last letter in full.²⁶ Significantly, Mathews' letter includes this:

Thus I have no choice. I must stand up like a White man and do battle. A secret war has been developing for the last year between the regime in Washington and an ever growing number of White people who are determined to regain what our forefathers discovered, explored, conquered, settled, built and died for.²⁷

Mathews states that he has “no choice,” that his hand has been pushed. He references a “secret war” in which he participates, and places his own death or capture within that context. This is a screen shot of the Aryan Nations page – the first paragraph of

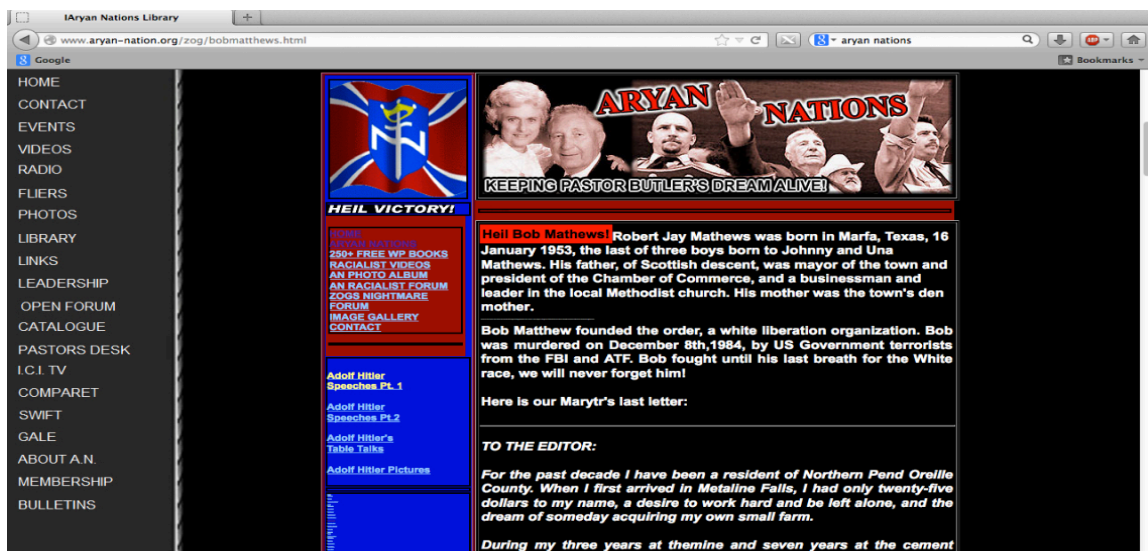


Figure 20

²⁶ The website of the Phinehas Priesthood also replicates Bob Mathews' letter – see chapter one.

²⁷ “Bob Mathews Tribute,” The Aryan Nations, accessed July 21, 2013, <http://www.aryan-nation.org/zog/bobmathews.html>.

Mathews' letter visible at the top (figure 20):

A tribute to Bob Mathews appears right on the homepage of White Aryan Resistance (WAR) and links to a radio show about him that downloads as an audio file (figure 21).



Figure 21

WAR also keeps a complete memorial page with thirty-six tributes that include Timothy McVeigh, David Lane of The Order, Gordon Kahl of the white patriot movement, Wesley Swift, William Pierce, and Richard Butler. Less obvious candidates are also memorialized. One example is Margaret Sanger, who is lauded for her work in birth control, but more important to white supremacists, eugenics.

The Aryan Nations and White Aryan Resistance are religiously dissimilar. AN is Christian Identity and embraces the seed line theory and white genealogy of the

tradition. WAR believes that Christianity, and religion in general, are a myth meant to disempower and enslave people, a la Nietzsche.²⁸ WAR is “antitheist.” And yet both groups memorialize Bob Mathews and use him as proof that their members can be successful in warfare.

In this chapter, examples of how white supremacist Christians delineate between their in-group and the out-group of the others and how the demonic antichrist is identified and understood have been presented and analyzed. Furthermore, examples of calls to action and the martyrdom of fallen patriots have been examined.

Like other brands of fundamentalist, Christian Identity draws a sharp line between “us” and “them.” Using scripture to support their interpretation, they believe that whiteness is not just how someone looks, but also how they act. This leads to the performance of whiteness, though how to accomplish the expression of racial identity is a topic of discussion and disagreement. The audience is both the public, but also other members of the Christian Identity, and wider white supremacist, communities. “White” is understood to be intellectually, spiritually, and racially superior, but it is often defined in terms of deprivation at the hands of the “other,” who is stealing resources from white people. These resources range from access to jobs and land to less tangible things such as safety and identity.

The “other” is demonized or otherwise denigrated, falling into two broad categories. The first is demons: antichrists in human form who often masquerade as

²⁸ See “Jesus Myth,” White Aryan Nations, audio file, accessed July 21, 2013, <http://www.resist.com/antitheism.html> The leader of W.A.R. Tom Metzger started out Christian Identity but later became atheist.

white people. These agents of the devil are soldiers in a war against God, but they use guerilla tactics to accomplish their goals, taking over political, religious, and communications institutions. The second category of “other” is the otherwise innocent people who have been deceived by the efforts of the antichrist(s). Included are white people who become “race traitors” or “race betrayers” by supporting affirmative action, welfare, and anti-discrimination policies, all thought to be plots of Satan. By juxtaposing their identity against the demonic other, Christian Identity believers reinforce the idea that they are chosen and special for seeing the truth that is hidden from others.

Feeling special and chosen leads to the belief that white people, or the elect among them, have been handpicked by God for a starring role in the battle at the end of days. It is the leaders of the groups who publicize the importance that white warriors will play in the war of Armageddon, while it is individuals who act alone or in small groups, often distancing themselves from organized white supremacist organizations before they act, likely at the direction of the leaders. Both for people who become violent and for their supporters, success is defined not by attracting a lot of converts or by acceptance in the wider society. In fact the opposite is true: remaining small allows believers to sustain their chosen and elite status. The denigration lobbied against white supremacists by mainstream society allows them to perpetuate their sense of embattlement, which is part of their identity. If they were not being attacked, they would not feel chosen and special.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to determine when an individual will become

violent. But violence does not arise suddenly from nowhere. There are always signs. When an individual or small group decides that they have been personally chosen by God to act in the cosmic drama, action becomes likely. In the next chapter, I examine the common themes between white supremacist hate crimes from 1980 until the present day.

5: The Faithful Remnant

And the dragon was wroth with the woman, and went to make war with the remnant of her seed, which keep the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus Christ. – Revelation 12:17

The relationship between religious belief and violent actions is complex and deeply rooted in the psyches of individuals, complicated by independent variables that are difficult to authenticate. Establishing a causal relationship between religious beliefs and violence may ultimately prove an impossible undertaking except in specific cases where terrorists themselves point to religion as a motive. Even then, there are additional factors that must be considered. Everyone has a context consisting of background, childhood, economic standing, religious beliefs, worldview, political ideology, and countless other things that make each of us individuals. Religion may be the motivating factor in one circumstance but not in another, similar, situation. Richard Wayne Snell of the Covenant, Sword, and Arm of the Lord pulled the trigger on two separate occasions with very little provocation. Kerry Noble, the second in command of that same group, walked into a church with a briefcase filled with C-4 and walked back out less than an hour later, the bomb undetonated. Noble went on to become an outspoken advocate of racial equality. The men worked side by side in one of the most militarized Christian

Identity organizations in history, and yet one died by execution for the crime of murder and the other writes books and does speaking tours promoting racial reconciliation.

Religion must be separated from its believers. A religion becomes its own entity that is larger than individuals, an organism with history and discourse. Individual believers each have a slightly different version of the religion. Some accept the call from God to take up arms, while others remain passive. A religion can be violent if it is centered on ideologies of war, strife, and conflict. However, followers of a violent religion may or may not become violent themselves. The complexity of establishing causal factors and the ethical considerations of attempting to predetermine the likelihood for violence have led many who work in the field of religious violence to cautiously eschew using religion, or anything else, as a determinant. Profiling based on religious affiliation is as problematic as profiling based on any other characteristic. Due to these difficulties, there is no way to demonstrate that violent religious beliefs have a clear and direct causal relationship with acts of terrorism. Michael Barkun, professor of political science at Syracuse University and sometimes expert council to the FBI, characterizes Christian Identity's relationship with violence in this way:

Christian Identity is not inherently violent, but individual believers have been involved in many violent incidents and have sometimes advocated violence. In addition, some Christian Identity groups have been heavily armed. [*sic*] It is clear that in many of these cases, believers employed,

recommended, or prepared for violence because they thought their religion required it.¹

Barkun goes on to list The Order (profiled in chapter one) and the Covenant, Sword, and Arm of the Lord (profiled below) as two examples of groups that militarized as a manifestation of Christian Identity beliefs.

I argue the opposite of Barkun: I find the Christian Identity religion to be extremely violent, particularly in that it has the sixth marker of fundamentalism: the belief that believers are warriors called by God to take up arms. Whether individuals accept the call to take up arms depends on their own beliefs, which are subjective to them. Thus a religion may be violent but its followers may not be. The opposite is also true: a religion may be nonviolent but individual followers may become inspired to take up arms. However, these two cases are very different. A violent religion that places war metaphors at the center of its cosmology is likelier to spawn violent offenders. A nonviolent religion that places peace and compassion central in its tenets is less likely to inspire violence. When members of nonviolent religions do become violent they are likely to be responding to sociopolitical or economic pressures.

In the following pages, the ways in which Christian Identity belief as an inspiration for violent action has been understood will become clearer. The link between individuals who take it upon themselves to act and leaders in Christian Identity churches (and other white supremacist organizations) is often overlooked. Tracing the

¹ Michael Barkun, "The Christian Identity Movement," Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed January 29, 2014, <http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/intelligence-files/ideology/christian-identity/the-christian-identity-movement>.

connections between the individuals or small groups who take action and the leadership of Christian Identity organizations illuminates a web of connections between people who believe that the end of the world is at hand. The people who take action do not act alone. Though they are legally culpable for their actions, casting them as “lone wolves” overlooks religious and racialized concerns that are far wider than the beliefs of the individuals who act. Rooted deeply in the social nature of humans is the desire to separate ourselves from those we deem aberrant, a form of culling the undesirables from the herd.² The American media, and the public at large, typically respond to acts of terrorism and violence by attempting to demonstrate how the perpetrator of the crime is “not like us.”³ In the western world – America, Canada, and western Europe – we have created the idea of the “lone wolf.” The lone wolf is now something that Christian Identity, and other violent white supremacist organizations like the White Aryan Resistance (WAR), embrace. Many websites have links for the lone wolf. We will see an example in the following pages, and Stormfront has an entire forum dedicated to the topic.

² Ostracism, the practice of exiling a member of a community who has committed wrongdoing, has a long history. Codified by the Greeks as early as the fifth century BCE, the practice has also been a part of many tribal communities all over the world. Theories such as social identification theory and subcultural identity theory rest on the premise that people establish their own identity partially by identifying the “not us” or the other. Sometimes members of one’s own tribe become the other. See the section on dualism in chapter two for additional details.

³ The ways that Dzhokhar and Tamerlan Tsarnaev, the perpetrators of the bombing of the Boston Marathon in 2013, are treated by news media is illustrative. The fact that the men are American citizens who immigrated legally and that Dzhokhar did not even speak with an accent has been intensively scrutinized. Portraying the men as religiously and racially “other” is one tactic used when framing the event.

The lone wolf stereotype is far from accurate because no one truly acts alone. Furthermore, it overlooks the ideological connections many perpetrators of violence share. The ideology, as seen in the previous two chapters, is a complex matrix, including views on gun control, the “Jewish infiltration” into media, the “Zionist Occupied Government” (ZOG), the film industry, the alleged erosion of white hegemony in America, the perceived loss of “traditional” patriarchal family values resting on a racist read of Christianity, and beliefs concerning the end of days and the role certain people or groups believe themselves to be destined to play.

Leaders of organized Christian Identity groups encourage their followers to take matters into their own hands. Leaders also direct members to distance themselves from organizations before taking action so as to avoid negative repercussions based on the actions of a single member or small group. The leaders profiled in chapter one and in the following pages – Richard Butler, William Pierce, Pete Peters, Louis Beam, David Duke, Robert and John Millar, Matt Hale, and others – are rarely implicated, much less arrested, when violence strikes. They maintain distance, giving them plausible deniability. And yet their words are designed to provoke their followers into action by supporting the belief that God chooses certain people as his instruments.

I am confident in my assertion that forms of Christian Identity, and other forms of American white supremacy, believing white people to be warriors of God in the end of days, are considerably more likely than other Christians, and other religious people in general, to resort to violence. Furthermore, the people profiled in the following pages are

part of a movement that advocates lone wolf activity. Some leaders, such as Pete Peters of Scriptures for America Worldchurch, remove the label “Christian Identity” from their rhetoric in order to avoid negative perceptions from the media and the public. But the beliefs remain. Though causation cannot be definitely established, there is a strong correlation between Christian Identity and violence. As Michael Barkun writes:

Most Protestant millenarians are adherents of dispensationalism, and they assert that believers need not fear the violence and conflict (the “tribulation”) at the end of history, for the saved will be rescued in the “rapture” - lifted off the earth to dwell with Christ in heaven until the Second Coming. Most people on the radical right do not believe they will be rescued, however. They consider the rapture a theological error. They believe the saved must remain on earth during the seven years of the tribulation that will precede the Second Coming. During this time of persecution and upheaval, they must find some way to survive.⁴

Members of these groups withdraw into compounds and often arm themselves.

Sometimes, when combined with a belief that they have been chosen by God to be warriors, they strike first.

In the following pages, I chronicle murders and other acts of violence committed by Christian Identity believers. I begin in 1977 and end in 2013. I restricted my coverage to Christian Identity groups and individuals who have been directly linked with violent acts, specifically, murder, attempted murder, bombings and attempted bombings, and armed robberies. There are other groups, such as the Montana Freemen, who have

⁴ Michael Barkun, “Militias, Christian Identity and the Radical Right,” *The Christian Century*, August 2-9, 1995, accessed October 10, 2013, <http://www.religion-online.org/showarticle.asp?title=98>.

committed nonviolent crimes, such as tax evasion and destruction of federal property, but have not committed person-on-person hate crimes. A few of the people and groups have not committed violence, but their leadership roles are crucial in understanding the violence others have committed.

This list is not exhaustive. Additional incidents are contained in Appendix C. The people and events that I chose are designed to give the reader a holistic understanding of how white supremacist beliefs operate in the United States and how leaders inspire action indirectly through their speeches, sermons, and publications.

In some cases, Christian Identity belief is difficult to directly establish, as the perpetrators of the crimes do not admit to being believers. In these cases, belief is established through connections with other Christian Identity believers, the presence of Christian Identity literature in the homes of the persons, and indirect statements of belief. As demonstrated in previous pages, white supremacy is a collection of beliefs and ideologies that overlap and intersect. For example, dates are often significant.

April 19 and April 20 are considered very important in white supremacist circles. On April 19, 1775, the “shot heard round the world” started the American Revolution; thus, April 19 is considered Patriot’s Day and “many in the right-wing want the Second American Revolution to begin on that same day.”⁵ Adolph Hitler was born on April 20 and died in April as well, on April 30. Groups and individuals who idolize Hitler make a symbolic connection between the belief that America is the promised land and the birth

⁵ Kerry Noble, *Tabernacle of Hate: Why They Bombed Oklahoma City* (Ontario: Voyageur Publishing, 1998), 225.

date of one of the heroes of the white race. Additionally, significant events have taken place on the nineteenth or twentieth, coincidences that white supremacists interpret as being signs from God.

On April 19, 1985, the FBI negotiated an end to the siege of the Covenant, Sword, and Arm of the Lord compound, despite one member's (a previous member of The Order, which had been disbanded six months previously) wanting to instigate a shootout to "celebrate Hitler's birthday."⁶ On April 19, 1993, the siege of the Branch Davidian compound near Waco, Texas, ended in a conflagration killing all members left inside. On April 19, 1995, Timothy McVeigh, with the assistance of Terry Nichols, bombed the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. McVeigh chose the date because of Waco and also because a martyr for the racist cause was executed that very same day in 1995; at midnight Richard Wayne Snell of the Covenant, Sword, and Arm of the Lord was executed for the shooting deaths of Louis Bryant and William Stumpp.

Some of these actions took place on April 19 or 20 intentionally. The sieges on the Covenant, Sword, and Arm of the Lord and the Branch Davidian compounds coincidentally took place on these dates. One lesson to be learned is that the police and government agencies should take great care in choosing when to initiate contact with a group. Kerry Noble points out that "April is the time of Passover and when Jesus was

⁶ Ibid, 14.

resurrected. A group could easily perceive [government] action at this time a sign from God that it was time to die and that they will be resurrected three days later.”⁷

The significance of dates can be used in many ways, marking celebrations for some and days of mourning and remembrance for others. It is important to recognize the significance of dates such as this, as they may provide insightful lessons for us to help mitigate potential tragedies.”⁸

Not everyone who chooses April to act is a Christian Identity believer, but the significance cannot be overlooked. Furthermore, when law enforcement decides to make a move, the date of operations should be carefully considered.

The first person profiled has not been convicted of committing hate crimes. However, his influence as a leader who inspired other people to act is important.

The Invisible Leader

“Where ballots fail, bullets will prevail.” – Louis Beam

Louis Beam is a longtime leader in the Ku Klux Klan and faced arrest several times.⁹ In the early 1970s, Beam was arrested in connection with the bombing of a

⁷ Ibid, 25.

⁸ “What’s in a Date? 19 April and Right-Wing Extremism,” *The World Online*, April 19, 2013, accessed November 20, 2013, <http://theworldoutline.com/2013/04/what-is-in-a-date-19-april-right-wing-extremism/>.

⁹ “Louis Beam,” Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed 12.19.2013. <http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/intelligence-files/profiles/louis-beam>

Texas radio station and for spraying machine-gun fire at the Communist headquarters. In 1981 he led the Klan in an altercation with Vietnamese fishermen fishing in Galveston Bay. Assisted by the Southern Poverty Law Center, the fisherman sought an injunction resulting in a United States District Court order against Beam to cease violence and intimidation. In 1982 he was arrested for kidnapping his two-year-old daughter but the girl's mother dropped the charges. In 1987 he was arrested, along with members of the Covenant, Sword, and Arm of the Lord and the Aryan Nations, for seditious conspiracy to overthrow the government but was acquitted.¹⁰ In 2002 he faced allegations of molesting his children but the charges were never presented to the grand jury.¹¹ Though he has been arrested several times over the years, Beam has faced few repercussions. Beam is one of the charismatic leaders of the racist right and the architect of "leaderless resistance," or what law enforcement and the media call "lone wolf" activity.

Beam got his start in the United Klans of America, an Alabama-based Klan that has a chapter in his home state of Texas. He later switched into David Duke's Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and traveled to the Aryan Nations compound in Idaho in 1981, becoming close with Aryan Nations' leader Richard Butler. In 1983 Beam published *Essays of a Klansman*, which Robert Mathews of The Order handed out to his troops.¹² It is highly likely that Beam was present at a secret meeting held at the Aryan Nations

¹⁰ "Louis Beam." The Anti-Defamation League.
http://archive.adl.org/learn/ext_us/beam.html?xpicked=2&item=beam.

¹¹ "Louis Beam," Southern Poverty Law Center.

¹² "Louis Beam." The Anti-Defamation League.

congress in 1983, where the leaders of several white supremacist groups pledged to encourage their members to take action against the enemy, to take matters into their own hands.¹³ (See the section on the Covenant, Sword, and Arm of the Lord, below, for additional details.)

The Southern Poverty Law Center characterizes Beam in this way:

Louis Beam played a key role in shaping the revolutionary racist movement in the United States during the three decades following the Vietnam War as one of its principal theorists and strategists. Beam mentored domestic terrorists, popularized the concept of “leaderless resistance,” and helped guide the white supremacist movement into the computer age.¹⁴

In 1984 Beam established a computer forum for white supremacists, making the racist right some of the very first to embrace new technology in their communication strategies. Though it would be another eleven years before Don Black established Stormfront, leaders in the movement already recognized the benefits of communicating and coordinating with one another, even across ideological differences.

It is not clear whether Beam embraces the full Christian Identity package. The KKK ranges from extremely conservative Protestant all the way into Christian Identity, but individuals fall on a spectrum. What is clear is that Beam associated with many Christian Identity leaders, especially Richard Butler, but also William Pierce, Jim Ellison (profiled below), and Pete Peters.

¹³ Kerry Noble. *Tabernacle of Hate*, 187.

¹⁴ “Louis Beam,” Southern Poverty Law Center.

In 1992 Beam published an updated version of his treatise on leaderless resistance.

The article called on white revolutionaries to abandon planning in large groups, and to instead take action in small cells of one to six men. The basic idea was to avoid the destruction of revolutionary organizations when they were infiltrated or in other ways compromised by law enforcement officials, limiting damage to a single cell at most. Rather than act on orders from above, Beam thought the cells should act independently. These “lone wolves” would “act when they feel the time is ripe,” or [would] take their cues from others who precede[d] them.¹⁵

Beam seemed to learn from past experiences. Large groups isolated on compounds attract attention. Operatives working alone or in small groups are capable of accomplishing much more. Thanks in large part to Louis Beam, many leaders came to recognize the efficacy of small cells working independently.

In the second 1992 version of the tract on leaderless resistance,

Beam envisions a two-tiered approach to revolutionary struggle. One tier would be the above-ground “organs of information,” who would “distribute information using newspapers, leaflets, computers, etc.” The organs of information were not to conduct any illegal activities but rather to provide direction for lone wolves, as well as issue propaganda for recruitment purposes. The second tier would be made up of individual operators and small “phantom” cells that would conduct attacks. These people

¹⁵ Ibid.

were to remain low-key and anonymous, with no connections to the above-ground activists.¹⁶

Louis Beam believes that the time has come to take up arms. Furthermore, he clearly advocates for lone warriors who take matters into their own hands. Like many fundamentalists who long for the end of days to begin, Beam believes that there will be a catalyst that will serve as the tipping point into war. Therefore, his call to arms is strong and appeals to people who want to be special, chosen by God. Leaders play a special role of inspiring and directing players. The actors themselves move in secret.

Many “lone wolf” activists intentionally avoid carrying membership cards or claiming to be members of certain groups.¹⁷ The internet has become a perfect medium of communication between actors and leaders. It is true that “[m]any individuals require the feedback and encouragement of like-minded individuals to help them reach [the] point [of action]. And this group dynamic crosses ideological divides.”¹⁸ The chat forums on Stormfront and the propaganda mailed by organizations such as Kingdom Identity Ministries are examples of ideological networks that create inspiration for action. It can be said that religion takes up residence in publications, allowing individuals access. Very few terrorists are actually “lone.” One possible exception may be Joseph Paul Franklin.

¹⁶ Fred Burton and Scott Stewart, “The ‘Lone Wolf’ Disconnect,” *Stratfor Global Intelligence*, January 30, 2008, accessed December 19, 2013, http://www.stratfor.com/weekly/lone_wolf_disconnect.

¹⁷ Mike German, “Behind the Lone Terrorist, a Pack Mentality,” *The Washington Post*, June 5, 2005, Accessed 7.10.2013. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2005/06/04/AR2005060400147.html>

¹⁸ Fred Burton and Scott Stewart, “The ‘Lone Wolf’ Disconnect”.

Joseph Paul Franklin

I was on a holy war against evildoers ... I was the executioner, judge, and jury. It was all a plan to start a race war. I saw violence as the only way to accomplish things. – Joseph Paul Franklin

William Pierce's book *Hunter*, published in 1989, is dedicated to Joseph Paul Franklin.¹⁹ The book is about a lone wolf sniper who kills blacks, Jews, and government officials.

Born James Clayton Vaughn, Franklin grew up in Alabama and reported being severely abused by both parents as a teenager, something his siblings, a brother and two sisters, corroborate.²⁰ In 1976 he legally changed his name to Joseph Paul Franklin, choosing “‘Joseph Paul’ in honor of Paul Joseph Goebbels, the Nazi minister of propaganda, and ‘Franklin’ after Benjamin Franklin.”²¹

From 1977 through 1980, Franklin committed a series of crimes including bombings, bank robberies, and murders. It is unknown how many crimes Franklin committed; we know only that he “was responsible for at least sixteen bank robberies, two bombings, the wounding of five people(including a famous civil rights leader), and

¹⁹ Like *The Turner Diaries*, *Hunter* is also published under the pseudonym Andrew MacDonald.

²⁰ From an interview with Kyung Lah for CNN, “Serial Killer Joseph Paul Franklin Prepares to Die”, and Mel Ayton, *Dark Soul of the South* in the chapter “The Early Years.”

²¹ Kyung Lah, “Serial Killer Joseph Paul Franklin Prepares to Die, CNN, 11.19.13, Accessed 3.25.2014. <http://www.cnn.com/2013/11/18/justice/death-row-interview-joseph-paul-franklin/index.html>

the murder of many more.’²² Franklin’s specialty was using a hunting rifle to shoot his victims from afar, while hiding in tall grass, bushes, and buildings.

Franklin was ultimately convicted of eight murders, and also he confessed to shooting Larry Flynt of *Hustler* magazine for depicting interracial sex, and Vernon Jordan, Jr., a civil rights activist. He received the death penalty in 1997 and was executed by the state of Missouri in November 2013.

In many ways Franklin is an anomaly, a true lone wolf, an antisocial and deeply disturbed man who spent the vast majority of his time alone. Examined on several occasions by psychiatrists, Franklin may have been a paranoid schizophrenic, at least according to Dr. Dorothy Otnow Lewis, who examined him on two separate occasions.²³ Others disagreed: “Dr. Sam Parwatiker ... diagnosed Franklin as suffering from ‘paranoid personality disorder,’ but concluded that he was competent.”²⁴ At all of his trials Franklin was not treated as mentally ill. Ayton concludes, “Franklin’s methods of killing tell us he knew right from wrong. He was fastidious in preparation of his murders, planning them down to the last detail...”²⁵

²² Mel Ayton, *Dark Soul of the South: The Life and Crimes of Racist Serial Killer Joseph Paul Franklin* (Washington, D. C.: Potomac Books, Inc, 2011), viii.

²³ Ibid, 218.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid, 252.

In the late 1960s, Franklin joined the National Socialist White People's Party²⁶ and later held membership in a chapter of the Ku Klux Klan.²⁷ He did not find solidarity with members of the NSWPP, who eschewed him as "scruffy and unkempt" in an organization that presented themselves as clean-cut in spotless military uniforms and shiny boots. However, he won the respect of his comrades in 1969 when he single-handedly carried out an attack on the New Mobilization Committee's headquarters in Washington, D. C. Staged during a demonstration against the Vietnam War, a handful of NSWPP members created a diversion while Franklin set off tear-gas grenades, forcing the evacuation of the building housing the anti-war, pro-civil rights organization.²⁸

Franklin viewed his actions as the first step. When other members did not make plans for another attack, Franklin grew frustrated with what he saw as fear resulting in an unwillingness to take action. He "began to see the Nazis as an organization that wasn't violent enough to assist him in what was quickly becoming his divine mission."²⁹ His frustration is a common theme among religious white supremacists who turn to violence: the men chronicled in this chapter report feeling as though their fellows are just playing dress up or play acting. Some people are willing to wait for God to make the

²⁶ The NSWPP is the organization that started as the American Nazi Party under George Lincoln Rockwell, profiled in chapter one. Franklin joined after Rockwell's assassination.

²⁷ Mel Ayton, *Dark Soul of the South*, 37.

²⁸ Ibid, 32.

²⁹ Ibid, 34.

first move. Others are not. Franklin had a taste for action that quickly escalated into a belief that God was acting through him.

For three years Franklin traveled across the United States, returning most frequently to Georgia, where he had an ex-wife and a daughter. He also spent a lot of time in areas around Washington, D. C. – in Maryland and Virginia. However, he never stayed in one place long. His major crimes appear to have begun in 1976 when he tailed an interracial couple in Montgomery County, Maryland, and sprayed them in the face with Mace. In 1977 he bombed the home of Morris Amitay, a lobbyist for American-Israeli relations, killing the family dog. Later that same year, he planted another bomb in a synagogue in Chattanooga, Tennessee, destroying the building but causing no deaths. In August he made his first kills, shooting an interracial couple in Madison, Wisconsin. The victims, Alphonse Manning Jr. and Toni Schwenn, were shot at close range and died instantly. Afterward, he drove to St. Louis, Missouri, and killed Gerald Gordon as Gordon left synagogue after services.³⁰ Early in 1978 in Atlanta, Franklin killed a twenty-two-year-old black man, Johnny Brookshire, and paralyzed his white girlfriend, Joy Williams. He then drove to Lawrenceville, Georgia, and shot Larry Flynt, the owner of *Hustler* magazine, paralyzing him.³¹ Still in 1978, Franklin shot another interracial couple, Bryant and Nancy Tatum, killing the husband. In 1979 Franklin killed a twenty-nine-year-old black man, Harold McIver, in Doraville, Georgia, before driving to Falls Church, Virginia, and killing another man, Raymond Taylor. Also in 1979, Franklin

³⁰ In 1997 Franklin was convicted of this crime and sentenced to death.

³¹ Though he confessed, Franklin was never convicted of this crime.

visited Oklahoma City and killed another interracial couple, Jesse Taylor and his wife Marian Vera Bressette. In 1979, the year his daughter was born, Franklin had begun to date Mercedes Masters until she told him that she had once had sex with a black man. Franklin killed her, dumped her body in a wooded area, and drove to Indianapolis. There, in early 1980, he shot a twenty-two-year-old black man, Lawrence Reese, who died on the scene. His next kills came later in 1980 with the murder of Rebecca Bergstrom, a hitchhiker Franklin picked up. He killed her after she told him that she had dated a Jamaican man. Franklin drove to Chicago and shot civil rights activist Vernon Jordan, causing severe injury but failing to kill the man. Frustrated with his miss, Franklin went to Cincinnati and shot fourteen-year-old Darrell Lane and his thirteen-year-old cousin Dante Evans Brown. From there he traveled to Johnstown, Pennsylvania, and killed another interracial couple, Arthur Smothers and Kathleen Mikula. On his way toward Salt Lake City, Utah, he picked up two girls hitchhiking, Nancy Santomero and Vickie Durian, and killed them both after they admitted to having sex with black men. In Salt Lake City, he killed two black men, Ted Fields and David Martin. He was captured in Lakeland, Florida, while allegedly stalking President Jimmy Carter.³²

Franklin was initially convicted by the federal government of violating the civil rights of Ted Fields and David Martin, the two young men murdered in Salt Lake City.

³² The timeline for Joseph Paul Franklin's movements can be found in Mel Ayton's *Dark Soul of the South*. A brief overview appears at the end of the text beginning on page 271 and ending on page 278.

He received two life sentences.³³ The state also brought him to trial for the Fields and Martin murders and sentenced him to another two life sentences.³⁴ A federal trial found Franklin not guilty in the violation of the civil rights of Vernon Jordan.³⁵ In 1984 Franklin confessed to bombing the synagogue in Tennessee and received an additional twenty-one years.³⁶ In 1986 Franklin was convicted of killing Alphonse Manning Jr. and Toni Schwenn in Wisconsin (his first murders) and given another two life sentences.³⁷ In 1997 he was convicted of killing Gerald Gordon and sentenced to death.³⁸ Later that same year, he was found guilty of killing Land and Brown, the cousins in Cincinnati, and sentenced to forty years. In 1998 he was convicted of another murder and plea bargained for two concurrent life sentences.³⁹

All in all, Franklin admitted to killing twenty people and wounding six more. Additionally, Franklin confessed to two bombings and is thought to have committed a number of bank robberies. For these crimes he received six life sentences (four of them for the slaying of Fields and Martin for which he was tried twice, once by the Federal

³³ Ayton, *Dark Soul of the South*, 144.

³⁴ Ibid, 146.

³⁵ Ibid, 156.

³⁶ Ibid, 164.

³⁷ Ibid, 168.

³⁸ Ibid, 177-8.

³⁹ Jim Salter, "Joseph Paul Franklin, White Supremacist Killer who also Shot Larry Flynt, Executed," *HuffPost*, 11.20.2013, accessed 3.25.2014. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/11/20/joseph-franklin-executed_n_4308553.html

government and once by the state of Utah), plus an additional sixty-six years and the death penalty. The state of Missouri executed him in November 2013.

Joseph Paul Franklin can be written off as a lonely and insane man suffering the after-effects of a traumatic and abusive childhood. A diagnosis of paranoid schizophrenia, resting on his admission that he heard God telling him to kill, seems to support viewing him as mentally ill.⁴⁰ We might assume that, if he had not found religious racism, he would have found something else. But judging Franklin as simply insane overlooks the way religion functions in the lives of Christian Identity believers, justifying their perception that something is wrong with the world and allowing them to avoid considering that something might be wrong with them. Interracial relationships and the presence of Jews on American soil proved to Franklin that the reason for his dissatisfaction did not exist inside his mind but outside in a world that had deviated from God's plan. Christian Identity ideology gave him direction and purpose. When he stole a copy of *Mein Kampf* in 1966, he found the charismatic leader whose ideas would shape the rest of his life.⁴¹ In three short years, he killed twenty people and affected the lives of many more. He was as close to a lone wolf as can be found, and yet he gave rise to the militias of the 1980s.

The 1980s began with the capture of Joseph Paul Franklin, putting an end to three years of terror from an unknown sniper who struck from afar. However, three

⁴⁰ Despite a diagnosis of paranoid schizophrenia never being a factor in his trials, he is often characterized as mentally ill in journalism. See Jim Salter, "Joseph Paul Franklin, White Supremacist Killer" for an example.

⁴¹ Mel Ayton, *Dark Soul of the South*, 34.

years later The Order gunned down Alan Berg in the driveway of his home in Denver, Colorado. If Joseph Paul Franklin stands as the epitome of the lone wolf, The Order became the icon of a white supremacist terrorist cell. Though Bob Mathews died in December 1984, other members of The Order, fleeing capture, found refuge with another militia group, the Covenant, Sword, and Arm of the Lord (CSA) located in a rural area of northwestern Arkansas. As the inferno at the Branch Davidian compound outside Waco, Texas, served as a call to arms to extremists during the 1990s, the arrest of Joseph Paul Franklin and the death of Gordon Kahl served as the catalyst in the 1980s.

Gordon Kahl

We are a conquered and occupied nation; conquered and occupied by the Jews, and their hundreds or maybe thousands of front organizations doing their un-Godly work. They have two objectives in their goal of ruling the world. Destroy Christianity and the White race. Neither can be accomplished by itself, they stand or fall together. – Gordon Kahl

In 1968, in protest of what he perceived to be a satanic government occupied by demonic Jews, Gordon Kahl stopped filing tax returns. During the early 1970s while living in Texas and working on oilfields, he organized the Texas chapter of the Posse Comitatus, an anti-tax patriot group that often attracts Christian Identity believers, but he later left the group. In 1977 Kahl appeared on a conservative talk radio program and

shared his beliefs.⁴² Within months he was charged with violating Title 26, Section 7203 of the tax code, “Willful Failure to File.”⁴³ He served eight months in prison and upon his release returned to his home state of North Dakota and continued to refuse to pay taxes, violating the terms of his five-year probation.⁴⁴

In 1983, while Kahl was returning from a “township” meeting,⁴⁵ federal marshals sought to serve an arrest warrant for parole violation. Kahl claimed that law enforcement fired first, forcing him to return fire to defend his family. His son Yorie was shot and wounded. Kahl killed two marshals in the shootout and, stealing one of their vehicles, fled to a friend’s home in Smithville, Arkansas. Receiving a tip as to Kahl’s whereabouts, Sheriff Gene Matthews attempted to apprehend Kahl. Kahl shot and killed him, but was shot and killed by the sheriff’s support team.⁴⁶

Gordon Kahl was an unlikely player in the saga of the racist right. He engaged in acts of civil disobedience and nonviolent criminal acts but he did not view himself as

⁴² “Tax Protest Movement,” Anti-Defamation League, accessed 7.25.2014.
http://archive.adl.org/learn/ext_us/tpm.html

⁴³ Capstan Turner and A. Jay Lowery, *There was a Man: The Saga of Gordon Kahl*, (Nashville, TN: Sozo Publishing Company, 1985), 35. See also James Corcoran, *Bitter Harvest: Gordon Kahl and the Rise of the Posse Comitatus in the Heartland* (New York City: Viking Adult, 1990) and “Tax Protest Movement,” The Anti-Defamation League, accessed 7.30.2014. http://archive.adl.org/learn/ext_us/tpm.html

⁴⁴ Gordon Kahl, The U.S. Marshalls Service,
<http://www.usmarshals.gov/district/nd/general/htm/kahl.htm>, accessed 4.23.2014.

⁴⁵ The “township” movement is a patriot movement that seeks to set up parallel city governments that rely on members’ idea of the original Constitution. These groups often seek to bog down city governments by filing hundreds of lawsuits in civil courts, effectively gridlocking the system.

⁴⁶ “Tax Protest Movement,” The Anti-Defamation League, accessed 7.30.2014.
http://archive.adl.org/learn/ext_us/tpm.html.

needing to commit acts of terrorism. He appears to have just wanted to be left alone. And yet in his death he became a martyr, largely because leaders of the racist right made him one. He did not publish tracts, he did not attend national rallies, and he did not issue a call to arms. However, the standoffs between Gordon Kahl and law enforcement galvanized the far right, who saw the events as the unjust use of lethal force against an American patriot. In many ways, Kahl resembles Randy Weaver, the man at the center of an attack by the federal government in 1992. Both men were periphery members of Christian Identity and came to be used as a call to arms when they became the focal point for government action. Across the country, groups understood the death of Kahl to be the opening sally in the Holy War. One group was located in Arkansas, near where Kahl died: the Covenant, Sword, and Arm of the Lord.

The Covenant, Sword, and Arm of the Lord

We consoled ourselves with the thought that war was only a means to an end, the darkness before the dawn ... We wanted peace, but if purging had to precede peace, then let the purge begin. - Kerry Noble, CSA member

In 1970 a minister named James “Jim” Ellison moved to Elijah, Missouri, from Texas and founded a small church he called Zarephath-Horeb.⁴⁷ In 1976 he purchased a 220-acre piece of land near Bull Shoals Lake in Marion County, Arkansas. He called this new venture the Covenant, Sword, and Arm of the Lord (CSA). With the assistance

⁴⁷ Mount Horeb is the place Moses took the Hebrews during the exodus from Egypt, and Zarephath is the city to which Elijah moved at God’s directive that he find a “crucible for his faith.”

of his church, Ellison constructed a guerilla training camp, called the Endtime Overcomer Survival Training School, complete with a full-scale city block for the purposes of training soldiers in urban combat. Convinced that white, Christian patriots would be called by God to usher in the end of days, Ellison began preparations for war.⁴⁸ The scale of his operation quickly attracted Christian Identity militia members from across the country, and summer training camps drew members from the National Alliance, the Aryan Nations, The Order, and numerous other Christian Identity churches, including Scriptures for America Worldchurch in Colorado, the Church of Israel in Missouri, and Elohim City in Oklahoma. (The Church of Israel and Elohim City are profiled below.)

The Church of Israel, the CSA, and Elohim City created a triad of racist activity in the region of northwest Arkansas, eastern Oklahoma, and western Missouri. These three organizations formed the backbone of the Christian Identity movement in the Midwest, but also served to organize and motivate other groups, such as the KKK faction based in northwest Arkansas near Nail and Kingdom Identity Ministries in Harrison. The CSA also had ties with the Michigan arm of the KKK.⁴⁹

The CSA, along with some other Christian Identity organizations, believed in “sonship,” a doctrine teaching that members of a group will become God’s “Christ-Body,” incapable of sin, that will serve as the army for Jesus’s return to earth. Christ

⁴⁸ “Covenant, Sword, and Arm of the Lord,” The Nizkor Project, accessed 3.23.2014. <http://www.nizkor.org/hweb/orgs/american/adl/paranoia-as-patriotism/covenant.html>

⁴⁹ Ibid.

will serve as the “head,” and the members will be the “body” – together, the organization will facilitate the end of days. In order for this transformation to take place, member Kerry Noble reported that “God wanted our individualities to die.”⁵⁰ Combined with sonship is what Noble calls the “most dangerous doctrine going around in religious groups,” the “never-die doctrine.”

This doctrine states that someone must be resurrected soon as a sign of God’s vindication of the right-wing. If the government goes against a group that absolutely believes in the resurrection doctrine, then why should the group members fear death? They’ll be raised from the dead three days later. Why should they care if police officers die? That would only be eliminating agents of sin.⁵¹

The CSA, through sonship and never-die, reinforced in adherents the perception of being members of a special and chosen force, the elite and godly participants in the end of the world. They were the “us” who were chosen to as the faithful remnant. Violent religions not only accept acts of war as legitimate expressions of faith but also justify these actions with theological precepts based on a particular interpretation of the Bible.

Noble writes that none of the CSA members knew scripture particularly well. Instead, members believed in “spiritualizing” scripture: “To spiritualize a scripture means to try to see a different or deeper meaning to it than the one commonly taught. The group believed that the Bible was not so much literal as it was symbolic, that the

⁵⁰ Noble, *Tabernacle of Hate*, 51.

⁵¹ Ibid, 221.

letter or literal meaning would kill the spirit of the scripture.”⁵² It can be argued that this is the opposite of biblical literalism; however, it is a form of biblical inerrancy that needs to be seriously considered. The idea of the Bible as a living document that must be deciphered and “speaks” to those who can hear is a tradition deeply rooted in evangelical and fundamentalist Christianity. CSA members believed that individual members received divine revelations that exposed the real meaning of God’s word, a meaning that had been intentionally hidden by God from everyone except the elect. Furthermore, the Bible is understood by CSA as containing levels of initiation. It is a living document through which God reveals new plans. Members would prophesy during church meetings, and these revelations drove many decisions made by the CSA.

In 1980 God revealed that he wanted CSA members to prepare for war. What had begun as a benign group of survivalists attempting to lead simple, Christian lives transformed, over the course of a little more than a year, into a radicalized, dangerous group of close to sixty people.

Ex-CSA member Kerry Noble lists three ingredients for the formation of a violent religious group. The first is “a philosophical or theological premise, based on discontent, fear, unbelief, hate, despair, or some other negative emotion.”⁵³ Ingredient number two is a charismatic leader. Finally, the “third ingredient to the creation of an extremist is itself composed of three parts: the limitation of information not coming

⁵² Ibid, 55.

⁵³ Ibid, 28.

from the group itself, a Savior mentality, and a perceived enemy or limited options.”⁵⁴

The men and their families who join survivalist groups typically do so because they are suspicious of society, viewing it as corrupt. A strong personality can reinforce such beliefs. Introduce an enemy perceived to be infringing upon the freedom of members, and the group can quickly resort to violence.

The large plot of land owned by CSA became the focal point of meetings and trainings.⁵⁵ In 1983 three CSA members – Ellison along with Kerry Noble and CSA member Richard “Wayne” Snell – began making plans to blow up the federal building in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. The initial strike would be followed by the bombings of more federal buildings in Texas and the assassinations of Arkansas politicians. However, before the bombings could commence, supplies needed to be gathered.

The leadership of CSA spent most of 1982 and 1983 gathering munitions, after Ellison received a revelation from God encouraging stealing from nonbelievers. Additionally, the CSA began taking donations from other white supremacist organizations, including thirty gallons of cyanide from a Michigan Klan leader.

During this same time period, frustrated that things seemed to progress too slowly, CSA member Randall Rader left to join The Order, becoming their weapons

⁵⁴ Ibid, 68.

⁵⁵ All of the information about the inner workings of the CSA comes from Kerry Noble’s *Tabernacle of Hate* unless otherwise indicated.

expert. Order member Robert Smalley had visited the CSA compound a number of times to buy or sell weapons. Convinced that The Order had a plan for action, Rader left.⁵⁶

In June 1983, Gordon Kahl engaged in shootouts with federal law enforcement that resulted in the deaths of three officers. Later that same summer, Richard Butler of the Aryan Nations in Idaho invited James Ellison to give the keynote address at the Aryan Nations congress, an event held every summer that draws members from the racist right from all over the country.⁵⁷ In his address, Ellison used Gordon Kahl as a call to arms, saying that the government's treatment of Kahl served as proof that the war had begun. Upon his return to Arkansas, Ellison recounted a meeting with the Aryan Nations leadership in which "silent warriors" were discussed.

These individuals would go out alone and commit crimes and not tell anyone what they had done. The silent warrior, working alone, would simply bring back any spoils of war, like money, for the cause. He would be anonymous, not wanting personal glory. This would eliminate any chances of a leak if no one knew what the warrior had done.⁵⁸

Richard Butler was present at the meeting, along with Ellison and most likely William Pierce of the National Alliance, Louis Beam, and possibly Pete Peters of Scriptures for America Worldchurch. All of these men encouraged their followers to commit acts of

⁵⁶ Rader was arrested on March 1, 1985, on racketeering charges following the standoff between Bob Mathews and the FBI the previous year: Kerry Noble, *Tabernacle of Hate*, 194.

⁵⁷ The Aryan Nation compound was confiscated in 2001 following the trial with the Keenans (see Chapter one). Now, the yearly congress is held in different rented facilities around the nation.

⁵⁸ Noble, *Tabernacle of Hate*, 132.

violence, while simultaneously urging them to distance themselves from their groups first.

The first hit by CSA occurred on August 9, 1983, and involved the arson of the Metropolitan Community Church in Springfield, Missouri. The church openly supported gay rights, and CSA member Bill Thomas pushed a can of gasoline through the mail slot and lit it. Other than charring the door, no major damage occurred.

On August 15, Ellison and Thomas drove to Bloomington, Indiana, and firebombed a synagogue, burning a Torah and lighting a curtain on fire. Again, no major damage happened.

On November 2, Thomas, joined by CSA members Richard Wayne Snell and Steven Scott, strapped twenty-three sticks of dynamite to a natural gas pipeline running through Arkansas on its way to Chicago. They thought that disrupting the gas feeding Chicago in the dead of winter would result in loss of heat and encourage riots. The explosion dented the pipe but did not cause it to rupture.

On November 11, Thomas and Snell drove to Texarkana and robbed a pawnshop. During the robbery, Snell placed the barrel of his pistol against the head of the proprietor, William Stumpp, and fired three times, killing him. Later that evening, Snell told Ellison that Stumpp “was an evil man, he was a Jew, and he needed to die.”⁵⁹ The two men absconded with several thousand dollars in cash and jewelry. Later that evening, overcome with remorse, Bill Thomas fled the CSA compound.

⁵⁹ “Covenant, Sword, and Arm of the Lord,” National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and the Responses to Terrorism, accessed October 12, 2013, http://www.start.umd.edu/start/data_collections/tops/terrorist_organization_profile.asp?id=3226.

The November 11 robbery and shooting was followed by a number of failed attempts. Three CSA members determined to kill the lead agent of the FBI and district attorney involved in the death of Gordon Kahl but were turned back by a snowstorm. Kerry Noble crossed Ellison by pleading for an end to violence. Ellison responded by accusing Noble of being a traitor. Desperate to prove his loyalty, Noble drove to Kansas City with a .22 and a briefcase full of C-4 explosive. But he changed his mind at the last minute and drove away with his weapons.⁶⁰

Ellison began laying plans to bomb the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City. CSA members surveyed the building and determined to park a van with a remote-controlled rocket bomb in the back. However, when a trial run with the rocket backfired and severely burned a munitions expert at the CSA compound, Ellison interpreted it to mean that God was against the idea, and the scheme was abandoned. However, the plan was not forgotten.

In June 1984, African-American officer Louis Bryant pulled over Richard Wayne Snell in a routine traffic stop. The murder of Stumpp had remained unsolved, and in spite of not being suspected of anything other than a traffic violation, Snell opened fire and killed the officer. Arrested within days, he went to prison to await trial. In prison he was connected to the Stumpp murder and ultimately received a death sentence.

⁶⁰ According to his own account Kerry Noble basically renounced violence in December 1983 when he refused to set a bomb (Noble, *Tabernacle of Hate*, 10). Though he would later be arrested and serve in prison for his CSA activities, he eventually left organized racism altogether. He is now an advocate for nonviolence and peaceful race relations.

In December 1983, The Order leader Bob Mathews died in an inferno in Washington state. The FBI then focused on rounding up the other members of the group. By 1985 Order members Randy Evans, Thomas Bentley, James Wallington, Randall Rader, and Jefferson Butler remained at large. Randy Evans had secreted himself at the CSA compound. Also missing was Sue West (aka Jean Carrington), the wife of Order member Walter West, who had been killed by the organization in 1984 when members suspected him of being a traitor. On March 19, 1985, the body of Sue West appeared under a bridge in Oklahoma. Her throat had been slit. Intelligence led the FBI to CSA member James Rolston. Following the arrest of Snell, the arrest of Rolston, and a growing concern over the possibility of weapons stockpiling, the FBI made plans to arrest Ellison. On April 20, 1985, FBI and ATF agents surrounded the CSA compound. A standoff ensued.

The FBI assured Ellison that a peaceful outcome would be ideal, but Order member Randy Evans tried to provoke CSA members into a shootout in honor of Hitler's birthday. Ellison refused. The FBI flew in Elohim City leader Robert Millar to serve as a negotiator. Kerry Noble served as the go-between. On April 23, the CSA put down their weapons and surrendered. The FBI entered the compound and seized thirty gallons of cyanide, numerous guns including an anti-tank gun and an anti-aircraft machine gun, more than sixty pounds of C-4 plastic explosive, armored vehicles, and thousands of rounds of ammunition. Seven members of the CSA were arrested, including Order member Randy Evans. Another Order member, David Tate, was

apprehended nearby. Juries would find all CSA members except Ellison not guilty. Tate and Evans were tried separately, and Kerry Noble was also arrested and convicted of conspiracy and racketeering. Ellison served three years and then moved into a federal witness protection program until his parole ended in 1995. Three days after the Oklahoma City bombing, Ellison moved to Elohim City (profiled below).

The 1985 raid ended the CSA. Members disbanded and reentered mainstream society or served prison sentences. The second in command, Kerry Noble, served three years in prison for his involvement and gradually renounced racism. His time in prison made him reevaluate the ways in which CSA interpreted Christianity and the degree to which he himself had influenced a racist read of the Bible.

Richard Wayne Snell was executed in April 1995, mere hours after Timothy McVeigh carried out the plan to bomb the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building twelve years after it had originally been targeted. His remains were claimed by members of Elohim City and interred on their compound in Oklahoma.⁶¹

The Covenant, Sword, and Arm of the Lord has all of the six traits of a violent religious movement. With its form of scriptural inerrancy in the form of bibliomancy, its belief in the imminent apocalypse, the strong leadership of Jim Ellison, the strict division between the righteous members and the corrupt outsiders, and its identification of a demonic presence alive in the world, it has all of the traits of fundamentalism. Most importantly, it developed the belief that members were warriors destined to play a role

⁶¹ Lee Roy Chapman and Joshua Kline “Who’s Afraid of Elohim City?” *This Land Press* (April 15, 2012). Accessed 12.11.2013. <http://thislandpress.com/04/15/2012/whos-afraid-of-elohim-city/?read=complete>

in God's plan to end the world. Richard Wayne Snell was not the only one to heed the call. Randal Rader left for The Order and other members spread the word that God wanted lone players to take up arms.

The Church of Israel

And I will put enmity between you and the woman, and
between your offspring and hers; he will crush your head,
and you will strike his heel. - Genesis 3:15⁶²

The Church of Israel formed in 1972 from a schism in the Church of Christ at Zion in Halley's Bluff, Missouri. The Church of Christ at Zion was a small, conservative church headed by Leo Gayman, who had been active in the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. Leo Gayman had six sons, two of whom, Duane and Dan, fought over the church after their father's death.⁶³

In the 1960s Dan Gayman earned a degree in history from Southwest Missouri State College and became first a teacher and then a high school principal. He also became increasingly radicalized and accepted Wesley Swift's belief of the "two seed" or "seed line" theory of Christian Identity. He began exploring these theories in the church

⁶² Genesis 3:15 is used by Christian Identity leaders, including Dan Gayman of the Church of Israel, to prove that two seed lines originate with Eve.

⁶³ The bibliographic information contained in this section is a composite profile based on the Anti-Defamation League's entry "Dan Guyman" (http://archive.adl.org/learn/ext_us/gayman.html?xpicked=2&item=gayman) and the Church of Israel Website (www.churchofisrael.org) unless otherwise noted.

newspaper, to the discomfiture of his brother Duane, who led the church. The brothers became entangled in a legal battle over church property; in 1973 courts awarded Duane 490 acres of the congregation's land, leaving Dan a mere 20 acres. Dan formed his own church and called it the Church of Our Christian Heritage.

In 1976 Dan Gayman led his members into Duane Gayman's church building and occupied it, covering the windows with banners reading "National Emancipation of our White Seed," the name of a Louisiana-based Christian Identity group led by Buddy Tucker. A scuffle with law enforcement ensued, but charges of trespassing and assaulting an officer were later dismissed. In the late 1970s or early 1980s, Dan Gayman acquired additional land.

By 1980 Gayman had established close connections with Elohim City, located in eastern Oklahoma, and renamed his group the Church of Israel. Gayman became a regular speaker in Christian Identity circles and is known to have closely associated with Richard Butler of the Aryan Nations, and Identity leaders John Harrell of the Christian-Patriots Defense League and Gordon "Jack" Mohr of the Citizens Emergency Defense System. According to CSA member Kerry Noble, it was Gayman who introduced Jim Ellison of CSA to Christian racism.⁶⁴ (Ellison claims to have never met Gayman.)

In 1982 or 1983, the Church of Israel received \$10,000 from The Order, money they used to assist the Covenant, Sword, and Arm of the Lord to build the "Endtime Overcomer Survival Training School" at the CSA compound. In 1987 Gayman was indicted for receiving stolen funds from The Order. From the witness stand, he publicly

⁶⁴ Andy Ostmeier, "A New Way to Hate," *The Joplin Globe*, January 2001.

denounced violence as being opposed to Christian Identity beliefs, and the courts acquitted him of all charges.

Dan Gayman avoids the Christian Identity label, preferring “Christian Israelism.” But the Anti-Defamation League notes that there is “little difference” between Christian Israelism and Christian Identity:

Gayman teaches that his congregation and supporters are the true chosen people of the Bible; Adam, Eve and Jesus were white; homosexuality may be punishable by death; interracial marriage is forbidden; and nonwhites are subhuman and soulless. This moral code is imbued with Gayman’s belief that an apocalyptic struggle between white Christians and the international Jewish conspiracy, with its nonwhite troops, is imminent.⁶⁵

These beliefs are easily visible on the church’s website, which states, “we do believe that the Celtic, Anglo, Saxon, Germanic, and Scandinavian peoples of the earth are direct genetic descendants of ancient Israel.”⁶⁶ Christian Israelism is Christian Identity under a slightly different name. Like Pete Peters, the Church of Israel has distanced itself from the Identity label in an attempt to manipulate public perception of the group. Like Peters, some members of Stormfront denigrate the Church of Israel as “selling out.”

The Church of Israel has only been indirectly connected with violence. They received money from The Order and used it to assist the building of a training camp at

⁶⁵ “Dan Gayman,” Anti-Defamation League, accessed December 12, 2013, http://archive.adl.org/learn/ext_us/gayman.html.

⁶⁶ “Our Anglo-Israel Roots,” The Church of Israel, accessed December 11, 2013, www.churchofisrael.org/why-the-church-of-israel-the-who-what-and-why-of-the-church/.

the CSA compound. Gayman introduced CSA leader Jim Ellison to Christian Identity beliefs, particularly the doctrine of “sonship.” In 1984, mass murderer Eric Rudolph attended Church of Israel services with his mother and brother, even living on church property for several months. (Rudolph is profiled below.) Sources disagree about the level of the Rudolphys’ involvement with the Church of Israel: Dan Gayman claims that mother and sons lived in a trailer for a month or less and kept to themselves. Gayman’s wife Deloris reports that the Rudolphys stayed for closer to six months. Gayman’s son Tim alleges that Gayman adopted a paternalistic attitude toward Eric Rudolph, even encouraging the young man to date his daughter.⁶⁷

It appears that Gayman became radicalized in the 1960s and flirted with violence in the early 1980s. However, probably in large part influenced by the close call at the CSA compound, he moved away from promoting violence and finally renounced it altogether. In the Southern Poverty Law Center’s interview with Tim Gayman, Dan Gayman’s son states:

By the mid-‘80s, my dad did a turnaround, because the government was cracking down on that kind of thing. He started preaching more like a fundamentalist, a Jerry Falwell type. Now he says he doesn’t hate blacks or anything. But his writings say otherwise.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ “Tim and Sarah Gayman Discuss Growing Up in the Anti-Semitic Christian Identity Movement,” Southern Poverty Law Center, Intelligence Report, Summer 2001, Issue 102, accessed December 11, 2013, <http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/intelligence-report/browse-all-issues/2001/summer/coming-out>.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

It is unclear if Dan Gayman exhorted his followers to commit acts of terrorism. But the Church of Israel is right at the nexus of Christian Identity beliefs and is connected with other individuals and groups who did resort to violence. Today the church continues to have a thriving congregation of around a hundred people. The grounds contain a number of buildings in addition to the church, which serve as homes for some members and dormitories for visitors. Dan Gayman posts weekly addresses on his website and publishes “Christian Israel” propaganda lauding the superiority of the white race. He continues to be a leader advocating beliefs in the approaching apocalypse. He continues to tacitly support violence in others, though he is careful to avoid direct calls to action. However, he clearly believes in the idea of the faithful remnant of righteous warriors who will be called to do God’s work against the demonic masses of the Antichrist.

Elohim City

For forty years “God’s City” has sat undisturbed at the end of a rough dirt track in rural Oklahoma on the edge of the Ozark mountains. The center of the complex is a collection of homes – cabins and trailers – centered around a large church building and the modest home of John Millar, the son of Elohim City founder Robert Millar. Between eighty and a hundred residents live on the property full-time. Some work in the surrounding towns and others work within the compound as secretaries, as teachers of the home-schooled children, and at agricultural endeavors. Elohim City prides itself that

no residents have ever been arrested. They are a quiet, hardworking group of people who vote in the local elections and think of themselves as being good neighbors.

Elohim City is the “underground railroad” of white supremacy in the United States. Though none of the residents has been convicted of crimes and neither Robert nor John Millar has ever been arrested, many of the most notorious killers of the past thirty years have found refuge in the bucolic compound.

Elohim City was established in the 1970s by Robert Millar, a Canadian who immigrated to the United States in the 1950s. Millar retained contacts with Canadian Anglo-Israel movements and turned the four-hundred-acre piece of property near the Arkansas border into a refuge for white racists. During the 1980s, members of The Order stayed at the compound as they crisscrossed the country between the Aryan Nations compound in Idaho and the National Alliance headquarters in West Virginia. Order member David Tate was captured between Elohim City and the CSA compound in 1985. In the 1990s, members of the bank-robbing gang calling themselves the Aryan Republican Army (profiled below) stayed on the property. Timothy McVeigh placed a call to the main telephone number just two weeks before the Oklahoma City bombing; McVeigh may also have visited the property. Though the Millars have remained above suspicion themselves, both father and son have had relationships with a number of violent white supremacists.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ See both “Elohim City” on the Anti-Defamation League website (http://archive.adl.org/learn/ext_us/elohim.html?LEARN_Cat=Extremism&LEARN_SubCat=Extremism_in_America&xpicked=3&item=ec), and The Southern Poverty Law Center “The Changing of the Guard” (<http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/intelligence-report/browse-all-issues/2001/fall/changing-of-the->

Robert Millar was flown in during the siege of the CSA compound to assist with negotiations, as he had an established relationship with Jim Ellison. Though Millar told the FBI that he would work to end the siege peacefully, he told members of Elohim City and CSA that he was on the scene to “witness” in case the government fired first. This would be taken as a sign that the war had begun.⁷⁰ If Elohim City had begun as a peaceful community, its perceptions had shifted during its contact with the CSA. Chapman and Kline write:

Originally a pacifist community, Elohim City began a long, slow tilt toward militancy following Millar’s 1982 address before another far-right group’s gathering—the Covenant, the Sword, and the Arm of the Lord’s national convocation at CSA headquarters in nearby Bull Shoals Lake, Arkansas. It was there that Millar met CSA founder James Ellison, a militant neo-Nazi who would later join forces with Robert Mathews’ Order in what is called the War of ’84—a campaign of terror against ZOG including a series of assassinations, fire-bombings, and robberies. “Millar taught CSA about God, and they taught Millar about guns,” said a former CSA member to a reporter.⁷¹

It is unclear if Elohim City ever stockpiled weapons. During the 1980s, some members trained at CSA, but Elohim City never invested in the same sorts of paramilitary activity as other groups. A 1997 article in the *Los Angeles Times* describes

guard) and “One Generation Fades...” (<http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/intelligence-report/browse-all-issues/1999/fall/one-generation-fades>).

⁷⁰ Noble, *Tabernacle of Hate*, 198 and Lee Roy Chapman and Joshua Kline, “Who’s Afraid of Elohim City?” *This Land Press*, April 15, 2012, accessed December 11, 2013, <http://thislandpress.com/04/15/2012/whos-afraid-of-elohim-city/?read=complete>.

⁷¹ Ibid.

the compound this way: “Ramshackle mobile homes and polyurethane huts sit willy-nilly on this Ozark mountain, hidden by woods and surrounded by the crackle of gunfire.”⁷² Even if there is not an arsenal at Elohim City, many people assume there is. Millar admits that many residents are armed but maintains that all of the weapons are legal. This claim has never been questioned except for a poaching incident that was resolved without charges.

Robert Millar knew CSA members in addition to the leader Jim Ellison. Millar testified as a character witness in the trial of convicted murderer Richard Wayne Snell, who received the death penalty for the murder of a pawnshop owner and a police officer during his time with the CSA. Following Snell’s conviction, Robert Millar served as Snell’s spiritual advisor, and Robert and John Millar claimed Snell’s remains following his execution. Snell’s body is buried on Elohim City property.⁷³ In 1995 Jim Ellison, released from probation and a federal witness protection program, moved to Elohim City, where he remains. Relationships with members of the CSA run deep. And the CSA is not the only organization with which Elohim City has interacted.

During the early 1990s, members of the Aryan Republican Army (ARA), a group of bank robbers (profiled below), stayed at the compound.⁷⁴ The ARA, similar to The Order, sought to finance the war against the ZOG (Zionist Occupied Government) by

⁷² Deborah Hastings, “Elohim City on Extremists’ Underground Railroad,” *Los Angeles Times*, February 23, 1997.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ “Changing of the Guard: Racist Patriarch Dies in Oklahoma,” *Intelligence Report* Issue 103, The Southern Poverty Law Center, Fall 2001, accessed 7.25.2014. <http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/intelligence-report/browse-all-issues/2001/fall/changing-of-the-guard>

robbing banks. Though the connection was never proven, money from the ARA's crimes may well have been channeled to Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols through Elohim City (additional details provided below).

In 1995 Timothy McVeigh placed a call to Elohim City in the weeks leading up to the bombing in Oklahoma City, allegedly seeking an Elohim City member named Andreas Strassmeier, a German nationalist living at the compound (see section on Timothy McVeigh for additional details). Though the authenticity of the record of the call has itself been questioned and a firm link with Elohim City never established, Timothy McVeigh's lawyer, Stephen Jones, remains convinced of a much stronger link between McVeigh and white supremacist extremism than came to light in the trial.

It's well documented that Jones did not buy the government's conclusion (re-enforced by McVeigh himself) that McVeigh conceived and executed the bombing almost entirely alone, with only the most minimal assistance from Terry Nichols and Michael Fortier. Jones believes the government was desperate for swift, quantifiable justice and chose to focus only on developing an airtight case against McVeigh and Nichols rather than fog the issue of their guilt by fully exploring the possibility of a broader conspiracy. Jones does not believe the evidence against Elohim City provides a sufficient answer. "There is no smoking gun that shows involvement of any of the people in Elohim City," he says. "There is certainly, in two or three instances, against the backdrop of this, a pretty convincing case that some people in Elohim City may have been involved."⁷⁵

⁷⁵ Chapman and Kline, "Who's Afraid of Elohim City?"

It is also quite probable that Timothy McVeigh was in contact with members of the Aryan Republican Army. According to journalists Chapman and Kline: “Evidence suggests the ARA was in Elohim City at the same time McVeigh was in Vian,” a town in Oklahoma near Elohim City where McVeigh is known to have stayed.⁷⁶ When Robert Millar became aware that the FBI sought Andreas Strassmeier in connection with the Oklahoma City bombing, he, according to what he told reporters, invited Strassmeier to leave. Strassmeier left the country, presumably returning to Germany, and was never questioned.

Is this another case of a “lone wolf” acting with the support and encouragement of a leader who successfully distanced himself from the crimes? There is no doubt that McVeigh, with some assistance from Nichols, acted autonomously. However, there is the likelihood that they were supported by a wider network of people who knew, or at least suspected, their plans and encouraged them in their actions. McVeigh believed that his actions would punish a government he saw as corrupt. He also wished to begin a war between patriots and an evil regime. He did not come to these beliefs in isolation; he was surrounded by a community of other believers to tacitly, or more actively, supported him in his decision and approved of his actions.

Like many other Christian Identity groups, Elohim City and its leaders have avoided direct involvement with violence. It has been able to remain a refuge both for Identity believers and for individuals who wish to remain below the radar of the government. However, the permanent residents are law abiding and hold jobs in the

⁷⁶ Ibid.

nearby towns. In fact, the community is described by Chapman and Kline as pastoral and peaceful:

Serenity permeates the village. The day is bright and sunny, and the view of the Ozarks is breathtaking. For all the violence and racism assigned by outsiders, the town feels more like a spiritual oasis than a terrorist compound. There are no armed guards waiting. A small terrier roams free while children play in the road. A quirky collection of huts, trailers and cottages spread across the property intermingled with several hulking, alien-like stone structures whose bubbled, dome roofs betray the off-kilter eccentricity of their builders and inhabitants.⁷⁷

Their characterization of the compound is a far cry from the *Los Angeles Times*' description of it as ramshackle and bursting with gunfire.

John Millar freely admits the Christian Identity beliefs of the group but insists that the members do not hate non-whites. ““We teach that the scripture is against intermarriage with other races,’ he confesses. ‘[Intermarriage] is a big issue; most of your churches want to promote that. We think that’s totally unscriptural. That doesn’t mean we hate them, not at all. We think you destroy both races when you marry in.’”⁷⁸

The views expressed by Millar are an example of segregationist beliefs. He avoids expressing outright supremacy.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

The Aryan Republican Army

The Aryan Republican Army (ARA), modeling itself after the tactics of the Irish Republican Army and undoubtedly inspired by The Order, committed twenty-two bank robberies between 1994 and 1995. According to the National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START), “their main base of operations was Elohim City,”⁷⁹ though one of the ringleaders was Mark Thomas, the leader of the Pennsylvania chapter of the Aryan Nations. One of the members, Kevin McCarthy, lived in a trailer on Thomas’s property and also lived at Elohim City.⁸⁰

The “Midwest Bandits,” as the newspapers dubbed them, committed robberies by entering banks with pipe bombs and threatening to kill everyone inside. The group disguised themselves in Santa Claus and Easter bunny costumes, as members of law enforcement, and as Middle Eastern men. The diversity of disguises misled law enforcement into thinking that the robberies were unconnected. Only in 1996, when ARA member Richard Lee Guthrie was arrested and confessed, did the connections between the crimes surface. Guthrie hanged himself in his cell shortly after confessing. Law enforcement deemed his death a suicide, but his family and friends claim that he would never have killed himself and point out that he was in the process of seeking

⁷⁹ “Aryan Republican Army,” National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, accessed December 18, 2013, http://www.start.umd.edu/start/data_collections/tops/terrorist_organization_profile.asp?id=3412.

⁸⁰ Judy Pasternak and Steven Braun, “Suicide Rocks White Supremacist Probe,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 13, 1996.

publication rights to his story, an optimistic activity for a suicidal man.⁸¹ The racist right have little doubt that he was killed as part of a government conspiracy and Guthrie became another martyr for the cause.

Guthrie told law enforcement the identities of his compatriots. In addition to Guthrie, the ARA consisted of Mark Thomas, Pete Langan, Scott Stedeford, Kevin McCarthy, and Michael Brescia. The goals “were nothing less than the overthrow of the U.S. government, the extermination of Jews, and the establishment of an Aryan state in North America.”⁸² The men believed that they were participating in the war against demonic evil Jews, aimed at establishing an Aryan homeland in fulfillment of Christian Identity beliefs that making American an all-white homeland will fulfill prophecies concerning the end of the world.

Following Guthrie’s arrest, all of the men were also arrested, and all received prison sentences. Thomas was convicted of being the leader and receiving stolen funds. The allegations that Timothy McVeigh received funding from the ARA received some attention but did not result in anything tangible. It is known that ARA members stayed at Elohim City, but the Millars were never questioned. ARA member Pete Langan, when questioned, “minimizes Elohim’s significance as anything other than a spiritual refuge.”⁸³ The ARA stole more than two hundred fifty thousand dollars during the two years of bank robberies and also committed various types of credit card fraud. They are

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Chapman and Kline, “Who’s Afraid of Elohim City?”

another example of a small group of men taking matters into their own hands. Though Thomas was called the leader of the group, the propaganda of Christian Identity, transmitted through the movement's leaders, inspired their actions. In all likelihood, the money was funneled into extremist groups and may have been used to fund some or all of Timothy McVeigh's plans to bomb a government building. The ARA bolstered their beliefs by seeing themselves as a small, elite strike force. Drawing upon Christian Identity literature, they had no problem maintaining a feeling of being special, chosen, and destined for greatness.

Timothy McVeigh

Today it finally began! After all these years of talking – and nothing but talking – we have finally taken our first action. We are at war with the System, and it is no longer a war of words. - *The Turner Diaries*

In 1993 Timothy McVeigh, recently discharged from the Army, drove to Waco, Texas, to observe the media frenzy surrounding the standoff between personnel from the ATF and FBI and eighty followers of David Koresh, a religious movement known as the Branch Davidians. While at Waco, McVeigh gave an interview to journalism student Michelle Rauch (see figure 22).⁸⁴

⁸⁴ Michelle Rauch, "Interview with Timothy McVeigh," photograph, 1993. Accessed 11.24.2013. <http://law2.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/mcveigh/mcveighwaco.html>

After spending a few days watching the fray, McVeigh drove to the Kansas home of his friend Terry Nichols,



Figure 22

where the two men watched television coverage as the Branch Davidian compound caught fire and went up in flames. For both men, the events near Waco convinced them that the United States government had finally spiraled out of control. They began making plans to bomb a federal building.⁸⁵ On April 19, 1995, just hours before convicted murderer and CSA member Richard Wayne Snell died through execution, a truck containing a bomb of ammonium nitrate fertilizer and diesel fuel detonated, collapsing a third of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, flattening vehicles, and damaging more than 300 surrounding buildings. 168 people died.

There is debate surrounding the religious beliefs of Timothy McVeigh. There is even more argument concerning the role his beliefs played in his decision to bomb the Oklahoma City federal building. He has been called a lone wolf, a Christian terrorist, a militia member, a white supremacist “sympathizer,” a survivalist, and an anti-

⁸⁵ Douglas O. Linder, “The Oklahoma City Bombing and the Trial of Timothy McVeigh,” University of Missouri Kansas-City Law School, 2006, accessed 7.30.2014.
<http://law2.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/linder.htm>

government conspiracy theorist by journalists and academics alike. Michael Barkun writes:

The memberships of right-wing organizations often overlap, and the groups themselves (like those on the far left) are often riven by factionalism and internal conflicts. It is not surprising, therefore, that months after the Oklahoma City bombing journalists still have difficulty describing suspect Timothy McVeigh's relationship to the Michigan Militia and to Christian Identity groups.⁸⁶

It is well known that McVeigh carried a copy of *The Turner Diaries* with him and claimed to be motivated by it.⁸⁷

Friends have said that [*The Turner Diaries*] was McVeigh's favorite book. Some accounts described McVeigh's appreciation for William Pierce's violent book of racist fiction as something more than literary zeal. McVeigh is said to have slept with the book under his pillow. After leaving the [military] service, McVeigh sold the book at gun shows, sometimes for less than his own cost. Fellow gun-show merchants said it was as if the contents of the book were his religion and he was looking for recruits. *The Turner Diaries* apparently changed McVeigh's life.⁸⁸

At different times, McVeigh professed a belief in God, to be an agnostic, and to not care whether or not God exists. In the *Time Magazine* article quoted below,

⁸⁶ Barkun, "Militias, Christian Identity and the Radical Right."

⁸⁷ Joel Dyer, *Harvest of Rage: Why Oklahoma City is only the Beginning*, (New York: Basic Books, 1998).

⁸⁸ Joel Dyer, *Harvest of Rage*, quoted in Bruce Prescott, "An Accurate Look at Timothy McVeigh's Beliefs," *EthicsDaily.com*, 1.26.2010, accessed 7.26.2014, <http://www.ethicsdaily.com/news.php?viewStory=15532>

McVeigh claims to believe in God. However, in a letter to the press - see “McVeigh Faces Day of Reckoning” by Julian Borger in *The Guardian* - he claims to be agnostic. In Lou Michel’s book *American Terrorist: Timothy McVeigh and the Oklahoma City Bombing*, McVeigh is quoted as saying “science is my religion,” which has been taken by many to mean that he is espousing atheism. In these seeming contradictions, McVeigh is similar to other members of this amorphous group. Barkun continues:

Structurally, the radical right is a confusing, seemingly anarchic world. Survivalists, militias, Klans, neo-Nazis, Christian Identity churches, skinheads and Christian constitutionalists do not inhabit neatly defined segments. Their styles of rhetoric, dress and symbolism are not mutually exclusive, and often interpenetrate and overlap. A person may be a survivalist Christian Identity believer who likes skinhead music, has a fondness for Nazi symbols, and is sympathetic to Christian constitutional arguments. Another participant in the movement might accept some parts of this world but not others.⁸⁹

Timothy McVeigh grew up in a lower middle-class home. His parents divorced when he was ten, and he lived with his father. After high school, “Tim” joined the army and received a reprimand in 1988 for wearing a white-power tee-shirt purchased at a Ku Klux Klan rally. Friends reported that he felt as though white men were increasingly disenfranchised by feminism and affirmative action.⁹⁰ In the first Gulf War, he earned a Bronze Star serving as a gunner and was deployed for Operation Desert Storm. After the

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Lou Michel, *American Terrorist: Timothy McVeigh and the Oklahoma City Bombing* (Marietta: Harper Publishing, 2001), 19 – 24.

war he applied for special forces but was not deemed psychologically suitable. He left the army in 1992.

Since boyhood Timothy McVeigh had read gun magazines, largely due to his interest in firearms. These magazines opened the door into survivalist America, and he began making plans to build a survivalist shelter on ten acres of land he had purchased in New York.⁹¹ However, by 1993 he had sold the land and had become increasingly suspicious of a system he saw as corrupt, railing against a variety of perceived problems, including:

[R]ising crime, “cataclysmic” taxes, politicians serving only themselves and the disappearance of the “American Dream . . . substituted with people struggling just to buy next week’s groceries.” Just as communism failed, he said, democracy “seems to be headed down the same road. No one is seeing the big picture . . . AMERICA IS IN DECLINE.”⁹²

He began thinking about violent solutions to the problems he saw. He drew upon a support network of white racists and white patriots who believed as he did. Mike German writes, “Tim McVeigh seemed able to find a militia meeting wherever he went. He was linked to militia groups in Arizona and Michigan, white supremacist groups in

⁹¹ Dale Russakoff and Serge F. Kovalski, “An Ordinary Boy’s Extraordinary Rage.”

⁹² Ibid.

Oklahoma and Missouri, and at gun shows he sold copies of *The Turner Diaries*.”⁹³

McVeigh did not have direct ties to Christian Identity churches, though he did have a friendship with a member of Elohim City. It is uncertain if he visited the compound.⁹⁴

Linking McVeigh to Christian Identity is tricky. Indeed, most coverage of him avoids discussing religion at all, other than an interview with *Time Magazine*. The interviewer asks him directly about religion.

TIME: Are you religious?

MCVEIGH: I was raised Catholic. I was confirmed Catholic (received the sacrament of confirmation). Through my military years, I sort of lost touch with the religion. I never really picked it up, however I do maintain core beliefs.

TIME: Do you believe in God?

MCVEIGH: I do believe in a God, yes. But that’s as far as I want to discuss. If I get too detailed on some things that are personal like that, it gives people an easier way [to] alienate themselves from me and that’s all they are looking for now.⁹⁵

He may be hiding his sympathy for white supremacy and Christian Identity. Especially as he knew that connections with Elohim City and white supremacy leaders were under investigation, it is not outside the realm of possibility that he is following directives such as Louis Beam’s and intentionally misleading perceptions of his beliefs. In fact, the

⁹³ Mike German, “Behind the Lone Terrorist, a Pack Mentality,” *Washington Post*, June 5, 2005, accessed July 10, 2013, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2005/06/04/AR2005060400147.html>

⁹⁴ Lee Roy Chapman and Joshua Kline. “Who’s Afraid of Elohim City?” *This Land Press*. April 15, 2012. Accessed 12.11.2013. <http://thislandpress.com/04/15/2012/whos-afraid-of-elohim-city/?read=complete>

⁹⁵ Patrick Cole, “Oklahoma City: I’m Just Like Anyone Else. An Exclusive Interview with Timothy McVeigh,” *Time Magazine*, April 15, 1996.

fictional protagonist of *The Turner Diaries* refused to speak during interrogation.

McVeigh may have continued to play out his fantasy of being a lone warrior of righteousness after incarceration.

This ambiguity on the part of the Oklahoma City bomber allows people to both confirm that he is a Christian terrorist and others to deny that he is. It suggests that he was not acting under direction from a religious leader; or at the directive of a secular leader, either – he acted with the assistance of his army buddy Terry Nichols and no one else: “McVeigh denied the existence of accomplices to his dying breath. It’s argued that there are a multitude of potential reasons for both men to lie, but the fact remains that nothing has been proven.”⁹⁶ However, it is extremely interesting that he bombed the target of CSA interest twelve years after that group had opted not to strike.

Others argue that to avoid addressing McVeigh’s connections with right-wing militias is to overlook a crucial part of his motivation. His presence at gun shows is well recorded, as is his possession of *The Turner Diaries*. Mark Juergensmeyer writes that “[b]ehind convicted bomber Timothy McVeigh...was a subculture of militant Christian groups that extends throughout the United States.”⁹⁷ These factors would not be enough to draw firm conclusions except that Timothy McVeigh is not an anomaly. He may be the most famous American terrorist, but he is one among many. The idea to bomb the federal building in Oklahoma City probably was not even his; it started twelve years before in conversations within the CSA, which also had ties with Elohim City.

⁹⁶ Chapman and Kline, “Who’s Afraid of Elohim City?”

⁹⁷ Juergensmeyer, *Terror in the Mind of God*, 11.

James Burmeister, Malcolm Wright, and Randy Meadows

Around one o'clock in the afternoon of December 6, 1995, Privates First Class James "Jimmy" Burmeister and Malcolm Wright, joined by Specialist Randy Meadows, convened at a rented trailer and began to drink beer, as they did almost every weekend. The men served in the 82nd Airborne Division stationed at Fort Bragg in North Carolina. The three often retreated to the trailer on the edge of the woods to drink beer and hang out. A neo-Nazi flag hung on the wall behind them, and propaganda from the National Alliance and other white supremacist organizations littered the table.

Inside the trailer, a German flag with a large swastika dominated the living-room wall. Burmeister loved Nazi flags. He'd hung them above his bunk in the barracks for more than a year before he moved here. He'd never even considered living off post until that drunken night in August when he picked a fight with a black infantryman and got his nose broken. The Army's Criminal Investigation Division had been a problem even before that, following him into bars and "harassing" him. "I've had fucking government on my ass for the last couple months," he told a friend back home. "They think I'm a racist or something." So Jimmy had been laying low. Let everybody else live at Bragg with the niggers; he was happier out here in the sticks.⁹⁸

As usual, the conversation turned to the superiority of the white race and the impending race war that at least two of the men believed would prove the final battle in the divine plan. Wright:

⁹⁸ Daniel Voll, "A Few Good Nazis," *Esquire Magazine*, vol. 125, no. 4, April 1996.

talked about religion and his fear of white genocide [*sic*] He'd taken the Church of the Creator loyalty oath, and he abhorred the impure races who were not white, the mud races. They both (Burmeister and Wright) believed in the inevitability of the racial holy war – Rahowa they liked to call it.⁹⁹

“Rahowa” means “racial, holy war” and was a frequent topic of conversation among the three. Meadows reported that “Burmeister would often talk about his anger over affirmative action, which Burmeister termed as giving jobs to blacks, instead of to whites who have worked hard to get those jobs.”¹⁰⁰ The men felt deprived of what was rightfully theirs by a demonic other who they blamed for a variety of ills. They dreamed of fighting back. On that fateful afternoon, they began to be more motivated to take steps.

Burmeister admired the spiderweb tattooed on Wright's elbow, expressing his desire to earn one (see figure 23).¹⁰¹



Figure 23

Spiderweb tattoos mean different things to different wearers but are often linked to murder and prison time. Within some circles only the initiated can wear one, indicating that they have either killed or severely wounded an enemy. According to coverage during the subsequent trial, “[p]rosecutors

⁹⁹ Marc Barnes, “Meadows Details Forays,” *Fayetteville Observer*, February 13, 1997.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Malcolm Wright's Spiderweb Tattoo, “Surprise Witness at Burmeister Trial,” WRAL.com, February 13, 1997, accessed October 30, 2013, <http://www.wral.com/news/local/story/161055/>.

argued that Wright said he had killed someone for the tattoo and wanted Burmeister to earn one,” though Wright was never charged with murder prior to 1995.¹⁰² Additionally, “[i]nvestigators said Wright wanted to be a minister in a white supremacist religion and considered Burmeister as his student.”¹⁰³ As he was leaving the trailer that evening in 1995, Burmeister stuck a pistol into his belt and said, “Maybe I’ll earn my spiderweb tonight.”¹⁰⁴ He wanted to be a member of a group he admired and saw as special and elite.

The three went into town to the Cue and Ale Lounge, a topless bar frequented by military personnel. A while later when a black dancer took the stage, “Jimmy” Burmeister turned away in disgust, saying, “I don’t want to see that nigger.” The three men got in their car, and at Burmeister’s direction – “Drive where there are niggers and not a whole lot of people around, where it’s dark” – the three headed into the poorer, black sections of town.¹⁰⁵

Just after midnight on December 7, 1995, Michael James and his friend Jackie Burden took a late night walk in Fayetteville, North Carolina. Their route took them down Hall Street, an unpaved avenue in a poor neighborhood. The road did not have adequate lighting, but no one was out at that time of night. James and Burden had walked that way before.

¹⁰² Doug Miller, “Testimony Details Racism,” *Fayetteville Observer*, April 30, 1997.

¹⁰³ Doug Miller, “Wright’s Dark Past Told,” *Fayetteville Observer*, May 6, 1997.

¹⁰⁴ Voll, “A Few Good Nazis.”

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

Out of sight around the corner, a car pulled to a stop at the curb. Behind the wheel Randy Meadows, who had an estimated blood alcohol level of at least .2, watched as Burmeister retrieved a 9mm Ruger pistol from under the passenger seat. Burmeister and Wright exited the car, leaving Meadows behind the wheel.¹⁰⁶

Wright and Burmeister ran up fast behind the couple walking in the dark. Burmeister shot James twice in the back of the head. The second shot was fired from less than eight inches away, splattering blood back on the gun and on Private Burmeister. Burden turned to run, and Burmeister offered the gun to Wright. Wright refused, and Burmeister shot Burden in the back. When she fell, he fired three shots into her head at close range.¹⁰⁷

White supremacist organizations target prisons and the armed forces for recruitment. Both of these arenas are filled with angry, young men, most of whom are undereducated and many of whom are underemployed. In the 1990s Fort Bragg, home to the famous 82nd Airborne Division, saw a spike in racist activity.

The 82nd specializes in difficult penetrations of denied areas. It was the 82nd that led the assault on Normandy and participated in the Battle of the Bulge. Known as the “All American,” it is considered a great honor to wear the famous AA shoulder patch.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

As one retired member of the 82nd, who describes himself as “partying” with Burmeister, says,

I remember my roommate explaining to me before we would enter a house or barracks room draped with enough banners and swastikas to make Hitler himself feel like breaking out in goose step, that he found all this shit a tad silly, but just to go along with it...the beer was free (and German) and we wouldn't stay long. I did not think much of any of this. It all seemed legit. Normal. No one else seemed to notice this shit going on in plain sight either. Even the senior NCOs never stepped in ... and most of us were still just Privates at the time.¹⁰⁸

The irony here must not be overlooked. The 82nd Airborne was on the ground during the end of World War II accepting the surrender of Germany and liberating concentration camps. Fifty years later, privates decorated their barrack cells with neo-Nazi flags, and no one seemed to care. However, the armed forces embrace violence and violent imagery. They have to.

The interview continued:

[I]t was a culture of violence and the barracks were a warren of trained killers. The crazier you were the more respect you were given. And any person or group, either from history or purely fictional, that were ruthless killers were held up with great esteem — serial killers, mass murders, Poll Pot, Hitler...Vikings...you name it. *[sic]* This is all part of the desensitizing of the infantry. A compassionate killer is a liability on the battlefield.

¹⁰⁸ Name withheld to protect identity of interview subject. All quotes in this section are from this interviewee unless otherwise cited. Interview conducted by author, July 2013.

Members of the armed forces are supposed to be violent. Therefore, it may be easier to overlook when individuals in these contexts idolize violent icons, because it is considered part of the culture of these environments. It is also difficult to differentiate between a person drawn to violent imagery because they have an interest in psychology and deviance, and someone who seeks to emulate a serial killer. Two very different people may look quite similar on the surface.

Though my interview subject found the racist propaganda at Fort Bragg a “tad silly,” others took it all too seriously. Burmeister and Wright, often with Meadows tagging along, had become deeply embedded in a white supremacist revival at Fort Bragg. Led by Brian “Lobo” Lobianco and Thomas VanHoose, a group calling itself the American Wiking Regiment had formed, recruiting heavily from among the soldiers. The organization maintained loose ties with the National Alliance, headquartered in neighboring Hillsboro, North Carolina, less than a two-hour drive away.

Brian “Lobo” Lobianco considered himself a student of Hitler and tried to influence impressionable soldiers by aping the Fuehrer’s body language. “Even the way Hitler held his arms was a form of power,” he would later say. “Hitler would put his left hand on the outside of his right elbow and his right hand on the outside of his left elbow, which allowed him very easily to straighten his right arm and point and yell. When your hands are underneath your arms, it’s a sign of weakness. I had studied this.” [*sic*] Lobo also showed [Burmeister] the ways of skinhead fun, introducing him to a network of other racists and to white-power music. [*sic*] Lobo eventually passed Burmeister on to Tom VanHoose, who, along with two other 82nd Airborne soldiers, both possessing spiderweb tattoos, was

organizing a clandestine white-supremacist group at Fort Bragg called the American Wiking Regiment.”¹⁰⁹

VanHoose later dissociated himself from Burmeister and Wright: “VanHoose said that he tried to distance Wright and Burmeister from the group because they talked too much about religion.”¹¹⁰ Some white supremacist groups view religion as mere superstition, and conflicts often arise between religious racists and nonreligious ones. However, VanHoose and Lobianco may have found it prudent to detach from Burmeister following his arrest for double murder. Either way, the attention on the racist activities at Fort Bragg served to end the American Wiking Regiment.

Following the killings, Burmeister and Wright ran. Ducking through dark streets and alleyways, they crossed town, finally picking up a cab to take them back to their trailer. Meadows, after hearing shots fired, fled in the car and met them back at the trailer. They were arrested the next day.¹¹¹

As the details of the killings began to come to light, the commanders at Fort Bragg realized that some areas of the base had become hotbeds of racist activity, that the Nazi flags were more than just the glorification of death. The Army claimed that “the inquiry [resulting from the arrests] found little evidence of widespread, overt racism, but the Army discharged at least 22 extremists, including Mr. Wright and Mr.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Doug Miller, “Former Skinhead Called Liar,” *Fayetteville Observer*, April 26, 1997.

¹¹¹ Voll, “A Few Good Nazis.”

Burmeister.”¹¹² I asked my interview subject if senior officers were aware of the neo-Nazi paraphernalia littering the barracks, and he replied, “Yes, I believe so. It would have been impossible to miss.” It is understandable that the Army may have downplayed the degree of racist activity taking place at Fort Bragg, but it is difficult to believe that they found “little evidence.” Where before they had allowed racist displays, now they cracked down. As reported by one who was there:

It was not until the massive crack downs that followed the Burmeister incident that I even learned their names or how deep into the whole thing I was. My roommate showed me the photos of us all together and pointed out who was who. Then we burned them because JAG was digging through everything and rounding up the entire crew.¹¹³

Though the former member of the 82nd who I interviewed did not describe himself as “close” with Burmeister, claiming to not even know his name until after the arrests, he describes how many men in the barracks attempted to distance themselves from Burmeister, Wright, and Meadows. The interview continues:

I tried to cover for [my roommate] when a JAG search party busted in and found a .40 caliber handgun in the room that had been used in a crowd shooting and attempted murder. And I helped him burn photos in our room, and the negatives, when Pvt. Burmeister was arrested for double murder.

¹¹² “Second Ex-Paratrooper Gets Life in North Carolina Racial Killings,” *New York Times*, May 13, 1997, accessed October 30, 2013, <http://www.nytimes.com/1997/05/13/us/second-ex-paratrooper-gets-life-in-north-carolina-racial-killings.html>.

¹¹³ The Judge Advocate General’s Corp is in charge of criminal prosecutions in the Army.

The roommate of my interview subject eventually testified at both the Wright and Burmeister trials. Neither my interview subject nor his roommate were arrested in connection with the slaying of James and Burden or any of the other activity.

At his trial, it came to light that Burmeister displayed a pattern of escalating violence. On the day of his arrest, the materials for a bomb were found in his trailer, and he had been overheard looking through the yellow pages for a synagogue to bomb. In recorded telephone conversations, he spoke about smuggling grenade launchers and armor-piercing bullets off base. Later, he was recorded again speaking of making a C-4 bomb.¹¹⁴ Furthermore, prior to the murders, Burmeister, often with Wright, instigated a number of brawls and fights targeting people of color or people the men believed to be homosexual. On one occasion, according to Meadows' trial testimony, Burmeister, Meadows, and Wright followed a black drug dealer to a house, sprayed her with mace, and beat her to the ground. On another occasion, they followed a black prostitute and knocked her down, running away only when she yelled to someone to "get the gun!"¹¹⁵

Thomas VanHoose's skinhead group dissolved after the killings, and the Army discharged most of the members. Over the following months, more than sixty members of the armed forces at Fort Bragg were questioned, and many received discharge notices.

Jackie Burden and Michael James were killed by active-service soldiers who were part of a culture at Fort Bragg that was more important to them than any imperative of military life, a community of racist skinheads numbering

¹¹⁴ Voll, "A Few Good Nazis."

¹¹⁵ Barnes, "Meadows Details."

at least twenty-two and as many as sixty that has operated in plain sight on the base, often seeming to challenge the U. S. Army's right or will to curtail its activities.¹¹⁶

Burmeister appeared to have been emulating Robert Mathews in his actions. The murder of James and Burden was supposed to be just the beginning, a way to earn his spiderweb and gain a reputation among white supremacists he wished to impress. To these soldiers and their white supremacist confederates:

[t]he exploits of the Order are heroic and serve as prototype for action ... Burmeister regards white supremacist Robert Matthews [of] the Order, as a martyr who stole from the government to further the white cause ... "We must secure the existence of our people and a future for white children." These are the words that Burmeister once painted on his barracks walls, alongside a swastika and were coined by David Lane, of The Order.¹¹⁷

With the munitions he planned to smuggle from Fort Bragg, James Burmeister planned to start the race war. He felt called by God to act and he wished to strike out against the demonic other who he believed deprived him of access to opportunities that he felt to be rightfully his.

White supremacy is considered aberrant, an extremist fringe, by many Americans. But most people do not realize how pervasive racist ideology is in the United States. It permeates the armed forces, prison populations, high schools, and the

¹¹⁶ Voll, "A Few Good Nazis."

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

workplace. My interviewee reports that the racism he encountered in the service did not strike him as strange at the time:

There may have been a token black soldier from time to time (no South Park Pun intended) but never of any significance. There were many black soldiers in the Army, of course, just very few in special forces groups, Ranger battalions or elite airborne units — we chalked it up to “them” being scared of water (“non-swimmers”) and of heights ... Shit was always a bit off. I remember my roommate frantically waking me up in the middle of the night to help him scrub blood out of his shirt and jeans on the shower room floor. I never asked for details, just if he was alright. I went on a late-night house raid with him and had a shotgun held in my face until police came (and we escaped at the last minute). [*sic*] None of these things seemed fucked up at the time and THAT is what has bothered the shit out of me. I am not a fucking mad man. I am a normal, sane, compassionate man. So why was I so callous back then? Why did I go along with such shit? I wasn’t a needy follower ... I was very self-aware and secure. I wasn’t easily influenced or a victim. I was there by my own accord and it all seemed about right.

Later my subject confessed:

At some point (when I was home on leave) my mother got really worried and concerned that I had been brainwashed by some “cult”. I don’t remember this, but she told (my partner) about it in the last year or so. I guess I was spewing a bunch of really racist, white-power crap at some point.

The beliefs of Christian Identity are not as far removed from the mainstream as many of us would like to believe.¹¹⁸ While we may not agree with overt racism, it strikes

¹¹⁸ See Winant (1998, 2004, and 2010) and Silva (2009).

many of us as normal enough to ignore or downplay. Thus, while most Americans do not join white supremacist organizations or even agree with the beliefs of racists, religious or not, the ideologies of white supremacy saturate aspects of our culture. Antipathy and apathy both sustain an environment that allows racists to simultaneously believe that they are embattled by opposing forces and that they are surrounded by silent sympathizers can be rallied to join in on the war.

The way that Fort Bragg is described indicates a troubling level of acceptance for racism and other forms of violence. And yet this same tolerance can be found in much of America. William Beeman writes:

Members of the American militia movements are undoubtedly a fringe group at present. [*sic*] [T]heir fundamentalist movement is not widespread enough to ensure its eventual success throughout American society. Nevertheless, despite their outlying position in American social and political life they, like extremist fundamentalists elsewhere, depend on a base of supporters who are sympathetic but not personally activist. If the overall national climate of opinion shifts toward accepting their ideology, their perceived mandate for action will also increase.¹¹⁹

White supremacist organizations recruit in the armed forces and in prison populations. Many of the murderers profiled in this chapter are either veterans or ex-convicts; in some cases, they are both. Racism and religion both garner recruits in such atmospheres.

¹¹⁹ William O. Beeman, "Fighting the Good Fight: Fundamentalism and Religious Revival," in *Anthropology for the Real World*, ed. J. MacClancy (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 142.

However, the same environments that foster racism and intolerance can also cure. The interview subject continues:

I have found that even the most flagrant racists can be “cured” over time. Any semi-educated, semi-intelligent, semi-open-minded person can overcome these things by simply being around other people who are different than themselves. This is not submersion therapy to overcome a phobia, just simply trusting that if one human is around another human they will both bond and recognize each other as the same exact thing and then psychologically include that person in their own tribe — regardless of gender, skin color, or sexual leanings.

An environment that fosters murderous rage in one person can cure another. The subject himself veered toward racism but then recovered with the assistance of his friends, his comrades in arms, and a loving support group.

Burmeister, Weaver, and Meadows are not the only racist killers to come out of Fort Bragg. In 2012 Wade Michael Page walked into a Sikh temple and started shooting. Page had spent the final part of his army career at Fort Bragg, receiving a general discharge in 1998. Page was at Fort Bragg during the Burmeister incident and interacted with many of the members of the racist believers at the base.

“The Sikh Temple Shooter”

The man who came to be known as the “Sikh Temple Shooter” did not express Christian Identity beliefs. However,

[h]e clearly felt there was a small effort, a small conspiracy of Jews who were out to dominate world affairs, something that's often referred to a Zionist Occupational Government, this idea that this small conspiracy of Jews have literally taken over the United States government and really dominate world affairs. He clearly subscribed to that set of beliefs and would talk pretty frequently about Jews do this and Jews control that, and then a lot of anti-black sentiment.¹²⁰

He also played a prominent role in the white-power music scene, in which the lives of atheist and Odinist skinheads, protestant KKK, and Christian Identity believers intersect.

On August 5, 2012, Page walked into a Sikh Temple in Oak Creek, Wisconsin, and started shooting. He shot ten people, killing six and wounding four, before exiting into the parking lot, where he was confronted by Lieutenant Bryan Murphy, who had stopped to assist an injured temple member. Page walked up to Murphy and shot him nine times.¹²¹ Page was then shot in the stomach by a second officer arriving on the scene. Felled by the shot, Page put his 9mm revolver to his own head and pulled the trigger, ending his life.

Wade Michael Page started life in Colorado, growing up in and around the Denver Metro area. His mother and father divorced, and he lived with his mother and stepdad for a while before they moved to Texas when he was thirteen. Page stayed behind in Colorado, living with an aunt and grandmother after his mother passed away

¹²⁰ Amy Goodman, "Academic Who Knew Sikh Shooter Wade Michael Page Says Neo-Nazi Soldiers, Musicians Shaped His Hatred," Democracy Now, accessed January 22, 2014, <http://www.alternet.org/academic-who-knew-sikh-shooter-wade-michael-page-says-neo-nazi-soldiers-musicians-shaped-his-hatred?page=0%2C1>.

¹²¹ Lieutenant Murphy survived the attack, though his vocal chords sustained damage, leaving him to speak in a whisper.

from lupus. He later joined his father and stepmother in Texas after completing high school and secured a job at a convenience store. After working for a while he joined the Army. “He said that it was one of the best things he ever did – it gave him focus, a direction,” according to his stepmother, Laura Page.¹²² After basic training, Page was assigned to psychological operations, “[t]he specialists who analyze, develop and distribute intelligence used for information and psychological effect.”¹²³ This work brought him to Fort Bragg, where he was stationed when James Burmeister killed two black people. He knew Burmeister:

[H]e indicated knowing Burmeister. He didn’t seem to suggest that they were close friends, but that they did know each other, and that this was somebody he had, kind of, known more in passing. They weren’t close friends. He did indicate to me that he did — part of how he started identifying with neo-Nazi beliefs during his time in the military was that he had met individuals who were active military personnel that were already involved in white supremacist groups. And through them, was exposed to white supremacist propaganda or literature.¹²⁴

¹²² James B. Nelson and Dave Umhoefer, “Shooter Identified as Wade Michael Page, 40 Year-Old Army Vet,” *Milwaukee Wisconsin Sentinel*, 8.6.2012, accessed 1.22.2014.
<http://www.jsonline.com/news/crime/shooter-described-as-white-army-vet-in-his-40s-ai6ck9q-165092276.html>

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Goodman, “Academic Who Knew Sikh Shooter Wade Michael Page.”

However, by 1998 Page had received a reprimand for displaying white-power logos and was given a general discharge, meaning that he could never rejoin the armed forces. In 1998 Fort Bragg would still have been under the shadow of the Burmeister incident. It is unknown if Page was questioned as part of the housecleaning that took place after Burmeister, Wright, and Meadows were arrested, but he appears to have come to the attention of JAG.



Figure 24

After leaving the Army, Page pursued a lifelong interest in music and joined a white-power group. He tattooed “14”¹²⁵ in an iron cross on his arm (see figure 24).¹²⁶ He played guitar in the band Youngland, relocating to Southern California to pursue music. While in California, Page played in several bands before moving to Wisconsin to start his own band, End Apathy. He had gained a bit of celebrity in the white-power music scene in California, and the band signed to Label 56, which publicizes itself as a label of “independent music for independent minds.”¹²⁷ Page posted to Stormfront under the moniker “End Apathy” and organized a white-power concert in Richmond, Virginia, in

¹²⁵ The number 14 refers to the fourteen words of white nationalism: “We must secure the existence of our people and a future for White children.”

¹²⁶ “‘White Supremacist Skinhead’ Shooter Who Gunned Down Six at Sikh Temple ‘Was Kicked out of the Army and had 9/11 Tattoo,’” *Front Line*, August 6, 2012, accessed January 20, 2014, http://frontlines2011.blogspot.com/2012/08/white-supremacist-skinhead-shooter-who_6.html.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

the spring of 2012.¹²⁸ He also organized, and his band played, a show sponsored by the skinhead group Hammerskin.¹²⁹

In the months leading up to the shootings, Page lost his job and became increasingly isolated. He broke up with his girlfriend and moved out of their shared apartment.¹³⁰ The FBI ultimately labeled his death a suicide. However, to understand Page as having been suicidal, even in the final moments of his life, overlooks the complexity of believing oneself to be a warrior. Page, in all likelihood, characterized himself as a fallen hero or even a martyr. Christian Identity was not the only form of racism at Fort Bragg. More than one killer was incubated within its walls. Page took matters into his own hands against an enemy he perceived to be attacking white in their homeland, America. Whether or not he subscribed to the whole Christian Identity package, he clearly wanted to be a warrior in the battle against the “other” he perceived to be walking the land. He is one among many such men who embraced the lone wolf ideology.

Eric Rudolph

Eric Rudolph was the object of one of the largest manhunts in United States history, successfully eluding the FBI for more than five years. In 2003 he was

¹²⁸ Marilyn Elias, “Sikh Temple Killer Wade Michael Page Radicalized in Army,” The Southern Poverty Law Center, Winter 2012, accessed 3.25.2014. <http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/intelligence-report/browse-all-issues/2012/winter/massacre-in-wisconsin>

¹²⁹ Hammerskin does not have an official religious position.

¹³⁰ Marilyn Elias, “Sikh Temple Killer Wade Michael Page.”

apprehended and ultimately convicted of the 1998 bombing of an abortion clinic in Birmingham, Alabama; the 1997 bombing at the Otherside Lounge, a “lesbian bar” in Atlanta; and the 1996 bombing of the Atlanta Olympic Games, which left one woman dead and injured 111 others.

Rudolph has also been called a Christian terrorist, though, like Timothy McVeigh, this label is debated.

FBI officials say Rudolph learned the radical ideology of the Christian Identity movement as a teenager, living with his mother as part of the Church of Israel, a congregation based in the Missouri Ozarks that espouses the view that the white race is God’s chosen nation. Federal investigators said Rudolph maintained contact with other Christian Identity groups in recent years and also appears to have been in contact with the Aryan Nations, the Idaho-headquartered organization that has periodically spawned violent offshoots and which federal officials say has recently sought to exert its influence over the militia movement.¹³¹

While in high school, Rudolph attended the Church of Israel (profiled previously). Upon his arrest, he claimed to be Roman Catholic. However, he pens letters from prison, many of which are posted on the Army of God website. The following is an excerpt from one of his letters entitled “Racism.”

Recently, I have been accused of being a “white supremacist,” and of espousing “Christian Identity.” [sic] From my writings, you will notice that I am a constant critic of racism. I am, for example, against organizations like the NAACP and its racist policies of Affirmative

¹³¹ Roberto Suro, “A Most Dangerous Profile: The Loner,” *Washington Post*, July 22, 1998.

Action and race-based quotas. I am opposed to racist groups like the Southern Poverty Law Center and its “hate crimes” agenda. I am a critic of Barack Obama and his longtime association with the racist Reverend Wright. And lately I question the racial motives of black “Christians” who voted overwhelmingly for Obama, the most anti-Christian politician in American history. [sic] Today, the specter of white racism is a bogeyman, a political tool our Marxist masters use to frighten away opposition. That the opposition continues to take fright every time that it is shown this bogeyman is truly pathetic. Institutional racism today targets primarily whites, through discriminatory policies such as Affirmative Action, racial quotas, “hate crimes” laws, sensitivity training, and speech codes. In my lifetime, I have rarely witnessed white racism. I have, however, been stabbed, beaten, and robbed for being white. My schoolteachers taught me to hate myself for being white. They issued me a block of white guilt to carry around for things I did not do. They told me to prostrate myself whenever anyone levels the charge of racism. But these days I only prostrate myself before God. I dropped that block of white guilt years ago, and instead, I picked up the truth. The truth is I am a Christian. As a Christian, I accept as my brother in Christ anyone who believes in the tenets of the faith. I am also an American. America is a Western European Christian nation. It has a history rooted in the English tradition. Anyone, regardless of their racial/cultural/religious background, who is willing to leave their native culture behind and to *fully* assimilate Western values, I call my countryman.¹³²

The tactic of lobbing accusations of racism against organizations such as the NAACP and the Southern Poverty Law Center are common in the far right. We saw similar examples in the previous two chapters. The move of claiming that people of color are

¹³² Eric Rudolph, “Racism,” The Army of God, accessed October 16, 2013, <http://www.armyofgod.com/EricRudolphRacism.html>.

the racists allows people like Rudolph to avoid confronting the realization that they are the ones with racist beliefs.

Rudolph claims that the separation of the ethnic groups is godly and does not suggest that non-whites are to be exterminated. Later in the essay, he supports the state of Israel in discouraging Palestinian settlements, a position not shared with Christian Identity. But he clearly thinks that America is a white, Christian nation and that the races should not mix. Rudolph's segregationist beliefs are common in Identity circles actually closely aligned with the position of the Church of Israel, the Christian Identity organization with which he claims to no longer be affiliated. The Church of Israel is more moderate than groups such as the Aryan Nations or the National Alliance. They do not advocate militancy, instead favoring withdrawal from the world.

Though Rudolph's beliefs align with those of a Christian Identity organization, it is the Army of God that inspired his actions. The AOG is an anti-abortion organization that maintains a website that mostly consists of biblical quotes and photos of what they claim to be aborted fetuses. The website publishes the writings of convicted arsonists, murderers, and vandals who target abortion providers.

Michael Barkun, a professor at Syracuse University, considers Rudolph to likely fit the definition of a Christian terrorist, whereas James A. Aho, a professor at Idaho State University, argues instead that Rudolph was inspired only in part by religious considerations.

“Based on what we know of Rudolph so far, and admittedly it's fragmentary, there seems to be a fairly high

likelihood that he can legitimately be called a Christian terrorist,” said Michael Barkun, a professor of political science at Syracuse University who has been a consultant to the FBI on Christian extremist groups.

The article goes on to quote James Aho as saying, “I would prefer to say that Rudolph is a religiously inspired terrorist, because most mainstream Christians consider Christian Identity to be a heresy.”¹³³ Aho uses mainstream Christians’ definition of Christianity to assert that Rudolph is not a Christian terrorist, while Barkun places him within the far right circles of Christian terrorists. Rudolph is another example of a man felt called to perform acts of terrorism motivated by the belief that he had been chosen by God. He struck out against other American citizens, both wishing to injure those who tacitly supported the United States and in hopes of inspiring others to join his crusade.

World Church of the Creator

On July 4, 1999, Benjamin Nathaniel Smith went on a killing spree in Illinois and Indiana that left two men dead and nine others wounded. All of the victims were Jewish, black, or Asian. Upon being cornered by police, the gunman killed himself. On the morning of the shootings, Smith had mailed a registered letter to Matt Hale severing his ties to the World Church of the Creator (WCOTC). Smith stated that he was “formally breaking” with WCOTC because he could no longer abide Hale’s

¹³³ Alan Cooperman, “Is Terrorism Tied To Christian Sect? Religion May Have Motivated Bombing: Suspect,” *Washington Post*, June 2, 2003.

nonviolence.¹³⁴ Hale showed the letter to police and media along with the receipt proving when it had been mailed. Though Smith and Hale had a history of close friendship, the letter absolved Hale of any connection with the shootings.¹³⁵

Less than a month later, on July 10, 1999, police arrested two brothers, Benjamin Matthew Williams and James Tyler Williams, on suspicion of bombing three synagogues in Sacramento and murdering partners Gary Matson and Winfield Scott Mowder, near Redding, California. The Williams brothers grew up in a conservative Christian household and lived devout lives. Upon searching the brothers' home, police discovered literature from WCOTC and a list of names of members of the Sacramento and Shasta County Jewish communities.¹³⁶

As the separate investigations unfolded, law enforcement learned that all three men, Smith and the Williams brothers, had connections to the World Church of the Creator, a Christian Identity church founded in 1973 by Ben Klassen in East Peoria, Illinois. For twenty-six years, the World Church of the Creator, originally named Church of the Creator, has been directly and indirectly associated with bombings, shootings, assaults, and vandalisms. In fact, Benjamin Smith served as one of the key leaders of the

¹³⁴ Jeff, Elliot, "Benjamin 'August' Smith: Poised to Kill," *The Albion Monitor*, accessed 3.14.2014. <http://www.albionmonitor.com/9907a/wcotc.html>

¹³⁵ Heidi, Beirich and Mark Potak, "World Church of the Creator in Turmoil after Leader Matt Hale Arrested," *Intelligence Report*, The Southern Poverty Law Center, Spring 2003, accessed 3.14.2014. <http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/intelligence-report/browse-all-issues/2003/spring/creator-crack-up>

¹³⁶ Sam Stanton and Gary Delsohn, "Poster Boys for the Summer of Hate," *Salon*, 10.6.1999, accessed 3.15.2014. <http://www.salon.com/1999/10/06/redding/>

World Church of the Creator, which had been taken over and renamed by Matt Hale, before severing his ties and embarking on his rampage.¹³⁷

The World Church calls its version of Christian Identity “creativity,” and privileges race over religion. Thus, the beliefs of the members vary from the neo-Nazi skinhead desire for a racial holy war to traditional seed line theory. One belief that sets WCOTC apart is its belief that Christianity is a Jewish plot. The group distrusts all organized religion, leading some commentators to label it an atheist group. However, it is more complicated because many of the beliefs of Christian Identity remain intact.

Klassen, the founder of the church, states:

We gird for total war against the Jews and the rest of the goddamned mud races of the world — politically, militantly, financially, morally and religiously. In fact, we regard it as the heart of our religious creed, and as the most sacred credo of all. We regard it as a holy war to the finish — a racial holy war. Rahowa! is INEVITABLE. ... No longer can the mud races and the White Race live on the same planet.¹³⁸

Though action – war – is held to be more sacred than belief, the language is similar to many other Identity leaders, understanding white people to be created as superior by God and under attack from evil forces. However, the WCOTC’s creativity

¹³⁷ “Church of the Creator,” Southern Poverty Law Center, *Intelligence Files*, accessed November 20, 2013, <http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/intelligence-files/groups/creativity-movement>.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

movement regards the Bible as a corrupted text designed to undermine racial pride.¹³⁹

Though the public face of the WCOTC is largely atheist, the underlying message of Jews as evil agents committed to the overthrow of the white race through the subversive tactics of affirmative action and gay rights appealed to the Williams brothers and illustrates how the beliefs of individual members of racist communities overlap and intertwine. Calling the WCOTC an organization that “reject[s] the idea of God or gods” oversimplifies the belief system.¹⁴⁰ James Burmeister took the loyalty oath to the World Church, while simultaneously accepting the full Christian Identity package.

The 1999 killings were not the first time that the WCOTC had been associated with violence. Under Klassen, member George Loeb murdered Harold Mansfield, Jr., in Florida in 1991, and other members attempted murder by shooting a car in North Carolina, started a brawl with anti-racist protestors in Milwaukee, robbed banks in Ohio, and blew up an NAACP office in Washington state.¹⁴¹ The organization has a history of violence that must not be overlooked. Klassen committed suicide in 1993 during a civil lawsuit brought by the Southern Poverty Law Center for Mansfield’s death.

Leadership of the organization foundered for two years following Klassen’s death until Matt Hale took over leadership. Hale had a history of racist action before joining the group. He started his first white supremacist organization in middle school and went on to found a number of small white supremacist groups. For a time, he held

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Rene Sanchez, “Police Link Brothers to Christian Identity,” *Washington Post*, July 21, 1999.

¹⁴¹ “Church of the Creator,” Southern Poverty Law Center.

membership in the National Association for the Advancement of White People founded by the politician David Duke. Inspired by Duke's commitment to political action, Hale ran for East Peoria's City Council in 1995, garnering 14 percent of the vote as an openly racist candidate. After his loss, he took over the WCOTC and proved to be a capable leader. Within a few years, he had established chapters in twenty-two states, though several consisted of a single member with a post office box.¹⁴² Inspired by leaders like Duke, he set out to become a leader himself.

Through the decade of the 1990s, Hale faced a number of arrests for everything from littering (handing out racist propaganda at a mall) to "mob action," which involved threatening three black men with a gun. His rap sheet also includes criminal trespass, resisting arrest, aggravated battery, carrying a concealed weapon, and assault.¹⁴³ In 2004 a jury convicted Hale of conspiring to kill a federal judge and sentenced him to forty years in prison. The WCOTC was also ordered to change its name, and the organization disbanded, lacking strong leadership.¹⁴⁴ However, its violent legacy remains. It is yet another example of a small group of angry, disenfranchised people who felt as though they were called to participate in a war against evil, personified as Jews.

¹⁴² "World Church of the Creator Leader Matt Hale Builds National Presence," Southern Poverty Law Center, Intelligence Report, Summer, 1999, Issue 95, accessed October 29, 2013, h <http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/intelligence-report/browse-all-issues/1999/summer/the-great-creator>

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Heidi Beirich and Mark Potak, "World Church of the Creator in Turmoil after Leader Matt Hale Arrested."

The Bank Robbers

“I have lived in good conscience before my God to this day.” – Robert Berry

Verne Jay Merrell, Charles Barbee, Brian Ratigan, and Robert Berry were arrested on October 8, 1996, and convicted of conspiracy, interstate transmission of stolen vehicles, bombings of a newspaper office and a Planned Parenthood office in Spokane, Washington, and possession of hand grenades.¹⁴⁵ Merrell, a fifty-two-year-old nuclear plant worker, had moved from Arizona to Idaho in order to pursue his Christian white supremacist beliefs. He received two consecutive life sentences for his crimes and read from the Bible during sentencing: “He read passages from the books of St. Luke, Isaiah, Corinthians, Romans, and Revelation. They made references to those who are truly faithful to God and are persecuted by ‘foolish people.’ ... ‘You have personally seen the fulfillment of this prophecy in your courtroom,’ he told the judge.”¹⁴⁶ He identified as one of the faithful remnant and saw his prosecution as a fulfillment of biblical prophecy.¹⁴⁷

Charles Barbee and Robert Berry also received two consecutive life sentences each. Both men read from the Bible during their statements and claimed that the courts

¹⁴⁵ “3 Separatists convicted of Conspiracy,” *New York Times*, April 3, 1997, accessed November 14, 2013, <http://www.nytimes.com/1997/04/03/us/3-separatists-are-convicted-of-conspiracy.html>.

¹⁴⁶ Bill Morlin, “Terrorist Gets Two Life Terms with No Parole Merrel Was Convicted of Bombings, Robberies in Spokane Valley in 1996,” *The Spokesman Review*, October 31, 1997.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

are a “temple of Satan.” Berry stated, “I want you to know, the thing that is most important to me, is that I can stand before you and answer as Paul did: ‘I have lived in good conscience before my God to this day.’”¹⁴⁸ Though they saw themselves as warriors doing God’s work against evil afoot in the land, Berry and Barbee were convicted of detonating pipe bombs during robberies.

Brian Ratigan did not take the stand during his trial. He received a lesser sentence of fifty-five years for participating in the bombing of a Planned Parenthood clinic. During sentencing, he told the judge that “bank robbery is not a crime ... because banks charge interest and usury is immoral in God’s eyes.”¹⁴⁹

Each of the four members of this particular [Phineas Priesthood] cell had common cause – a shared belief in either anti-government viewpoints, Christian Identity extremism or a combination of both. Their perceived deprivation consisted of a lack of employment and a feeling of persecution by the federal government in addition to commonly held beliefs by Christian Identity followers of discrimination/persecution against Christians and whites.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁸ “Two More Sentenced in Bombing,” *Kitsap Sun*, November 5, 1997, accessed November 14, 2013, <http://www.kitsapsun.com/news/1997/nov/05/spokane-two-more-sentenced-in-bombings/?print=1>.

¹⁴⁹ Bill Morlin, “Bomber Sounds Warning before 55-Year Sentence,” *The Spokesman Review*, December 3, 1997.

¹⁵⁰ Shane Hensinger, “Extremist Event Analysis: Phineas Priesthood Attacks,” *Daily Kos*, October 27, 2009, accessed July 18, 2013, <http://www.dailykos.com/story/2009/10/27/797855/-Extremist-Event-Analysis-Phineas-Priesthood-Attacks>.

Their anti-abortion sentiments were rooted in a belief that organizations such as Planned Parenthood target the white race for extermination by aborting white fetuses. Abortion is part of the satanic plot to exterminate the children of God.

What is perhaps most interesting about these incidents is that they did not receive widespread attention. The majority of information is gleaned from the Spokane newspaper. There is little interest in the biblical rhetoric used by the defendants. Law enforcement and the media often do not know what to make of such speeches, and so they often go largely ignored. However, the bombers banded together in what they saw as an elite cell of God's warriors to commit acts of war against Satan. The targeted sites were chosen as representative of the Antichrist's infiltration of the media and the medical industries. The bombers justified their actions, and rationalized the sentences against them, by citing biblical quotes they felt explained their actions and what happened to them.

The New Order

In 1998 the FBI arrested six men on weapons and explosives charges. As the case unfolded, it became clear that the men planned to rob banks, blow up government buildings, kill blacks and Jews, and poison water supplies. They called themselves the New Order as homage to Bob Mathews and his group.¹⁵¹

¹⁵¹ "Plot against SPLC Alleged," *Intelligence Report*, The Southern Poverty Law Center, Spring 1998, accessed 3.15.2014. <http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/intelligence-report/browse-all-issues/1998/spring/plot-against-splc-alleged>

The New Order was led by Dennis Michael McGiffen, who had a long relationship with the Illinois KKK and the Aryan Nations.

A 35-year-old pipefitter, McGiffen was known as the leader of a Ku Klux Klan faction in the early 1990s but does not appear to have engaged in criminal activity. He allegedly told his recruits that he had become a colonel in the Aryan Nations and, according to federal law enforcement officers, he not only adopted the Aryan Nations' anti-black, anti-Jewish, anti-government ideology, but also learned his tactics from the group.¹⁵²

By the mid-1990s, McGiffen had begun recruiting for the New Order. He undoubtedly knew how close Bob Mathews came to large scale success with a small group. Reaching out through the communities of the racist right, McGiffen started attracting followers, men who were tired of waiting for someone else to make the first move. All they needed was a leader to pull them together and give them direction.

Wallace Scott Weicherding joined the group; Weicherding had been fired from his job as a prison guard for distributing KKK fliers to inmates.¹⁵³ Aryan Nations member Daniel Rick also joined, along with Ralph P. Bock, Glenn LaVelle Lowtharp, and Karl C. Schave.¹⁵⁴ The men did not have violent criminal backgrounds; what they

¹⁵² Suro, "A Most Dangerous Profile."

¹⁵³ "Sixth Man in Anti-SPLC Plot Faces Trial," *Intelligence Report*, The Southern Poverty Law Center, Spring 1998, accessed 3.15.2014. <http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/intelligence-report/browse-all-issues/1998/summer/sixth-man-in-anti-splc-plot-faces-tri>

¹⁵⁴ "Plot against SPLC Alleged," *Intelligence Report*, The Southern Poverty Law Center.

had in common was exposure to the ideologies of white supremacy and a belief that the time for action had come.

By 1997, the six men of the New Order hatched plots to convert weapons to illegal fully automatic weapons and sell them, and rob banks to raise money to finance their plans. The FBI reports:

Between May 1997 and the time of their arrest in February 1998, members of TNO actively planned to rob an armored car in St. Louis, Missouri; kill the founder of the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), either by firing a Light Anti-Tank Weapon rocket at the SPLC office in Montgomery, Alabama, or attacking him (and another individual associated with the SPLC) at various locations; poison the water supply in East St. Louis, Illinois, as a diversionary attack to divert law enforcement resources from a bank robbery they planned to commit elsewhere in the state; rob and kill a wealthy homosexual; kill an individual in California who had criticized another white supremacist group, the Aryan Nations; bomb the Simon Weisenthal Center in Los Angeles; kill an African American radio talk show host (leading, they believed, to a race riot); kill a TNO member whom they believed was planning to leave the group; and attack the New York office of B'nai B'rith, a Jewish social service organization.¹⁵⁵

The New Order enlisted the assistance of an unnamed person in Denver, Colorado, but the person turned informant and began taping conversations.¹⁵⁶ The tapes were sent to the FBI, who collected enough evidence of the plots to arrest all six men.

¹⁵⁵ "Terrorism in the United States: 1998," U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation.

¹⁵⁶ Connie Farrow, "FBI Agent Says Men Planned Bomb Spree 3 Suspects Allegedly New Order Members," *The Spokesman Review*, March 7, 1998.

The defense tried to argue that talking about committing crimes is not the same as committing a crime, but four of the men received sentences after they all pled guilty to at least one charge. McGiffen was sentenced to seven years in prison and a \$1,250 fine. He completed his sentence in 2004. Weicherding received a sentence of six years in prison, a \$1,000 fine, and three years of supervised release. He completed his sentence in 2003. Bock received a sentence of two years, a \$500 fine, and two years of supervised release. He completed his sentence in 1999. Lowtharp received a sentence of two years in prison, a \$2,000 fine, and three years of supervised release. He completed his sentence in 2003.

After his release, McGiffen went on to found the Sadistic Souls Motorcycle Club in 2010, which merged with the Aryan Nations in 2012. The club's colors feature lightning bolts in place of the letter "s" to emulate the double lightning bolt of Nazi SS



Figure 25

and are often accompanied by an Aryan Nations patch (see figure 25).¹⁵⁷

McGiffen and another member of the club were arrested in 2012 and charged with felony mob action after a bar fight.¹⁵⁸ The faction of the Aryan

Nations led by Morris Gulett (see chapter one) has

¹⁵⁷ Sadistic Souls' Colors, photograph, "One-Time Domestic Terrorist Now Leads White Supremacist Biker Gang," Anti-Defamation League, Accessed 8.20.2012. <http://blog.adl.org/extremism/one-time-domestic-terrorist-now-leads-white-supremacist-biker-gang>

¹⁵⁸ "One-Time Domestic Terrorist Now Leads White Supremacist Biker Gang," The Anti Defamation League, 9.20.2012, accessed 3.19.2014. <http://blog.adl.org/tags/new-order>

distanced itself from the club, saying, “There is only one Aryan Nations and it is not a rogue Motorcycle Club full of drunks and race mixers. It is full of solid White Christian Nationalists who stand by their beliefs.”¹⁵⁹ The Sadistic Souls claim to accept any white nationalist, regardless of religious belief but their behavior has lost them support. Ironically, it is not the terrorist activity that drew the contempt of the Aryan Nations. It is their proclivity for swearing and alcohol.

An interesting aspect about McGiffen and the New Order is that these men pled guilty to weapons charges but were ultimately convicted for more than weapons: they were sentenced for conspiracy. Another group, the Hutaree Militia (profiled below) were released on suspicion of the same crime. Different trials come to different conclusions regarding the criminality of words and plans.

Buford O’Neal Furrow

I am a white separatist. I’ve been having suicidal and homicidal thoughts for some time now ... Sometimes I feel like I could just lose it and kill people. I also feel like I could kill myself. – Buford O’Neal Furrow

Buford O’Neal Furrow spent time in the 1980s and 1990s as a security officer at the Aryan Nations compound in Idaho. While living at the compound, he began a

¹⁵⁹ “The Truth about the Sadistic Souls MC,” The Aryan Nations, accessed January 25, 2014, http://aryan-nation.org/aryan_nations_special_announcement.html.

relationship with Debbie Mathews, widow of Robert Mathews of The Order. Furrow left the compound in 1995 and married Debbie.¹⁶⁰

In 1999 Furrow attempted to commit himself to a psychiatric facility, telling a nurse that he was going to kill people. When she failed to sympathize adequately, he pulled a knife on her and was arrested for assault.¹⁶¹ Released on probation, he began to formulate plans to make good on his promise.

On August 7, 1999, he loaded a number of weapons, many rounds of ammunition, and a flak jacket into a van and drove to the North Valley Jewish Community Center in Granada Hills, California. Shortly before eleven o'clock in the morning, he entered the facility and sprayed more than seventy rounds from a semiautomatic weapon into the crowd of children playing inside.¹⁶² He wounded five people: a receptionist, a counselor, and three boys.¹⁶³ Fleeing the scene, he carjacked a vehicle and drove out of town. Spotting a mail carrier, he pulled over and shot the man nine times, killing him. Furrow later told the FBI that he shot the mail carrier because he was a federal employee and because he looked "Asian."¹⁶⁴ Following the murder,

¹⁶⁰ "The Order and Phineas Priesthood," The Anti-Defamation League, Accessed 3.20.2014. http://archive.adl.org/backgrounders/an_phineas.html

¹⁶¹ "Furrow: Many Signs of Trouble," CBSNews, September 21st, 1991, <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/furrow-many-signs-of-trouble/> Accessed 3.24.2014.

¹⁶² Reports vary as to whether the weapon was a 9mm or an Uzi semiautomatic. Uzi does make a weapon that takes 9mm rounds so it could have been both.

¹⁶³ Jim Morris, "L.A. Shooting Suspect Charged with Hate Crimes," CNN.com, 8.12.1999, accessed 3.18.2014. <http://www.cnn.com/US/9908/12/california.shooting.03/>

¹⁶⁴ The man was Filipino American.

Furrow took a taxi to Las Vegas and checked into a hotel room. The next morning, he surrendered to the FBI of his own accord.¹⁶⁵

Furrow was charged with five felony counts, including murder, attempted murder, and assault with a deadly weapon.¹⁶⁶ He pleaded guilty and received two consecutive life terms plus one hundred ten years. He now resides at the federal prison in Marion, Illinois. Like the Washington bank robbers profiled above, Furrow is credited by many white supremacists as a Phineas Priest.

The media wrote Furrow off as yet another lone wolf terrorist but to characterize him as such overlooks the deep roots he had with white supremacist beliefs. It is also possible to diagnose Furrow as mentally ill based on his suicidal thoughts. To dismiss him as suicidal also overlooks his connections with violent religious ideologies. During the 1990s the Aryan Nations was one of the most active Christian Identity organizations in the world and Furrow spent a number of years in their company. He also had a direct connection to The Order through Debbie. By targeting a Jewish center, he became a warrior for God against the forces of the Antichrist, likely inspired by a number of charismatic leaders including Richard Butler.

Yahweh's Elite

While Israel was staying in Shittim, the men began to indulge in sexual immorality with Moabite women,² who invited them to the sacrifices to their gods ...⁶ Then an

¹⁶⁵ "Furrow: Many Signs of Trouble," CBSNews

¹⁶⁶ Jim Morris, "L.A. Shooting Suspect Charged with Hate Crimes."

Israelite man brought into the camp a Midianite woman right before the eyes of Moses and the whole assembly of Israel while they were weeping at the entrance to the tent of meeting. ⁷ When Phinehas son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron, the priest, saw this, he left the assembly, took a spear in his hand ⁸ and followed the Israelite into the tent. He drove the spear into both of them, right through the Israelite man and into the woman's stomach. – Numbers 25: 1-8

The verses from the biblical book of Numbers, above, serve as the justification for “Phineas Priests,” and other Christian white supremacists, to seek out and commit violence against non-whites. Christian Identity, reading the protagonists of the Old Testament as white, views the Midianite woman as non-white. Phineas (alternate spelling: Phinehas) slew both the non-white woman and her male lover for the crime of race-mixing. Modern-day Priests sometimes do the same.

The movement's founder, Richard Kelly Hoskins, is a financial adviser who lives in Virginia. Hoskins published a tract called *Vigilantes of Christendom* in 1990. The book became the manual for the Phineas Priesthood, who also call themselves Yahweh's Elite. Hoskins began his work in white supremacy with the American Nazi Party but converted to Christian Identity in the 1970s.¹⁶⁷ He is not an active member of any one organization, but, like Louis Beam, his books are widely distributed and referenced in Christian Identity forums. He travels to rallies and congresses as a speaker, appearing at Scriptures for America bible camps and Aryan Nations annual congresses.

¹⁶⁷ “Richard Kelly Hoskins,” Anti-Defamation League, accessed 3.14.2014. http://archive.adl.org/learn/ext_us/hoskins.html

In the *Vigilantes of Christendom*, Hoskins claims to trace the lineage of an underground group of vigilante priests, linking the group to such divergent events as the legend of Saint George slaying the dragon (Hoskins claims George was a Priest), the colonization of the Americas, the assassination of Abraham Lincoln (claiming John Wilkes Booth was a Priest), to anti-integration initiatives during the 1950s and 1960s.¹⁶⁸ He claims that Order members were Priests and uses the book as a call to arms for a new generation to take up the mantle.

Shane Hensinger of *The Daily Kos* writes:

The concept of the Phineas Priesthood is based on leaderless resistance to “The System.” Using Robin Hood as an example of one who acted as a Phineas Priest, Hoskins describes him and his “merry band of outlaws” as acting in defiance of King John” in order to justify stealing from the rich, who are believed to be in alliance with “the Jews.”¹⁶⁹

Hoskins’ book serves to unite a variety of vigilantes into a shared narrative of resistance and as a justification for individuals to take up arms. Wrapped in the Christian Identity package it appeals to warriors who are tired of waiting for others to act, who believe themselves called by God to strike first, and find justification for their actions in a violent interpretation of scripture. Even when acting alone, individuals feel chosen, special, and part of something greater than themselves.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ Shane Hensinger, “Beware the Lone Wolf – The Phineas Priesthood,” *The Daily Kos*, October 13, 2009, accessed September 12, 2013, <http://www.dailykos.com/story/2009/10/13/792922/-Beware-The-Lone-Wolf-The-Phineas-Priesthood#>.

Modern-day Phineas Priests are not directly affiliated. Broadly, their platforms include anti-abortion, anti-homosexuality, the desire to uphold traditional family values and resist “feminism,” all under the wider umbrella of white supremacy. Paul Hill, a member of the anti-abortion group the Army of God who killed an abortion doctor and the doctor’s assistant, called himself a Phineas Priest although the Army of God is not explicitly Christian Identity or even racist, at least not publicly.¹⁷⁰ Hensinger continues:

Anyone involved in Phineas Priesthood activities will probably have connections with other extremist groups simply by virtue of the fact that the literature and propaganda around the Phineas Priesthood is produced and controlled by a tightly-knit network of white supremacists who move in the same circles.¹⁷¹

Over the past fifteen years, several Phineas Priest cells, and individuals calling themselves Phineas Priests, have been arrested. Four men in West Virginia planned to blow up the FBI central fingerprint registry but were caught before carrying out the crime. Another group in Georgia was arrested for conspiring to disrupt the Olympics, and a group in Washington state, profiled above, carried out a series of bank robberies and bombings.¹⁷² Buford Furrow considered himself a Phineas Priest.¹⁷³ However,

¹⁷⁰ “Richard Kelly Hoskins,” Anti-Defamation League.

¹⁷¹ Shane Hensinger, “Beware the Lone Wolf.”

¹⁷² “ADL Details White Supremacist Ties of Suspected Spokane Bank Robbers,” Anti-Defamation League, accessed 3.20.2014. http://archive.adl.org/presrele/asus_12/2832_12.html Also see “Terror From the Right: Plots, Conspiracies and Racist Rampages Since Oklahoma City,” The Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed 3.20.2014. <http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/publications/terror-from-the-right>

¹⁷³ “The Order and Phineas Priesthood,” The Anti-Defamation League

because of the leaderless organization of the group, connections between crimes are often not made.

In 2011 a website went up called Yahweh's Elite. The homepage shows a masked warrior under a photo of weapons and ammunition (see figure 26 next page). Down the right side of the page numerous links direct the user to Christian Identity writings and resources. The website does not appear to have a lot of traffic but there's no way to really know. There is no counter that records the number of visits and none of the posts have been updated since 2011. I found a single exchange in the comments section of the website: a post offering to host the site if the current server ceased service.

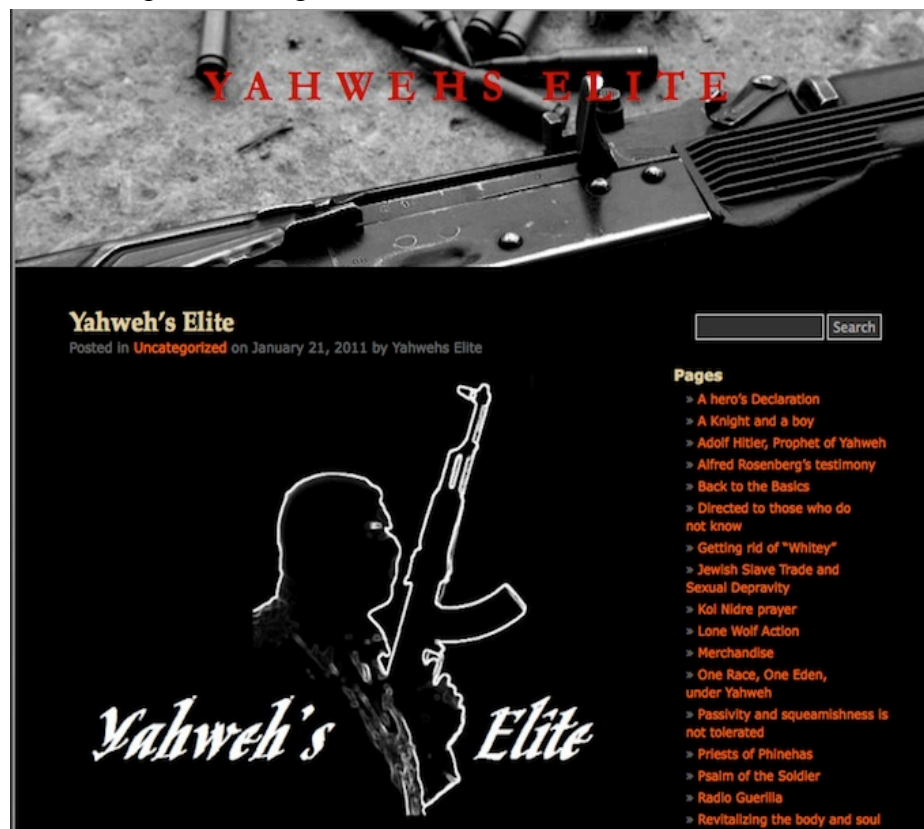


Figure 26

There is a single reply to the message above, though there are spaces to leave comments. There are “like” buttons, but no one has pressed them. The merchandise link leads nowhere. If the Priests communicate with one another, it is not here. If they use Stormfront to communicate, it is behind the scenes in private messages. In fact, the website directs sympathizers to “stop showing the world our thoughts on forums, it’s embarrassing.” All the website contains are beliefs.

The main thrust of the ideology is that religion is a manifestation of race. On the page titled “Back to Basics” this statement can be found:

Ancient religions were designed from their founders to reflect the character of the tribe. Religion in itself is meaningless, only the aspirations of a mere mortal for transhuman transformation mark it as vital for evolution. Religion is an inaccurate word for reinventing a new future. The term religiosity as defined by Hans F.K. Gunther is much more appropriate. Religion often makes cattle and sheep out of men. Religiosity is simply the cultural views of a particular tribe. Religiosity is the spiritual matter that is necessary to keep a races aspirations healthy. There is a need for the spiritual and it’s just as necessary as the physical. From eternity to infinity the sole purpose is that the blood of a people carries the soul of that race.¹⁷⁴

The message seems to be that religion is an institution that can make people complacent and weak, while “religiosity” is in the blood of a people. Blood and soul are conflated, suggesting that a person’s soul resides in their blood and that shared blood among tribes manifests as the religiosity of that people.

¹⁷⁴ “Back to Basics,” Yahweh’s Elite, accessed 3.20.2014. <http://yahwehseelite.wordpress.com/back-to-the-basics/>

On the page “One Race, One Eden Under Yahweh,” what appears to be a statement of belief can be found:

If you’re not living, breathing, and thinking revolutionary you simply aren’t tough enough. We’re facing the best trained and financed military’s on the planet and the most powerful media outlets. Until the drains of those sewage outlets are closed it will never stop. It’s time to get radical, it’s time to become elite. We are Yahweh’s chosen for a reason. That reason is to be his shining star in all of creation. [*sic*] The powder keg only needs to be set off for global revolution. All the pieces will fall into place once that happens. Sitting out the revolution is a crime to Yahweh. Let’s get fanatical and become a scourge on the planet, let us become Yahweh’s fire! Lift up your sword of fire Aryan Man, and take the offensive!¹⁷⁵

One link leads to a “lone wolf action” page, which, in turn, directs users to sites explaining how to make homemade bombs, weapons tutorials, and links to books and resources (see figure 27, next page).

¹⁷⁵ “One Race, One Eden, Under Yahweh, Yahweh’s Elite, accessed 3.20.2014.
<http://yahwehseelite.wordpress.com/one-race-one-eden-under-yahweh/>



Figure 27

The site also includes information claiming to prove that the Holocaust is a lie – an international Jewish conspiracy to take over the world, “proof” that a war is underway against the white race, Christian Identity propaganda, and white-power music.

Whether or not the site has inspired any crimes, it is certainly proof that publicizing the lone wolf approach is still undertaken. It is a place to find information and motivation that can result in violence. It is also possible that the site was created by a single individual who has since abandoned it.

All of the hallmarks of a violent religion can be seen on the website. The group justifies its racism and call to arms by referencing the Bible, particularly the story of Phineas. Tributes to Christian Identity leaders are found through the pages. There is clearly an “other” who is demonized and thought to be the manifestation of the Antichrist on earth. Finally the call to arms is explicit, naming lone wolves as “elite” and “chosen.”

The Hutaree Militia

We believe that one day, as prophecy says, there will be an Anti-Christ. ... Jesus wanted us to be ready to defend ourselves using the sword and stay alive using equipment.
– Hutaree website

In March 2010, eight men and one woman were arrested in Michigan, Indiana, and Ohio on charges of conspiracy to overthrow the United States government: “The charges against the eight include seditious conspiracy – plotting to levy war against the U.S. – possessing a firearm during a crime of violence, teaching the use of explosives, and attempting to use a weapon of mass destruction – homemade bombs.”¹⁷⁶ Prosecutors alleged that in April 2010 the group planned to murder a police officer and then detonate an explosive device at the funeral in hopes of killing scores more police officers and beginning a holy war, because “[t]he hope, supposedly, was that the strike would inspire

¹⁷⁶ Corey Williams and Devlin Barrett, “Militia Members Planned To Kill Cop And Bomb Funeral, Prosecutors Say,” *The Huffington Post*, March 29, 2010.

a bloody, Turner Diaries-style uprising against the government.”¹⁷⁷ Like the Covenant, Sword, and Arm of the Lord, the Hutaree Militia hoped that others would rally to their cause. They hoped that a skirmish would escalate into war.

It all began in 2008 when David Brian Stone and his son Joshua Matthew Stone began amassing weapons and soldiers in the Michigan wilderness. Their move appears to have been in response to the perceived threat of a black Democrat entering the office of president. Stone interpreted this as fulfillment of biblical prophecy and President Barak Obama as either the Antichrist or an emissary thereof. He took the election of a black man as a sign that the end of the world had begun.

Stone’s ex-wife, Donna reported that:

It started out as a Christian thing ... You go to church. You pray. You take care of your family. I think David started to take it a little too far. He dragged a lot of people with him. It started to get worse when they were talking about the world’s gonna end in the Bible. When he got carried away, when he went from handguns to big guns, I was done.¹⁷⁸

The FBI was just getting started.

Stone began researching the manufacture of improvised explosive devices on the internet and “then directed his son, Joshua, and others to gather materials necessary for

¹⁷⁷ Chez Pazienza, “The Enemy Within,” *The Huffington Post*, March 30, 2010.

¹⁷⁸ Williams and Barrett, “Militia Members Planned To Kill Cop And Bomb Funeral.”

the manufacturing of the bombs.”¹⁷⁹ The Stones then began training other members in the creation and detonation of the devices. They called themselves the “Hutaree,” a word they claimed meant “God’s Army.”

The Hutaree were part of the larger network of extremists. Their MySpace page had more than 350 friends, mostly other militias and their followers.¹⁸⁰ However, following the indictment, the neighboring militia, the Lenawee Volunteer Michigan Militia, quickly distanced itself. Spokesman Jim Gulliksen stated, “The Hutaree is a nationwide group, but I have met a couple of the members here, and I can say they all belong to one specific church. Our concern is the protection of our nation. Religion appears to be a big part of what they are doing.”¹⁸¹ It is unclear if this positioning after the arrests was an attempt to separate the Lenawee Militia from the Hutaree or if the presence of religious beliefs really separated the two.¹⁸²

David Brian Stone and his wife Tina Stone; his son Joshua Matthew Stone of Clayton, Michigan, and his other son, David Brian Stone, Jr., of Adrian, Michigan; Joshua Clough of Blissfield, Michigan; Michael Meeks of Manchester, Michigan;

¹⁷⁹ Will Buchanan, “Who is David Brian Stone, Leader of the Hutaree Militia?” *Christian Science Monitor*, March 29, 2010.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² The Lenawee website currently (as of 2014) claims, “We cherish free thought, patriotic ideals, and the inalienable right of freedom of and from religion. Our members have a variety of religious and philosophical beliefs. We do not side ourselves with any one particular religion; on the contrary, we welcome everyone’s beliefs, as it tends to stimulate intellectual conversation. There are however, individuals or groups that claim to be militias that say they are God’s army fighting ‘demonically controlled people who are being activated by Satan.’ These individuals or groups are not militias, they are religious extremists.”

Thomas Piatek of Whiting, Indiana; Kristopher Sickles, of Sandusky, Ohio; and Jacob Ward of Huron, Ohio, were arrested in March 2010 and “indicted by a federal grand jury in Detroit on charges of seditious conspiracy, attempted use of weapons of mass destruction, teaching the use of explosive materials, and possessing a firearm during a crime of violence.”¹⁸³ Most of the members went free with electronic monitors while they awaited trial.

The trial took place in February and March 2012. It concluded with all members ruled not guilty:

In her ruling, U.S. District Court Judge Victoria Roberts acknowledged that the government “need not wait until people are killed before it arrests conspirators.” But in her 36-page ruling, she also held: “Discussions about killing local law enforcement officers – and even discussions about killing members of the judicial branch of government – do not translate to conspiring to overthrow, or levy war against, the United States government.”¹⁸⁴

David and his son Joshua were tried on less serious weapons charges, but all members left as free members of society.

The Hutaree Militia is fascinating for a number of reasons. It is a textbook case of a group of people following the ideas and beliefs spread by the leader, David Brian Stone. This group believed that the end of the world was taking place and that they had

¹⁸³ “Nine Members of a Militia Group Charged with Seditious Conspiracy and Related Offenses,” Federal Bureau of Investigation, March 29, 2010, accessed January 23, 2014, <http://www.fbi.gov/detroit/press-releases/2010/de032910.htm>.

¹⁸⁴ Louis Klarevas, “Do the Hutaree Militia Members Pose a Terrorist Threat?” *The Huffington Post*, May 4, 2010.

been chosen to play a role in the end of days. However, they were arrested before they could commit violence. Because of the lack of actual action, they were released almost two years ago as of this writing. Interestingly, the New Order (profiled previously) received sentences resting on conspiracy to commit crimes, while the Hutaree were released.

Hutaree member Michael Meeks won the office of constable in Bridgewater Township, Michigan, in November 2012; otherwise, there has been little activity from the members. The Hutaree website is no longer active.

Though most experts, such as Michael Barkun and Mike German, agree that Christian Identity crime is in decline, the beliefs continue to motivate individuals and small groups to act, to perform their rituals of violence. It is striking how many of these men have a background in the armed forces. Several of the men profiled – Timothy McVeigh, James Burmeister, Wade Michael Page – appear to have entered expressly to learn more about weapons and tactics. Those stationed at Fort Bragg during the 1990s were exposed to organized racism on a massive scale. While most men stationed there did not go on to commit crimes, four did.

In the early 2000s, Americans became focused on the events surrounding September 11, including the invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq. The leaders of organized racism grew old: Richard Butler, William Pierce, Robert Millar, and Pete Peters have all passed away. While Elohim City remains in the hands of John Millar, other

organizations have fractured due to infighting. Hate crime statistics fluctuated through the first decade of the new millennium, with a spike shortly after the election of Barack Obama into the office of president and then a sporadic decline. In 2012, the FBI reported that race remains the likeliest reasons for a hate crime: in “48.3% of cases the reason was race. There were 1,805 anti-black incidents [and] 657 anti-white” hate crimes in 2012.¹⁸⁵ The total number is down 400 from 2011. Religion is the second highest category of hate crime. The FBI does not track hate crimes that overlap between religion and race in a way that can indicate when race is the motivation for religious crime or vice versa. Therefore, crimes inspired by Christian Identity belief must be identified in other ways, as demonstrated in the previous pages.

The recorded words of the leaders who have died continue to serve as inspiration to current believers, who view video online and via mail order and read tracts published in hard copy or on websites. Christian Identity believers continue to remain convinced that the end of the world is at hand and that they have been chosen as God’s warriors. They believe that scripture speaks to them, that God offers directives to act. Most of all, they believe in a demonic other who infiltrates the minds and souls of the unwitting. Some of them continue to fight back.

In spite of dwindling numbers and infighting, the National Alliance remains one of the most dangerous racist groups in the nation. Since 2002, four members have been convicted of carrying out over a dozen murders. At least one other has served time for

¹⁸⁵ “2012 Hate Crime Statistics,” Federal Bureau of Investigation, accessed January 27, 2014, <http://www.fbi.gov/about-us/cjis/ucr/hate-crime/2012>.

sexual assault, and yet another is serving a thirty-two-year sentence for planning a bomb along a Martin Luther King Jr. Day parade route. Thus, though the National Alliance is a shadow of its former self, its legacy remains.¹⁸⁶

Christian Identity is a small movement and people who commit crimes are few and far between. However, examining the connections in belief and in affiliation between people who do perform terrorism, illuminates the ways in which a violent religious ideology convinces some believers that God has called them to take up arms.

¹⁸⁶ “National Alliance Leader Indicted in Civil Rights Conspiracy,” The Southern Poverty Law Center, 6.9.2006, accessed 3.21.2014. <http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/news/neo-nazi-national-alliance-leader-indicted-in-civil-rights-conspiracy>

Conclusion

We send out agents to get into positions of power to remain
there as ghosts. – Anonymous

This study began with a broad question concerning the relationship between religion and violence, using Christian Identity as a case study. I am interested in the debate about whether or not religion acts as a causal factor in some instances of violence. Is there something about religion that is inherently violent? Is the maintenance of a sense of perpetual embattlement related to instances of hate and terror? If so, how? Furthermore, the majority of white supremacists do not commit crimes. Are there identifiable differences between those who act and those who do not? It was through an exploration of these questions that this project took shape.

Christian Identity groups and individuals have been more likely to commit acts of violence in America than terrorists from beyond the borders of the United States, although the attacks on September 11, 2001 were grand in scale and scope, convincing many Americans that the greatest threat is from abroad. While Christian Identity has received some attention from the academic community and law enforcement, they remain

virtually unknown to the wider American population. The irony is that Christian Identity is a very American phenomenon. Though believers exist in other parts of the world, Norway, Australia, Switzerland, and New Zealand being the most notable examples, those groups grew from ideology formed on American soil from American sensibilities. American entitlement, combined with a belief that certain players are chosen by God to perform a role in the end of days, gives many American religious movements a sense of urgency that is characteristic of Christian Identity. From its inception, “America has always been an eschatological hotbed” with a preoccupation with evil, as James Marone, Susan Harding, Robert Fuller, and James Aho, among others, agree.¹ As we have seen, “[t]he history of the Antichrist reveals America’s historical obsession with understanding themselves – and their enemies – in the mythic context of the struggle between absolute good and absolute evil.”² The image of religious war is deeply interwoven in the fabric of American history. In fact, “Satanic imagery infused the Puritan war narratives,”³ and victories were cast as “a sacrificial offering to God.”⁴ Following the example set by the Puritans, “[e]very American war would take on the same cast: an idealistic moral crusade

¹ Kathleen Stewart and Susan Harding, “Bad Endings: American Apocalypse,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 28 (1999): 289.

² Robert C. Fuller, *Naming the Antichrist: The History of an American Obsession* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 4.

³ James A. Marone, *Hellfire Nation: The Politics of Sin in American History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 76.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 87.

against a satanic foe.”⁵ Americans cast many conflicts in cosmic terms. Christian Identity is an extreme extension of a common thread in American religion, a continuation of the rhetoric that can be seen in many areas of the religious right.

Nowhere is the tendency to understand reality in terms of war mentality clearer than within American fundamentalist organizations. Given its end time eschatology, American fundamentalism is particularly given to apocalyptic imaginings, as one can easily read the cosmic war idea in the Book of Revelation, not to mention in the books of the prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah, among others. Fundamentalism is an extreme manifestation of many deeply American beliefs concerning exceptionalism, racial supremacy, and Protestant Christianity. In fact, it can be said that “[p]anics and witch-hunts are an American classic: nothing stirs the people ... like a pulpit-thumping moral crusade against malevolent dastards.”⁶ The same can be said across many denominations and even within the larger, ostensibly secular, context. Fundamentalism is just the most obvious expression.

In spite of a long history of eschatologically charged Christian fundamentalism, Americans do not know what to do with the concept of homegrown terrorists; white men and women claiming to be Christian are so far outside the stereotype of danger that Americans have, that it can be difficult to reconcile violence with people who look and speak like “us.” When white supremacists do receive media attention, journalists often

⁵ Ibid, 80.

⁶ Ibid, 3.

conflate Christian Identity with other forms of white supremacy, calling groups “neo-Nazis,” or “militants,” or “survivalists.”

It is easy to write off white supremacists as angry men who listen to loud music, play dress-up in military costumes, and occasionally make very bad choices. This stereotype does apply to some white supremacists. However, the acts of violence chronicled in the previous chapter take dedication, planning, and commitment.

Christian Identity is a violent religious ideology born of bigotry, racism, and an antiquated need for racial hegemony. Its cosmology is one of war between good and evil with both sides trying to win human souls. To be righteous is to be warlike. To be chosen by God is to be called to take up arms.

Christian Identity is also a movement filled with contradictions. Believers desire to become mainstream, their loftiest goal being to fill America with believers, driving people of color and white nonbelievers out or into extinction. Yet their identity is deeply rooted in feelings of marginalization. Other far right Christian groups like Focus on the Family have political ties that make it impossible to take certain types of action because terrorism is too high stakes. Committing an act of violence would jeopardize political ties with the Republican party. Christian Identity longs for connections with the political power structures of the country and yet they would have to sacrifice their tendencies toward violence, including the more extreme examples of rhetoric we have seen in previous pages, for legitimacy. Thus leaders tend to avoid affiliating themselves with perpetrators of violence and encourage members to break ties before taking action,

attempting to balance between being warriors for God and being politically palatable enough to form alliances with more mainstream conservative groups. After a violent action has taken place, the leaders of the different Christian Identity groups laud the violence and use martyrs as examples of true Christians willing to take action, while simultaneously maintaining their distance from potential violent players among the ranks of remaining believers.

In chapter two, Hector Avalos' argument that religion is intrinsically prone to violence was introduced. Avalos argues that religion creates scare resources in the form of unverifiable premises like eternal salvation that believers then feel compelled to defend, creating elaborate cosmologies to justify the separation of believers from nonbelievers. The separation into categories of the elect and the blasphemous lends itself to bigotry and, potentially, to religious warfare. Violent acts of war, as Mark Juergensmeyer suggests, serve as a public performance of belief. Christian Identity believers perform acts of violence in order to defend the resources - territory, the white race, and spiritual superiority - of which they feel deprived. Being warriors allows them to feel in control of their own destinies in a world they find to be filled with the works of the Antichrist. Furthermore, leaders and nonviolent believers live vicariously through those who commit violent acts, associating themselves with those who commit terrorism by memorializing them in sermons, newsletters, and on websites. It is a performance of embattlement defending racial and religious supremacy. Believers feel as though the world is spinning out of control, beset by sinfulness. Simultaneously they maintain the

belief that everything is according to God's plan for the righteous to rise up and return the world to godliness. Violence, whether perpetuated by the believer himself or experienced secondhand through the acts of another, is a sign that all is going according to plan, that the virtuous will prevail. They use acts of violence to prove that they are successful.

Christian Smith's subcultural identity theory is not fully applicable to Christian Identity because subcultural identity theory rests on the definition of a "vital" religion as one with lots of followers that attracts a reasonable number of converts. However, understanding a certain type of religion as dependent upon perceptions of embattlement is certainly useful when analyzing marginalized fundamentalist groups. The evangelicals Smith studies are mainstream enough to have ties with political institutions and individual politicians. They lobby these connections to gain converts while simultaneously maintaining a marginalized sense of identity. Christian Identity does not have these affiliations and thus they have less to lose. The sense of embattlement is the same among evangelicals and Christian Identity fundamentalists and both groups perform their religion. But embattlement actualizes differently, meaning that Christian Identity individuals, when they feel called by God to act, are likelier to act violently. They have less to lose and entire communities of believers urging them on. Mainstream evangelicals perform their embattled identities by petitioning political leaders to defend their liberties, utilizing mainstream routes to fulfill their need to feel marginalized. Christian Identity believers do not have open access to such routes.

However, not all believers are violent. The members of Elohim City consort with

terrorists but do not commit violence themselves. The Church of Israel learned from the mistakes of the Covenant, Sword, and Arm of the Lord and has remained non-militant. It appears that God only calls some to shed blood in his name. However, some commonalities between violent offenders emerged.

First, white supremacists often have a negative experience early in life that they blame on an evil “other” who comes to be identified as “colored” or “Jewish” when the individual is exposed to organized racism. Tom Martinez of The Order reported feeling threatened in his mostly black high school, for example.⁷ Others do not experience direct threat but grow up in mostly white areas that are economically depressed. Deprivation is directed at “them,” unnamed others who are often labeled with derogatory racist epithets. Timothy McVeigh, Eric Rudolph, and James Burmeister grew up in such environments, surrounded by implicit racism.

Second, many violent offenders have a background in the armed forces. It is unclear if they were exposed to racism while in the armed forces or if they entered the armed forces in order to get weapons and tactical training. Wade Michael Page and Timothy McVeigh both reported interest in racism before joining, and expressed an interest in receiving formal training.

Third, the leaders of these organizations rarely commit violence themselves.⁸ Leaders long for legitimacy and often seek to ally themselves with political leaders and

⁷ Thomas Martinez and John Guinther, *Brotherhood of Murder* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1988).

⁸ Matt Hale of the World Church of the Creator is one exception. Dennis McGiffin of the New Order is another. Both were convicted on charges of conspiracy to commit violence.

even the leaders of foreign organizations, like Hamas and Hezbollah, whom they see as sharing their anti-Semitic views. They are willing to encourage violence in their followers, but they keep distance for reasons of plausible deniability. It is these leaders who maintain a sense of tension and embattlement among believers. One wonders what would happen were one of these groups to gain legitimacy. It is possible that the group's identity would crumble as the perception of embattlement fades.⁹

Ultimately, I conclude that Christian Identity is a violent religion, “a religion by sociopaths, for sociopaths.”¹⁰ The beliefs appeal to people who feel anxious and afraid that someone or something is wrong with the world. Often, Christian Identity believers get this belief from more mainstream churches. Kerry Noble of the CSA notes that:

Because the majority of members in right-wing groups grew up in traditional churches, they have been engrained with the false impressions of good versus evil. That man is basically evil, and that the end-time before Jesus returns will be an evil time period.¹¹

Noble also states that:

Two major points are made in most churches, regardless of the denomination or subject matter. One: society and people are corrupt and evil, with sin rampant and out of control, and both are going to hell. Two: if you don't want

⁹ The political career of David Duke is an interesting case study of what happens when a white supremacist gains political attention. Following two failed bids for Louisiana governor, Duke faded into obscurity.

¹⁰ Gordon J. Melton, *Encyclopedia of American Religions* (Independence, Kentucky: Gale Publishing, 2009), 24.

¹¹ Kerry Noble, *Tabernacle of Hate: Why They Bombed Oklahoma City* (Prescott, Ontario: Voyageur, 1998), 220.

to go to hell with the rest of the world then (although you do not deserve it) get saved by whichever method that denomination dictates.¹²

While this is perhaps an overgeneralization on Noble's part, the belief that one has been called by God to be a warrior can be inspired by a need for salvation and a belief that doing God's violent work is the way to achieve it. As we saw in chapter two, some argue that tendencies for Christians to become violent are a byproduct of Christian beliefs:

What Christians have done to try to make the suffering of Jesus meaningful is to glorify it. This, unfortunately, bleeds into a fetishization of violence itself. In some quarters, the ostensible Christian message of love and tolerance has become interchangeable with the language of righteousness and force.¹³

This shift is not isolated to Christians who commit violence or even to Christian Identity itself. Linking force with righteousness can happen in a variety of denominations. Some people take the message seriously and feel called by God to act.

Defining oneself or one's group as successful in terms of small numbers of members allows believers to think of themselves as elite, chosen, and special. This relates back to earlier comments in chapter two regarding how success is defined: often the group or individual perpetuating hate or violence is making a symbolic statement because religious terrorism is performative in nature. "Public ritual has traditionally been the

¹² Ibid, 95.

¹³ Mark Olmsted, "The Hutaree Militia: The Passion of the Christians," *The Huffington Post*, March 31, 2010.

providence of religion, and this is one of the reasons that performative violence comes so naturally to activists from a religious background.”¹⁴ Even religions that emphasize peace may have violent cosmologies of war against an evil seeking to take over the world.

Michael Barkun agrees with Juergensmeyer’s characterization of terrorism as performative:

Increasingly, [the] metaphor [of violence as performance] is finding its way into examinations of religiously driven terrorism. It appears apt, both because of the public character of terrorist acts with its presumption of a witnessing audience, and because of the centrality of ritual in religious activity.¹⁵

Aho agrees that “[s]ociology ... views the enemy as a metaphor and conflict as a ceremonial rite.”¹⁶ Accomplishing the goal of changing the world is often not the point: terrorists don’t expect to succeed. The point is to perform belief publically on as grand and terrible a scale as possible. Mark Juergensmeyer understands acts of terrorism as “forms of public performance rather than aspects of political strategy.”¹⁷ It’s about the spectacle: in the flames of burning buildings, in the screams of the fallen, in the bullets of

¹⁴ Mark Juergensmeyer, *Terror in the Mind of God: The Global Rise of Religious Violence* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 127.

¹⁵ Michael Barkun, *A Culture of Conspiracy: Apocalyptic Visions in Contemporary America* (Berkeley: University of California, 2003), 8.

¹⁶ James A. Aho, *This Thing of Darkness: A Sociology of the Enemy* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994), 17.

¹⁷ Juergensmeyer, *Terror in the Mind of God*, xi.

those who view themselves as righteous – the rituals of violent religion impress themselves upon the public.

When God sanctions behavior, unthinkable acts such as suicide and murder become conceivable. Violent fundamentalists are locked in “an all-or-nothing struggle against an enemy one is determined to destroy. No compromise is deemed possible. The very existence of the opponent is a threat, and until the enemy is either crushed or contained, one’s own existence cannot be secure.”¹⁸ Once violence has been undertaken, often more violence must follow because “one of the reasons a state of war is preferable to peace is that it gives moral justification to acts of violence.”¹⁹ War begets war when God enters the fray. Furthermore, the “assurance that one is absolutely right seems to give true believers the notion that they are entitled to destroy those who are wrong, since error must be stamped out in order that God’s truth may be universal.”²⁰ Once one has undertaken violence, to admit that one was in error, to recognize that violence may not be what God wants, is more difficult than continuing to perpetuate violence. Continuing to the point of death is easier than admitting error.

In recent American history, a number of Christian Identity believers have, intentionally or unintentionally, become martyrs. Unlike religious groups who define success as effective recruitment, growth in congregation size, and positive reinforcement from society, Christian Identity believers define themselves through marginalization and

¹⁸ Ibid, 152.

¹⁹ Ibid, 157.

²⁰ Robert McAfee Brown, *Religion and Violence* (Louisville: Westminster Press, 1987), xi.

understand success in terms of remaining small and elite, the chosen few who understand the truth of God's divine plan for the white race.

“We are seeing three, four, five new cases every year of people who have links to white supremacist groups, who talk the race-hating, anti-government rhetoric, and who ended up plotting or committing violent acts,” said Robert M. Blitzer, head of the FBI's domestic counterterrorism section. “These are usually rootless guys with a high level of frustration in their lives who go out on their own. They have access to firearms and explosives and are prepared to use them. For us, it is a real challenge to stay ahead of them.” These solitary actors, though few in number, are now considered the most dangerous domestic terrorists, according to FBI and Justice Department officials, who continue to struggle with a key question: Are they lone wolves who need no outside guidance or the instruments of someone else's political agenda? “There is a definite increase in acts of violence committed either by a single individual or very small coterie of people who operate without any central direction,” said Michael Barkun, a political scientist at Syracuse University and expert on domestic radicals.²¹

Each act creates martyrs, and “[w]hen numerous examples of outright evil are presented as righteous behavior, we should not be surprised when further such incidents by unrepentant fanatics occur.”²² Christian Identity is small. But the effects reverberate through the country.

My argument is that groups or individuals who exhibit six aspects of belief are at the highest risk for violence. First, they must be people who believe that the Bible is the

²¹ Roberto Suro, “A Most Dangerous Profile: The Loner,” *The Washington Post*, July 22, 1998.

²² Stephen Van Eck, “Thoughts on the ‘Phineas Priesthood,’” *Think!*, Fall, 1997.

inerrant word of God that speaks to them or the leaders of a group, revealing new signs, portents, and plans. Second, is the presence of charismatic leaders who inspire feelings of tension and embattlement while remaining above culpability and seek alliances with more mainstream groups and individuals. Third, is the belief in an imminent apocalypse. Within Christian groups, post-millennial dispensationalism appears to be an important catalyst for violence. Fourth, “othering” rhetoric that sharply bifurcates believers from non-believers is the mechanism through which people rationalize acts of intolerance. When religion is used to define these others as demonic, as antichrists, the fifth aspect is present. Finally, when a group or individual believes themselves to have been chosen by God to play a role in the final battle, a violent religious group can be said to exist.

Christian Identity fits all of these criteria. Other groups may, as well, and applying these aspects to other groups may prove fruitful.

An Al-Jazeera investigative report has indicated that European countries are experiencing an upsurge in right-wing ideals. Countries like Switzerland and Norway have about a third of their parliaments controlled by these “neo” right-wing political parties. While these political parties do not directly participate in acts of political violence, they do remain tacitly supportive of some right-wing ideals which ultimately inspire activities that are considered politically violent, with motivations ranging from racism and xenophobia to overt nationalism. These kinds of ideals that are supported or permitted by the government to exist cause far-right groups and their fringes to act.²³

²³ “What’s in a Date? 19 April and Right-Wing Extremism,” *The World Online*, April 19, 2013, accessed November 20, 2013, <http://theworldoutline.com/2013/04/what-is-in-a-date-19-april-right-wing-extremism/>.

The intersections of politics, nationalism, racism, and religion remain an important area of research that may impact our ability to prevent violence from occurring. In America, a country at risk from religious extremists, understanding the motivations behind religious terrorism is paramount.

In addition to the questions and areas for research mentioned above, there remains a largely untapped ethnographic field in the online world of racism. Stormfront has almost two hundred thousand registered users, and there are other, smaller, forums as well. The demographics and behaviors of users constitute a fascinating arena and could answer a number of questions, such as the degree to which the personas that white supremacists display online match their non-virtual characters. Do they act like racists in “real” life? Who posts and how often? Do posters fall into the categories of answerers, discussers, lurkers, and so forth?

Christian Identity is a violent religion, but not all Christian Identity believers are violent people. I have suggested a few similarities between believers who choose to act. Identifying commonalities between those who leave organized religious racism is another area for additional research. In fact, understanding why a member of a violent religion never takes up arms, or leaves entirely, may be the most useful arena for future research.

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Appendix A

The Southern Poverty Law Center tracks hate groups and hate crimes and also provides legal council and representation to individuals and groups that have been the victims of hate crimes. Among other things, the SPLC keeps a “hate map”¹ of the current active groups in the United States. The following list is not exhaustive – I have edited it to include white supremacist groups only (black power groups, anti-gay organizations, and other nationalistic groups are also listed by the SPLC). The highlighted groups are C.I. specifically, though the SPLC often designates groups as “neo-nazi” if they use Nazi symbolism.

Alabama

<i>Name</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>City</i>
Alabama White Knights of the KKK		Red Bay
Alabama White Knights of the KKK		Ashland
American Aryan Reich	Neo-Nazi	Mobile
Aryan Nations 88	Neo-Nazi	Ashland
Confederate Hammerskins	Racist Skinhead	Huntsville

¹ “Hate Map.” The Southern Poverty Law Center. <http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/hate-map>
Accessed 2.18.2013.

Council of Conservative Citizens	White Nationalist	Cullman
Council of Conservative Citizens	White Nationalist	Birmingham
Council of Conservative Citizens	White Nationalist	Jasper
Council of Conservative Citizens	White Nationalist	Florence
Council of Conservative Citizens	White Nationalist	Huntsville
Council of Conservative Citizens	White Nationalist	Montgomery
Creativity Movement	Neo-Nazi	
Crew 38	Racist Skinhead	Huntsville
International Keystone KKK Inc.	Ku Klux Klan	Pinson
International Keystone KKK	Ku Klux Klan	Headlan
League of the South	Neo-Confederate	Weogufk
League of the South	Neo-Confederate	Birmingham
Occidental Dissent	White Nationalist	Birmingham
Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan		Cullman
Anderson United Knights Of Tennessee Order Of The KKK		

Alaska

<i>Name</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>City</i>
Vinlanders Alaska	Racist Skinhead	Anchorage

Arizona

<i>Name</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>City</i>
American Border Patrol	Anti-Immigrant	Sierra Vista
American Third Position	White Nationalist	Mesa
Crusaders for Yahweh	Christian Identity	Phoenix
Free American	White Nationalist	Tucson
Fundamentalist Latter Day Saints	General Hate	Colorado City
National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan		
National Socialist Movement	Neo-Nazi	Phoenix
Nationalist Coalition	Neo-Nazi	Mesa
Sons of Aesir Motorcycle Club	General Hate	
South Africa Project	White Nationalist	Gilbert
United for a Sovereign America	Anti-Immigrant	Phoenix
US Border Guard & Border Rangers	Anti-Immigrant	Mesa
Vinlanders Arizona	Racist Skinhead	Mesa

Arkansas

<i>Name</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>City</i>
American Aryan Reich	Neo-Nazi	Little Rock
Aryan Nations 88	Neo-Nazi	
Aryan Terror Brigade	Racist Skinhead	
Blood and Honour America Division	Racist Skinhead	

Christian Books and Things	General Hate	Harrison
Church of Jesus Christ	Christian Identity	Bergman
Council of Conservative Citizens	White Nationalist	Little Rock
Creativity Alliance	Neo-Nazi	
Heritage Connection	Racist Music	Harrison
International Keystone KKK Inc.		Colt
International Keystone KKK Inc.		Vanndale
Kingdom Identity Ministries	Christian Identity	Harrison
Knights of the Ku Klux Klan		Concord
Knights of the Ku Klux Klan		Harrison
Ku Klux Klan LLC		Compton
Ozark Craft LC	General Hate	Harrison
South Africa Project	White Nationalist	
Tightrope	Racist Music	Calico Rock

California

<i>Name</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>City</i>
American Aryan Reich	Neo-Nazi	Sacramento
American Front	Racist Skinhead	Sacramento
American National Socialist Party	Neo-Nazi	Corning
American Nazi Party	Neo-Nazi	

American Third Position	White Nationalist	San Diego
American Third Position	White Nationalist	Westminster
Aryan Nations 88	Neo-Nazi	Poway
Aryan Terror Brigade	Racist Skinhead	
Blood and Honour America Division	Racist Skinhead	
California Skinheads	Racist Skinhead	Fresno
Christian Anti-Defamation Commission		Vista
Council of Conservative Citizens	White Nationalist	
Council of Conservative Citizens	White Nationalist	San Francisco
Counter-Currents Publishing	White Nationalist	San Francisco
Creativity Alliance	Neo-Nazi	Clovis
Crew 38	Racist Skinhead	San Diego
Crusaders for Yahweh	Christian Identity	Alta Loma
European Americans United	White Nationalist	Sacramento
Get Some 88	Racist Music	Castaic
Golden State Skinheads	Racist Skinhead	
Holy Nation of Odin	General Hate	Kingsburg
League of the South	Neo-Confederate	Scotts Valley
National Alliance	Neo-Nazi	Los Angeles
National Socialist American Labor Party		Burbank
National Socialist Movement	Neo-Nazi	San Diego

National Socialist Movement	Neo-Nazi	Riverside
National Socialist Movement	Neo-Nazi	San Francisco
South Africa Project	White Nationalist	
Supreme White Alliance	Racist Skinhead	
Temple 88	White Nationalist	
The Church at Kaweah	General Hate	Kaweah
United Knights Of Tennessee Order Of The KKK		
United Northern and Southern Knights of the KKK		
United Society of Aryan Skinheads	Racist Skinhead	San Diego
Vinland Folk Resistance	General Hate	Kingsburg
Voice of Reason Broadcast Network	White Nationalist	Pasadena
Volksfront	Racist Skinhead	
Voz de Aztlan	General Hate	Whittier
Western Hammerskins	Racist Skinhead	San Diego

Colorado

<i>Name</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>City</i>
Aryan Terror Brigade	Racist Skinhead	
Blood and Honour U.S.A.	Racist Skinhead	Littleton
Creativity Movement	Neo-Nazi	
MSR Productions	Racist Music	Wheat Ridge

Nationalist Coalition	Neo-Nazi	Denver
A Conversation About Race	White Nationalist	Littleton
Scriptures for America Ministries	Christian Identity	Laporte
United Knights Of Tennessee Order Of The KKK		
United Northern and Southern Knights of the KKK		Longmont

Connecticut

<i>Name</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>City</i>
Creativity Movement	Neo-Nazi	
National Socialist Movement	Neo-Nazi	
South Africa Project	White Nationalist	
United Knights Of Tennessee Order Of The KKK		

Delaware

<i>Name</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>City</i>
Aryan Nations 88	Neo-Nazi	Wilmington
Final Stand Records	Racist Music	Newark
National Socialist Freedom Movement	Neo-Nazi	
National Socialist Movement	Neo-Nazi	
Rebel Brigade Knights of the Ku Klux Klan		

District of Colombia

<i>Name</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>City</i>
Barnes Review/Foundation for Economic Liberty, Inc		Washington
Council for Social and Economic Studies		
	White Nationalist	Washington
Scott-Townsend Publishers	White Nationalist	Washington

Florida

<i>Name</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>City</i>
American Aryan Reich	Neo-Nazi	Jacksonville
American Aryan Reich	Neo-Nazi	Daytona
American Front	Racist Skinhead	Lynn Haven
American Front	Racist Skinhead	St. Cloud
American National Socialist Party	Neo-Nazi	Bonita Springs
American Third Position	White Nationalist	Jacksonville
Aryan Terror Brigade	Racist Skinhead	
Blood and Honour America Division	Racist Skinhead	Lakeland
Confederate Hammerskins	Racist Skinhead	Jacksonville
Confederate Hammerskins	Racist Skinhead	Ocala
Confederate Hammerskins	Racist Skinhead	Orlando
Council of Conservative Citizens	White Nationalist	Beverly Hills

Crew 38	Racist Skinhead	Largo
Crusaders for Yahweh	Christian Identity	Miami
Crusaders for Yahweh	Christian Identity	Tampa
European-American Unity and Rights Organization		Jacksonville
Independent Skins Southwest	Racist Skinhead	Callahan
Kinist Institute, The	White Nationalist	Orlando
Knight Riders Knights of the Ku Klux Klan		Live Oak
League of the South	Neo-Confederate	Jacksonville
League of the South	Neo-Confederate	Archer
National Socialist Freedom Movement		
National Socialist Movement	Neo-Nazi	
National Socialist Movement	Neo-Nazi	Tampa
Nationalist Coalition	Neo-Nazi	St. Petersburg
Stormfront	White Nationalist	West Palm Beach
Supreme White Alliance	Racist Skinhead	
True Invisible Empire Traditionalist American KKK		Highland City
United Knights Of Tennessee Order Of The KKK		
United Northern and Southern Knights of the KKK		Hampton
United Northern and Southern Knights of the KKK		Englewood
Volksfront	Racist Skinhead	Pensacola

Georgia

<i>Name</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>City</i>
American Aryan Reich	Neo-Nazi	Atlanta
Aryan Nations 88	Neo-Nazi	Statesboro
Aryan Nations 88	Neo-Nazi	Hiawassee
Aryan Nations Knights of the Ku Klux		Cleveland
Aryan Terror Brigade	Racist Skinhead	
Council of Conservative Citizens	White Nationalist	East Georgia
Covenant People's Ministry	Christian Identity	Brooks
Creativity Alliance	Neo-Nazi	
Crusaders for Yahweh	Christian Identity	Norcross
Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan		Cleveland
European-American Unity and Rights Organization		Savannah
European-American unity and Rights Organization		Columbus
International Keystone Knights of the Ku Klux Klan		Young Harris
Knight Riders Knights of the Ku Klux Klan		Byron
Knight Riders Knights of the Ku Klux Klan		Brunswick
Knight Riders Knights of the Ku Klux Klan		Bainbridge
Knight Riders Knights of the Ku Klux Klan		Ellijay
Ku Klos Knights of the Ku Klux Klan		
League of the South	Neo-Confederate	Barnesville

League of the South	Neo-Confederate	Statesboro
League of the South	Neo-Confederate	Macon
National Alliance	Neo-Nazi	Columbus
National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan		
National Policy Institute	White Nationalist	Augusta
National Socialist American Labor Party		
National Socialist Movement Neo-Nazi		South Georgia
National Socialist Movement Neo-Nazi		North Georgia
Occidental Quarterly/Charles Martel Society	White Nationalist	Augusta
Old Glory Skinheads	Racist Skinhead	
Rebel Brigade Knights of the Ku Klux Klan		
Society for the Practical Establishment and Perpetuation of the Ten Commandments		
	General Hate	Eatonton
Supreme White Alliance	Racist Skinhead	
True Invisible Empire Traditionalist American KKK		
United Knights Of Tennessee Order Of The Ku Klux Klan		
United Northern and Southern Knights of the Ku Klux Klan		

Idaho

<i>Name</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>City</i>
America's Promise Ministries	Christian Identity	Sandpoint

Aryan Nations 88	Neo-Nazi	Boise
Aryan Terror Brigade	Racist Skinhead	
Campaign for Radical Truth in History	Holocaust Denial	Coeur d'Alene
Church of True Israel	Christian Identity	Hayden
Crew 38	Racist Skinhead	
Crusaders for Yahweh	Christian Identity	Twin Falls
Crusaders for Yahweh	Christian Identity	Boise
Crusaders for Yahweh	Christian Identity	Coeur d'Alene
Crusaders for Yahweh	Christian Identity	Moscow
Crusaders for Yahweh	Christian Identity	Post Falls
Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan		Pocatello
Folk and Faith	White Nationalist	Idaho Falls
Free Edgar Steele	White Nationalist	Sagle
International Conspiratological Association	Holocaust Denial	Coeur d'Alene
National Socialist American Labor Party		
Northwest Hammerskins	Racist Skinhead	
Temple 88	White Nationalist	

Illinois

<i>Name</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>City</i>
American Aryan Reich	Neo-Nazi	

American Renaissance/New Century Foundation		Chicago
American Third Position	White Nationalist	
Aryan Nations 88	Neo-Nazi	Westville
Aryan Terror Brigade	Racist Skinhead	
Council of Conservative Citizens	White Nationalist	Chicago
Creativity Movement	Neo-Nazi	Zion
Ecclesiastical Council for the Restoration of Covenant Israel (ECRCI)		
Chicago		
Iron Rain Nationalists	White Nationalist	Chicago
Knight Riders Knights of the Ku Klux Klan		Eldorado
National Socialist Movement	Neo-Nazi	Schiller Park
Northern Hammerskins	Racist Skinhead	
Rebel Brigade Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Ku Klux Klan		
South Africa Project	White Nationalist	
True Invisible Empire Traditionalist American Knights KKK		
United Knights Of Tennessee Order Of The Ku Klux Klan		
United Northern and Southern Knights of the Ku Klux Klan		
Vinlanders Illinois	Racist Skinhead	

Indiana

<i>Name</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>City</i>
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Abundant Life Fellowship	Christian Identity	Morgantown
American Third Position	White Nationalist	Indianapolis
Aryan Terror Brigade	Racist Skinhead	
Council of Conservative Citizens	White Nationalist	Carmel
International Keystone Knights of the Ku Klux Klan		Elwood
Ku Klos Knights of the Ku Klux Klan		
Lighthouse Literature	White Nationalist	Indianapolis
Livin' the Legacy	Neo-Confederate	Nashville
National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan		South Bend
National Socialist Movement	Neo-Nazi	Wakarusa
Rebel Brigade Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	Ku Klux Klan	Kokomo
True Invisible Empire Traditionalist American Knights of the KKK		Yoder
United Knights Of Tennessee Order Of The Ku Klux Klan		
KlanUnited Northern and Southern Knights of the Ku Klux Klan		West College
Vinlanders Indiana	Racist Skinhead	Knightstown
White Aryan Resistance	Neo-Nazi	Warsaw
WTM Enterprises	White Nationalist	Roanoke

Iowa

<i>Name</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>City</i>
Folkish Women's Front	Racist Skinhead	Pisgah

Fraternal White Knights of the KKK Ku Klux Klan		Charles City
Supreme White Alliance	Racist Skinhead	
True Invisible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan		Nashua

Kansas

<i>Name</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>City</i>
Midland Hammerskins	Racist Skinhead	Wichita
National Socialist Movement Neo-Nazi		Lansing

Kentucky

<i>Name</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>City</i>
American Third Position	White Nationalist	
Aryan Terror Brigade	Racist Skinhead	
Fellowship of God's Covenant People	Christian Identity	Union
Imperial Klans of America Knights of the KKK		Dawson Springs
Kinsman Redeemer Ministries	Christian Identity	Alexandria
Ku Klos Knights of the Ku Klux Klan		
League of the South	Neo-Confederate	Lexington
National Socialist Movement	Neo-Nazi	
Rebel Brigade Knights of the Ku Klux Klan		
Supreme White Alliance	Racist Skinhead	

True Invisible Empire Traditionalist American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

United Knights Of Tennessee Order Of The Ku Klux Klan

White Revolution	Neo-Nazi	Louisville
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Louisiana

<i>Name</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>City</i>
American Aryan Reich	Neo-Nazi	New Orleans
Aryan Nations 88	Neo-Nazi	Slaughter
Aryan Nations 88	Neo-Nazi	Calhoun
Aryan Nations Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Ku Klux Klan		Converse
Christian Defense League	Neo-Nazi	Mandeville
Church of the Sons of Yhvh	Christian Identity	Calhoun
Council of Conservative Citizens	White Nationalist	St. Amant
Council of Conservative Citizens	White Nationalist	Shreveport
Dixie Rangers Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Ku Klux Klan		Walker
European-American Unity and Rights Organization		Thibodaux
European-American Unity and Rights Organization		Mandeville
League of the South	Neo-Confederate	
Logansport National Socialist Movement		
Rebel Brigade Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Ku Klux Klan		
South Africa Project	White Nationalist	Converse

True Invisible Empire Traditionalist American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

United White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Shreveport

White Riders RC White Nationalist Arcadia

Maine

<i>Name</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>City</i>
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American Third Position	White Nationalist	
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Aryan Nations 88	Neo-Nazi	
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Blood and Honour America Division Racist Skinhead

National Socialist American Labor Party	Neo-Nazi	New Castle
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National Socialist Movement	Neo-Nazi	
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Volksfront	Racist Skinhead	
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Maryland

<i>Name</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>City</i>
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Aryan Nations 88	Neo-Nazi	
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Center for Perpetual Diversity	White Nationalist	Gaithersburg
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Council of Conservative Citizens	White Nationalist	Silver Spring
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Creativity Movement	Neo-Nazi	
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Ku Klos Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

League of the South	Neo-Confederate	Clements
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Maryland National Socialist Party	Neo-Nazi	Elkridge
Maryland State Skinheads	Racist Skinhead	Baltimore
National Socialist Movement	Neo-Nazi	Elkridge
Rebel Brigade Knights of the Ku Klux Klan		
South Africa Project	White Nationalist	
SS Regalia	Neo-Nazi	Edgewater
United Knights of Tennessee Order of the Ku Klux Klan		

Massachusetts

<i>Name</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>City</i>
American Renaissance	White Nationalist	Quincy
Aryan Terror Brigade	Racist Skinhead	
North East White Pride	White Nationalist	Haverhill
Volksfront	Racist Skinhead	Boston
White Revolution	Neo-Nazi	Boston

Michigan

<i>Name</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>City</i>
American Nazi Party	Neo-Nazi	Westland
American Third Position	White Nationalist	
Aryan Terror Brigade	Racist Skinhead	

Blood and Honour America Division	Racist Skinhead	
By Yahweh's Design	Christian Identity	Stevensville
Charles Darwin Research Institute	White Nationalist	Port Huron
Crew 38	Racist Skinhead	Detroit
Crusaders for Yahweh	Christian Identity	Detroit
Gallows Tree Wotansvolk Alliance	Neo-Nazi	Grand Rapids
Ku Klos Knights of the Ku Klux Klan		
National Socialist Aryan Order	Neo-Nazi	Davison
National Socialist Movement	Neo-Nazi	Detroit
Northern Hammerskins	Racist Skinhead	Detroit
NS Publications	Neo-Nazi	
Wyandotte South Africa Project	White Nationalist	
United Knights of Tennessee Order of the Ku Klux Klan		
United Northern and Southern Knights of the Ku Klux Klan		Battle Creek
United Northern and Southern Knights of the Ku Klux Klan		Fraser
Vinlanders Michigan	Racist Skinhead	
Volksfront	Racist Skinhead	Detroit
Yahweh's Truth	Christian Identity	Linwood

Minnesota

<i>Name</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>City</i>
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Aryan Nations 88	Neo-Nazi	Mora
Crusaders for Yahweh	Christian Identity	St. Paul
Crusaders for Yahweh	Christian Identity	Duluth
National Socialist Movement	Neo-Nazi	
South Africa Project	White Nationalist	
True Invisible Empire Traditionalist	American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	
Vinlanders Minnesota	Racist Skinhead	
Weisman Publications	Christian Identity	Burnsville

Mississippi

<i>Name</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>City</i>
American Aryan Reich	Neo-Nazi	Gulfport
Blood and Honour America Division	Racist Skinhead	
Council of Conservative Citizens	White Nationalist	Holly Springs
Council of Conservative Citizens	White Nationalist	Tupelo
Council of Conservative Citizens	White Nationalist	Calhoun City
Council of Conservative Citizens	White Nationalist	Greenwood
Council of Conservative Citizens	White Nationalist	Piney Woods
Council of Conservative Citizens	White Nationalist	Vaiden
Council of Conservative Citizens	White Nationalist	Jackson
Council of Conservative Citizens	White Nationalist	Mathiston

Council of White Patriot Voters	White Nationalist	Baldwyn
Crew 38	Racist Skinhead	
European-American Unity and Rights Organization		Ripley
Folkish Women Front	Racist Skinhead	
League of the South	Neo-Confederate	Mendenhall
Mississippi White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan		Ripley
Mississippi White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan		Tupelo
Mississippi White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan		Shannon
Mississippi White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan		Mize
Mississippi White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan		Jackson
Mississippi White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan		Pearl
Mississippi White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan		Meridian
Mississippi White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan		Philadelphia
Mississippi White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan		Brookhaven
Mississippi White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan		Petal
National Socialist Movement	Neo-Nazi	Tupelo
Nationalist Movement	White Nationalist	Learned
Original Knight Riders Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (W. Va.)		
Original Knights of America Knights of the Ku Klux Klan		Florence
Original Knights of America Knights of the Ku Klux Klan		Raleigh
Original Knights of America Knights of the Ku Klux Klan		Steens

Original Knights of America	Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	Philadelphia
Pace Confederate Depot	Neo-Confederate	Baldwyn
Volksfront	Racist Skinhead	

Missouri

<i>Name</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>City</i>
American Aryan Reich	Neo-Nazi	St. Louis
American Third Position	White Nationalist	Ridgedale
Aryan Nations 88	Neo-Nazi	Hawk Point
Aryan Terror Brigade	Racist Skinhead	
Blood and Honour America Division	Racist Skinhead	Lake St. Louis
Church of Jesus Christ Christian/Aryan Nations		Granby
Conservative Citizens Foundation, Inc	White Nationalist	St. Louis
Council of Conservative Citizens	White Nationalist	St. Louis
Council of Conservative Citizens	White Nationalist	St. Louis
Creativity Movement	Neo-Nazi	Kansas City
Faith Baptist Church and Ministry	Christian Identity	Houston
Invictus Books	General Hate	Wentzville
League of the South	Neo-Confederate	West Plains
National Socialist Movement	Neo-Nazi	Springfield
Reformed Church of Israel	Christian Identity	Schell City

South Africa Project	White Nationalist	
Supreme White Alliance	Racist Skinhead	
True Invisible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan		Park Hills
True Invisible Empire Traditionalist American Knights of KKK		Potosi
United Northern and Southern Knights of the Ku Klux Klan		
United Realms of America Knights of the Ku Klux Klan		Shelbina
Volksfront	Racist Skinhead	Bridgeton
Watchmen Bible Study Group	Christian Identity	Wappapello

Montana

<i>Name</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>City</i>
Alternative Right	White Nationalist	Whitefish
Creativity Alliance	Neo-Nazi	
Creativity Movement	Neo-Nazi	Billings
Crusaders for Yahweh	Christian Identity	Billings
Crusaders for Yahweh	Christian Identity	Great Falls
Crusaders for Yahweh	Christian Identity	Big Sandy
Fetch the Rope	Racist Music	Bozeman
National Socialist Movement	Neo-Nazi	
Washington Summit Publishers	White Nationalist	Whitefish

Nebraska

<i>Name</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>City</i>
Mission to Israel	Christian Identity	Scottsbluff
National Socialist German Workers Party	Neo-Nazi	Lincoln
National Socialist Movement	Neo-Nazi	
Third Reich Books	Neo-Nazi	Lincoln
Volksfront	Racist Skinhead	

Nevada

<i>Name</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>City</i>
A2Z Publications	General Hate	Las Vegas
American Nationalist Union	White Nationalist	Las Vegas
Council of Conservative Citizens	White Nationalist	Las Vegas
Crusaders for Yahweh	Christian Identity	Beatty
Crusaders for Yahweh	Christian Identity	Las Vegas
Do Right Foundation	White Nationalist	Las Vegas
National Alliance	Neo-Nazi	Las Vegas
National Socialist Movement	Neo-Nazi	
Rebel Brigade Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	Ku Klux Klan	
Supreme White Alliance	Racist Skinhead	
The Creativity Alliance	Neo-Nazi	

New Hampshire

<i>Name</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>City</i>
National Socialist Movement	Neo-Nazi	
North East White Pride	White Nationalist	

New Jersey

<i>Name</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>City</i>
AC Skins	Racist Skinhead	Browns Mills
AC Skins	Racist Skinhead	Marlton
AC Skins	Racist Skinhead	Gallowa
AC Skins	Racist Skinhead	Linwood
AC Skins	Racist Skinhead	Atlantic City
AC Skins	Racist Skinhead	Somers Point
AC Skins	Racist Skinhead	Wildwood
AC Skins	Racist Skinhead	Woodbine
AC Skins	Racist Skinhead	East Brunswick
American Front	Racist Skinhead	Roselle
American Front	Racist Skinhead	Haledon
American Front	Racist Skinhead	Hackensack
American Third Position	White Nationalist	Butler

Aryan Nations	Neo-Nazi	Wanaque
Aryan Nations 88	Neo-Nazi	North Bergen
Aryan Terror Brigade	Racist Skinhead	Paterson
Aryan Terror Brigade	Racist Skinhead	Fords
Aryan Terror Brigade	Racist Skinhead	Flemington
Bergen County Hooligans	Racist Skinhead	Garfield
Bergen County Hooligans	Racist Skinhead	Wallington
Blood and Honour U.S.A.	Racist Skinhead	Fords
Council of Conservative Citizens	White Nationalist	Fort Lee
Council of Conservative Citizens	White Nationalist	
League of American Patriots, The	White Nationalist	Garfield
Micetrap Distribution	Racist Music	Maple Shade
National Socialist Movement	Neo-Nazi	Bayonne
National Socialist Movement	Neo-Nazi	Clifton
National Socialist Movement	Neo-Nazi	Birmingham
National Socialist Movement	Neo-Nazi	Browns Mills
Supreme White Alliance	Racist Skinhead	
Vinlanders New Jersey	Racist Skinhead	Closter
Vinlanders New Jersey	Racist Skinhead	Cherry Hill

New Mexico

<i>Name</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>City</i>
11th Hour Remnant Messenger	Christian Identity	Santa Fe
United Northern and Southern Knights of the Ku Klux Klan		

New York

<i>Name</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>City</i>
American Third Position	White Nationalist	New York
Aryan Nations 88	Neo-Nazi	Lake George
Council of Conservative Citizens	White Nationalist	New York
Creativity Movement	Neo-Nazi	
Cultural Studies Press	General Hate	New York
H.L. Mencken Club	White Nationalist	
Brooklyn National Socialist American Labor Party	Neo-Nazi	
National Socialist Movement	Neo-Nazi	
National Socialist Movement	Neo-Nazi	Long Island
National Socialist Movement	Neo-Nazi	Upstate
National Socialist Movement	Neo-Nazi	Downstate
NPI TV	White Nationalist	Brooklyn
Pioneer Fund	White Nationalist	New York
Racial Nationalist Party of America	White Nationalist	Lockport
South Africa Project	White Nationalist	

True Invisible Empire Traditionalist American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

North Carolina

<i>Name</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>City</i>
American Aryan Reich	Neo-Nazi	Raleigh
Aryan Nations 88	Neo-Nazi	East Bend
Aryan Terror Brigade	Racist Skinhead	
Blood and Honour U.S.A	Racist Skinhead	
Confederate Hammerskins	Racist Skinhead	
Council of Conservative Citizens	White Nationalist	Clemmons
Council of Conservative Citizens	White Nationalist	Raleigh
Creativity Alliance	Neo-Nazi	
Crew 38	Racist Skinhead	
League of the South	Neo-Confederate	Wilmington
National Alliance	Neo-Nazi	Raleigh
National Socialist Movement	Neo-Nazi	
Old Glory Skinheads	Racist Skinhead	
Original Knight Riders Knights of the Ku Klux Klan		Moyock
Rebel Brigade Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Ku Klux Klan		Eden
Rebel Brigade Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Ku Klux Klan		Pelham
Rebel Brigade Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Ku Klux Klan		Benson

South Africa Project	White Nationalist	
Supreme White Alliance	Racist Skinhead	
True Invisible Empire Traditionalist American Knights of KKK		Greensboro
United Knights Of Tennessee Order Of The Ku Klux Klan		
United Northern and Southern Knights of the Ku Klux Klan		

North Dakota

<i>Name</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>City</i>
American Third Position	White Nationalist	Grand Forks
Crusaders for Yahweh	Christian Identity	West Fargo
Crusaders for Yahweh	Christian Identity	Bismarck

Ohio

<i>Name</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>City</i>
American National Socialist Party	Neo-Nazi	Chillicothe
American Third Position	White Nationalist	
Aryan Nations 88	Neo-Nazi	Marion
Aryan Terror Brigade	Racist Skinhead	
Blood and Honour America Division	Racist Skinhead	
Blood and Honour U.S.A.	Racist Skinhead	Salem

Council of Conservative Citizens	White Nationalist	Cleveland
Creativity Movement	Neo-Nazi	Chillicothe
Crusaders for Yahweh	Christian Identity	Chillicothe
Diehard Records	Racist Music	Chesapeake
European-American Unity and Rights Organization		
Cleveland International Keystone Knights of the KKK		Cleveland
ISD Records	Racist Music	Lancaster
Ku Klos Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	Ku Klux Klan	
National Alliance	Neo-Nazi	Parma
National Alliance	Neo-Nazi	Cincinnati
National Socialist American Labor Party	Neo-Nazi	Toledo
National Socialist Movement	Neo-Nazi	
Non-Universal Teaching Ministries	Christian Identity	Fostoria
Rebel Brigade Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	Ku Klux Klan	
South Africa Project	White Nationalist	
Supreme White Alliance	Racist Skinhead	
True Invisible Empire Traditionalist American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan		
United Knights of Tennessee Order of the Ku Klux Klan		
United Northern and Southern Knights of the Ku Klux Klan		
Vinlanders Ohio	Racist Skinhead	
Volksfront	Racist Skinhead	Cleveland

Oklahoma

<i>Name</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>City</i>
Artisan Publishers	General Hate	Muskogee
European-American Unity and Rights Organization		Tulsa
National Socialist Freedom Movement	Neo-Nazi	Tulsa
National Socialist Movement	Neo-Nazi	Oklahoma
City		
True Invisible Empire Traditionalist American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan		
United White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	Ku Klux Klan	Tulsa

Oregon

<i>Name</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>City</i>
American National Socialist Party	Neo-Nazi	Eugene
Blood and Honour America Division	Racist Skinhead	Portland
Crusaders for YahwehChristian Identity		Coos Bay
Rune Industries	Racist Music	Portland
National Socialist Movement	Neo-Nazi	Portland
National Socialist Movement	Neo-Nazi	
Northwest Hammerskins	Racist Skinhead	Eugene
Pacifica Forum	White Nationalist	Eugene

White Nationalist

Volksfront Racist Skinhead Portland

<i>Name</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>City</i>
American Third Position	White Nationalist	
Aryan Nations 88	Neo-Nazi	Elm
Aryan Nations 88	Neo-Nazi	Darby
As-Sabiqun	General Hate	Philadelphia
Association of Independent Klansmen Knights of The Ku Klux Klan		Lemont
Blood and Honour America Division	Racist Skinhead	
Council of Conservative Citizens	White Nationalist	Revere
Creativity Alliance	Neo-Nazi	Philadelphia
DJ GOR	Racist Music	Bedford
Eastern Hammerskins	Racist Skinhead	Allentown
Imperial Klans of America Knights of the Ku Klux Klan		Johnstown
Keystone State Skinheads	Racist Skinhead	Philadelphia
Keystone State Skinheads	Racist Skinhead	Harrisburg
National Socialist Movement	Neo-Nazi	Lehigh Valley
Poker Face	Racist Music	Allentown

Rebel Brigade Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Ku Klux Klan

South Africa Project

White Nationalist

True Invisible Empire Traditionalist American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

United Knights of Tennessee Order of the Ku Klux Klan

Volksfront Racist Skinhead

Rhode Island

<i>Name</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>City</i>
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National Socialist Movement Neo-Nazi		
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South Carolina

<i>Name</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>City</i>
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American Aryan Reich	Neo-Nazi	
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American Nazi Party	Neo-Nazi	Laurens
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American Third Position	White Nationalist	
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Aryan Nations 88	Neo-Nazi	Myrtle Beach
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Council of Conservative Citizens	White Nationalist	Saluda
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Creativity Alliance	Neo-Nazi	
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Dixie Republic	Neo-Confederate	Travelers Rest
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European-American Unity and Rights Organization		Columbia
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European-American Unity and Rights Organization		Woodruff
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Jewish Defense League	General Hate	
Ku Kloss Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	Ku Klux Klan	
League of the South	Neo-Confederate	Columbia
League of the South/Southern Patriot Shop	Neo-Confederate	Cayce
National Socialist Movement	Neo-Nazi	
National Socialist Movement	Neo-Nazi	Charleston
National Socialist Movement	Neo-Nazi	Greenville
Patriotic Flags	White Nationalist	Summerville
Rebel Brigade Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	Ku Klux Klan	
Silent Circle Knight's of the Ku Klux Klan	Ku Klux Klan	
True Invisible Empire Traditionalist American Knights of the KKK		Ladson
United Knights Of Tennessee Order Of The Ku Klux Klan		

South Dakota

<i>Name</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>City</i>
Midland Hammerskins	Racist Skinhead	

Tennessee

<i>Name</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>City</i>
American Aryan Reich	Neo-Nazi	Gatlinburg

Aryan Nations 88	Neo-Nazi	Antioch
Aryan Nations 88	Neo-Nazi	Adamsville
Aryan Rebels	Racist Skinhead	Covington
Aryan Rebels	Racist Skinhead	Ripley
Aryan Rebels	Racist Skinhead	Mason
Confederate Hammerskins	Racist Skinhead	Nashville
Council of Conservative Citizens	White Nationalist	Franklin
Council of Conservative Citizens	White Nationalist	Cleveland
Council of Conservative Citizens	White Nationalist	Knoxville
Council of Conservative Citizens	White Nationalist	Memphis
Council of Conservative Citizens	White Nationalist	Bartlett
Council of Conservative Citizens	White Nationalist	
Creativity Alliance	Neo-Nazi	Mountain City
Crew 38	Racist Skinhead	
Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	Ku Klux Klan	Newport
Ku Klos Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	Ku Klux Klan	Church Hill
League of the South	Neo-Confederate	Lobelville
Mary Noel Kershaw Foundation	Neo-Confederate	Lobelville
National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	Ku Klux Klan	Brush Creek
National Socialist Movement	Neo-Nazi	
National Socialist Movement	Neo-Nazi	

Rebel Brigade Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	Ku Klux Klan	
Revolutionary Order of the Aryan Republic	Neo-Nazi	Chattanooga
Shepherd's Call Ministries, The	Christian Identity	New Tazewell
South Africa Project	White Nationalist	
The Political Cesspool	White Nationalist	Bartlett
True Invisible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan		Woodbury
True Invisible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan		Hohenwald
United Knights Of Tennessee Order Of The Ku Klux Klan		
United Northern and Southern Knights of the Ku Klux Klan		Kingsport
Volksfront	Racist Skinhead	

Texas

<i>Name</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>City</i>
Aryan Nations 88	Neo-Nazi	Arlington
Aryan Terror Brigade	Racist Skinhead	
Aryan Wear	White Nationalist	Keller
Blood and Honour America Division	Racist Skinhead	
Blood and Honour U.S.A.	Racist Skinhead	Richardson
Border Guardians	Anti-Immigrant	Livingston
Creativity Alliance	Neo-Nazi	
Creativity Movement	Neo-Nazi	

Crusaders for Yahweh	Christian Identity	Dallas
Crusaders for Yahweh	Christian Identity	Falls City
Crusaders for Yahweh	Christian Identity	Amarillo
Desastrous Records	Racist Music	Springtown
European-American Unity and Rights Organization		Irving
European-American Unity and Rights Organization		Dallas
First Century Christian Ministries	Christian Identity	Woodlands
Independent Skins Southwest	Racist Skinhead	Cleburne
League of the South	Neo-Confederate	LaPorte
National Alliance	Neo-Nazi	Dallas
National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	Ku Klux Klan	
National Socialist American Labor Party	Neo-Nazi	
National Socialist Movement	Neo-Nazi	
South Africa Project	White Nationalist	
Supreme White Alliance	Racist Skinhead	San Angelo
Texas Rebel Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	Ku Klux Klan	Splendora
United Identity Church of Christ	Christian Identity	Simms
United Knights Of Tennessee Order Of The Ku Klux Klan		
United White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	Ku Klux Klan	Dallas
United White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	Ku Klux Klan	Houston
United White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	Ku Klux Klan	Corpus Christi

United White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	Ku Klux Klan	Longview
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White Camelia Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	Ku Klux Klan	Pasadena
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White Camelia Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	Ku Klux Klan	Cleveland
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Utah

<i>Name</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>City</i>
Creativity Alliance	Neo-Nazi	Draper
Crusaders for Yahweh	Christian Identity	National Socialist Movement
		Salt Lake City

Vermont

<i>Name</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>City</i>
National Socialist Movement	Neo-Nazi	

Virginia

<i>Name</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>City</i>
American Renaissance	White Nationalist	Arlington
American Renaissance/New Century Foundation		Oakton
Aryan Nations 88	Neo-Nazi	Roanoke
Blood and Honour America Division	Racist Skinhead	
Confederate Hammerskins	Racist Skinhead	Petersburg
Council of Conservative Citizens	White Nationalist	

Creativity Alliance	Neo-Nazi	
Crew 38	Racist Skinhead	
European-American Unity and Rights Organization		Richmond
Heritage and Destiny	White Nationalist	Falls Church
Knight Riders Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	Ku Klux Klan	Abingdon
Knights of the Southern Cross Soldiers of the Ku Klux Klan		Powhatan
League of the South	Neo-Confederate	Marion
National Socialist Movement	Neo-Nazi	
Old Glory Skinheads	Racist Skinhead	
Rebel Brigade Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	Ku Klux Klan	
Rebel Brigade Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	Ku Klux Klan	Martinsville
Representative Government Education Foundation	White Nationalist	Lexington
South Africa Project	White Nationalist	
Temple 88	White Nationalist	
The Fitzgerald Griffin Foundation	White Nationalist	Vienna
True Invisible Empire Traditionalist American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan		
United Knights Of Tennessee Order Of The Ku Klux Klan		
VDARE Foundation	White Nationalist	Warrenton
Virgil's White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	Ku Klux Klan	Dungannon
Virginia Publishing Company	Christian Identity	Lynchburg
Volksfront	Racist Skinhead	Norfolk

Washington

<i>Name</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>City</i>
American Third Position	White Nationalist	
Aryan Nations 88	Neo-Nazi	Tacoma
Creativity Movement	Neo-Nazi	
Crew 38	Racist Skinhead	Seattle
Crusaders for Yahweh	Christian Identity	Everett
Crusaders for Yahweh	Christian Identity	Bellingham
Crusaders for Yahweh	Christian Identity	Spokane
National Socialist American Labor Party	Neo-Nazi	
National Socialist Movement	Neo-Nazi	Vancouver
Northwest Front	White Nationalist	Seattle
Northwest Hammerskins	Racist Skinhead	
Temple 88	White Nationalist	

West Virginia

<i>Name</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>City</i>
American Third Position	White Nationalist	
Aryan Nations 88	Neo-Nazi	Falling Waters
Aryan Nations 88	Neo-Nazi	Ona
Creativity Alliance	Neo-Nazi	

Ku Klos Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	Ku Klux Klan	
National Alliance	Neo-Nazi	Hillsboro
National Socialist Movement	Neo-Nazi	
National Vanguard Books	Neo-Nazi	Hillsboro
Original Knight Rider Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (W. Va.)		Harman
Original Knight Riders Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (W. Va.)		Beckley
Rebel Brigade Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	Ku Klux Klan	
Resistance Records	Racist Music	Hillsboro
Temple 88	White Nationalist	Farmington
True Invisible Empire	Traditionalist American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	
United Knights of Tennessee Order of the Ku Klux Klan		

Wisconsin

<i>Name</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>City</i>
American Third Position	White Nationalist	
Aryan Nations 88	Neo-Nazi	Green Lake
Creativity Movement	Neo-Nazi	Mountain
Crusaders for Yahweh	Christian Identity	Eau Claire
National Socialist Movement	Neo-Nazi	Milwaukee
New Order Milwaukee	Neo-Nazi	
Supreme White Alliance	Racist Skinhead	

Wyoming

<i>Name</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>City</i>
Creativity Movement	Neo-Nazi	
National Socialist Movement	Neo-Nazi	

Appendix B

The following is a larger, mostly unedited portion of the raw data pulled from Stormfront from Summer of 2012 through the Winter of 2013. Screen names and locations have been removed except when a published Christian Identity writer is being quoted within the body of a post and when the location is fictionalized by the poster. For example, William Pierce is often quoted and his name has not been redacted. Another example is the poster who lists their location as the “kingdom of heaven.”

The posts are listed chronologically. Posters often quote one another or include long portions of other posts, especially when they are replying to a question, challenging a position, or using another post to support their point. Some posts include notes underneath to clarify posts and draw connections between posters across forums. Spelling, grammar, emoticons, and font have all been kept true to the original, though

color has been removed. Some posts have been edited to remove lengthy quotes from other posts included in the following sample and avoid redundancy.

[Date] **12.30.03** [Poster] [REDACTED] [Forum] **Stormfront**

In John 10:38 and 20:29-31 Jesus, in essence, told them even if you don't believe His simple proclamation and doubt His Word, believe the works (signs and miracles) that you may know He is the Son of God. Likewise, being consistent with Jesus' reply for proof, the true identity of Israel can only be claimed by those who fulfill the signs or marks, not just taking somebody's word for it. a great and mighty nation: Gen.12:2, 18:18, Deut. 4:7-8 named "Great": Gen. 12:2 be blessed of God: Gen.12:2 will be a blessing to other nations/races: Gen. 12:2-3 other nations affected depending on how they deal with Israel: Gen. 12:3 a great multitude (population): Gen. 13:16 and 22:17 Egyptian captivity and deliverance (precedent for chastisement): Gen. 15:13-14 given land in Middle East: Gen. 15:18 become many nations: Gen. 17:4 a company or commonwealth of nations: Gen.35:11 descendants to be kings and rulers: Gen. 35:11 land of Canaan theirs for an everlasting possession: Gen.17:8 mark of circumcision: Gen. 17:10-11 keep the way of the Lord, do justice and judgment: Gen. 18:19 keeping sabbath a sign forever: Ex. 31:13 possess the gates of their enemies: Gen.22:17 Israel chief among the nations: Jer. 31:7 only Israel is custodian of God's Word: Ps. 147:19, Is. 59:21 possess God's laws: Deut. 33:4 blessed above all people when obedient to His law: Deut. 28 judged for disobeying: Deut. 28:15-68, Amos 3:1-2 control of the seas: Num. 24:7, Ps. 89:25 God's servant race:

Is. 41:8 will possess God's Holy Spirit: Is. 44:3, 59:21, Hag. 2:5 a missionary nation: Is. 49:6, 66:19 great agricultural wealth: Gen. 27:28, Deut. 8:7-9, 33:13-14 a land of great mineral wealth: Deut. 8:9, 33:15-16, Gen. 49:25 Israel brings glory to God: Is. 46:23, 49:3 Israel to be God's glory: Is. 46:13, 60:1-2 God's instrument in destroying evil: Jer. 51:20, Dan. 2:34-35 to be God's witnesses: Is. 43:10 will demonstrate praise and expertise: Is. 43:21, Micah 5:7 a multitudinous seed: Gen. 13:16, 24:60 dust 15:5 stars 22:17 sand God of the Bible to be God of Abraham's descendants: Gen. 17:7 to be God's inheritance/heritage: I Kings 8:53, II Sam. 7:23 to rule over others: Gen. 27:29, Deut. 15:6 Israel to have power with God and men: Gen. 32:28 a righteous nation guarding truth: Is. 26:2 Israel to be a nation forever: II Sam. 7:16, 24, 29 I Chron. 17:22-27 to be heir of the world: Romans 4:13 Israel to have all the land needed: Deut. 32:8 an undefeated nation, protected by God: Is. 54:17, Lev. 26:6-8, Micah 5:8-9 Israel to be God's battle axe to destroy evil: Jer. 51:19-20 Israel's home invincible from outside forces: II Sam. 7:10, Is. 41:11-13a just nation: Gen. 18:19, Lev. 19:15, Deut. 1:17 possess the wealth of the earth: Gen. 27:28, 49:25-26 possess the heritage of the heathen: II Sam. 22:44, Ps. 2:8, 111:6 Israel to be envied and feared: Deut. 2:25, 4:8, 28:10 shall lend to other nations: Deut. 15:6 kind to the poor / brethren: Deut. 15:7, Ps. 72:4 to free kindred slaves and political prisoners: Is. 42:7, 49:9, 58:6 Joseph's descendants blessed above rest of Israel: Gen. 49:22-26, Deut. 33:13-16 Out of Judah would come the rulers of Israel: Gen. 49:10 the throne of David is a perpetual monarchy: Ps. 89:35-37, Jer. 33:17, II Sam. 7:13, 16, II Chron. 13:5 12 tribes Israel to lose all trace of her lineage: Is. 42:19, Hosea 1:9

divorced and dispersed, they could not return to Palestine: Hosea 2:6 blind to their
 identity: Is. 29:10-11, Romans 11:7-8, 25 Israel to spread abroad in all directions: Gen.
 28:14, Deut. 33:17, Is. 27:6 Israel to have a new home: II Sam. 7:10, I Chron. 17:9 new
 home is not Palestine, but the isles of the sea: Is. 24:15, 49:1, Jer. 31:10 Israel's new
 home northwest of Palestine: Is. 49:12, Jer. 3:18, 31:8 would occupy and live in the
 islands and coasts: Is. 49:1, 3, 51:5, Jer. 31:7-10 would colonize, spreading abroad: Gen.
 49:22, Ps. 2:8, Zech. 10:8-9, Is. 26:15, 27:6 colonize the desolate places: Is. 35:1, 43:19-
 20, 49:8, 54:3 Israel to lose a colony (America from England) then expand: Is. 49:19-20
 will irrigate the deserts: Is. 58:11 will build the waste places: Is. 58:12 will be a maritime
 nation, command of the seas: Num. 24:7, Ps. 89:25 will receive strangers and refugees
 (kinsmen living abroad): Lev. 19:34, Is. 11:10, 14:1, 56:6-8 Israel to have a change in
 name: Is. 65:15, Hosea 2:17 Israel to be called by a new name: Is. 62:2 Israel named after
 Isaac's son i.e.. Saxon: Gen. 21:12, Romans 9:7 Israel to be called the sons of God i.e..
 accept Christ: Hosea 1:10 were to be called by the name of God i.e.. Christian: Num.
 6:22-27, Rev. 3:12 Israel to have a new language (English): Is. 28:11, Zeph. 3:9 Israel to
 come under new covenant: Jer. 31:33, Heb. 8:10 'brith' means covenant, 'ain' means land
 (Britain- covenant land) 'ish' means man (British- covenant man) Joseph's coat of many
 colors, forerunner of Scottish plaid: Gen. 37:3 the cubit of the Pyramid, Noah's ark,
 Moses tabernacle and Solomon's temple is the English 25 inch measurement the
 population of the wilderness with Moses and the original 13 American colonies was 3
 million inscribed on the Liberty Bell is Leviticus 25:10 like Joseph, lost Israel is powerful

yet unrecognized by brothers, giving bread to the world the coronation ceremony for British royalty same as King David: II Kings 11:12, II Chron. 13:5 the coronation stone of British royalty is the stone of Israel which Jacob used for a pillow and set up as a pillar: Gen. 28:19,22, 35:14-15 Joseph was hated as we are today by the rest of the world: Gen. 37:4, 49:23 Joseph sold into slavery as we are put into economic bondage: Gen. 37:28, Jer. 30:8 the descendants of Joseph spread abroad: Deut.33:17 today we declare ourselves to our brethren as Joseph did: Gen. 45:1,3 America shall blossom as the rose in the desert: Is. 35:1 eagle with outstretched wings national emblem of U.S.A.: Is. 18:1, Rev. 12:14 our early ambassadors had to travel over sea: Is. 18:2 a nation meted out (measured, surveyed land by boundaries): Is. 18:2 whose land the rivers have spoiled (to cleave or specifically quartered): Is. 18:2 people scattered , tall and peeled like smooth trees (no beards) and terrible from their beginning fits the Indians wasted by continual wars and the later White Americans the land beyond (west of) the rivers of Ethiopia is America: Is. 18:1 "In God we trust" became our national motto passed by Congress, becoming law of the United States of America, July 30, 1965 Israel's sojourn into the wilderness (America): Hosea 2:14 Israel to be a people saved by the Lord: Is. 43:9-12, 44:1-3 As the end of the age draws near, travel and search for knowledge and information shall be increased: Daniel 12:4 much more so in America. When you consider that there are more than 100 recognized nations in the world today, the mathematical odds against all of these identification marks being fulfilled by just one small group of nations, all of the same blood, is billions to one. But since it has happened, that the marks of Israel have

been fulfilled by the Anglo Saxon and kindred people, do you think it mere accident or coincidence? If we are not Israel, then what has happened to all of God's prophecies? It certainly is not the Jews or anybody else that even comes close to matching the biblical descriptions. It is the White race alone that fits every piece of the puzzle.

[Date] **6.30.2005** [Poster] [REDACTED] [Title] **Decided to Take a Good Hard Look at C.I.** [Forum] **Stormfront**

(Continued from Title) ... occurred to me that many here may have done the same. So I'm requesting input from those who might have traversed this road before me. I've acquired a Ferrar Fenton translation of the Bible, along with some literature & study material from two seperate sources. Just about to dive into it. I'm not looking for any "persuasion" type arguements, save it. I'll do my own due diligence, & come to my own best conclusions with the aid of the Holy Spirit. What I would like to hear, though, are some specific reasons for rejecting CI from those here, who have. Was there one main point? Was it a combination of things? Anyone care to give me bones of contention to chew on?

[Date] **3.10.2009** [Poster] [REDACTED] [Title] **Read this before asking "Who's White"** [Forum] **Stormfront**

Good evening, I'm [REDACTED], Stormfront Senior Moderator and National Vanguard member. Tonight I'd like to address the first part of the term 'White Nationalism' and answer the question, "Who's White?" It's a fair question, a fundamental question really.

Our enemies have no trouble identifying us but sometimes people who are just becoming racially aware have difficulty answering this question. It's the kind of question that can invite hair-splitting arguments or mind-numbing technical discussion. Those things are fine in their place but what folks really need to get started on this path of White Nationalism is a simple working definition that can be readily applied to almost any situation. So in response to the question, "Who's White?" we answer: "Non-Jewish people of wholly European descent. No exceptions." What comprises "European?" Those areas north of the Mediterranean and west of the Urals corresponding roughly to what was formerly known as European Christendom. Note the word "wholly" -- "of wholly European descent." Sometimes a person might volunteer that he is some small part non-White, like 1/64th or 1/128th, and then ask if we still consider him White. The answer is that if a person identifies with his non-White part so much that he is concerned about it and feels compelled to tell us about it, then we consider him to be non-White. If someone were to say that they were 12.5% Amerindian then, as far as we're concerned, that's what they are, 1/8th non-White. This is something about which we can't compromise. You're either White or you aren't. After all, on an anonymous message board, we don't have the person-to-person contact that we do in the real world. We don't have the visual clues, the body language, the vocal expressions, the facial expressions, the overall impressions that we can get in real person-to-person meetings. In personal encounters if someone looks White, sounds White, acts White, says they're White, then we can pretty much assume they're White. But on an anonymous message board we don't have those visual and

auditory clues. A poster can post a picture of anybody at all and claim to be that person but unless we have met that poster in person, we don't know who they are. On an anonymous message board all we have is what a poster writes and if he writes that he is part non-White, then that's what he is, part non-White. Dr. William Pierce had this to say about the matter: Quote: Who can say that he has no non-Aryan ancestry at all in his family tree? Not I. Most people can say who their parents and grandparents are. Only a few Americans can go back as far as four generations, however. I doubt that as many as one percent of Americans can go back six generations with any degree of certainty. Jews and liberals seize this fact to confuse people with the claim that we're all mongrels, that there is no such thing as a "pure" race, etc. -- therefore, it doesn't do any good to try to preserve the White race, because it really doesn't exist. I'm sure that you are not fooled by that sophistry. We must be practical. We know that there is a White race, and that it is easy to select individuals from that race who constitute a relatively "pure" sub-group. I'm not an expert on Amerindian ethnology, but I do know that the Indians consisted of many tribes which were racially distinct, ranging from essentially Caucasoid to essentially Mongoloid. So if one has Indian admixture, it depends a lot on what tribe. As a very rough rule, if a person looks White and thinks of himself as White and is the kind of person our other members wouldn't mind their sisters marrying-and if we know that he's no more than one-sixteenth non-White, we consider him White. As I said, that's a rough rule. A person may believe that one of his grandparents was an Indian, because that grandparent lived on a reservation. But the fact is that many people who consider

themselves Indians today and live on reservations are more White than Indian, due to earlier racial mixture between Whites and Indians.

End quote. This type of question, about being partly non-White, is asked endlessly on Stormfront. Some posters are asking an honest question but often others are anti-Whites desperately looking for ways to show that we are all mongrels, that there is no such thing as race, that miscegenation is good and natural, that we should all just go home and let things follow their course. They may start with an extreme claim of some minuscule admixture, say 1/64th. Then, if we reject that for being non-White they say we are fanatics and if we accept them and their claim then we have started down the fatal slippery slope. If 1/64th is okay, they will ask, then 1/32nd must be okay too since there's little difference between 1/64th and 1/32nd. And if 1/32nd is okay then 1/16th must be fine too. And so on down the slippery slope. Their agenda is to get us on that slippery slope because that slippery slope ends with "there's only one race, the human race." With that, the White race is defined out of existence. Even after these antis are refuted, they come back a few days later asking the same question as if there had been no prior resolution in the hopes that they can snag a few newcomers and to plant the seeds of doubt. This continues on ad infinitum. Another tactic of the egalitarian crowd is to try to reduce the basis of White Nationalism to something as absurd and as superficial as skin color. Our contention is that we are a distinct and unique people with our own culture, history and destiny. We have not only the right but the moral duty to perpetuate ourselves. To do anything less would amount to racial suicide. We go to great lengths to

preserve bio-diversity, the spotted owls, snail darters, mountain gorillas, etc. etc. Are White Europeans any less worthy of preservation? Another post that appears endlessly on Stormfront is the kind that denounces various European people as not being truly White. In answer to that false accusation, the National Vanguard has stated that: Quote. Due to the generally deplorable understanding of race, it is necessary for us to emphasize that White people are the descendants of all historically European peoples, including the Irish, Slavs, Spaniards, Italians, Greeks, as well as the Germanic, Scandinavian, and Anglo-Saxon peoples, etc., so long as there is no discernible trace of non-White admixture. National Vanguard celebrates the cultural diversity of the White race. Our beautiful languages, traditions, and cultures are a strength. We are pan-European in our views and stand unconditionally opposed to conflicts between White peoples. Outside forces often exploit one White ethnicity against another. We do not excuse anti-White hatreds or historical "scores," and will consistently work towards reconciliation and unity in places such as the Balkans and Northern Ireland. Our watchword is no more brothers' wars. End quote. So, again, in response to the question, "Who's White?" we answer: "Non-Jewish people of wholly European descent. No exceptions." And if you tell us you're not, we will believe you. I'm [REDACTED] and thanks for listening.

[Date] **11.4.2009** [Poster] [REDACTED] [Title] **TAGS warning**
[Forum] **Stormfront**

This warning will be posted and stickied in all Theology sub forums. Tags are meant to

help members find subjects they want. They are not meant to inflame or insult. Do NOT put tags on threads in forums of faiths you do not belong to. IE Pagans leave Christian threads alone and vice versa. This kind of behavior is childish and will not be tolerated. Repeat offenders will be removed from Theology.

[Date] **10.26.10** [Poster] [REDACTED] [Title] **Why Christianity is not Jewish At All** [Forum] **Stormfront**

You know, we've all heard it, that us Christians follow a Jewish religion and that our religion was started by a Jew, and that true WNists reject anything Jewish. Well let's put it to the test. Firstly let's define a modern Jew. A Jew is anybody who is descended through their mother from the Ashkenazi or Sepharic Jewish population. Modern Jews number about 15 million and have White, Asian and Negroid traits along with a specific Jewish gene unique to Jews themselves. Firstly can we prove that the modern Jews are descended from the ancient Israelites, no, even Wikipedia admits in its article that findings can only trace Jews to so-called exiled Israelite populations, meaning Jews claiming to be Israelites while probably not, quote Genetic studies indicate various lineages found in modern Jewish populations; however, most of these populations share a lineage in common, traceable to an ancient population that underwent geographic branching and subsequent independent evolutions.[42] While DNA tests have demonstrated inter-marriage in all of the various Jewish ethnic divisions over the last 3,000 years, it was substantially less than in other populations.[43] The findings lend

support to traditional Jewish accounts accrediting their founding to exiled Israelite populations, and counters theories that many or most of the world's Jewish populations were founded entirely by local populations that adopted the Jewish religion, devoid of any actual Israelite genetic input unquote. So to prove that the ancient Israelites are the same people as the Jews of today is not proven, but most modern Jews have been proven to have roots in Khazaria or Russia. So the ancient Israelites were not the same as the Jews of today, since Christianity began with the Israelites and the Word of God given to Moses, to say that Christianity came from Judaism is not true. What then is the Jewish religion, Judaism is based on the Talmud. The Talmud originated in ancient Babylonia and was finally written down about 500 years after Christ, the Talmud has nothing to do with the Old Testament and/or Christianity. The Jews pay lip service to the Old Testament and keep it as their own, but they didn't write it originally, they adopted it. Many peoples adopt things from other peoples, but it doesn't make it their own. So we can see that Christianity has nothing to do with Judaism religiously or racially. Might I also point out that nowhere in the Bible is Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, David, Solomon, Christ Yahshua or even St. Paul called a Jew, they are all referred to as Israelites. The word Jew doesn't even appear in the Old Testament until 2 Kings 16:6, almost halfway through the Old Testament. I think anybody reading this, before they call Christianity a Jewish religion and accept the lies of the Jews as being God's Chosen people should look over the facts and realize that Christianity has nothing to do with Judaism or what we would call Jewish today. A lot of people don't believe the lies of the Jews, the Holohoax

for example, but for some reason they believe that the Jews are the People of the Book, when they clearly are not. Let's go onto what is Jewish, Hollywood movies, sick Jewish movies, MTV, disgusting filth projected on the one eyed monster, that is all Jewish. On top of that whenever somebody criticizes Jewish productions, you'll always find somebody who defends it. I'm not talking about the Lord of the Rings, or decent White music, or some great Epic movie, I'm talking horror movies like Saw, filthy disgusting sexual movies like American Pie. Trash like that, that often gets defended, I thought you reject anything Jewish? To sum this up, I don't think anybody can continue to call Christianity Jewish, or should I say true Christianity. Christians have kept the Jews under control for the past couple of thousand years and only in recent years after the Holohoax have attitudes changed. Christianity is the fighting force that saved Europe from the Mongols, the Turks, the Moors and the Huns. We all owe Christianity a debt of gratitude and I think it's about time if we really want to attack religion we attack the religions that are a real threat, Islam and Judaism. People are crazy about attacking Christianity, but I often notice that they don't go as harshly against Islam and Judaism, I should know, I see it here in my country and in other countries. It's about time we put our priorities in order.

[Date] **10.26.2010** [Poster] [REDACTED] [Title] **Re: Why Christianity is not Jewish at all.**

Quote: Originally Posted by [REDACTED] *the Talmud has nothing to do with the Old Testament and/or Christianity.*

Jews believe/teach that Moses was given a second set of instructions/laws that were

orally given by God, which is of course a fantasy and fabrication. In essence, the second set of laws comprise a circumvention of the first set of laws aka The Ten Commandments and lesser laws. For example, bearing false witness is overturned by the kol nidre; the Levitical law prohibiting sodomy is sanctioned in the talmud; usury is notoriously practised by the jews whereas the Bible has prohibitions. The jews have cleverly taken on names of the Old Testament to steal the identity of Israel, including the name of Israel. They need the Old Testament to promulgate their fraud and criminal enterprises.

Quote: The Jews pay lip service to the Old Testament and keep it as their own, but they didn't write it originally, they adopted it. Many peoples adopt things from other peoples, but it doesn't make it their own.

As I said above they trashed the Mosaic law; whatever was adopted was adulterated and twisted by the demented mongrel minds of the rabbis. There really is no connection to the Old Testament and the jewish torah or talmud or other rabbinical writings. This is why Christ soundly denounced these congenital murderers and liars and why God hath indignation against them forever.

Quote: A lot of people don't believe the lies of the Jews, the Holohoax for example, but for some reason they believe that the Jews are the People of the Book, when they clearly are not.

That's a great point. Thanks for starting this thread; it's way overdue. Let's keep this thread going as there is a preponderance of evidence and factual exhibits to disprove one of the greatest hoaxes ever perpetrated against the White race.

[REDACTED]

The New 14 WORDS: We must turn our hearts and minds over to the care of our God.

[Date] **10.29.2010** [Poster] [REDACTED] [Title] **Thinking of Becoming C.I.**

[Forum] **Stormfront**

Hi, I hope this thread is OK. Right now I practice Traditional Christianity, but there are parts of it that nag me. First of all is the rampant Jew and Israel worship. It's insane. Many pastors even have Israeli flags in their offices. The term "Judeo-Christianity" grinds my gears. Second, I believe that Christ was correct in calling the Jews children of Satan. John 8:44 - "You are of your father the devil, and the desires of your father you want to do. He was a murderer from the beginning, and does not stand in the truth, because there is no truth in him. When he speaks a lie, he speaks from his own resources, for he is a liar and the father of it." John 8:48 - "Then the Jews answered and said to Him, "Do we not say rightly that You are a Samaritan and have a demon?" It's obvious, for all to see, that Jesus was talking to the Jews. I'm bothered that many modern Bible translations remove the term "the Jews" and instead use "the people". Third, I believe that Whites are the people chosen by God, that Christ was White, as were the prophets. This is not a view shared by traditional Christianity. Are there any CI churches in [REDACTED], Arizona? If so, I would like to attend one, at least once, and speak with a pastor.

[Date] **10.30.2010** [Poster] [REDACTED] [Title] **Re: Why Christianity is not Jewish at**

all

Indeed. It is a dangerous lie that should be addressed most of the time. Unfortunately in many pro-white circles and online communities, Christians defending their faith from blatant attacks is considered a "divisive" act on the part of the Christian. I witnessed this on New Saxon a few months ago, which is one of the things that led to my decision to leave the site. Christians are seen as being insignificant for a lack of a better term, and attacking the Christian faith is widely accepted.

The good news is, there are those who will be singing a completely different tune when the events mentioned by YAHSHUA in the parable of the Wheat and the Tares takes place 😊 The day of judgment will be great!

[Date] **10.30.2010** [Poster] [REDACTED] [Title] **Re: Why Christianity is not Jewish at all.**

Some well known quotations that Christian Identity exposes:

'Strictly speaking, it is incorrect to call an ancient Israelite a "Jew" or to call a contemporary Jew an 'Israelite' or a 'Hebrew"' - 1980 Jewish Almanac

"Edom is in modern Jewry" - The Jewish Encyclopedia, 1925, Vol. 5, p. 41.

"Jewry never was in Judea and had never come out of Judea" - H.G. Wells

"Judaism was not evolved in Judah; it was in Babylon that Judaism first became that which it was and still is" - Harmsworth's 'History of the World, Vol. 3, pp. 1781-1784.

"The most important single factor, however, in the differentiation of these Jews of the Asiatic borderland was the conversion to Judaism in the eighth century of the Khazars. In

these Khazars we may in all probability see the origin of the great mass of the east European Jews of today" - Prof. Roland B. Howard, Harvard University, 1923.

There are hundreds of proof-texts debunking the notion that Christianity is Jewish. More to come.

[Date] **10.30.2010** [Poster] [REDACTED] [Title] **Re: Why Christianity is not Jewish at all**

From: The Fellowship of God's Covenant People

A Concise Explanation of the Creation of the Jewish People

-- By [REDACTED]

The Old Testament accounts found in the Book of Genesis demonstrate that there was a rivalry between Jacob and Esau. Esau, it is also clear, was a race-mixer who had taken wives of the Canaanites and the Ishmaelites (Genesis 36). The rivalry between the brothers later turned into a national enmity among their descendants, and the Edomites were eventually enslaved by the Israelites (1 Chron. 18), and later revolted (2 Chron. 21). When the Chaldeans finally took Jerusalem and destroyed the city, we find that the Edomites were in league with them, and are blamed for the temple's destruction (Psalm 137:7-9; 1 Esdras 4:45 in the Septuagint).

When the Israelites moved into the land of Canaan, they were instructed to destroy all of the Canaanite peoples. They failed to do this, and were warned that harm would later come to them because of this failure (Num. 33:55; Josh. 23:13; Jdg. 2:3). It is evident that both in Jerusalem and elsewhere, the later Israelites did indeed have a problem with

infiltration and race-mixing by the Canaanite tribes (Jer. 2:13, 21-22; Ezek. 16:3, 45 et al.). This was one of the chief reasons for their chastisement and removal.

The prophecy found in Ezekiel chapters 35 and 36 discuss the fact that the Edomites had moved into the lands of Israel and Judah after the removal of the Israelites by the Assyrians and Chaldeans (cf. Ezek. 35:10). The theme of the prophecy found in Malachi chapters 1 and 2 is that Jacob is distinguished from Esau, and that the sacrifices of the priests are not acceptable, because the covenant is with Levi. With this Malachi fully infers that there were (or that there would be) priests who should not have held the office. In the Biblical records after the Assyrian and Chaldean deportations of the Israelites, concerning the return of merely 42,000 or so Israelites to Jerusalem we have only the books of Ezra and Nehemiah and a few of the Minor Prophets. These books are focused upon the activities in Jerusalem over a short period of time, and concerning the rest of the country, or concerning the time from approximately 455 to 3 BC, in the Bible we have nothing. It is evident, in Ezra and Nehemiah, that these returning Judaeans did struggle to maintain their race and keep themselves separate from the Canaanites and Edomites in the neighboring districts. Yet this attitude did not prevail, and with the works of the first-century Judaeen historian Flavius Josephus and the apocryphal 1 Maccabees along with secular sources we can fill in some of the historical gaps between the testaments.

From Greek and Roman records, we can see that from the Hellenistic period all of the southern portions of the land once known as Judah and Israel were called Idumaea, after the Edomites. Strabo, the early first century Greek geographer, attests that the Idumaeans

were “mixed up” with the Judaeans, and that they “shared in the same customs with them” (Book 16). From Josephus it can be determined that shortly before 130 BC, the reigning Maccabean high priest (who had all the authority of a king), John Hyrcanus, decided to conquer all of the surrounding cities of ancient Israel inhabited at that time by Edomites and Canaanites, and to either convert them to the religion of Judaea (first called “Judaism” by the Greeks) or to let them leave the land, or to be slain. (Maccabee was a name given to the Asamonean dynasty of high priests who ruled Jerusalem from about 150 BC down to about 36 BC, when the last of them was slain by Herod.) Josephus states that from this point these Edomites became “none other than Judaeans” (Antiquities, 13.9.1 et al.). Therefore we see with certainty the fulfillment of Ezekiel 35.

Judaea from 130 BC forward was a multiracial polyglot of a nation. The first Herod, an Idumaeen by race who usurped power from the Maccabees, bribed the Romans for the kingship and from that time the temple priesthood at Jerusalem was used as a political tool. Both Josephus and the ecclesiastical historian Eusebius admit that many of the priests were not worthy of the distinction under the former Levitical traditions, and the veracity of Malachi’s prophecy becomes quite clear with their testimony. The usurpation of political control in Jerusalem is the primary reason for all of the division recorded in the New Testament. In Romans 16:20 and 2 Thessalonians, Paul alludes to the temple priesthood as “satan” (which means “the adversary”), and this is also attested to in Revelation 2:9 and 3:9. Yahshua (Jesus) Christ informs the priests and other leaders in many places that they are the children of the adversary, i.e. Luke 11:47-51, John 8:33-47

and John 10:26. In Romans chapter 9, Paul makes a clear distinction between Israelites of Judaea and the Edomites of Judaea, calling the one “vessels of mercy” and the other “vessels of destruction”. It can be shown from the New Testament that many of the Israelites converted to Christianity during the ensuing years, losing their identity as Judaeans. The Edomites never did, clinging to their traditions found in the Talmud – which has absolutely no authentic connection to the ancient Hebrew religion. Today these people, and all of their many proselytes and those whom they have intermarried with, are known as Jews.

[Date] **10.31.2010** [Poster] [REDACTED] [Title] **Re: Why Christianity is not Jewish at all**
FIFTY (BIBLE) REASONS WHY THE JEWS ARE NOT ISRAEL

By [REDACTED], USA

WHEN it is declared that the U. S.A. and Britain and other Nordic nations are Israelites and the chosen people of God, most of the modern lay churches call it false and without foundation, but refuse to give any Scriptures to prove that we are not. They put us on the defensive by demanding proof of our claims, and in response we give evidence from Scripture, history, ethnology and heraldry. As a reaction to the usual tactics of our opponents the order has been reversed and some questions presented for an answer: Can those who disagree with us furnish evidence to prove that we are not Israel, and that the Jews are? No man's answer will suffice. The answer must come from God's Word so that the issue may be clear.

The modern day church states that the Jew and Israel are one and the same; also that the U.S.A., Britain and other Nordic nations are Gentile (in the sense of heathen) nations. If their claim is true, and the Jews are Israel, THEY HAVE TO FULFIL EVERY SCRIPTURE WHICH GOD SAID ISRAEL WOULD FULFIL:

So in answer to my critics in relation to my latest books "Who Am I?" I present the following questions relative to the above mentioned subject. All these questions emerge from reading God's Word and history.

- 1) Have the Jews blessed all the nations of the earth? Gen. 12:3; 22: 18.
- 2) Are the Jews circumcised in heart? Deut. 10:16; 30:6; Romans 2:28 and 29; Phil. 3:3; Col. 2:9-11.
- 3) Have the Jews ever glorified Christ and has He been recognized by the Jewish nation? Isa. 41:16; Luke 1:32 and 7:16.
- 4) Do the Jews declare that Christ is the Lord God of Israel of the old Testament? Isa. 43: 10 & 12; 44:8; 49:3-6; 52:6; and Acts 1:8.
- 5) Do the Jews show forth the praise of Jesus? Isa. 43:21
- 6) Have the Jews carried the gospel to all the world and witnessed for Jesus Christ and held the Bible open? Gen. 28: 14; Isa 43: 10; 44:21; and look at Isa.49:3,6 and Acts 1:8 again
- 7) Do the Jews have God's Spirit and the Word of God in their mouth and their uttermost being? Isa.59:21.
- 8) Was the New Covenant written only to the Jews? The Bible states that it was made

with the House of Israel and the House of Judah. Jer. 31: 31-33; Heb. 8:8-10; Matt. 26:28.

9) Are the Jews the sheep of Israel? Ezek. 34:11,12; Psalm 78:52; 95:1,6,7; Isa. 53:6; John 10:22-27; Matt. 15:24.

10) Are the Jews the Children of God scattered abroad? St. John 7:35; 10:16 and 11:52.

11) Is Jesus Christ glorified in the Jews? Isa. 49:3; Romans 8:29,30; 11:1,2 and 9:4.

12) Are the Jews the servants of God? Isa. 41:8; 43:8 and 49:3.

13) Are the Jews a holy nation, a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a peculiar people? Ex. 19:5,6; Deut. 14:2 and 7:6; 1 Peter 2:9,10; and 1:1,2.

14) Are the Jews the great characters mentioned in the great faith chapter of Hebrews 11? (Not one was a Jew.)

15) Are the Jews a "righteous nation?" Isaiah 26:2.

16) Are the Jews bringing forth the fruits of the kingdom? Hosea 14:8; Matt. 21:43.

17) Are the Jews kind to strangers? Lev. 19:33,34; Matt. 25:31-46.

18) Are the Jews called the "sons of the living God?" Hosea 1:10.

19) Do the Jews claim to be "not God's people?" Hosea 1:10.

20) Do the Jews have all of God's Word? Deut. 33:4; Psalm 147:19&20; Romans 9:3-5.

21) Are the Jews a great and mighty nation? Genesis 18:18.

22) Are the Jews today innumerable as the stars of heaven and as the sand of the seashore? Gen. 22: 17; Hosea 1:10.

23) Do the Jews possess the gate of their enemies? Gen. 22:17; 24:60.

- 24) Are the Jews a nation and a company of Genesis 48 and 49,
- 25) Will the Jews push all the people together to the ends of the earth? Deut. 33:17.
- 26) Are the Jews above all the people on the face of the earth? Deut. 7:6; & 12:2; Psalm 35:4; Amos 3:2.
- 27) Have the Jews ever dwelt alone in a home appointed by God? Num. 23:9; 2 Sam. 7:10; 1Chron. 17:9; Deut. 29:28; Jer. 16:13 & 3:18; Ezek. 36:24 and Acts 17:26.
- 28) Have the Jews a navy or naval power? Num. 24:7; Isa. 60:5,9,
- 29) Did or will the Jews eat up the nations, their enemies? Num. 24:8.
- 30) Are Jews God's battle axe? Num. 24:8,9; Isa. 41: 15,16; Jer. 51:20-23.
- 31) Are the Jews feared by all nations? Deut. 2:25; 28: 10.
- 32) Are the Jews a mighty nation, crushing and grinding to powder all who oppose them? Matt. 21:44 and Daniel 2:44.
- 33) Have the Jews inherited the gentiles? Isa. 54:3.
- 34) Is it possible to count 1/4 of the Jews, or all of them? Num. 23: 10.
- 35) Are the Jews the rod of God's inheritance? Ps. 135:4; Isa. 19:25.
- 36) Do the Jews today have an earthly king of the lineage of David ruling over them? If they are Israel then a Davidic king must be among them somewhere. Ps.89:27-29 & 35 to 37; Jer. 33: 17.
- 37) Are the Jews called today through Isaac? (Isaac's sons, or Saxons) Gen. 35:11; Amos 7:16; Romans 9:7 and Heb. 11:18.
- 38) Will the Jews say they have lost their lineage or identity? Hos. 1:9 & 10; 2:6; Isa. 1:3;

42:19; Deut. 32:26; Jer. 50:6,7; Hosea 8:8 and 9:17.

39) Do the Jews have a new name today? Isa. 62:2; 65:15; Hosea 1:10; Romans 9:25,26; 1 Pet.2:10; Acts 11:26.(New Language too -Isa. 28:11).

40) If the Jews are Israel how can the blessings promised to specific, and separate tribes in Genesis 48 and 49, and in Deut. 33 come about? Wouldn't they have to be separate nations? Note the time of fulfilment: Gen. 49:1. (Also 1 John 2:18; Acts 2:16,17; 1Peter 1:3, 5, 18 & 20; Jude 17-.19 and Hebrews 11:1 and 2)

41) Are the heathen nations aligned against the Jews only? Joel 3:9; and Psalms 83.

42) Are the Jews a hidden people? Psalm 83:4 and Isaiah 3:9

43) Are the Jews described nationally as a great lion? Gen. 49:9 and Numbers 23:24; 24:9.

44) Did the Jews deliver Jerusalem in 1917? See Luke 21:24; Hag. 2:18, 19 and 22; Lev. 26:18 to 28; Ezek 4:6; Rev.2:3 & 12:10-14.These refer to"times" predicted, and along with many more that are too long to be discussed in this addendum. However Daniel 12:11 & 12; Psalm 95:10; Heb. 3:9 & 10 and Matt. 24:34, are of interest of time element.

45) Are the Jews the house of Israel and the house of Judah-two nations and families? Ezek. & Jer. 3: 18; 31:31; 33:24.

46) Are the Jews called "Great?" Gen. 12:2.

47) Have the Jews released those in slavery? Isa. 42:7 & 58:6.

48) Have the Jews colonized any people? Isa. 35:1; 49:8; Gen. 28:14.

49) Are the Jews an Island people? Isa., 24:14; 41:1; 43:4-10; 49:1,19; and Jer. 23:8;

31:10.

50) Do the Jews recognize Jesus as God? (God said Israel would: Isaiah 43:10,12; 52:6; Matthew 1:23; Luke 1:68; 1 Timothy 3:16; Acts 3:14 and John 9:28

Of the fifty questions concerning the Jews - a people regarded by so many as "God's Chosen People." And with more than three times this many Bible references to these questions I cannot find even one Scripture to substantiate the people's claim that: "the Jews are God's chosen people." Friend, can you???

So, in conclusion to the above subject I am going to offer a \$1,000.00 reward to the first good man - ooops, I just remember that Jesus Christ told a young man once that "there was none good but God." (Matt. chapter nineteen.). So, I will try to make this "Reward" offer very plain:

"If any man or woman, boy or girl, of any race or religious or unreligious beliefs will dust off your old Bible, using the King James version that I have studied for many years, and show me from its pages, chapter and verse, where it states that the Jews are God's chosen people, then I will give the first one \$2,000.00. (Two Thousand Dollars) This offer will expire the first day of the year 2003, unless you ask me for more time to study."

Perhaps your pastor or some other preacher that teaches and preaches that the Jews are God's Chosen people could help you locate chapter and verse from your Bible. Ask your Sunday School teaches where to locate this in your Bible.

We have no more giants of culture such as Shakespeare, Beethoven and Goethe. We have no more literature, music or art of any significance since the Jewish blight descended

upon our people. Music has become like the screech of automobile horns; literature has become a repetitious description of human debauchery, and art - the trivial daubs of monkeys or their human imitators.

These things I have written, and I believe in the same spirit of that of John the Apostle as he wrote in 1st John the second chapter. And I will close with a quotation from this Apostle as he wrote in the 5th chapter of 1 John, verse 19: "And we know that we are of God, and the whole world lieth in wickedness."

And, with best wishes,

From an old ninety-one year old Israelite

[Date] **11.05.2010** [Poster] [REDACTED] [Title] **Re: Why Christianity is not Jewish at al**

The Bible in the New Testament really explains well enough if really read it and pray for understanding. It is quite obvious in our lords teachings that he was a rebel against all the old Jewish Talmudic teachings and their vile ways and that's why they killed him. It's so simple I figured it out as a child. Duh.

What I can't figure out is why people who are Christians allow Jews and Rabbism and now Muslims and Emams into our churches. Jesus himself would kick their ass and tell them they just allowed the Satanists in and they will all be damned to hell for it! Just another reason I cannot and will not step one foot in Church

[Date] **11.10.2010** [Poster] [REDACTED] [Title] **Re: Why Christianity is not Jewish at all**

I've been planning this post for a while now and I have some very important points to make so let's begin. Firstly let's analyze the situation, many WNists attack Christianity and call it a Jewish religion, a religion that has weakened Whites and an oppressive religion that needs to be eliminated from Europeans, to name a few. In the OP I stated why those particular statements are false, but let's move onto how things are. Christianity has over 2 billion followers, although the numbers and the true believers are debatable and many believers are non-White only Islam comes close to Christianity. On top of that I'd rather Negroes we're Christian instead of Muslim. Christianity is not going away, Christians far out-number non-Christian WNists. So when pagan WNists attack Christianity they do nothing to weaken Christianity, they actually strengthen Christianity. Whenever Christians are attacked they fight back and grow stronger even under persecution. Christians were fed to lions and persecuted by many pagan Romans and it did nothing to stop them, so a few WNists dedicating their entire speech to anti-Christianism won't do much good either. What then will it do? It will backfire against the WNists in particular, they will attack Christians and firstly Christians (TC, CI and Judeo) will become their enemy. One extra enemy that they don't need and could have avoided, and one enemy that could in some ways cooperate with them. Three points, one all Christians will be their enemy and won't even consider cooperating with them, two they will enflame and make Christians stronger and more resistant, three they will waste their

time and make no progress except gaining extra enemies. Even if they gained power and outlawed Christianity it would go underground and fight back. The Romans tried to destroy Christianity and they couldn't, so what makes you think you lot can. WNists are going to have to get used to the idea that Christians will and always will form part of White society. WN Christians are probably a majority amongst us so we're not going anywhere and we're some of the strongest resistance fighters in the movement.

To sum it all up, pagans WNists should stop attacking Christianity because they only hurt themselves. Do you think that by insulting or criticizing us we suddenly get weaker? We grow stronger every time we're attacked. I think you should all read this and consider it next time you think about calling us jew worshippers or weaklings.

[Date] **11.10.2010** [Poster] [REDACTED] [Title] **Re: Why Christianity is not Jewish at all**

The jews fulfill the prophecy of Esau's minority status: "For, lo, I will make thee small among the heathen, and despised among men" Jer. 49:15.

[Date] **11.16.10** [Poster] [REDACTED] [Title] **Thinking of Becoming C.I.** [Forum]

Stormfront

Welcome to CI! Another brother escapes the darkness of organized religion!! This is a big problem for those who awaken - you can show people scriptures and studies and "plain as day" truth but they refuse to listen unless it's coming from a pastors mouth in a church. I think women are particularly sensitive to the seemingly "Racist" ("your so

mean!") slant that CI seems to adhere to, but they (and the men) are more than willing to glom onto the racist idea that the Jews are the Chosen. Perhaps it is more Godly to support racists than to actually be one?? Anyway, if you find one or two others of like mind you've found your church! We're definitely a minority group, but God is only intent on a remnant, and I seriously doubt He waits on pins and needles to hear Praise and Worship from those buildings full of blind and willfully ignorant people. Oops, there I go being mean again!

No Date, no Name:

Thank you. I sent him an e-mail. This isn't only for me, but for my wife. I would like to find a CI pastor in AZ to talk to her. If I tell my wife something biblical, she looks at me like "who's this dumb guy?", but if a pastor says the exact same thing, it's gold. We currently attend a Pentecostal-Apostolic church (big time Jew lovers the Pentecostals), and I haven't been to a service in almost 8 weeks. I just can't stand it. I don't mind staying home, though, as the wife usually leaves our daughters home with me, and we get some quality daughters-daddy time. If I am able to find a CI church out here, I know I'll want to attend, and it will re-ignite the spark.

[Date] **11.19.2010** [Poster] [REDACTED] [Title] **Thinking of Becoming C.I.** [Forum]

Stormfront

I don't *hate* anyone, I hate their actions and I simply want to be in a country where all I

see are White faces and can feel safe. My whole life I've experienced unprovoked hatred towards me for MY White skin from non-whites. There is no "coexisting" only separation.

[Date] **11.20.2010** [Poster] [REDACTED] [Title] **Thinking of Becoming C.I.** [Forum]

Stormfront

Christian Identity is the belief that the Jews have usurped the identity and heritage of the white race. We believe that Europeans, not the Jews, are the true Chosen of the one and only God, and that Jesus came only for our people. II Chronicles 7:14 (LXX) then if my people, on whom my name is called, should repent, and pray, and seek my face, and turn from their evil ways, I also will hear from heaven, and I will be merciful to their sins, and I will heal their land.

[Date] **11.30.2010** [Poster] [REDACTED] [Title] **Thinking of Becoming C.I.** [Forum]

Stormfront

Hello, I'm [REDACTED]. Sorry about the ambiguous name, I chose it on a whim when I was a good deal less Christian. I was a white nationalist these past three years, and I've been something of a non-committal Christian a while longer. I finally got around to reading the Bible in its entirety earlier in the year, and I was surprised to learn, even from the KJV, that much of what the preachers in the mainstream churches say is a lie. When I read it, it seemed to me that Mosiac law was never actually replaced by Jesus' teachings, and

Jesus himself seemed to be a lot less pacifistic than they made out. I was also pleased to read of God's orders not to interbreed with lesser races, even if he did seem to be giving that order to the "Jews". But that made me wonder, when I was reading later Dr Duke's exposure of Jewish degradation of white society, was not Jesus supposed to be a Jew? On a whim I googled that question, and found a video of one of Bertrand Comparet's sermons, where he quite plainly showed that Jesus was not a Jew, by reason of his tribe. But Comparet was claiming that the tribes of Israel were actually the white race? I began listening to other sermons by Comparet, and then discovered that he was one of many, like Swift and Emry, who was preaching this doctrine of Christian Identity. Everything in the Bible makes so much more sense now. Without CI doctrine, the initially conflicting passages never fully fit together. In any case, I remembered from when I made an account here back in '09 for thread searches that SF had a theology section, so I just wanted to be able to discuss CI with likeminded people.

[Date] **3.11.2011** [Poster]  [Title] **Re: Why Christianity is not Jewish at all**

Quote:

“I think anybody who has extra proofs or points to make about how the Jews have fooled us and taken the identity of true Israel should be made.”

Edomite / Canaanite jews trace their ancestors through the mother, or are matriarchal.

Israelite - Anglo-Saxon-Keltic-Scandinavian-Germanic peoples trace their ancestors

patriarchal - through the father: 23And esus himself began to be about thirty years of age,

being (as was supposed) the son of Joseph, whichas the son of Heli, 24Which was the son
 of Matthat, which was the son of Levi, which was the son of Melchi, which was the son
 of Janna, which was the son of Joseph, 25Which was the son of Mattathias, which was
 the son of Amos, which was the son of Naum, which was the son of Esli, which was the
 son of Nagge, 26Which was the son of Maath, which was the son of Mattathias, which
 was the son of Semei, which was the son of Joseph, which was the son of Juda, 27Which
 was the son of Joanna, which was the son of Rhesa, which was the son of Zorobabel,
 which was the son of Salathiel, which was the son of Neri, 28Which was the son of
 Melchi, which was the son of Addi, which was the son of Cosam, which was the son of
 Elmodam, which was the son of Er, 29Which was the son of Jose, which was the son of
 Eliezer, which was the son of Jorim, which was the son of Matthat, which was the son of
 Levi, 30Which was the son of Simeon, which was the son of Juda, which was the son of
 Joseph, which was the son of Jonan, which was the son of Eliakim, 31Which was the son
 of Melea, which was the son of Menan, which was the son of Mattatha, which was the
 son of Nathan, which was the son of David, 32Which was the son of Jesse, which was the
 son of Obed, which was the son of Booz, which was the son of Salmon, which was the
 son of Naasson, 33Which was the son of Aminadab, which was the son of Aram, which
 was the son of Esrom, which was the son of Phares, which was the son of Juda, 34Which
 was the son of Jacob, which was the son of Isaac, which was the son of Abraham, which
 was the son of Thara, which was the son of Nachor, 35Which was the son of Saruch,
 which was the son of Ragau, which was the son of Phalec, which was the son of Heber,

which was the son of Sala, 36Which was the son of Cainan, which was the son of Arphaxad, which was the son of Sem, which was the son of Noe, which was the son of Lamech, 37Which was the son of Mathusala, which was the son of Enoch, which was the son of Jared, which was the son of Maleleel, which was the son of Cainan, 38Which was the son of Enos, which was the son of Seth, which was the son of Adam, which was the son of God.

[Date] **5.15.2011** [Poster] [REDACTED] [Title] **Re: Why Christianity is not Jewish at all**

Quote:

Originally Posted by [REDACTED]

You might be interested in the book 'Celt, Druid and Culdee' by Isabel Hill Elder.

Pastor [REDACTED]

Very interesting. Christians and Druids do have many similarities. Also, when you consider the Christian practices from Celtic countries, you almost see a blend between the two. I never have seen the point in all of the squabbling that occurs between our faiths. Sure, there were many persecutions of Pagans by Christians. There were also persecutions of Christians by Pagans. Both groups have harmed one another in the past. Yet, it is not what matters. What matters is US....TODAY! We need to learn to forgive the atrocities committed by both sects in the past and move on together for a brighter future.

[REDACTED]

[Date] **6.25.2011** [Poster] [REDACTED] [Title] **A Note Concerning Civility** [Forum] **Opposing Views**

All of the posters on this board are expected to conduct themselves with a modicum of civility. Those who fail to do so typically find themselves penalized in some form. We ask that our GUESTS in the Opposing Views Forum recognize that they are our GUESTS, and as such, will not be permitted to slander and/or insult WN. Rational, cogent dissent, and contrary opinions are, of course, welcome and expected. Irrational, dissonant, and baseless spewing of bile and venom is not welcomed, and won't be tolerated. If you are an unregistered guest, and your intended post consists of "i h8 u, honkey", then save your time and typing finger, it will never see the light of day, unless things are really slow, and we need a good laugh. Thanks for your cooperation.

[Date] **9.01.2011** [Poster] [REDACTED] [Title] **Re: Negroes are the worst, no discussion needed!**

I can agree that the negros are the worst of the pack, but it is the jews who are pushing this on us...

And just you wait until Muslims are the majority here...then you will see bloodshed like never before. 9.1.11

[Date] **9.01.2011** [Poster] [REDACTED] [Title] **Re: Negroes are the worst,**

no discussion needed!

I agree with your view on all counts. I also want to point out that we White Nationalists have been preaching to our brethren for years and low and behold, things are and have been getting worse. We were right. We are right. Just because the jewish-controlled media doesn't show what really goes on around the country, and for that matter across much of the Western world, doesn't mean that negroes aren't doing exactly what we've been warning about, which the Klan warned about two centuries ago.

There has been a sharp increase in recent years of negro crime against Whites. Now we have negro mobs in most cities rampaging through the streets, flash mobs assaulting everyone in sight, and flooding stores like a sea of mud (pun intended) to steal everything in they can get their filthy african hands on.

There is no discussion here, and there is no discussion or question that we are and have been right all along. The proof is in the pudding. Our people, if they weren't so ignorant as a whole about racial realities, which is in large part due to the jewish media deliberately blocking out incredible amounts of negro savagry, would thank us if they knew better. I have no doubt that many wish now that they had listened to our warnings, rather than screaming "racist!" like trained idiots. Or worse, banging drums at anti-klan rallies.

After the home invasions, car jackings, gang rapes, racial hate Whitey mob assaults, or even groping or verbal racial harrassment (just think about the astronomical amount of the latter two that have happened over the years, something to think about as we tend to

only focus on the larger issues of violence and rape by negroes) by a pack of negroes, countless can now think back to the White America that has been lost to jewish-fueled multiracialism. They can also always remember that the "racists" were and are 100% right.

The Lord Christ distinguished between his faithful ones and his Jewish enemies, as between light and darkness. -St. Augustine

The Spartan sacrifice saved the very foundations of Western Civilization. -Dr. David Duke

White America is an endangered species -Patrick J. Buchanan 10/11

Israel and its Fifth Column in this city seek to stampede us into war with Iran. -Patrick J. Buchanan 7/14/08

Multiculturalism has no place in Israel. Israel was created as a Jewish state for the Jews. - jewish leader Isi Leibler.

The key to solving the social problems of our age is to abolish the white race. - Harvard academic and jew, Dr. Noel Ignatiev

[Date] **9.03.2011** [Poster]  [Title] **Re: Negroes are the worst, no discussion needed!**

The negroe has to low an IQ to be a major threat. Sure they beat, rape and steal more than the other races but they would never be able to rule or control us. Now I hate to say it but jews and asians are rather smart. Asians and jews come to take over white countries. The

chinese take it over through business. The jews through the media and politics. The muslims through mass breeding and religion. The negroe is just a simple savage, a tool that the jews uses to degrade and destroy whites.

So in some respects the negroe is worse, but overall the white race has more to fear from the asians, muslims and ultimately the jew.

[Date] **11.25.2011** [Poster] [REDACTED] [Title] **Re: Why Christianity is not Jewish at all**

Run along now, MsMoffat, as non-Christians posting in the two Christian subforums is verboten, just as it is for Christians to instigate in the other Theology subforums. I deleted some of your posts and consider this a first warning, since even though it's in the sticky threads in each theology section as posted by the senior mod [REDACTED] who's assigned to this subforum, perhaps you didn't read that or chose to ignore it.

Either way, time to cease and desist with your provocations, please and thank you for your cooperation in this matter.

[Date] **11.25.2011** [Poster] [REDACTED] [Title] **Re: Why Christianity is not Jewish at all**

Sometimes I gotta wonder if some that barge in here with these sophomoric things that especially Identity Christians are very familiar with and therefore can easily refute aren't actually on our side and just playing devil's advocate (pun acknowledged), in that they

serve up so many softballs right over the plate for easy grand slams by most CI here.

If so, then well played. If not, well played anyway; even if that was not the intent. Suh-

wing batter batter. 🇺🇸

[Date] **12.05.2011** [Poster] [REDACTED] [Title] **Re: Why Christianity is not Jewish at all**

Quote:

Originally Posted by [REDACTED]

If I'm not mistaken, Moses was not a direct ancestor of Jesus.

Sem is Shem and Noe is Noah? Okay. It must have been too many names as I swear I

looked over the post 4 times and didn't see David. 😊

Okay. Thanks. So, my question is, if Whites are descended of Shem, and Jesus is a descendent of Shem as well, that makes Jesus a blood relative of all of us no? Even more so than Moses. Right?

[Date] **12.05.2011** [Poster] [REDACTED] [Title] **Re: Why Christianity is not Jewish at all**

Quote: Originally Posted by [REDACTED]

Sem is Shem and Noe is Noah? Okay. It must have been too many names as I swear I

looked over the post 4 times and didn't see David. 😊

Okay. Thanks. So, my question is, if Whites are descended of Shem, and Jesus is a descendent of Shem as well, that makes Jesus a blood relative of all of us no? Even more so than Moses. Right?

Well, those of us whose ancestors were descended from the tribe of Judah. Those descended from the tribe of Levi would be closer to Moses than Jesus.

In truth there has been quite a bit of mixing over the years, most people probably have a bit from many tribes.

In any case, all would be kindred with Jesus as the descendants of Shem, and even the Japhethites would be distant cousins of Jesus. All pure blood children of Adam are capable of becoming heirs to the promise to Abraham.

"Only vitally important matters are controversial." - Dr. Bertrand Comparet

"Responsibility not taken is freedom lost." - Sheldon Emry

"The man with greater spiritual guidance, greater intellectual ability and adaptivity to the universe God has created is the individual destined to survive." - Dr Wesley Swift

Originally Posted by [REDACTED] DATE UNKNOWN

Your information is somewhat misguided. The Bible clearly states that Noah and his family were "Perfect in his generations" meaning that they were racially pure from Adam to Noah. Therefore, Noah's three sons Shem, Ham and Japheth were the same as their father. There is overwhelming secular and scientific evidence that the Negroid and Mongoloid races existed before Adam by thousands of years. The three primary races then, could not have descended from Noah's sons.

You have another problem by saying one of Noah's sons was White. You mention

"Semitic", which is Shem, so that one is cancelled, leaving either Ham or Japheth. Ham became the "cursed" people through his son Canaan, who became racially mixed mongrels. So that only leaves Japheth as being the purported White race. But this is also problematic in that they also mongrelized and one of his sons was Ashkenaz; now we know that most jews in the world today emanate from the Eastern European Ashkenazi, who emmigrated from the southern steppes of Russia, known as the Khazar empire that converted to judaism in the 9th century AD. When jews scream "antisemitism", they are promoting a fraud, because they are not descendants of Shem, but rather Japheth. This gets real interesting when you understand that Jesus was not a jew and the Bible clearly traces His lineage back through the line of Shem, which can only be the White race, that kept their generations perfect.

[Date] **12.06.2011** [Poster] [REDACTED] [Title] **Re: Why Christianity is not Jewish at all**

Quote:

Originally Posted by [REDACTED]

The first covenant which God made was with Abraham. The requirements of adhering to this covenant was to be one of Abraham's progeny and to be circumcised. Not much later, you could be part of this covenant if you were 100% white and circumcised. This covenant was a simple one where God stated that He would be the exclusive God of Abraham and his descendants.

The circumcision, which is a mark upon oneself, was later replaced with circumcision of

the heart, which is metaphorical for a mark upon our minds, or a certain mindset. The requirements for this are still to be 100% white.

I hope this helps.

It does. So covenants are promises? Throughout the Bible God makes a series of promises to His children and this one is the first one? If so, thank you helping me understand.

Back to the specific topic of the thread though, if Whites are the descendants of Shem, and Jesus is the descendent of Shem, wouldn't that be the, THEE, most important aspect to focus on when dispelling the myth that Christianity is jewish? I always thought the best example was jews themselves and the rejecting of Christ by them. As well as the destruction of Christian symbols, etc., by them.

However, as most of us know, discussing the jewish question with non-racial Whites is one heck of a hurdle. One sometimes best built up to, or led up to, first. I would think that the lineage aspect of Shem (which, just in case some didn't know, has been shown in this thread for the first time to me, includes Jesus) would be the best route to go. For those of us who are racial, what better example to be shown than one that shows a direct blood link?

[Date] **12.06.2011** [Poster] [REDACTED] [Title] **Re: Why Christianity is not Jewish at all**

Quote: Originally Posted by [REDACTED]

It does. So covenants are promises? Throughout the Bible God makes a series of

promises to His children and this one is the first one? If so, thank you helping me understand.

Hmmm I notice that it wasn't actually the very first, but it is one of the first and the main covenant which sets white people apart by God.

Some people see covenants as deals, but you're right it saying that it's more like a promise. No matter how many times we disobey, God always keeps His *promise* and rescues us, even if we aren't holding up our side of the 'deal'.

Quote:

Originally Posted by [REDACTED]

Back to the specific topic of the thread though, if Whites are the descendants of Shem, and Jesus is the descendent of Shem, wouldn't that be the, THEE, most important aspect to focus on when dispelling the myth that Christianity is jewish? I always thought the best example was jews themselves and the rejecting of Christ by them. As well as the destruction of Christian symbols, etc., by them.

The original jews (Idumeans/Edomites) were actually descendants of Shem as well.

Although the father of the Edomites (who was Jacob/Israel's brother, son of Isaac) who's name was Esau/Edom, was actually a pure white. Although he sold his birthright and took mud-race wives, thus earning him God's hatred. So I guess you can say those Edomite Jews are descendants of Shem as well, but they are mixed race anyway. It is the Khazari Jews who are definitely not descendants of Shem.

Quote:

Originally Posted by [REDACTED]

However, as most of us know, discussing the jewish question with non-racial Whites is one heck of a hurdle. One sometimes best built up to, or led up to, first. I would think that the lineage aspect of Shem (which, just in case some didn't know, has been shown in this thread for the first time to me, includes Jesus) would be the best route to go. For those of us who are racial, what better example to be shown than one that shows a direct blood link?

The evidence for our case is actually a mountain's worth, but as the old saying goes, 'Only a fool uses facts in an argument.' A love of truth is required to learn it, but it was because of a lack of love of truth that God cursed people to suffer a delusion.

[Date] **12.06.2011** [Poster] [REDACTED] [Title] **Re: Why Christianity is not Jewish at all**

There were 8 covenants: the Edenic, Adamic, Noahic, Abrahamic, Mosaic, Palestinian, Davidic and New. They were all made with the same race of people, the White race.

Nowhere in Scripture can it be found that jews were involved in any of the covenants. A covenant is a contract or agreement and some were conditional, whereas others were unconditional. In other words, one had the proviso that if we did or did not do something, then God would reciprocate with blessings or curses; in essence it was cause and effect; and the other was simply something God said He would do regardless of what we do.

In Romans 9:3-5 Paul is addressing his kinsmen according to the flesh who are Israelites. He is specifically talking about race and the things that pertain only to that race. Two of

the things mentioned are the covenants and the promises (verse 4). As [REDACTED] suggested the covenants are promises, but there are many more promises of God that go beyond the covenants set with conditions. For example, the promise of our race having great numbers of descendants is repeated several times. Sometimes a promise would be embellished with more promises. Isaac, the son of Promise, was born according to God's Word. Isaac later married Rebekah, and she was given a blessing in Genesis 24:60: "And they blessed Rebekah, and said unto her, "Thou art our sister, be thou the mother of thousands of millions, and let thy seed possess the gate of those which hate them." Such a deal for the White Nationalist movement you would think.

The confusion arises with the word "Jew", which is a subversive word planted by an enemy and never should have appeared in the Bible. While Israel was in the wilderness, learning the statutes and judgments, God gave further promise of future greatness. In Deuteronomy 33 He gave a separate blessing to each of the tribes, with the greater blessing recorded for Joseph. There were no jews in any of the tribes.

Related to the covenants and the promises were also the patriarchs of Israel handing down the blessings of the birthright to the rightful heirs. These blessings can only mean that the descendants of Joseph (actually his two sons Ephraim and Manasseh, who we, in CI, believe to be Great Britain and America) were to have a land(s) blessed with great agricultural harvests, wealth from the seas, and ores and minerals from the earth. No other race can claim this blessing.

For those not schooled in Christian theology, they might be wondering whatever

happened to these covenants and promises of the God of the White race. With a casual survey of our circumstances today, it would appear that all is lost and we are a vanishing race. But, that is not true, because there is a Way to save ourselves from all who hate us, because the promises are still alive and well; it is our people who are lost and in sickness, who need healing. But, that is another story reserved for another segment.

God says of the jews (Esau-Edom) that they are a people with whom He has indignation forever (Mal. 1:4). Therefore, there is nothing jewish that needs to be saved. If

Christianity (not to be confused with judeo-Christianity) were jewish in any sort of way, it wouldn't make any sense now would it? But, our people have to stop listening to non-Christians who are trying to tell them what Christianity is or is not, because they don't know and are in need of the truth themselves.

[Date] **12.19.2011** [Poster]  [Title] **Christian Identity General**

Discussion Thread

I mentioned the need for a thread for discussion among Christian Identity adherents that is not topic specific and so have started this one to that end. An issue which I posted about in the thread in the Announcements subforum about the Don and Derek Black Radio program and which I find intriguing and ominous both, is the way the big cable and satellite providers (which like virtually all mass communication, are owned or controlled by Jewish individuals) allow only "Judeo-Christian" programming to go out over their systems. Before coming to know of Christian Identity, the nefarious

implications of that never dawned on me, in spite of for years having become increasingly aghast at the oh so wrong notion of "Judeo-Christianity." Without a knowledge of CI, I had become a heretic to those I knew who just accepted that oxymoron without a bit of doubt or noticing the complete contradiction it represented. "How can anti-Christ be partners with Christians?", other than when joined by a hyphen, was my "crazy" and never answered query which earned me nothing but contempt. My coming to accept CI was based on more than just that one revelation, but it was a great relief to find I wasn't alone in that. I still feel a lot like Oliver Douglas on the old sitcom "Green Acres," living in a world where seemingly almost everyone is kooky and as such can make me at times have to question my own hold on sanity in dealing with it. If only there were a laugh track and the worst problem was trying to avoid getting ripped off by Mr. Haney's latest scam.

[Date] **1.17.2012** [Poster]  [Title] **Stormfront is Under Attack!** [Forum]

Stormfront


When I registered Stormfront.org on January 11, 1995, our friends told me our enemies would never permit a pro-White website. The "tolerance and diversity" crowd would never tolerate real diversity. We threatened their controlled media monopoly with an alternative, accessible to anyone in the world. The attacks began within a week. They started with economic threats against our server hosting provider and his other customers, quickly followed by death threats against my family and me, including pipe bombs

actually mailed from Canada by the "Anti-Fascist Militia." Then came illegal denial of service attacks. Then censoring software promoted by the ADL. Then harassment lawsuits. Some foreign governments even threatened to have me arrested, even though I had violated no American law and had never even visited their countries. One German official said his government was hiring hackers to take down Stormfront. Now the attacks are intensifying on all fronts. The Soviet style government of Italy has blocked Italians' access to Stormfront and arrested our Italian moderators for "thought crimes." Other countries, not having free speech guaranteed under America's First Amendment, may follow. And we can undoubtedly expect the Obamanation to use pretext to impose its anti-White agenda in the U.S. What does not destroy us makes us stronger. After eighteen years, we're still here! And thanks to your perseverance, we'll continue to survive and grow stronger. Thanks to you, we are beginning badly needed server upgrades, which will make our site faster and more resistant to the daily denial of service attacks from anti-Whites. We've had the same servers for well over 2-1/2 years, even reducing server capacity in February 2011 to cut costs. We also want to install mirrors of cached content at different locations around the world. This will not only increase speed, but make censorship much more difficult. We can then install major software upgrades and expanded services, including video hosting, reaching more of our people with our message of hope for our people. And we'll continue to expand our outreach on conventional broadcast radio. We've had a daily morning talk show on AM radio for almost three years now. It's expensive, but we reach a different audience, and I believe

having a conventional media program confers a certain credibility not always associated with the Net. There are also looming legal expenses. I hate spending money on lawyers and courts, but that is sometimes necessary. As most of you know, I hate begging for money. But, unlike other large websites and radio programs, we have no paid advertising. Nor do we get government or corporate grants. And we don't have a tax exempt endowment fund with over \$200 million, like the anti-White Southern Poverty Law Center (aka the "Poverty Palace"). We have no financial reserves, and we frequently fall short of our modest monthly fundraising goal. We depend on small contributions from a few courageous men and women like you. These are turbulent times, with more and more of our people looking for answers. We'll be here to provide them. Keep Stormfront Alive and Growing! Become a Sustaining Member.

Each \$5 extends your Sustaining Membership by one month. Each \$50 one year. Each \$1000 one lifetime. Stormfront CORE Support Membership \$30/month

Notes: Originally posted in January - reposted to the frontpage in December along with a graphic of Goal (\$7,500) and the amount raised (\$4,300).

[Date] **4.17.2012** [Poster]  [Title] **Thinking of Becoming C.I.** [Forum]
Stormfront

I don't believe a person can be CI and not also be a White Supremest. Now supposedly that label means a White person that intends to enslave non-Whites. I've seen folks here

at Stormfront run with that definition. In all reality "White Supremest" is an oxymoron. It should be obvious that Whites are at the top of the food chain. The reason a White Christian should be a White Supremest is because a White Christian, especially a Cleric is because White folks were created in God's own image. Therefore we are superior to all and are honor bound to hold that position like a jealous house wife. Unfortunately you will always run into the "Jesus loves everybody" crowd but the Jewish question is always solved by a White Supremest by who did God model Adam after. Judaism and Christianity are not compatible and proof of this is in their own book the Talmud. The Talmud is a playbook on how to rip everybody else off. A CI church will only be a gathering of Adamites. Jew need not apply anymore than a negro should.

[Date] **4.18.2012** [Poster] [REDACTED] [Title] **Thinking of Becoming C.I.** [Forum]

Stormfront

I have an article "Is White Supremacy Scriptural?", because so many of our people seemed to be hoodwinked into thinking that we are either equal to the other races or God forbid... inferior! "For thou art an holy people unto the Lord thy God: the Lord thy God hath chosen thee to be a special people unto himself, above all people that are upon the face of the earth" Deut. 7:6.

[Date] **7.17.2012** [Poster] [REDACTED] [Title] **Reformed Rules**
[Forum] **Stormfront**

Guidelines for Posting: DO NOT advocate or suggest any activity which is illegal under U.S. law. Keep discussion civil and productive: No profanity. Avoid racial epithets. No personal flames. No attacks against other White nationalities. If you wish to debate religion, you must request to join the Theology usergroup. Religion is a personal issue which often becomes bitterly divisive. Make an effort to use proper spelling, grammar and capitalization (no ALL-CAPS posts). No spamming. Don't post unless you have something relevant to say. Post only to appropriate forums. Post only under one user name. Anyone with "multiple personalities" will have all their accounts deleted. If you're here to argue with us, confine your posts to the "Opposing Views" forum if you don't want them deleted. Before you post anything, remember that words have consequences, both for you and others. This is true even if they're posted pseudonymously on a discussion board. Don't post anything you wouldn't want attributed to you in a court of law, quoted on the front page of the New York Times, or read by your mother. Don't come back in a few months or years and ask us to delete all your posts because you can't take the heat or you've "changed your mind." It wouldn't make much difference anyway, since public posts are cached by search engines and recorded by countless other people with varying motives. If you have any questions, feel free to ask a moderator. In addition, confine your conversations to the proper sub forums. DO NOT insult other religions in any forum. Stating your own beliefs in comparison is fine. Breaking the rules will result in permanent dismissal from the Theology group.

[Date] **8.5.2012** [Poster] [REDACTED] [Title] **Another Rule**

[Forum] **Stormfront**

Okay, there seems to be some cross-quoting and sniping between CI and TC. It. Stops. NOW. I'm trying to stay out of the Christian areas and leave them to [REDACTED]. However, I'm still here and will be watching. No more schoolyard behavior will be tolerated.

Notes: This poster jumped on in the Fall but I'm not clear what sniping s/he's responding to directly.

[Date] **8.26.2012** [Poster] [REDACTED] [Title] **Re: Why Christianity is not Jewish at all**

Quote: Originally Posted by [REDACTED]

Back to the specific topic of the thread though, if Whites are the descendants of Shem, and Jesus is the descendent of Shem, wouldn't that be the, THEE, most important aspect to focus on when dispelling the myth that Christianity is jewish?

This is the first I have heard anyone claim that whites are descendants of Shem. Even the 1st century historian Josephus says that the European peoples are descendants of **Japheth**.

Quote:

Traditionally, Japheth has been believed by some to be the progenitor of the peoples of Europe. Thus "Japhetic" came to be used as a synonym for Europeans, as well as Asians.

In medieval Europe.

In addition to the Japhetic peoples of Europe, the **Semitic** peoples were equated with all Middle-easterners, Arabs and **Israelites**, and Hamitic peoples with Africa

I'm not claiming anyone's claims of Europeans and Biblical Israelites being descended from Shem is wrong but it conflicts with all of the evidence I have found to date.

Will someone be so kind as to point me in the direction of the evidence being used to support this position?

[Date] **8.26.2012** [Poster] [REDACTED] [Title] **Re: Why Christianity is not Jewish at all**

You're all over Theology posting in many subforums. Are you aware of the rule to not cross-post?

Not sure this will answer your question, and it's really not something for you to openly debate here, but here's something for you to read from the archives: [An earlier question: How come European-Israelites forgot their true origin?](#).

Quote:

Originally Posted by [REDACTED]

*This is the first I have heard anyone claim that whites are descendants of Shem. Even the 1st century historian Josephus says that the European peoples are descendants of **Japheth**.*

I'm not claiming anyone's claims of Europeans and Biblical Israelites being descended from Shem is wrong but it conflicts with all of the evidence I have found to date.

Will someone be so kind as to point me in the direction of the evidence being used to support this position?

The CURSE that secularism has placed on our FUTURE GENERATIONS. Hosea 4:1-10

... because we have forgotten the laws of God, He has forgotten our children.

No more Sustaining Membership for me due to anti-Christian sentiment that is allowed by the moderators in all forums.

WN Christians should NOT support mainstream denominations that allow mixed-race marriages!!

Quote:

"Apparently there is nobody that can set parameters as to what White Nationalism represents. I have seen feminism, abortion, homosexuality, drugs, divorce, humanism, out of wedlock childbirth, pornography, and mongrelization openly supported in threads on this site. Thank goodness they were able to keep the Christians from spreading their hate in those threads." [REDACTED]

[Date] **8.26.2012** [Poster] [REDACTED] [Title] **Re: Why Christianity is not Jewish at all**

Quote: Originally Posted by [REDACTED]

You're all over Theology posting in many subforums. Are you aware of the rule to not cross-post?

Not sure this will answer your question, and it's really not something for you to openly debate here, but here's something for you to read from the archives: An earlier question: How come European-Israelites forgot their true origin?

Yes I am aware of the cross posting rule but am not of any particular religion and am just looking for where I might fit in.

I had no intentions of openly debating anything I was just looking for information from people that may know the answer to my questions. I will stay out of the CI forum from now on.

Anyone that has the information I was looking for please feel free to PM me with it, and I thank You for the link You provided.

[Date] **8.26.2012** [Poster] [REDACTED] [Title] **Re: Why Christianity is not Jewish at all**

The Japhethites: Genesis 10:2-5

Gomer (Genesis 10:2). Difficult to document, the historian Josephus made the mistake of associating Gomer with the Kelts, an error probably derived from an early Greek name for them, Κιμμέριοι, and many of his copyists have followed this mistake, which is based solely upon this phonetic similarity. That the Kelts actually sprung from a portion of the children of Israel deported by the Assyrians (see Missing Links Discovered in Assyrian Tablets by E. Raymond Capt) is evident from many factors, including their late (7th century B.C.) appearance in history, their location today, and their role in history in fulfillment of many of the prophecies concerning Israel: a topic beyond the scope of this

discussion. Simply note that the “Galatians” of Paul’s epistle are Kelts, and Paul certainly was writing to Israelites [which the contents of that epistle proves]. By contrast, in Ezekiel chapter 38, Gomer is allied with those who are in opposition to the children of Israel, which makes it easy to accept A. Koestler’s statements concerning Togarmah, outlined below. Some commentators feel that Hosea’s taking of a wife named Gomer (Hos. 1:3) is an indication that Gomer was one of the tribes that the Israelites were dispersed among after their deportation by the Assyrians. This hypothesis is quite credible, though I have not been able to positively identify any tribe of the secular records with Gomer. [Gomer is not found in Assyrian inscriptions. It can be established that Khumri, the Assyrian name for the children of Israel whom they deported into northern Mesopotamia, is the source for the Greek name Κιμμέριοι, or Kimmerians.]

The sons of Gomer (Genesis 10:3). Arthur Koestler, a Jew who writes from a Jewish perspective, claims that Togarmah is the common ancestor of the Uigur, Dursu, Avars, Huns, Basili, Tarniakh, Khazars (see Cush below), Zagora, Bulgars and Sabir, on p. 72 of his book *The Thirteenth Tribe*. In Biblical prophecy, it is seen that along with Gomer, Togarmah is allied against the children of Israel in the last days, at Ezekiel 38:6, where he is placed in the far north, and surely among the Asiatic hordes of the former Soviet Union. Riphath, or Diphath, is unmentioned elsewhere in the Bible, except for a copy of Genesis chapter 10 found at I Chronicles chapter 1. Ashkenaz, however, is more easily identified. Mentioned at Jeremiah 51:27 along with Ararat and Minni (both part of modern Armenia), Ashkenaz is there shown to be not far from the ancient land of the

Khazars, once a great empire, and of which modern Kazakhstan is a remnant. In the first millennium [AD] many of the Edomites and other Canaanites who had adopted Judaism migrated to Khazaria, and the Khazars, beginning with their king, had converted to Judaism. The jews being absorbed into the general population, these people adopted the name Ashkenaz, or “Ashkenazi jews”, for Ashkenaz was recognized [by these jews] as an ancestor of the original Caucasian population of the area.

[Now if we separate the claims of the medieval jews whom Koestler quoted from the Biblical account and the archaeological records, there is much less that can be used to identify these people with certainty. It is not clear from any original records that Koestler, Heinrich Graetz, who wrote these things over a hundred years before him, or any of the other older jews that they quote are fully correct. The Aryan people of the Steppe whom the Edomite jews mingled with in Khazaria certainly had a Mesopotamian origin, but originally could have been from one or more of the Japhethite or Shemite tribes.]

Magog, Tubal and Meshech (Genesis 10:2). Over 1500 years before the Germanic Rus conquered the land which bears their name today, Ezekiel wrote of Rhos (LXX) or Rosh (MT) being the leader (“prince”) of Gog, Meshech and Tubal (Ezekiel chapter 38). This is by no means a coincidence, but rather a clear manifestation of the Divine inspiration of the prophet.

In light of the relationship which the Rus were to have with Magog, Meshech and Tubal, which Ezekiel chapter 38 illustrates, Herodotus mentions two tribes among those under Persian dominion, the Moschi and the Tibareni (3.94, 7.78), in a convenient geographic

location that without stretching the imagination we may associate these ancient Japhethites with the dwellers around the Russian cities of Moscow and Tobolsk. Strabo discussed the Moschi and the Tibareni in his eleventh book, and relates that land formerly held by the Moschi, whom he placed just south of Colchis in the Caucasus mountains, was encroached upon by the Colchians, Armenians and Iberians (11.2.18). Of course the Iberians are Hebrews, a part of the Scythians who stayed put, rather than moving northward through the Caucasus [or westward through Anatolia] with their fellows, and Armenia can be shown to be a Hebrew word meaning “mountain parts”.

Whoever Magog may have been in prehistoric times, we can be certain that his descendants are found among those gigantic (“Gog”) mixed masses of Caucasian – Mongol – Chinese – whatever blood who are found inhabiting much of Asiatic Russia today [which the ancient Khazars also were a part of]. Mongolia and Tibet, homes of anciently mixed races with a clear Adamic cultural influence may be guessed. Professor L. A. Waddell, who wrote in the first quarter of the 20th century, produced several books which illustrated the Aryan origin of cultures in India and in Tibet.

[The contemporary Russian archaeologist S.A. Grigoryev in papers such as *The Sintashta Culture and Some Questions of Indo-Europeans Origins* and other works has demonstrated that the archaeological remains of the steppe did not come from the people generally known as the Scythians, but from forerunners to the Scythians. He states “Scythian migration through Iran, Near East and the Caucasus took place at the beginning of the Iron Age.”. He also shows that the earlier Sintashta people also originally came

from the regions of Syria and Anatolia. Therefore the archaeological record shows that people had been migrating from out of the Biblical world and into the steppe, and this is fairly consistent with the Biblical narrative and what we may be able to glean from early historical records.]

Madai (Genesis 10:2) is identifiable with the Medes, which is evident simply by checking both terms in Strong's Concordance. The Greeks wrote "Mede" as Μηδος, the 'η' in English being [rendered by] either an 'a', or an 'ê' or 'e'. Herodotus wrote that "These Medes were anciently called by all people Arians" (7.62), although it is more likely that the term "Aryan" was rather used by Israelites who once sojourned in Media (with which Dr. George Moore agrees in his *The Lost Tribes and the Saxons of the East and the Saxons of the West...*), since the term Ar-ya appears to mean "Mountain of Yahweh" in Hebrew (something which the Israelites were often called, i.e. Daniel 2:45), and that the Greeks had Israelite tribes in Media confused with actual Medes. [There is an assumption that the word Aryan comes from a Sanskrit word for noble, however I would assert that the Sanskrit followed much later.] Regardless, the Medes fulfilling a destiny in history which the prophets had already assigned to Madai (i.e. Isaiah chapter 21; Jeremiah 25:25 and 51:11 and 28; Daniel chapter 8), there should be no doubt of this identification. There are good indications that the Medes are found in the Slavs of today. The Slavs may be traced to a people that the Romans and Greeks called Sauromatae (Sarmatians). Diodorus Siculus, discussing certain Sakae (Scythian) Kings, states that "It was by these kings that many of the conquered [by the Scythians] peoples were removed to other

homes, and two of these became very great colonies: the one was composed of Assyrians and was removed to the land between Paphlagonia and Pontus [modern day Turkey along the southern shore of the Black Sea], and the other was drawn from Media and planted along the Tanaïs [a river north of the Caucasus mountains which empties into the Black Sea from the northeast], its people receiving the name Sauromatae. Many years later this people became powerful and ravaged a large part of Scythia...” (Diodorus Siculus 2.43.5-7). And with this, there being so many Slavs among the Germanic peoples today, we have the realization of the fulfillment of Genesis 9:27, which will be discussed below.

Javan (Genesis 10:2) is also identified by Strong in his Concordance with the Ionian Greeks, as the Septuagint translators also seemed to do, rendering the Hebrew word (3120) as Ἰωῦαν (Iōuan). This is not out of fancy, for on the Behistun Rock (and other Eastern inscriptions) these Greeks are called “Yavana”, and Sir Henry Rawlinson wrote “Ionians” there in his famous translation of that inscription. Other Persian inscriptions assure this same connection (see G. Moore’s *The Lost Tribes...* and E. R. Capt’s *Missing Links...*). These Ionians once inhabited the coasts of Anatolia [modern Turkey] and many of its islands, that land called Ionia generally, and also were the founders and principal inhabitants of Athens.

The sons of Javan (Genesis 10:4). Of the sons of Javan, all are identified with the sea trade with Tyre in Ezekiel chapter 27: Elishah at 27:7, Tarshish at 27:12, Kittim (or Chittim) at 27:6 in the Septuagint. Dodanim here in Genesis is a mistake by the Hebrew copyists for Rodanim (as Strong’s attests), and at Ezekiel 27:15 (where the A.V. has

“Dedan”), we read “Rhodians” (Ρόδιοι) in the LXX. Elishah and Kittim are both identified with Cyprus, with several varying spellings of these names found in ancient inscriptions. Kittim is the word for Cyprus throughout the Hebrew prophets. Rodanim are the Greeks of Rhodes, as identified in the LXX. Tarshish is a region of southern Spain known as Tartessus. The Ionians (or Javan) are connected with Tyrian sea trade also at Ezekiel 27:13 and 19, mentioned with Dan: for a portion of that tribe also settled Greece at an early time, and were known as Danaans. [We see in the King James Version of Ezekiel 27:19 “Dan also and Javan going to and fro occupied in thy fairs: bright iron, cassia, and calamus, were in thy market.” This is a clear reference to Danaan Greeks and Ionian Greeks. Newer Bible translations write Vedan - a word which exists nowhere else - for the Hebrew construction which actually means “and Dan”. They do this in order to further obfuscate history and protect their errant identification of ancient Israelites with jews.]

The “ships of Tarshish” are mentioned in Kings, Chronicles, Psalms, and several of the prophets. Although a separate and quite lengthy topic, it can be convincingly demonstrated that the Phoenicians of Tyre and elsewhere were the Israelites – called Phoenicians by the Greeks – right from the pages of the Bible, with much evidence also added by secular historians. Carthage was a Phoenician colony of Tyre, and the Carthaginians eventually controlled the land we call Spain today, then called Iberia, “Hebrew” or “Eber” land, just as the land south of the Caucasus mountains, where the deported Israelites first settled and became known as Scythians, was also called Iberia,

even in Roman times.

Diodorus Siculus (25.10.1 ff.) discusses wars between the Carthaginian Hamilcar Barca and the “Iberians and Tartessians” in the third century B.C. Herodotus (4.152) is writing about a period much earlier than his own, even pre-dating the Trojan War, and speaking of Tartessus in southern Spain says, “This trading town was in those days a virgin port, unfrequented by the merchants”. The Trojan War was 200 years before King Solomon’s ships, so Herodotus surely seems to have been accurate, and his calling Tartessus a “trading town” illuminates the Scriptural record. In their Greek-English lexicon, Liddell & Scott readily identify Τάρτησος as “the Tarshish of Scripture”.

Tiras (Genesis 10:2) is in Strong’s Hebrew spelling “Thiyrac”. Mentioned nowhere else in the Bible (except in the copy of Genesis chapter 10 found at I Chronicles chapter 1), many writers have made perfect etymological and ethnographical sense in connecting these people to the Thracians north of Greece. In later history the land of Thrace is instead occupied by Greeks, as Makedonians and Thessalians, and Strabo is confused as to whether one tribe in the area, the Treres, are Kimmerian (Kelts) or Thracian (13.1.8, 14.1.40). The Thracians were not considered Greeks but rather barbarians (Strabo 7.7.1), and had colonies in Asia (Strabo 12.3-4), and also with the Eneti settled the area around Venice (Strabo 12.3.25). The Phrygians of Anatolia are said to be Thracians (Strabo 7.3.2, 7.25, and 10.3.16). [It may be that the Phrygians, or Thracians, were the first mound or tumuli builders of early Europe.]

Modern anthropologists, archaeologists and historians often discuss the “sea peoples”,

whom they usually claim were Caucasians who came from the Aegean area and invaded the Mediterranean. The true origin of the “sea peoples” are as the Japhethites of Genesis chapter 10, who were spread along the waterways from the Caspian and Black Seas to as far west as Spain, and at a very early time. Contrast Genesis 10:5 with 10:20 and 10:31, where the Japhethites were specifically assigned the “isles” or “coast-lands”, but not the Hamites or Shemites, though the Hamitic Philistines also plied the waves, and only after a considerable time were these peoples rivaled at sea by the Israelite Phoenicians.

There is a certain prophecy, at Genesis 9:27, which reads, “God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant”. Without discussing the part concerning Canaan, this will be discussed briefly here. It is evident that Yahweh surely did enlarge Japheth, for these tribes were spread out over a great area along the southern coasts and eastern borderlands of Europe. Although a separate and lengthy topic, once it is realized that not only the Phoenicians of Tyre, Sidon, Byblos (et al.), northern Africa, the Greek and Italian islands, Spain and Britain, but also the Keltic and Germanic peoples, and the Trojans and Illyrians and Parthians, among others, were all descendants of the Shemitic Israelites, and most of whom had moved into Europe, along with other Shemites such as the Lydians (see Lud below), only then may the oracle at Genesis 9:27 (and most other prophecies in the Bible) be manifest and appreciated.

Aside from the peoples of Meshech and Tubal having been conquered by, and living among the Germanic Rus (and we see here that the Slavic tongue prevailed in Russia), and the colony of Medes moved by the Israelite Scythians to the Tanaïs, which later

became known as Sarmatians, and later than that also known as Slavs, these things already discussed above, the other Japhethite tribes moved all along the Mediterranean coasts and into Europe, but were not known as Slavs.

The Getae and the Daci are described by Strabo as being akin to the Thracians (Tiras) and having the same tongue (7.3.10, 13), these inhabiting a great part of both sides of the lower Danube. Although Strabo considered everything north of the Danube as Germany (2.5.30, 7.1.1 et al.) this particular area is historically Slavic. The Greek Ionians also made many settlements. The Ionians of Phocaea in Asia Minor were called by Herodotus “the first of the Greeks who performed long voyages” (1.163), and these alone founded Massalia (Marseilles) on the coast of France, Maenaca in Iberia, Elea in Italy (Strabo 4.1.4, 3.4.2, and 6.1.1) and many other colonies. The Etrurians, or Etruscans, of Italy descended from the Shemitic tribe of Lud found first in Anatolia – the ancient Lydians, which shall be discussed below. Italy was also settled by the Trojans, and especially Rome (Strabo 6.1.12 and 14), the Ionians of Asia Minor (Strabo 6.1.14, 6.2.2), the Athenians who were also Ionians, and the Achaeans who were Danaans (Strabo 6.1.10, 11, 13, and 15).

With so many Slavs, along with the races of Southern France and Italy, among us today, Japheth certainly is dwelling in the tents of Shem unto this day. Yet we must understand this: that the earliest Adamic tribes had most likely entered Europe by 3000 BC, yet the earliest substantial writing we have from our European forebears is not until circa 600 BC.

[Date] **11.01.2012** [Poster] [REDACTED] [Title] **General Christian Identity**

Discussion [Forum] [REDACTED] [Access Date] **12.29.2012**

You know you're having a good day when wolves revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for the sake of Christ.

[Date] **11.01.2012** [Poster] [REDACTED] [Title] **Catholic Inquisition and their Torture**

Tools [Forum] [REDACTED] [Access Date] 12.29.2012

I'm willing to have a civil discussion about the Church as long as facts are being used.

Let's not use the propaganda which has been recycled for centuries. Your posturing is already uncivil.

[Date] **11.8.2012** [Poster] [REDACTED] [Title] **Intro Material for People New to**


StormFront [Forum] [REDACTED] [Access Date] **12.29.2012**

Dear [REDACTED], I've always admired your brilliant mind and your ability to articulate the issues at hand. However, I feel compelled to offer some additional comments for the edification of a candid world and how the welcome mat works here. Do you believe the truth shall make us free? I'm sure you're well aware of the source for this concept and that it's been around for 2000 years. It is a simple yet dynamic idea. Quote: It is true that it is not all Jews who are actively causing the problem (and some are even trying to help), but history has shown that the psychopathic Jewish elite becomes increasingly hostile, radical

and bold until they bring disaster upon the entire tribe. If this is true, then it means that there are good jews and bad jews. I don't think "tribe" is the best word to describe jews, being that they consist of and represent the world of mongrelization. They are the antithesis of racial purity and therefore at enmity with the White race/tribe in perpetuity. If we compromise the notion of 'us and them,' it is only a matter of time before multiculturalism takes root and we start making excuses that some of them are OK. If I had a choice between believing what God or the opinion of man has to say about the jews, I would be persuaded by the same book that says "The truth shall make you free." It says that the White race is loved, but the jews are hated by God; it says the jews are a people against whom the Lord hath indignation forever; these mongrel jews are described as a terror and an evil for all the kingdoms of the earth... and a curse in all places. Not some of them, but all of them. Quote: I don't know what to tell Christians who are upset at the true nature of "The Chosen". Tell them the truth, but the truth is: jews are not "The Chosen." Quote: There is some evidence that the Bible warns of this problem. There is a preponderance of evidence. There is an entire book (Obadiah) dedicated to the prophecy of jews being completely eliminated from the face of the earth. Quote: Some ("radical") Christians here subscribe to a theory that the Jews of today are not the same people as the ancient Israelites. Please, [REDACTED], if it were a mere "theory" I would not have wasted the last 35 years of my life trying to wake up as many White people as possible to the truth. If you don't believe me, at least believe the jewish scholars who have spilled the beans about their own impersonation. The truth about jews being Israel is about as true as the

holocaust and six million crispy critters. Quote: If being a member of the "true Chosen" is your cup of tea, then you can see what they have to say in the Christian Identity forums. It should be noted that this cup of tea is hidden from public view, because the truths revealed there are not someone else's cup of tea. In fact it should be said that Stormfront has no theological bent and purports to be secular in nature. I sometimes shake my head in disbelief that our national and racial heritage is so cavalierly discarded, especially following the fiasco of the 2012 presidential elections, knowing that it was the Spirit of '76 that founded this nation. We have gotten to this point in time of decadence and corruption, because there are some in our midst who have the audacity to argue what exactly that spirit was or was not. As long as the truth is hidden, you can welcome 500,000 or a million new subscribers... and nothing will change. Quote: Others believe that the time for Jewish salvation through conversion has long since past, but may have been valid when the New Testament was written. That, sir, is jewish propaganda and is simply not true. Christ said He only came for one race of people. You will find the truth, when you identify who those people are. Quote: Still others like myself view the problem as being mainly medical, and not theological. It is both. We are poisoned daily with the air we breath, the water we drink and the food we eat. It affects our spiritual compass, in which direction to go. How many White folks are medicated on pharmaceuticals, which are manufactured by the jew owned Big Pharma? Count on GMO's going exponential. Quote: I don't know what interpretation mainstream Christians need to find in the Bible I do and it's the racial message of Christian Identity. But, of course, it's "controversial"

right? Quote: I only know that we Whites cannot continue as we have been doing lest we destroy ourselves and bring hell on Earth. Ask our kindred in South Africa if hell has not arrived on their soil. We, ourselves, are in the throes of self-destruction right now. Not everybody is broke and homeless, hungry and malnourished. But, the majority of White people in America are mesmerized with a preoccupation to satisfy their own comforts, than to invest time in discovering the truth. I know the self righteous don't like to hear anything about sin, but sin is the transgression of the Law. You want to talk about the problem and some solutions, talk about our lawlessness; it's all cause and effect - blessings and curses. When you learn the truth about who you are in the eyes of our Creator, our responsibilities and duties become clear as day; as much as it did in 1776.

[Date] **11.21.2012** [Poster]  [Title] **Thinking of Becoming C.I.** [Forum]
Stormfront

For those here who rarely/never log out and look at the forum as unregistered guests see it, do you realize the entire Theology forum has been made to be invisible to anyone coming across it for the first time? The subforums that are located above and below this subforum, "Culture and Customs" and "Trades and Skills" are visible, while Theology is not. Nothing engenders a spirit of camaraderie like being treated like a pariah and an embarrassment by your "brothers in arms," huh? Found this article from 2007. Who knows who the one quoted is or cares for that matter really, but such a derisive blanket

statement which also contains a generalization about CI doctrine that isn't shared by all CI adherents is pretty typical of how the Christian Identity element often is mischaracterized and maligned around here - Quote: These are not the crazies who haunt the shadows of political extremism, left and right. They are educated, polite and urbane. I was the only one there whose hairless pate resembled the coifs of the insanely violent skinheads. No one brandished racial slurs. Indeed, one twentysomething marketing exec told me that believers in the hyper-racist "Christian Identity" sect – which teaches that Jews descend from a union of Eve and Satan – are "total nut cases. We have nothing to do with them." Don't want to put too much emphasis on some obscure article from three years ago, only to relate to those not familiar how Identity Christians are regarded by many calling themselves White Nationalists. There of course could be no one more intrinsically White Nationalist than an Identity Christian due to the believing of the tenets of CI which are universally agreed upon, like the Biblical admonitions for each race to keep to itself geographically and physically and who "know the blasphemy of them which say they are Jews, and are not, but are the synagogue of Satan" (Revelation 2:9), among others which were believed by some Whites centuries before the term White Nationalist had ever been defined/used. Those opposed to us see invoking such verses as a manifestation of a collective persecution complex, nevertheless it's always good to remember Christ's encouraging words - "Blessed are you, when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake" - Matthew 5:11

[Date] **11.26.2012** [Poster] [REDACTED] [Title] **New Testament not written in Greek?** [Forum] **Stormfront**

This is a topic which people often get emotional about, especially if they are jews or if they have been reading jewish literature and have been fooled by it. The jews want nothing more than to convince us of a totally jewish identity and culture and language for Christ and the apostles, in order to next convince us that it was not really right of any of the apostles to take the gospel outside of the jewish sphere. There is of course the easy answer (from a smart-assed point of view): Christ is God incarnate and can speak any language He wants. The jews would hate that one, too. More academically: Any honest look at the Scriptures themselves insists that Christ and the apostles often spoke and wrote in Greek, and that they were familiar with the Greek scriptures of the Septuagint which they frequently quoted from verbatim, and that all of the New Testament books were originally written in Greek, but it is also clear that in their daily discourse they had used both Greek and Hebrew. While there are Aramaic words, influences and/or pericopes in many of the later books of Scripture (Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah et alii), the corpora of those books were primarily Hebrew. This, however, has no real bearing on the world of the apostles. Nevertheless, the existence of the Aramaic Targums and the fact that such targums had been created both before and after the time of Christ proves that Aramaic and Hebrew must have remained distinct until that period. Aramaic clearly eclipsed Hebrew among the people some time after the sixth century BC, but that does

not mean Hebrew had disappeared entirely. The New Testament was written originally and entirely in Greek, but it cannot be ignored that Christ and several of the apostles were familiar also with Hebrew, and that at least some of the apostles were more comfortable with Hebrew than with Greek, since Hebrew was their native tongue. I am calling the language of the apostles Hebrew, because that is what the apostles called it. They never referred to their language as "Aramaic", but as "Hebrew". If the Hebrew of the apostles had come to resemble Aramaic, that is immaterial, they still called it Hebrew. It can also be ascertained that there was a peculiar Levantine dialect of Koine Greek extant from as early as the second century BC, and that the New Testament books reflect that dialect in many ways. While it was called Koine (Common) Greek, meaning Greek which was common to the entire Hellenistic world, it nevertheless had its peculiarities from region to region. Some of those peculiarities are even evident when examining the differences between ancient New Testament manuscripts. Here it how it is established that the New Testament books were originally all written in Greek: There are many passages in the New Testament which give Greek renderings of Hebrew terms, that would never have been necessary if those books had been written in Hebrew (or Aramaic) and then later translated to Greek. Examples are Matthew 1:23, Mark 5:41, 15:22, John 5:2, 19:13 and 19:17. There are many Hebraisms in the Greek of the New Testament. Hebraisms are the use of language elements generally peculiar to Hebrew which are used in Greek speaking or writing. These are found not only in Matthew and Mark, for instance, but also in the sayings of Christ as they are quoted by the native Greek speaker Luke! The existence of

these in all of these texts helps to prove that a translation from Hebrew to Greek did not occur in order to produce Greek New Testament books. Furthermore, the nature of the many variations of Greek words among all of the oldest manuscripts shows divergence among the manuscripts for various other reasons, but the consistency of the preponderance of words among those manuscripts precludes the possibility that the Greek manuscripts are mere translations of older Hebrew or Aramaic manuscripts. Additionally, the archaeology (in the original sense of the word: the study of ancient documents) of the manuscripts proves beyond doubt that all of the books of the New Testament were originally written in Greek. The earliest Aramaic (aka Syriac) manuscripts which could be cited by the Nestle-Aland Novum Testamentum Graece (27th edition, the NA27) date from the fourth and fifth centuries and are clearly Aramaic translation made from Greek manuscripts, something which is also evident in history. (The estimations of Lamsa in this regard are biased and unfounded.) Conclusion: Christ and the apostles spoke Greek. That is clear from the manuscripts and their history, and also from their many interactions with Greeks or Romans who were very unlikely to have spoken Hebrew. Christ and the apostles also spoke Hebrew. That is clear from the manuscripts in the many places where Hebrew words were used, as is stated explicitly by the apostles. The inscriptions on coins issued by the Herodians and on signs in Jerusalem were predominantly Greek, and rarely any other language. Josephus originally wrote his Wars in Aramaic, for the benefit of the "northern Barbarians" (Parthians and Scythians and Alans). Josephus needed to learn Greek more exactly in order to translate Wars into Greek, and to write his other works in

Greek. (cf Prefaces to both books.) Josephus attests that the rulers in Judaea discouraged mastery of Greek among the people, however Josephus nevertheless knew Greek well enough to read and quote from Strabo and other Greek writers. (cf. Antiquities 14.4.3, 14.7.2, 20.11.2). I hope all of this might help."

[Date] **11.27.2012** [Poster] [REDACTED] [Title] **Is National Socialism Dead in America?** [Forum] [REDACTED] [Access Date] **12.28.2012**

Alas, words and ideas and associations are important in peoples minds, so this is what will happen if one attempts to 'revive' an old movement. I could introduce a new religion which promoted certain moral precepts. An observant person might notice that my New Religion promoted many of the same precepts as an older one called Christianity, but I do not associate it with that historical context. Many people may agree that the principles behind the New Religion seem excellent indeed, relating to Family Values and decent responsible behavior, but as soon as someone attaches the name Christian to this enterprise they will have to contend with 2000 years of history, often violent, whether they want to or not. Thus if you say 'Theory of Relativity' you will be discussing Einstein, even if all you are interested in is a discussion of scientific ideas. And if you say 'National Socialism' you will be discussing Hitler, WWII, and a holocaust, even if all you Can you say "deprogramming"? Your estimation of the White race is that our people are too stupid to understand anything. And that's the way the antichrist jewish masters want to keep it. You're not helping anybody with such a cynical 'head in the sand' defeatist attitude,

except those who want to maintain the status quo of ignorance; just ignore the facts and pretend there is no past. All you want to do is to put a mask on the problem and reinvent the wheel. I can think of a kinsman redeemer who came to save our race and He only started with 12 guys. Adolph Hitler started with a handful of men. The word 'failure' never entered their minds as to what they could do. If someone tried to tell them to tone it down, try another softer way, it was the scoffers that were void of fortitude and full of philosophical bs. The prize of victory never comes by half measures from silent poltroons, whose own inadvertent surrenders promulgate a lemming society. A movement is a movement, regardless of which age it is revived and it is the spirit of the people's thirst for truth that will move and revive them and set them free from the mind-shackles of an insidious enemy, who plays the age old game of psychological alchemy to keep the slave in his place. We don't need a new religion and we don't need "neo-nazi" politics. What we need is the ancient principles that have always liberated our people from death and destruction and that is: the Truth. "The truth shall make you free." Accept no substitutes. "He who controls the present, controls the past. He who controls the past, controls the future" - George Orwell. We can either take command of our own destiny or let other incompetents do it for aliens. My sole purpose in life is to exalt Jesus Christ as the Savior of the White race; I cannot and will not tolerate the lies of the past 2000 years that He loves everybody and came for every race. If I just put my tail between my legs and went along with the program(ing), I would be as brain-dead as the vast majority of White people are today. But, I choose not to contribute to the demise and calculated

machinations against my race. Here's a bright idea: if I can convince 2 people of the Truth that would save the White race and they in turn could convince 2 others and so on and so on, then it would only be a matter of time before the Truth grows exponentially and what would hitherto appear to be insurmountable odds against revival of a dying clan, would be the overcoming reality against the status quo. The German people were blessed with a visionary and they went with time-tested and time-honored solutions; they believed the Truth. The rest of the world was jealous and vindictive. That "world" is with us today and they do everything they can to prevent the resurgence of a 'can do' spirit. We can do all things through Him who strengthens us. You want to talk about 'White Power', well there it is! Our people are not stupid, they are White for God's sake. And you can't revive them with more sleeping pills. You want to talk about words, ideas and associations? Start with the antiquated concept of righteousness, for without it, we are spinning our wheels in the mud. And there's only one instruction manual on how to find it. It was written exclusively for the White race. May you find it before sinking deeper into the quagmire.*are interested in is a Folkish Movement.*

Notes: An exchange between [REDACTED] in response to another post.

[Date] **12.1.2012** [Poster] [REDACTED] [Title] **Thinking of Becoming C.I.** [Forum]

[REDACTED] [Access Date] **12.29.2012**

I, too, am thinking of becoming Christian (do I have to say "Identity"? I prefer Christian, since CI is Christianity through and through). In your email to me you said, "I have some

queries that I would like you to clarify before I fully accept Christ." Whether you are thinking of becoming a Christian or accepting Christ is not really the point. It is God who accepts and chooses you. I have some questions that I would appreciate answered: In CI, what happens when one dies? Is there no heaven or hell? When you die you die i.e. cessation of life; you have no conscience state of mind. Therefore, the catholic concept of heaven and hell are a moot point. Properly understood, heaven is God's abode, not a mansion in outer space awaiting your arrival; hell is simply the grave, where one is buried. If we are to be resurrected from the grave, we must be dead! What version of The Bible should I keep? Versions are just that, which is why our study of the Word requires rightly dividing the word of truth. Any Bible that has not adulterated the Law and Prophets is acceptable. There's been many discussions on this topic, so try doing a search in the archives. I was baptized Catholic and raised one - do I need to be baptized again? And what exactly do I need to do in order to become CI? This is a little bit more heated controversy, but again use the search feature and you'll find some lively discussion on the subject. This isn't connected to the KKK is it? Isn't the KKK a Freemason branch, owned by Jews? Albert Pike tried to buy his way into the Klan during Reconstruction, but he was not a founder or leader. The 1920's Klan was Masonic from some of the top leaders, but with a membership of an estimated 5 million it was primarily Christian. By the time David Duke reformed the Klan, the Masonic influence had all but disappeared. The jews have never owned anything Klan, unless you're talking about fake Klans that committed atrocities and then tried to blame the real Klan. Many Klans today are Christian

Identity. Is it confirmed that Christianity is not Jewish and is indeed about my race, the white race? Yes. It's also confirmed that Jesus was not a Jew, which has become the most confusing word in the Bible. This article may help: The Antisemantics of the Word 'Jew' by Pastor Mark Downey | Is Christian the right way to identify myself, or is it a Kinsman Reedmer/Christian Identity? The latter terms simply help describe what the Bible is saying. There are very few true "Christians" in the world today thanks to denominationalism and the hyphenated abomination of Jewo-. But, Christian Identity is the closest thing to the 1st century apostolic church in the world today. Cheers, from a [REDACTED] youth.

[Date] **12.6.2012** [Poster] [REDACTED] [Title] **Is National Socialism Dead in America?** [Forum] [REDACTED] [Access Date] **12.29.2012**

Don't speak of integrity when any forum member who opposes NS based upon the historical failure of it, you accuse of being a Jew or promoting Jew propaganda. You can take that message all the way back to the [REDACTED], which feels a false sense of empowerment by dominating the CI section of SF, and repelling any Christian who doesn't buy the Sadducee religious doctrines, or the crowd of atheists, occultists, etc., who use the same predictable tactics.

[Date] **12.11.2012** [Poster] [REDACTED] [Title] **Is National Socialism Dead in America?** [Forum] [REDACTED] [Access Date] **12.29.2012**


You aren't smart enough... But, you're smart enough to attack the person rather than the principle? *America is still here after 1776.* The Spirit of '76 died a long time ago buddy. With that negger in the White House, our founding fathers must be rolling in their graves. You really need to wake up and smell the coffee. *If America is so horrible, leave.* If what you're seeing through rose-colored glasses is so wonderful, move to Detroit. *NS will never gain power here, so you're wasting your time.* Your defeatist attitude cannot fathom what worked in the past, therefore you're wasting your time thinking you have anything to contribute to the salvation of our race. *You know nothing of consequences for disobedience. Therefore you know nothing about what is written in Scripture.* I know that you don't have anything else better to do than "sowing seeds of discord amongst the brethren." *God doesn't "root", if you believe or know anything about how God works. God provides consequences for man's disobedience and blessings for man's obedience. Enjoy your cult. I don't have time for it.* Your attempt to derail this thread with your self-righteous theology is duly noted. If you want to pontificate "God" find your own peanut gallery somewhere in Theology. If you don't have time for the relevant aspects of National Socialist forms of theocratic Christianity then go away. By the way, you're wrong... divine rooting for the good guys is redundant, unless you're a universalist. *You aren't smart enough to twist the intent of what I stated earlier. The NSDAP sought an aggressive campaign, lied to their citizenry, brought total ruin upon Germany, and couldn't contend with what they set out to accomplish. That is known as failure and the best you Hitlerites can do is blame America and England.* You simply parrot Allied

propaganda without taking into account the much greater complexities of world politics back in the 1930s. For one thing, you totally ignore the Jewish question, central to Hitler's Germany, which is a huge oddity for somebody with so much experience on Stormfront. If you think that Germany's campaign to unite all Germans into one state is the sole catalyst for WWII, you've been spending too much time listening to Jewish propaganda. England wanted war in 1939, so did Poland, so did France, while the USSR was quietly planning an invasion of Europe and Roosevelt's America was hell-bent on joining in to bomb Germany into the ground. *Hilarious. All the so called Christian support of a disastrous political system led by a Fuhrer who reveled in the idolatry from the desperate German citizenry he destroyed is about as dumb as anyone can be.* Loyalty to your leader is not idolatry. Having a role model is not idolatry. Granted, the Germans did put a lot of emphasis on Hitler's importance, but that's because he achieved real results, before being forced into a war which turned against him and his people. To blame that entirely on him is just stark-raving mad, though I do not fully exonerate him from some mistakes either. *American Independence from the tyranny of Cromwell's England doesn't even compare. Stop while you're behind.* Cromwell was dead 120 years before the Declaration of Independence... and much changed in Britain during that time. But America's independence was justified by some tax issues and political representation... whereas America's war of annihilation against Germany was justified by... what? Their Jewish masters' desire to destroy the German people's Nationalist spirit. As for the original point, Germany attacking England... let me remind you that England was the one

declaring war. Germany simply sought to end it through victory. *Had America followed Patton's plan to destroy Russia in '45, it could have worked out quite well. Strategic reasons for allowing Soviet involvement didn't justify the end result.* So your idea is that it was okay to destroy Europe until 1945, and then America should have kept on destroying Europe to get rid of the Soviets. You really do hate Europe don't you? *Russia's ability to declare war was not an American decision. And with the blunder of Stalingrad, Russia crushed Germany all by themselves.* Russia's ability to WAGE war was an American decision, due to Roosevelt's maniacal dedication to send massive amounts of war supplies to the USSR. *America is certainly not a nation without fault, but Germany lasted 12 years under Hitler. America is still here after 1776.* Yes because America wasn't attacked within half a decade of her birth by all of the world's major powers. Imagine for a second if, in addition to facing Britain, American revolutionaries had also been attacked by Spain, France, Austria and Russia, an entire coalition to bring them down. America would've been a footnote in an old British history book. *If America is so horrible, leave. NS will never gain power here, so you're wasting your time.* America isn't horrible today? I'm an administrator on [REDACTED] site and I've never seen that picture and it would be out of character for that image to be there. You're being exposed as a fraud and falsifying things in order to discredit honest scholars and people of integrity. Who the hell are you, other than a fifth columnist in the dirty tricks department whose little prank backfired. The jokes on you for overplaying your hand (from cards under the table). You should be banned from Stormfront. I likewise apologize for the insinuation that [REDACTED] photoshopped

the picture, but it was only precipitated by an ongoing and incessant stream of venom, vitriol and character assassination for which he should apologize. The insinuation that [REDACTED] was making about the cover image of William Finck's book 'ChristReich', which is void of Hitler and something entirely separate (and explained subsequently as to its purpose) from the Third Reich is intellectual dishonesty at best and at worst the machinations of a useful idiot for which the ADL must be gleefully applauding. 'ChristReich' is a great book if you're wanting to read about a Christian Identity perspective on John's book of Revelation - that's what it's about! It's an interesting title, in that the word 'reich' means realm, kingdom or empire and that Christ will successfully fulfill what Hitler started; and what true Christians continue to advance for the Kingdom to come. Wars are just a continuation of the same thing, but with different titles for each conflict. In most cases it is the racially pure interests of the White race that come into conflict with the motives of mongrelization spearheaded by the Jew. That's what makes a vehement opposition (like [REDACTED]) to our racial preservation, stand out in such stark contrast to the truth of history, which has been so maligned and distorted for the gullible masses to regurgitate. Fools and charlatans do not and cannot support a movement that is in the best interests of the White race. They are as dead as their mistaken notions that National Socialism is dead. And they will slander and smear anyone who does not wave their white flag of surrender with special animosity. They are so lost in their fantasies of a world without stout men who will fight and die for Christian Nationalism i.e. National Socialism, that they will always be hiding in their closets full of libertine skeletons and

never experiencing the socialism or social camaraderie, an esprit de corps of the Folk that love their own kind. The socialism of Hitler was always about White society, because the Law of their Creator was written in their hearts and minds. Opposition to such noble enterprise is actually quenching or extinguishing the spirit of our basic instinct to survive, moreover it is our duty to excel in life and to live more abundantly with what has been bestowed upon us through no will power of our own, but as a gift. This should give pause to anyone reading this thread as to why anyone would spit on that gift as some have done. Notes: The *italics* is one poster – these two went back and forth for weeks in this vein.

[Date] **12.16.12** [Poster]  [Title] **Recap on Bertrand Comparet's "Merchants of Babylon"** [Forum] **Stormfront**

Here's featured passages from this awesome sermon which I hope y'all enjoy...Yah Bless!

"Adam was told, "Now don't get mixed up with these pre-Adamic races who have evil so ingrained in them that you are not going to be able to lift them out of it; they will make you like one of them. You are here to have good only, and not evil, in your character and your conduct." Then he let himself be persuaded by Satan that the way to have power in this world, and rule, you had to get down off your pedestal and mingle with these people and learn their ways and out-smart them, and you had to be more clever, more crooked than they were-until, what was the result? Satan, who had been the superintendent of this planet and probably others, was deposed because he disobeyed God, he rebelled against God. Well, what did Adam do? He did the same thing." "When our ancestors the people

of Israel were on the march, were on the march and ready to go into Palestine, God gave us our instructions very plainly. He said of the people who were in the land He was telling them to take possession of, "You shall exterminate them totally; you shall not leave one man, woman, or child, alive; because, if you do, if you leave them there, you are going to have integration, your children will grow up with theirs, they will intermarry with them, and you will become as polluted as they are, until finally I will have to exterminate you for the very same reason that I am telling you to exterminate them."

"The Israelites were not Jews; no Israelite was ever a Jew, and no Jew was ever an Israelite."

[Date] **12.24.2012** [Poster] [REDACTED] [Title] **RARE Christian Identity Documentary**
[Forum] **Stormfront**

Speaking of the gun rights issue, Pastor [REDACTED] reminded us at church yesterday: Arming ourselves is not a right given to us by the 2nd Amendment, but a RESPONSIBILITY given to us by God; and that is mentioned over and over and over again in the Bible.

[Date] **12.25.2012** [Poster] [REDACTED] [Title] **You WNs are Too Extreme**
[Forum] **Opposing Viewpoints**

Merry Christmas SFers, I'm a [REDACTED] white man [REDACTED]. I'm not going to pretend that I support your views because I don't. My wife and my whole extended family are white but if my two young boys end up marrying non-white women

then I'm okay with it. Now before you call me a traitor or a troll or a Jew, hear me out. Just because I have different views from yours doesn't mean that I'm an enemy. In fact, isn't it the job of WNs to change the minds of White liberals like myself? Then why don't you have a reasoned debate with me instead of calling me names and telling me to go away? Isn't that what the OV forum is all about? There are much more white liberals than WNs in our nation and the reason we don't join your camp is because a lot of you (not all) come off as violent and hateful people. Yes, I said it. I don't think you should include and encourage white supremacists in your site. I initially started surfing SF to hear more about white pride and why we should be separate, not to hear racist insults towards non-whites and mocking non-whites because of their IQ and calling their countries "turd world ****holes". Members like [REDACTED] scare me and do not make me want to join. I speak on behalf of white liberals, tone it down. If you can give some good reasons as to why my boys should stick with white women, I will change my mind.

[Date] **12.25.2012** [Poster] [REDACTED] [Title] **You WNs are Too Extreme**

[Forum] **Opposing Viewpoints** [Access Date] **12.29.2012**

Marry Christmas, [REDACTED]. Your boys should avoid having children with non white women because, if they do so, they will contribute to the white geNOcide, the geNOcide you and I are suffering. Do you understand?

Notes: It is unclear if the following posts are continuation from the above author, or if they just didn't give names. My impression is that the following are from separate

individuals.

Having your sons marry members of their own race and having children with them should be pretty self-explanatory. Mixed race children end up ostracized, mixed race relations never last, nothing good comes out of it. Not to mention, the threat of our race becoming less and less prevalent in the United States, with the influx of Mexican and other non-white immigrants we are already in the minority, so don't encourage in any shape or form race mixing. It's just not worth it.

I doubt you came here with an open mind. Most here are not supremacists, just Nationalists. Actually, you didn't seem to counter the arguments about their overall lower IQ or their subpar countries much at all other than calling it hateful. Can the truth be hateful? I think not. You are the enemy because you wouldn't contest your son's miscegenation if it became apparent.

White Nationalism is very unknown in the public mind, so saying that there are a lot more of you than us for those reasons is misleading. As ironic as this might sound, but I would argue that most White liberals in a certain respect are de facto WN-ists, as they live exclusively among other White people, although unlike us, they harbour malice and contempt towards their own people, whereas we are the opposite. For starters, your European lineage will be absorbed if your sons one day decide to marry a non-white woman. Your grandchildren will look nothing like you, in the same way Barack Obama has no resemblance to his mother and his mother's ancestry. After your boys race mix,

neither their kids or the children who come after them will ever be able to create a full European with a set of European geno/phenotypes again.

I tend to agree with [REDACTED], most white people who are interested in your cause will be turned off by many things they read here. Myself I agree with the fact that races exist and have different levels of intelligence; all African countries are an excellent example for this. Most white people realize this but are scared to express opinion because of the "mainstream society view" but the solution is not scaring them away and calling them race traitors or "libtards" when they come here and ask questions or don't agree with some parts of the WN idea. They should be convinced by logical arguments, like the relation between IQ and race, stability level in countries and race... Something I personally don't agree with is the intelligence level of Asians (Chinese, Korean, Japanese...) as discussed on this board, I have seen threads with people who deny the fact that ancient China invented things on its own too. They are at least as intelligent as whites probably more intelligent and had their own important share of inventions that were essential to human progress. This is a case of the superiority feeling that also scares people away and in this case it isn't true. Many WN claim that they only seek a safe world and future for white children but quickly resort to calling other races retards, monkeys, apes... The intelligence difference with some races is true and society should see and admit this but saying it like this isn't going to help.

"There are much more white liberals than WNs in our nation and the reason we don't join your camp is because a lot of you (not all) come off as violent and hateful people. Yes, I

said it. I don't think you should include and encourage white supremacists in your site."

What do you post on the liberal sites that say someone should shove a gun up Mitt Romney's butt and pull the trigger? the sinister serpents that say all the members of the NRA should be lined up against a wall and shot? that say the first *** to say the solution is for elementary school teachers to carry guns needs to get beaten to death? that, as University of Rhode Island history professor irrational proclaims "Looks like the National Rifle Association has murdered some more children"; and as that same professor has demanded, someone should put NRA executive Wayne LaPierre's "head on a stick"; and calls the NRA a "terrorist" organization!? . . . and the list goes on, but you get the point, I hope. There are more threats - direct threats - of violence and murder - and there are more actual acts of violence and murder - being perpetrated in the United States today, and this year, by self-proclaimed "progressives", red-shirted thug-unions, bully Obama cultists, closet communists, and other left-breeds, than there are instances of violence and murder by all the members of Stormfront combined. And frankly, by the way, I haven't read of any NRA member yet, shooting children in a school, audiences in theaters, congregations at worship, shoppers in malls, civilians walking the streets. Have you? Since you have bought the left's lies, having no decent source to provide you with a clear and thorough refutation of their lies and degeneracy, naturally you oppose anyone you think is connected with Stormfront. The left says Stormfront participants (except the trolls and the bitter anti-stormfront ranters) are all haters and murderers, and you believe the left. The left says they aren't going to let you make Benghazi into a "political issue"

so you keep mum about it. As you are mum about the historical crimes of the left from before Ruby Ridge (yes, I dare bring it up again!) to Branch Davidian (ditto!), and so on, to the left-wing harassing of Price and Strom and others for exercising their "right of free speech". In conclusion, self-proclaimed white liberal, "There are much more white liberals than [Nationalists] in our nation" because liberals control education and the media, as the communists controlled education and the media in the Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact nations. "...and the reason we don't join your camp is because a lot of you (not all)" liberals have proven that you will stop at nothing - lying, ballot box stuffing, character assassination, harrasing WNs and non-liberal political candidates, threatening their supporters, even beating up their supporters, and committing bloody murder to get what you want; as a result it is you who "come off as violent and hateful people. Yes, I said it. I don't think you should include and encourage" marxists and communists in your media, your children's schools, your churches, your government, and your nation.

Ok heres why we should have pride in our races accomplishments: Take a look at the world, you know all those little things that make your life so much easier? That was the White race. Almost every single tiny little thing which is of benefit to humanity was given by us! No other race has been as beneficial to humanity as our own. You want to know why we should be allowed to live separately from other races: Because every other race can already do that. Every other race already has their own nations for their own people **except us!** We are already the minority in the world and soon to be the minority in

our own nations. What you are looking at is the gradual extinction of the White race! Now I know you already said you dont care if your kids grow up and marry a non White but some of us would rather not see our race become extinct. Do you care if an endangered species becomes extinct? Does it tug at your heartstrings when you hear theres only a couple hundred snow leopards left in the wild? Do you worry about the plight of the whales or some rat in the rainforest whose habitat is being destroyed? If you answered yes to any of these then should you not also care about a whole section of humanity disappearing? And please dont do the liberal thing of "well who cares if White people die off because humans will still exist" because not once have I heard any liberal ever say "screw the snow leopards! Big cats will still exist and who cares if that rat in the amazon goes extinct? Rodents still exist and they outnumber humanity!". If you care about the extinction of an animal then you should care about the extinction of a race, if you dont care about the extinction of a race then you are just another genocidal monster and I have little to say to you.

[Date] **12.26.2012** **(no notes, follows other replies to [REDACTED])**

Extreme is when you take that first look at your grandchild and not seeing a part of you .Extreme is the massive amount of crime committed by nonWhites and hushed up in the media.I could go on but why do you just move your family to the hood and find out for yourself.

[Date] **12.25.2012** [Poster] [REDACTED] [Title] **In the "Judging Xmas" thread started by [REDACTED]. Titled Nationwide Conspiracy Today -- happening right now, Dec.25th. Is it possible?** [Forum] **Stormfront**

There has been breaking news unfolding recently from independent journalists who have asserted that the Sandy Hook Massacre was a planned event pulled off by international Bolsheviks using Mossad operatives for the purpose of disarming the American public by way of extreme US federal gun control edicts. Several possible scenarios have been presented concerning what may have happened at the school. Yet the reaction from most of the sleeping public is that “No massive national conspiracy of such a great magnitude is possible to take place these days in America.” Therefore – conspiracy theories are purely and always just “off the wall or silly”. Is a massive nationwide conspiracy really that impossible to pull off on a very large segment of society? Actually, not at all. There is one going on right now --- today, December 25, 2012 For all of the “grown ups” who have no interest in studying the history of the monetary world, its leading elite families, and more recently the events surrounding the fake State of “Israel” in the middle east since 1948 -- please be aware that nearly all of you yourselves are involved in one huge gigantic nationwide conspiracy TODAY which you have executed upon millions of children (unbeknownst to them) right in your own cities, towns, and homes. “Grown ups” have all gotten together on a massive scale and have convinced their children that a fat man in a red suit came down the chimney last night and left gifts under a tree set up in the living room. And --- the children all believe it! Yes, they trust their moms and dads – and

they wholeheartedly believe the lie. Even though the children are intelligent enough beings able to feed themselves at a table, count basic numbers, marginally read with some level of competence, converse with others, and operate many fundamental electronic gadgets -- they have all been suckered into a scam of gigantic proportions -- “the fat man in the red suit is alive and he is the one who left a bunch of gifts on the floor.” So not only do certain conspiracies exist – the parents pull off one of the biggest nationwide conspiracies each year – and are never caught! Tell me now parents, is it possible to trick a public that has been completely dumbed-down for generations to the level of childlike trust in the news media and their own government, to the extent that the public would reason in their now limited thinking process – “My TV and Government would never lie to me” and “A huge nationwide conspiracy about Sandy Hook is impossible to pull off”. Well, consider what you have just told your children this morning, and now answer that question. Almighty God, who clearly sees the whole national picture, tells us, “The whole world lies in wickedness” (I John 5:19) “My people are destroyed for lack of knowledge” (Hosea 4:6). Does the Sandy Hook incident and a disarming of America qualify as “destruction”? God tells us that the world lies to us and that we are destroyed because of it. What does God know about the national current events that you don’t? Do you think that it just might be time to quit trusting the liars and get outside of the main stream media and the government stories to see if maybe “the fat man in the red suit didn’t do it”? Look into your children’s eyes today December 25th and rethink if it is possible for millions of people in a nation to be simultaneously tricked.

[Date] **12.26.2012** [Poster] [REDACTED] [Title] **Response to Judging Xmas** [Forum]

Stormfront

It is hard for the uninformed to grasp the idea of a multi-thousand year conspiracy. Ever since the whisper, "Surely you won't die", there has been a concerted effort by the conspirators, being aided and abetted by the blind, to destroy our unique racial gene pool. The Israelites and their kin, the Gentiles, must all be destroyed, down to the very last breeding pair. Since there is no way for the enemy to know the difference between what is deemed White and Israelite then all White must be destroyed through racial amalgamation. Then after that happens a new drive will develop (already has) to destroy the light skinned mix as a mopping up action. Don't believe me, take a look at the threads on this WN site and see what is being called White today; all part of the plan being aided and abetted by the blind and mixes who know that they're not White but 'wanna' be. This very same conspiracy that caused God to flood the known world also created the Orthodox Catholic Church and all her apostate churches the "Protest-tant Churches". One has to be immersed in the Holy Spirit to see this; of that I am convinced. There is only a Remnant left and as far as I can tell it need be only a breeding pair left for this to come true: Quote: 2 Chronicles 7:14 King James Version (KJV)14 If my people, which are called by my name, shall humble themselves, and pray, and seek my face, and turn from their wicked ways; then will I hear from heaven, and will forgive their sin, and will heal their land. I believe there to be more than that left but the last ten years, especially what I

have seen displayed on WN sites, I have cause to question just how many are left. It certainly isn't a multitude; the racial mixing has been going on too long for that to exist. God has kept his people one step ahead of the mud flood but where else can we go after the USA is consumed by the mud flood? Something tells me we will either not listen to 2Chron 7:14 or do so in the nick of time because this has to happen: Quote: Mark 13:20 King James Version (KJV) 20 And except that the Lord had shortened those days, no flesh should be saved: but for the elect's sake, whom he hath chosen, he hath shortened the days. One time God called it down to the very last man and his family, him having been, "perfect in his generations", and nothing indicates to me that it won't be handled any differently. The fact that we now have the Bible, Jesus Christ, and the indwelling of the Holy Spirit produces a better chance of the Remnant recognizing who they are and be cleansed in the blood of Christ is the only reason why I say anything at all. To me, it's not over until God says it's over. When Jesus was here in the flesh he lashed out at those misleading the Israelite people. He had the power within him to destroy those people but did not. He did not even knowing the major reason why the Israelites rejected him was because they were misled. He could not convince them who he was even after the miracles he performed. Nothing has changed we still have the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Scribes who has control of every information source in the world, up to and including the Churches and we're still as misled. When it all was boiled down there was enough sources of the truth for the Israelite people to know better but they wanted to hear what tickled their ears or in layman's terms, wanted to hear what pleased their flesh. The same

holds true today; to various degrees we're all guilty of that, and speaking just for myself,
I am deeply ashamed. "For he was taught not to ask...." Chapter 11 (From the Judaic
Handbook of Psychopolitics) The Recruiting of Psychopolitical Dupes

Appendix C

Chapter five contains the profiles of a number of groups and individuals who committed violent crimes from 1980 through 2013. The following is a list of additional incidents since the year 2000 that were not as large in scope but further illustrate the amount of Christian Identity/Neo-Nazi activity in the United States. This information comes from the Southern Poverty Law Center.

In addition to large scale plots, conspiracies, bank robbery, bombings, and murder, Christian Identity members also commit crimes against one another. The following are single incidents.

The Southern Poverty Center list includes all crimes committed by hate groups, including other white nationalist groups that are not Christian Identity, anti-abortion groups like the Army of God, and anti-immigration groups that may not be explicitly white supremacist. This list is only of people who can be connected to Christian Identity beliefs or organizations.

Parenthesis indicate the original charge. The list following the parenthesis is the charges that ultimately led to conviction.

Name	Crime	Conviction Date
Mark Wayne McCool	(Conspiracy)/Federal Charges	March 9, 2000
Richard Baumhammers	Murder	April 28, 2000
Fritz Springmeier	Setting Off Diversionary Bomb/Bank Robbery	March 1, 2001
Forrest Bateman Jr.	Bank Robbery	March 1, 2001
Leo Felton	Conspiracy/Weapons Violations/Bank Robbery	April 19, 2001
Erica Chase	Conspiracy/Weapons Violations	April 19, 2001
Steve Anderson	Firearms Charges	October 14, 2001
Michael Edward Smith	Conspiracy	January 4, 2002
David Burgert	(Conspiracy)/Weapons Changes	February 8, 2002
Tracy Brockway	Harboring A Fugitive	February 8, 2002
Charles Robert Barefoot Jr	(Conspiracy)/Weapons Violations//Murder – ‘03//Receipt of Explosives w Intent to Kill – ‘12	July 19, 2002
Daniel Barefoot	Arson	July 19, 2002

Larry Raugust	Making & Possessing Destructive Devices/(Conspiracy)	October 3, 2002
James D. Brailey	(Conspiracy)/Weapons Charges	January 18, 2003
David Wayne Hull	(Conspiracy)/Weapons Charges	February 13, 2003
David Roland Hinkson	Attempted Murder/Assassination Plot/Tax Charges	April 3, 2003
William Krar	(Conspiracy)/Possession of a Chemical Weapon	April 10, 2003
Norman Somerville	Weapons Charges	October 10, 2003
Sean Gillespie	Firebombing	April 1, 2004
Demetrius Van Crocker	Attempt to get explosives to destroy a building	October 25, 2004
Craig Orlor	Illegal Sale of Firearms/Solicitation for Bombs	May 20, 2005
Gabriel Carafa	Illegal Sale of Firearms/Solicitation for Bombs	May 20, 2005
Daniel Cowart	(Conspiracy)/Threatening Presidential Candidate/Possession – sawed off shotgun/Illegal Transport of Firearms	October 24, 2008
Paul Schlesselman	(Conspiracy)/ Threatening Presidential Candidate/Possession – sawed off shotgun/Illegal Transport of Firearms	October 24, 2008
James G. Cummings	(Conspiracy) – post mortem	December 9, 2008
Kody Ray Brittingham	Attempted Robbery/Threatening President-elect	December 16, 2008
Keith Luke	Murder/Kidnapping/Aggravated Rape	January 21, 2009
Richard Andrew Poplawski	Murder	April 4, 2009
James von Brunn	Murder	June 10, 2009

Shawna Forde	Murder	June 12, 2009
Jason Eugen “Gunny” Bush	Murder	June 12, 2009
Albert Robert Gaxiola	Murder	June 12, 2009
Justin Carl Moose	(Conspiracy)/Distributing Information on Manufacturing/Use of an Explosive	September 7, 2010
Kevin William Harpham	Attempted Use of a Weapon of Mass Destruction/Possessing an IED/Federal Hate Crimes	January 17, 2011
Francis Schaeffer Cox	Plotting to Kill/Kidnap	March 10, 2011
Lonnie Vernon	Plotting to Kill	March 10, 2011
Karen Vernon	Plotting to Kill	March 10, 2011
Coleman Barney	Weapons Charges	March 10, 2011
Cody Seth Crawford	(Arson)	August 24, 2011
David “Joey” Pedersen	Murder	October 5, 2011
Holly Ann Grigsby	Murder	October 5, 2011
Frederick Thomas	(Conspiracy)/Conspiring to Possess Explosives and Firearms	November 1, 2011
Dan Roberts	(Conspiracy)/Conspiring to Possess Explosives and Firearms	November 1, 2011
Samuel J. Crump	(Conspiracy)	November 1, 2011
Ray H. Adams	(Conspiracy)	November 1, 2011
Pvt. Isaac Aguigui	(Conspiracy)/Murder	December 10, 2011
Pvt. Christopher Salmon	(Murder)	December 10, 2011
Pfc. Michael Burnett	(Murder)	December 10, 2011

Joseph Benjamin Thomas	(Conspiracy)/Weapons and Drug Charges	April 17, 2012
Samuel James Johnson	(Conspiracy)/Weapons and Drug Charges	April 17, 2012
Richard Schmidt	(Conspiracy)/Possession Illegal Firearms, Body Armor, & Ammunition/Trafficking Counterfeit Goods	December 21, 2012
Glendon Scott Crawford	Conspiracy	June 18, 2013
Eric J. Feight	Conspiracy	June 18, 2013