

From White Supremacy to White Power: The FBI, COINTELPRO-WHITE HATE, and the Nazification of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1970s

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In the 1960s, the leader of the largest Ku Klux Klan organization in the United States presumed that the Federal Bureau of Investigation was a meritorious ally engaged in a common battle against Communist subversion.¹ By 1971 however, United Klans of America (UKA) Imperial Wizard Robert Shelton had concluded that the FBI was “no longer the respected and honorable arm of justice that it once appeared to be.”² A year later the UKA’s *Fierce Cross* published an editorial written by former American Nazi Party official William Pierce, who declared that the federal government had “been transformed [into] a corrupt, unnatural and degenerate monstrosity,” and exhorted Klansmen to launch a bloody revolution against it.³ Twenty years before overtly repressive FBI tactics at Ruby Ridge, Idaho, and Waco, Texas, convinced thousands of Americans to join the militia movement, Klansmen had already begun to condemn the FBI and espouse revolution.

This article argues that during the 1970s, Klan organizers transformed a reactionary counter-movement that had failed to preserve white supremacy by terrorizing civil rights organizers and black citizens, into a revolutionary white power movement that inculpated Jews and the federal government.⁴ It describes how these organizers combined latent revolutionary impulses within Klan ideology with more esoteric anti-semitic and anti-republican discourses, infusing Christian Americanism—the Klan’s particular admixture of white supremacy,

anticommunism, nativism, and segregationist theology—with National Socialist dreams of a corporate state, Christian Identity theology, and racial anti-semitism.⁵

This change occurred as American race relations went through a profound transformation.⁶ The rise of neoconservatism, which attacked liberalism and the welfare state while eschewing overtly racial rhetoric, was particularly important in this context.⁷ Before 1964–1966, massive resistance had papered over class divisions in the Deep South, masking a division over the use of violence that would ultimately divide the segregationist constituency.⁸ In the mid-1960s however, Southern leaders began to relinquish Jim Crow and suppress racist violence, even as they helped to slow civil rights implementation and undo efforts to extend civil rights legislation, reconfiguring structures of white privilege by exploiting racial anxieties in the rest of the nation.⁹ In the course of subsequent conflicts over urban riots, court ordered busing, and affirmative action, the nation learned to understand race in “nonsystematic, nonstructural terms.”¹⁰

Klansmen also attempted to re-articulate discourses of whiteness during this period. Like neoconservatives, they shifted focus from racial minorities to the federal government. Yet they clung to biological notions of race, warning that busing, affirmative action, and other egalitarian measures promoted miscegenation. As their former segregationist allies discarded the formal institutions of white supremacy, Klansmen came to realize that it was no longer possible to revive white supremacy or to attract a mass base.¹¹ This article argues that they turned to esoteric conspiratorial discourses to cope with this predicament.

The larger political, social, and cultural context within which the Ku Klux Klan became “thoroughly alienated from routine political processes,” then, is quite clear.¹² Yet explanations for particular trajectories remain opaque: Why did Klan organizers of the 1970s incorporate these *particular* countersubversive discourses? Why did they focus their most vehement hatred of the federal government on federal law enforcement agencies? More specifically, why did the FBI become such a central target of their wrath? This article, based upon research in FBI counterintelligence files, as well as white supremacist and white power publications, provides one explanation.¹³

A rich, readily accessible literature exploring the devolution of black power and new left organizations has described how covert FBI operations and “agents provocateurs” debilitated them by discrediting leaders and aggravating factionalism, influencing a process by which alienated revolutionaries came to embrace terrorism.¹⁴ Some Klansmen also turned to anti-federal government terrorism during this same period, but their publications and communications are buried in archives. These materials attest that Klansmen also came to believe that informers from within and spies from without were disrupting constitutionally protected organizing activities and violating individual civil rights.¹⁵

Drawing on a larger study, this article summarizes how an FBI covert action program called COINTELPRO-WHITE HATE exposed, disrupted, and helped to vitiate Klan organizations between 1964 and 1971.¹⁶ Some operations ex-

posed Klan activity to public scrutiny, facilitating a process by which vigilantes were transformed into “extremists” in American political discourse.¹⁷ Others harassed Klan organizers and discredited Klan officers before the rank and file, aggravating factionalism and facilitating purges. As resignation, frustration, and fear led to membership losses and the disbanding of local klavern units, the UKA disintegrated into antagonistic factions. A number of other Klan groups disappeared entirely.¹⁸ This article argues that this dire situation spurred Klan organizers to fundamentally rethink their rhetorical and organizational strategies. While acknowledging that legitimate and legal surveillance operations aimed at uncovering criminal activity and facilitating prosecution certainly caused Klansmen to condemn the federal government, it argues that they embraced vehement and scurrilous anti-FBI rhetoric to oppose what they saw as illegal and unconstitutional machinations of political repression.

COINTELPRO-WHITE HATE and the Disruption of the Klans, 1964–1971

Between 1960 and 1964, as direct action campaigns for civil rights spread across the South, activists were met with interstate Klan organizing and an increase in vigilante violence. In recalcitrant areas, this situation would not change until federal authorities intervened to boost black voter registration, providing accommodationist politicians with a large enough political base to shift toward moderation. In 1963–1964 moreover, armed African Americans in Mississippi, Louisiana, and Alabama began to defend civil rights activists and to retaliate against white vigilantes. A breakdown in law and order ended toleration of Klan violence, and in December 1965, Deep South juries began to convict terrorists that had previously helped to maintain a white supremacist social order.

Meanwhile, liberal politicians and justice department bureaucrats came to view segregationist mob violence, race-related civil disturbances, and Klan vigilance as threats to internal security. After a number of civil disturbances in May–June 1964, they argued that federal prosecutors and enforcement should target the Klan, and FBI executives stepped up intelligence efforts to predict and contain outbreaks of racial violence. After Klansmen murdered three civil rights workers in Neshoba County, Mississippi, in June, President Johnson challenged FBI director J. Edgar Hoover to prevent terror by suppressing Klan activity. In response, FBI executives launched an aggressive campaign of surveillance, harassment, infiltration, and intelligence collection.

In the wake of the Mississippi murders, FBI agents not only solved bombings, murders, and other acts of Klan vigilance, but also began to anticipate and *prevent* such acts through the use of informants, surveillance, and other counterintelligence techniques. In communities where local power brokers decided to repress Klan violence, the FBI provided intelligence to local police. They also gathered evidence of minor criminal violations and turned it over to local authorities, who targeted Klansmen with selective enforcement of the law. Ef-

fective organizers were arrested and prosecuted for petty offenses, wasting time and depleting finances and curtailing activity.

Agents pressured reluctant local authorities to crack down on local vigilante activity and refused to share information with complicit law enforcement authorities. They conducted aggressive interviews, warning Klansmen not to engage in violence and creating an impression that Klansmen were under almost constant surveillance. They reinforced suspicions and aggravated infighting by insinuating that Klan leaders were fleecing the membership. Fearing that their telephones were tapped and that listening-devices had been planted in their meeting places, some Klansmen refrained from further acts of violence, while others reorganized into small terrorist cells.¹⁹

Yet the Klan continued to grow, and in many areas vigilantes operated with tacit or active support from local or state law enforcement agencies. After careful consideration during mid-summer 1964, Bureau executives decided to expand the counterintelligence operations that they had employed so successfully against the communist party. In September they supplemented the aggressive law enforcement tactics with a highly secret covert action program called COINTELPRO-White Hate.²⁰ Covert action was expedient. It allowed the FBI to act without interference from justice department lawyers who required informants to surface for criminal trials despite slim chances of gaining conviction, and it avoided direct clashes with local law enforcement.²¹

COINTELPRO-WHITE HATE aimed

. . . to expose, disrupt and otherwise neutralize the activities of the various Klans and Hate organizations, their leadership and adherents . . . to frustrate the effort of the groups to consolidate their forces or to recruit . . . [and] to capitalize upon organizational and personal conflicts of their leadership.²²

The program targeted the nation's largest and most active Klan organizations, groups such as the UKA, the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi, the Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Louisiana, and the Florida Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. They also targeted two small but unruly anti-semitic groups, the American Nazi Party (ANP) and the National States Rights Party (NSRP).²³ Some members of the Minutemen, a tiny but militant anticommunist group that stockpiled arms, conducted paramilitary exercises, and, by the late 1960s, bombed leftist establishments, also received attention, especially if they held cross-membership in Klan organizations.²⁴

As opposed to the secretive, hierarchically organized White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi, which was eventually destroyed through a combination of federal conspiracy prosecutions, covert action, and police repression, the FBI could not prove that UKA leaders commanded their followers to commit violence.²⁵ The UKA was a legally incorporated organization that elected its officers, held public rallies, and published a monthly newspaper. Although

individual members of the UKA committed acts of violence, the Imperial Wizard contended that he never sanctioned this and that he would expel any Klansman convicted of criminal activity.²⁶

Since the power of all Klan organizations depended on secrecy of membership and sympathy from local officials, the FBI provided information gleaned by informants to like-thinking politicians, journalists, and other public figures, enabling them to muster evidence to expose and discredit them. They identified Klan members in cartoon postcards, thousands of which they sent to homes and places of employment. Compromised, some Klansmen lost their jobs or quit the Klan.

On FBI request, the Internal Revenue Service conducted selective tax investigations against Klan leaders. The FBI also helped the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) to expose Klan activity in public hearings held during winter 1965–1966. Illegal financial schemes, advocacy of violence, and allegations of embezzlement, personal vices, and other sordid tales led to infighting and resignations, as well as membership losses and a decline in Klan activity. As a direct result of the hearings, the UKA banished a Klan robe-contractor. The Louisiana Grand Dragon, who cooperated with the committee, was also ousted, while Grand Dragons of Texas and Alabama resigned. Imperial Wizard Shelton and four other national UKA leaders were convicted of contempt of congress after they refused to produce Klan records and were incarcerated in federal prison for six months during 1969. Left leaderless subordinates bickered, aggravating internal factionalism.²⁷

The *Fiery Cross* editorialized against what it called “a planned attempt to frighten witnesses” into surrendering their Constitutional rights, through “harassment and intimidation,” and “when did you stop beating your wife type of questions.”²⁸ Shelton protested that no allegations of subversion had been made against the Klan and that the UKA did not seek to overthrow the government; he alleged that an Anti-Defamation League commissioner had bragged about how the organization had manipulated HUAC.²⁹ He characterized the hearings as “a devilish conspiracy to make it appear that I had diverted Klan funds to my personal use,” and called the investigation “unethical, un-Christian and un-American.”³⁰

This denunciation marked the beginning of a slow shift in UKA rhetoric toward the federal government, one that became increasingly antagonistic as the decade wore on. At this point, UKA leaders were still unable to conceive that the circumstances that had led to the HUAC exposé were permanent. Before the hearings, Shelton had argued that “left wing elements” were “using the Klan as bait to destroy the Committee.”³¹ As the hearings came to a close, the UKA press still portrayed HUAC as a “victim” of harassment and intimidation by communist dominated groups.³² Shelton continued to speculate that “[t]he liberal element has gained control over the committee and it is their purpose to utilize the Klan and to force the Klan to join forces with the liberal, as well as the Communist groups, in bringing about the destruction of the Committee itself.”³³ Shelton as-

serted that “the FBI and Justice Department have harassed members of this Klan and other right-wing organizations, causing them to lose their jobs.”³⁴ Yet he also reached out, offering, “it’s not necessary for them to infiltrate. If they fill out an application, they can do so and we’ll welcome them into the Klan and have fraternal unionism.”³⁵ Shelton retained faith in the American political system, viewing subversive infiltration of various parts of the government, rather than a complete subversion of the republic, as the cause of his woes.

So far, COINTELPRO had focused on exposure rather than disruption, so that penetration and informant development could be expedited without raising suspicion, so its effects were subtle. After an executive conference on March 25, 1966, however, the FBI escalated covert operations, disrupting white supremacist publications, organizational finances, and public meetings. As these operations took their toll, the UKA would become increasingly alienated from its erstwhile allies.³⁶ In July 1966, for example, the *Fiery Cross* counseled Klansmen to “pay no attention to the snoopers of the SO called Justice Department” and asked them to consider:

... what happens from the night the F.B.I. takes down license numbers and snaps their picture. Joe Smith who was in attendance at the Klan Speaking and who has not yet joined the organization or maybe he has no desire to join starts receiving letters, post card cartoons from non-existent organizations making claims against Klan leaders, post cards with a cartoon on the back side for everyone to see saying “KLANSMAN trying to hide behind your sheet? You received this—someone knows who you are!” Many times they will be sent to the place of employment instead of the mans [sic] home. Their purpose for this naturally is to bring about economic pressure.

... A week later he receives through the mail a letter from a FAKE organization. . . .

Since the F.B.I. is guilty of taking pictures and getting license numbers from cars that are in attendance at the Klan speakings and then days later these people start receiving the hate literature on the Klan, we ask this question. If it is not the F.B.I. who could in turn be receiving this information to harass the WHITE CHRISTIAN CITIZENS? ARE THEY ALLOWING OTHER ORGANIZATIONS TO USE THIS INFORMATION? These things do not just happen, they are planned. COULD THERE BE AGENTS FROM THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE who have infiltrated the F.B.I.? WHAT IS THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH?³⁷

The article questioned whether “ADL smear information on the Klan is exchanged with HUAC for names it has uncovered in order to further their smear campaign?” The Anti-Defamation League, it declared, “subverted the traditional American system whereby every accused has the right to know his accuser.”³⁸

The UKA leadership, which had gone out of its way to beseech erstwhile FBI allies in the wake of the HUAC hearings, now expressed vehement outrage. This anger arose from alienation; frustration, discouragement, divisiveness, anger, and fear were festering due to COINTELPRO-operations that were disrupting the UKA’s ability to function effectively. Yet the UKA remained unable to conceive that the FBI viewed the Klan as subversive, and unable to comprehend that it was acting deliberately, to suppress Klan organizing. Patriotic, counter subversive, and pro-law enforcement, they blamed government-infiltrators for their woes.

This change occurred because beginning in April 1966 and escalating until 1968, FBI agents mailed thousands of cartoons and hundreds of fake letters depicting embezzlement and personal aggrandizement by Klan leaders, resulting in defections and factionalism as well as conflict between rival Klan organizations.³⁹ Poison-pen letters snitch-jacketed UKA leaders, i.e. framed them as informers. FBI informants raised controversial issues, aggravated factionalism, and usurped leadership positions. As with the more familiar COINTELPRO operations conducted against black nationalist groups, agents circulated propaganda and informants attacked Klan leaders despite the fact that violent confrontations, including at least one internecine killing, ensued.⁴⁰

COINTELPRO-WHITE HATE thus used unethical, extralegal, and some, perhaps many illegal methods.⁴¹ Illegal or not, the program was very effective. One of the first Klans to succumb was the Tampa-based United Florida Ku Klux Klan, which by April 1965 was reduced to a hard core once COINTELPRO facilitated media exposés and crackdowns by local officials. Postcards and other anonymous communications facilitated internal factionalism in 1966–1967, reducing membership to a handful. By January 1967, federal prosecutions and covert action had reduced membership in the White Knights of Mississippi by two-thirds. Other operations facilitated the removal of the UKA Grand Dragon for Mississippi and the takeover of that realm by Imperial Headquarters. The Assistant Grand Dragons of Louisiana and Florida, two successive Grand Dragons in Alabama, and the Grand Dragon of Pennsylvania had also succumbed. Membership declined in each state, including the UKA home base of Alabama.⁴²

Aggressive interviews, a federal injunction, cooperation with local police, an illegal burglary, and covert action had reduced membership in Louisiana’s Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan by 75 percent and divided the group into three factions. Covert action significantly reduced Louisiana UKA membership as well. After COINTELPRO splintered the state realm in 1967, FBI informants rose to leadership positions and directed reorganization efforts. Similar efforts neutralized Klan groups in Tennessee.⁴³ Aggressive interviewing, post cards, notional communications, a poison pen letter, and informant disruption split the South Carolina realm into antagonistic splinter groups. The head of the Indiana

realm, the largest group in the North by 1972, also became an FBI informant. By 1970, an informant was even influencing the content of the Imperial Wizard's speeches.

In Florida, the Bureau helped law enforcement, journalists, and local businessmen and officials to expose and harass members of the UKA, resulting in the dismissal of the Grand Dragon and an Imperial takeover. Subsequent media operations, notional communications, and snitch-jacket operations severely damaged the NSRP and by 1971, reduced the Florida UKA to a small number of klaverns. The Bureau used similar tactics in Virginia and North Carolina. Informants and notional communications split both realms into competing factions. By 1969, the Virginia realm was fragmented and lacking direction. As the North Carolina Grand Dragon served out his contempt of congress sentence that year, informants and notional communications further splintered the realm, facilitating a subsequent break with the Imperial office. Membership in what had been the largest UKA realm in the nation dwindled to a few hundred.⁴⁴ Other operations disrupted relations between Shelton and other Imperial officers.

According to FBI figures, total membership in Ku Klux Klan organizations had peaked at 14,000–15,000 in 1967. As COINTELPRO came to a close in April 1971 this figure had dropped to 4300.⁴⁵ At the annual UKA Klonvocation that year, Robert Shelton proclaimed that Klan organizers would “bring back to the fold those who have dropped out along the way because of internal chaos caused by agent-provocateurs which has taken place in all pro-American organizations who are exposing the conspiracy element in American society today.”⁴⁶ The trend continued however, plummeting to 3200 in 1972 and 1500–1700 in 1974.⁴⁷

If the dream of the 1960s died in 1968, the year of political assassinations, the Tet Offensive, and the fizzling of the new left, it also marked the demise of the postwar Ku Klux Klan.⁴⁸ As riots subsided and Southerners began to tolerate (or circumvent) more extensive school integration, the Klans were deprived of issues to exploit, even as the FBI and local police hindered acts of terrorism, and local juries convicted individual terrorists.⁴⁹ At the same time, covert action was vitiating Klan organizations. In 1978, as the full extent of COINTELPRO-WHITE HATE became public knowledge, Robert Shelton admitted that “the FBI's counterintelligence program hit us in membership and weakened us for about ten years.”⁵⁰ Yet Klan organizers continued to attack rival groups as bogus organizations and their leaders as agents-provocateurs.⁵¹ COINTELPRO-WHITE HATE and subsequent law enforcement efforts thus had an enduring legacy, as internecine squabbles among racist activists have remained pervasive.⁵² The white power movement today is still characterized by a basic “lack of solidarity, common purpose and collective action.”⁵³

COINTELPRO-WHITE HATE: Unintended Consequences

As the UKA went into steep decline during 1971, an Alabama Klansman who had been “well acquainted” with Shelton “for years” formed a splinter group called The Southerners.⁵⁴ By 1972 this group had become the lay-arm of the Assembly of Christian Soldiers, Inc., a Christian Identity congregation.⁵⁵ A majority of the Southern Louisiana UKA membership formed a new Klan that embraced nazism and affiliated with the Minutemen.⁵⁶ The Minutemen and the NSRP also recruited alienated Klansmen.⁵⁷ FBI agents viewed such splintering as a successful result of covert action, as well as an opportunity to promote further factionalism.⁵⁸ While some splinter groups were controlled by FBI informants, this tactic nevertheless raises a question about unintended consequences: while COINTELPRO caused militants to leave their respective Klan organizations, disrupting organized Klan activity, some Klansmen made common cause with other alienated racists, embracing paramilitarism and genocidal anti-semitism.⁵⁹

The Minutemen had viewed the FBI as an anticommunist ally in the early 1960s.⁶⁰ Targeted by federal law enforcement agencies and incarcerated on weapons charges in 1968 however, Minutemen leader Robert DePugh, began to decry a “Liberal-Communist-Socialist conspiracy that now effectively controls the federal government. . . . [that is] determined to put me in prison and destroy the Minutemen organization any way they can.”⁶¹ His case became a cause célèbre for the emerging white power movement.⁶² Ever since 1958, when FBI informants testified against a NSRP activist accused of bombing an Atlanta synagogue, the group had consistently attacked the Bureau as an anti-white secret police agency. Organized by former members of The Columbians Inc. in 1958, the NSRP propounded a conspiratorial, genocidal form of racial anti-semitism that had first arisen in the 1930s. In terms of the shifts that would mark white power discourse in the 1970s, however, this came to constitute a vanguard ideology. The party admitted Catholic and foreign-born members and was influenced by the teachings of Christian Identity preacher Wesley Swift, a pioneer promoter of the millennialist creed in the United States.⁶³

Some post-war Klan leaders had also come to view Jews as an enemy of the white race not only because of their supposed domination of subversive activity, but also because of who they were, and anti-semitism had become their all encompassing conspiracy theory.⁶⁴ The White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi, the most violent Klan group of the 1960s was the first large Klan group to do so. Imperial Wizard Samuel Bowers embraced Christian Identity in 1967, after which a small cell of Identity-influenced associates bombed synagogues and residences of Jewish leaders.⁶⁵ The NSRP, which undertook both cooperation and competition with various Klan groups, promoted conspiracy theories that fixated on racial anti-semitism.⁶⁶

In contradistinction, the United Klans of America (UKA) championed what it called “Christian Americanism.”⁶⁷ It promoted an updated version of what

Alexander Saxton has termed “hard racist” discourse, a white supremacist vision of America as *Herrenvolk* democracy, characterized by the institutionalized subordination of racial minorities in all aspects of political, social, and economic life, justified by biological racism.⁶⁸ Anti-Catholic nativism had underpinned the ideology of the second Ku Klux Klan during the 1920s but anticommunism and nativist anti-semitism largely supplanted it after the Great Depression.⁶⁹ By the mid-1960s however, the UKA was de-emphasizing the latter.⁷⁰ As massive resistance succumbed to federal legislation, committed white supremacists increasingly employed anticommunist rhetoric to defend white supremacy, and although segregationists’ attempts to present the 1964 Civil Rights Act as communist-inspired ultimately failed, countersubversive anticommunism girded UKA conspiracy theory throughout the 1960s.⁷¹

Unlike the NSRP or the ANP, for which communism was inherently Jewish, anti-semitism played an ambiguous role in UKA anticommunism, forming a “biological/ideological continuum” between the racial threat of blacks and the ideological threat of communists. UKA organizers credited Jewish communists with providing the brains and the driving force behind integration, but adhered to a religious view of Jewish difference. Robert Shelton thus blamed international Jewish financiers for World War I and the Great Depression, but he asserted that if Jews converted to Christianity, they would be welcomed into the Klan.⁷² Until the late 1970s then, UKA religious rhetoric adhered to the traditional segregationist Protestant hermeneutic.⁷³

Shelton forbid UKA members to attend meetings addressed by notorious NSRP Identity-preacher Conrad Lynch. Paramilitary drill among Klansmen remained highly secretive and officially the UKA also kept its distance from the Minutemen. In general, before 1966–1968 most UKA members remained unconvinced by genocidal anti-semitism, Christian Identity eschatology, and conspiratorial, scurrilous anti-FBI rhetoric of the National States Rights Party. Southern Klansmen, many of whom were military veterans, completely rejected National Socialism as a foreign and totalitarian ideology.⁷⁴

American Nazi Party Commander George Lincoln Rockwell attempted to recruit Klansmen, but he rejected terrorism. He condemned illegal arms stockpiling and paramilitary organizing as adventurism, hinting that the Minutemen were actually communist spies. Under his leadership, the ANP engaged in provocative stunts and counter-demonstrations to draw media attention and thus create a constituency for a National Socialist political party. Rockwell vehemently rejected the NSRP’s attacks on the FBI.⁷⁵ A great admirer of J. Edgar Hoover, Rockwell declared in 1962 that “ONLY the Federal Bureau of Investigation [stands] between America (and therefore the World)—and Communist total victory! . . . Heil Hoover!”⁷⁶ The NSRP rejected Nazi ideology and, given his support for the FBI, charged that George Lincoln Rockwell was an agent provocateur.⁷⁷ Given its anti-federalism, the NSRP was less reticent about endorsing the Minutemen.⁷⁸ While all these groups competed with each other, they all envisioned themselves as engaged in a vigilant struggle against an *encroaching* subversion. They

differed in their interpretations of how far subversion had succeeded, with the NSRP and the ANP expressing the type of anti-semitic rhetoric, and the NSRP expressing the type of attacks against the FBI, which would be adopted by white power organizers in the 1970s.⁷⁹

Beyond Christian Patriotism: The UKA Incorporates Anti-Federal Government Discourses

In 1968–1971, the *Fiery Cross* newspaper characterized the Anti-Defamation League as a “Gestapo,” but it presented black nationalists, new leftists, and Jewish pornographers as separate threats to the republic.⁸⁰ In 1971–1972 however, UKA rhetoric shifted markedly toward the very white power themes which it had previously rejected. As late as May 1972 Robert Shelton asserted that “I am against Jews not because they are Jews, but because they do not hold allegiance to this country.”⁸¹ In November 1971 however, the publication asserted that “Jews are the real enemy,” and by 1972 it included references to a “Zionist conspiracy.”⁸²

Particularly striking evidence of this shift is apparent in the January 1972 issue, where one editorial adopted Nazi rhetoric, arguing that “the only hope of saving what is yet salvageable in this culturally and racially moribund nation lies in revolution.” The world had become a “slum,” colonized by “culture distort[ing]” Jews, thus necessitating a choice between “decay and death, or drastic change.” The time had come, the author argued, for the “‘elite minority’ who read the *Fiery Cross* . . . to clear away the dead wood and debris of now defunct ‘modern age’ and make way for the new Post-Modern age, and the reassertion of the life urge.”⁸³ By 1973, UKA editorials were supporting a suit against the estate of J. Edgar Hoover filed by anti-semitic publisher Eustace Mullins, and the paper published its first Holocaust denial pieces.⁸⁴

COINTELPRO-WHITE HATE and local police operations also provoked alienation among American Nazi Party activists, influencing concurrent and re-enforcing changes in Nazi discourse.⁸⁵ Although Rockwell had toyed with religion in the late 1950s and began incorporating identity into neo-Nazi cosmology in 1965, the Nazi movement became apocalyptic only after his assassination by a disgruntled stormtrooper in 1967.⁸⁶ Rockwell had viewed Jewish conquest of government as incomplete.⁸⁷ As the movement split into competing factions however, many Nazi organizers abandoned Rockwell’s non-violent and pro-FBI stances.⁸⁸ Joseph Tommasi borrowed ideas from militant leftist groups such as Weatherman, advocating cell structures and “leaderless resistance.”⁸⁹ James Warner began warning his Nazis about FBI surveillance, while William Pierce called for armed insurrection.⁹⁰ According to a 1971 article in *National Socialist Bulletin*, the bureau had become “nothing but the tool of the pro-Jewish anti-White System dominating this country.”⁹¹

The UKA also turned against the FBI during these years. In May 1969, a *Fiery Cross* article had extensively quoted J. Edgar Hoover as authority on Communism, and praised the Bureau's countersubversive work.⁹² In May 1970, Shelton had accused a "rotten corrupted Justice Department" of planting provocateurs in the UKA.⁹³ In spring 1971 however, COINTELPO was exposed by a group of antiwar activists, who stole intelligence and counterintelligence documents from an FBI field office in Media, Pennsylvania, and published them.⁹⁴ Over the next few months, a five part series of special reports entitled "EXPOSING! The FBI and the CIA," appeared in the *Fiery Cross*.⁹⁵ Arguing that "the forces of law and order in this country are arrayed on the side of the criminals," one article asserted that the "principal functions" of the FBI and CIA were to engage in "harassment of honest citizens instead of prosecuting traitors and criminals."⁹⁶

Robert Shelton now charged that the FBI had turned into an un-American "Gestapo-type police force" and warned that the Klan "would not continue to sit back and be intimidated" by the FBI's "illegal practices."⁹⁷ He protested that it had become impossible to cooperate with law enforcement agencies that "castigate us on every occasion and thwart our works with the use of informants in our organization."⁹⁸ At the December 1971 Klonvocation, Shelton attacked the FBI directly, complaining that:

our members have been harassed continuously, now, we no longer intend to continue to be stepped on over and over again. The FBI, Ladies and Gentlemen, is no longer the respected and honorable arm of justice that it once appeared to be, it is the pawn of the one-worlders and Mr. Nixon's CFR [Council on Foreign Relations] connections, and we intend to fight them as long as they continue to fight us.

He warned about "implementing the 'second degree' after which you will know for sure that the man next to you thinks just as you do."⁹⁹

The featured speaker at this Klonvocation was Imperial Kludd Robert Miles, whose Michigan UKA delegation circulated literature that characterized recent school bus bombings in Pontiac as a symbolic act against "tyranny" and called for the abolition of the FBI. According to these handbills, the Bureau had deteriorated in a politically controlled "supersnoop department" under a "corporate-state" dictatorship. The Bureau had become a "Gestapo force," disrupting local police activity, wiretapping the phones of innocent patriots, monitoring political dissenters and utilizing repressive paramilitary law enforcement tactics on behalf of an amoral "Beast," an "anti-Christ" elite who placed themselves above God.¹⁰⁰

Given "rumors" that Miles had become "a prime candidate for the next Imperial Wizardship of the UKA," FBI agents expressed concern that "many northern Klansmen appeared to be more militant and dedicated than did those from the South."¹⁰¹ Bucking the overall trend, the Michigan UKA realm had actually grown under Miles's 1970–1971 stewardship.¹⁰² Indeed, Robert Miles soon

emerged as one of the most important architects of the so-called “Nazification” of the Klan during the 1970s. Between 1971 and 1979, Miles formulated the relationship between traditional Klan craft, esoteric theologies, and European racist discourses, mixing elements from Catharist Dualism and Christian Identity with Gnostic neo-paganism and National Socialism.¹⁰³

Convicted of conspiracy to bomb school buses in 1974, largely on the testimony of an FBI informant, Miles’s case became a cause célèbre among white power activists.¹⁰⁴ In 1975, the Dearborn Michigan UKA asked, rhetorically, whether activists should “do some killing? Cut off, root and branch, the satanic Jews and all their lackeys who are stirring up the niggers against us?”¹⁰⁵ After his release in 1979, Miles sponsored a series of gatherings where Klansmen, Nazis, Christian Identity preachers, and paramilitary enthusiasts exchanged theoretical perspectives and debated tactics. Christian Identity preacher Robert Butler provided a similar forum at the Aryan Nations compound in Coeur d’Alene, Idaho.¹⁰⁶

By this time, membership in Nazi groups had risen to its highest level since the second World War, and a new Klan, led by former Nazi David Duke, had arisen.¹⁰⁷ Along with four other former American Nazi Party members, Duke fused Klan iconography with Nazi racialism, NSRP anti-FBI rhetoric, Minutemen paramilitarism, millennial Christian Identity, recruiting thousands to the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.¹⁰⁸ By 1978–1979, they would recruit thousands of young whites into their Nazi–Klan hybrid organization.¹⁰⁹ By 1980, hybrid Nazi–Klan associations began to exceed membership in traditional Klan groups.¹¹⁰

In the Midwest and the West, identity-influenced paramilitary groups such as the Posse Comitatus also sprang up during the late 1970s.¹¹¹ The Christian Patriot Defense League (PDL) founded in 1977, mixed Identity, survivalism, and tax protest, updating Minutemen discourse for the 1970s. Bi-annual CPDL vents in Louisville, Illinois, attracted Miles, Beam, and Holocaust “revisionist” Willis Carto, as well as Klan leaders espousing identity.¹¹² UKA leaders also flirted with paramilitarism.¹¹³ Paramilitary Klan units had been small and secret during the 1960s, but the 1970s Klans publicized their existence.¹¹⁴ In 1980, former David Duke associate Bill Wilkinson resurrected traditional Klan ideology, creating a militant Klan that publicized paramilitary training, and engaged in violent provocations against civil rights activists.¹¹⁵ Exposed as an FBI informant in 1979 however, Wilkinson also bought discredit to the idea that Klan vigilantism in support of law enforcement retained any viability.¹¹⁶

Younger Klansmen, many of them Vietnam veterans bitter over an alleged betrayal by the federal government, founded the most active Klan paramilitaries.¹¹⁷ In response to the Wilmington, North Carolina, riots of 1971 for example, former U.S. Army Special Forces member and Klan splinter-group leader Leroy Gibson offered paramilitary training courses. By 1971, his group had eclipsed the North Carolina UKA, even as other breakaway UKA members began fraternizing with Nazis. Ten years later, another North Carolina green beret named Glenn Miller would create the largest Nazi–Klan paramilitary of the period.¹¹⁸

Louis Beam, a special forces helicopter gunner who became alienated by what he viewed as government betrayal in Vietnam, exemplified all these trends. After joining the Texas realm of the United Klans in 1968, he launched terrorist operations against antiwar activists and leftists in the Houston area.¹¹⁹ In 1977, he joined David Duke's Klan and organized paramilitary training for about 500 Texas Klansmen. He became an "ambassador at large" for the Aryan Nations in 1981.¹²⁰ Two years later, Beam called for armed insurrection against a "Zionist Occupation Government" in a revolutionary manifesto called "Essays of a Klansman," which became an influential white power movement text. He attributed the demise of the 1960s Klans to a conspiracy whereby an Anti-Defamation League slush fund paid FBI agents provocateurs to murder civil rights workers, bomb churches, and provide false testimony in court.¹²¹

It was former Rockwell aide William Pierce however, who most effectively re-formulated racist discourse after 1970.¹²² Pierce had edited *National Socialist World* during the critical 1966–1967 transition period when the American Nazi Party embraced a white power line.¹²³ After appearing in the *Fiery Cross* in 1972, Pierce editorialized for David Duke's newspaper in 1976.¹²⁴ In 1978, Pierce wrote *The Turner Diaries*, a futuristic novel that dramatized insurrectionary activities against "race-mixers," homosexuals, the Pentagon, and the FBI.¹²⁵ Synthesizing Social-Darwinism with ideas from Teutonic legend, Pierce intoned that separate biological evolutions had a spiritual component, that mankind is following a predetermined course of racial destiny toward union with God. His philosophy of "Cosmological Theism" asserted that members of the white race possess a "divine spark" that if acted upon, could "trigger" catastrophic events leading to a perfect age of racial redemption, and Pierce exhorted racists to launch genocide against "subhumans."¹²⁶ Messianic sanctions for anti-government terrorism became increasingly influential as the slowly evolving legitimacy crisis between insurgent white power and neoconservative government came to a head.¹²⁷

The government responded with conspiracy prosecutions, because white power activists had supplemented hitherto more formal organizations with loose, hybrid associations and informal alliances.¹²⁸ As early as 1969, FBI agents had noted "recent marked increase in violent acts throughout US on the part of individuals not affiliated with Klan or other white hate-type organizations." Many of them "did have previous affiliations with such groups."¹²⁹ In the 1970s, processes associated with globalization began to undermine national sovereignty and territorial-based notions of national culture. In the 1980s, revolutions in informational technology opened cyberspace to racist organizers. Formal organizational allegiance became highly unstable during a period of continual group formation and collapse.¹³⁰ Racist activists rejected hierarchical chains of command in favor of a secretive cell structure and the "propaganda of the deed."¹³¹

In 1987, an anti-racist watchdog group destroyed the last remnants of the United Klans of America with a civil suit, by convincing a jury that the organization was liable for the actions of two Klan members who had murdered a black youth. A former Exalted Cyclops turned state's evidence, testifying that

his superior had admonished him for lack of militancy and testified that the UKA employed a military chain of command.¹³² As additional Southern Poverty Law Center civil suits based on the concept of “vicarious liability” shut down or curtailed activity by some of the most active white power groups in the United States, racist organizers called upon individuals to commit random acts of terror.¹³³ Racist organizing became even more ephemeral, as a racist “counterculture” embedded in a trans-Atlantic “cultic milieu,” engaged in “sustained interaction.”¹³⁴

Over the previous quarter century then, racist organizers brought about ideological, strategic, and tactical transformations, such that a reactionary ideology of white supremacist vigilantism metamorphosed into a revolutionary ideology of millennial white power and anti-state terror.¹³⁵ Klansmen had become “enraged and frustrated” by “their own failure to reform the system.” They had joined other racists to construct an “alternative ideological and cultural system” that “communicate[d] a complete chasm with the prevailing political order,” by employing “slanderous jargon” against the federal agents that had suppressed organized Klan activity.¹³⁶

This shift however, was not simply political, having occurred during a period of substantial change in American society and culture. Declining faith in government programs and profound disillusionment with public institutions was accompanied not only by decline in social solidarity and increasing skepticism toward civic obligation, but also by an increasing hostility to traditional values. A new ethic of personal liberation provided freedom for individuals to reinvent themselves and create new associations and affiliations, breaking off from conventional society, family, neighborhood, and community.¹³⁷ Neo-conservative critiques thus linked government “over regulation” to “family values,” employing religious rhetoric to characterizing feminism, divorce, abortion, and homosexuality, as threats to white paternal and heterosexual authority.¹³⁸

The shift to white power discourses was indicative of this general trend but opposed to neo-conservative prescriptions. Thus, racist organizers participated in tax revolt by responding to rural economic crisis with the radical Posse Comitatus. One group of Nazis and Klansmen even attempted to supplement President Ronald Reagan’s aggressive anticommunist foreign policy with a private filibustering expedition against the island of Dominica.¹³⁹ Embrace of pre-millennial identity hermeneutics and racial gnosticism occurred during an evangelical reawakening characterized by fundamentalist readings of scripture, post-millennial predictions of imminent apocalypse, and testimonials to born-again awakenings.¹⁴⁰ Building survivalist compounds and flirting with occult knowledge corresponded to new age communes and delving into non-Western spiritual traditions.¹⁴¹ Articulation of a pan-white unity that departed from both the Klan’s Protestant nativism and Adolph Hitler’s Nordic-Germanic Aryanism, opposed a growing ethnic consciousness among European Americans.¹⁴²

Racist paramilitarism too, constituted one small section of a broad paramilitary culture that arose after 1975 in response to a disruption in white masculine identity that occurred with defeat in Vietnam, de-industrialization, and a relative

decline in relative international economic power. The paramilitary subculture ascribed social and political gains by racial minorities and women, massive non-white immigration, and rising crime rates to a liberal cultural ethos that had allowed the nation to succumb to political tyranny and cultural decay.¹⁴³ Enthusiasts explicitly opposed adoption of female traits by a new masculinity, celebrating violence as a form of liberation from psychological restraints.¹⁴⁴

The racist-right's embrace of esoteric conspiracy theories blaming a "Zionist Occupation Government" for the nation's ills also constituted a particular version of a more general transformation, as conspiracy theories entered into mainstream political and cultural discourse in the 1970s.¹⁴⁵ Centering on beliefs that whole populations were being openly manipulated without their knowledge, conspiracy theories of the period betrayed nervousness about the "viability of individual autonomy" in a post-industrial economy characterized by the growth of mass-based consumer culture. These theories portrayed large social and economic organizations, bureaucracies, information processing systems, communications networks, discourses, and social institutions as autonomous, rational, and motivated entities, which possessed a will and a means to subordinate human agency. They characterized social control as an instantaneous phenomenon of mass communications, which disabled rational self-control and converted people into automatons.¹⁴⁶

Reflecting this general trend, white power activists used esoteric millennial rhetoric to warn that a "Jewsmedia" was creating a nation of slaves who accepted feminism, homosexuality, and racial miscegenation in return for material comfort.¹⁴⁷ Racist conspiracy theories had long fixated upon the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, a watchdog group that had long exposed anti-semitic groups in the public sphere.¹⁴⁸ The release of COINTELPRO files in 1977, which proved that FBI agents had exchanged information on Klan groups with the ADL and helped the Jewish War Veterans harass the American Nazi Party, reinforced these ideas.¹⁴⁹ As congress, President Jimmy Carter, and the courts curtailed FBI and urban red squad activities in the late 1970s, allegations arose that intelligence files had been transferred to the ADL, so that it could act as an extra-legal clearinghouse for political intelligence.¹⁵⁰ Under J. Edgar Hoover, the FBI had been particularly reluctant to enter into any formal intelligence-exchange relationship with the group. Given increasing privatization of security during the 1980s, however, allegations that zionist operatives were acting as agents provocateurs gained increasing interest, especially once President Reagan authorized the FBI to enter into "contracts or arrangements for the provision of goods or services with private companies or institutions" such as the ADL.¹⁵¹

Even if the FBI had restricted itself to uncovering the perpetrators of terrorist acts in the 1960s, militant Klansmen would still have come to view the Bureau as a tool of subversive forces. Since covert operations enabled selective use of the criminal law, utilized extra-legal covert action techniques, and harassed individual organizers however, polemics that focused on FBI counterintelligence operations drew attention from those Americans already prone to embrace anti-federal-

ist conspiracy theories.¹⁵² This development occurred within larger processes of political, social, and cultural restructuring during the most recent wave of globalization. Yet this particular trajectory, from a localized white supremacist vigilantism inspired by white supremacist nationalism, to a transnational cultic milieu of revolutionary terrorists inspired by white power millennialism, was in no small part due to an FBI covert action program that had vitiated the Ku Klux Klan.

Notes

1. Rev. Terrell Griswold, "What One Communist Agent Can Do To Endanger Your Freedom," *Fiery Cross* (May 20, 1964): 4; *Fiery Cross* V, no. 1 (January 1970): 16; and *Fiery Cross* (November 1970), all in The Right Wing Collection of the University of Iowa Libraries, Microfilm Reel 51:F16, hereafter cited as RWCUIL. Unlike other Klan leaders, Shelton never entirely disallowed that subversives had forced J. Edgar Hoover to infiltrate the UKA. Editor's response to Cathyrn Sue Braley, *Fiery Cross* IV, no. 1 (January 1969); *Fiery Cross* VII, no. 4 (April 1972): 37; *Fiery Cross* (circa January-March 1974). RWCUIL, 51:F16.

2. "Shelton: 10th Anniversary Banquet Address," *Fiery Cross* 6, no. 12 (December 1971): 8, [Microfilm S-21] Special Collections, Perkins Library, Duke University.

3. "Why Revolution?" *Fiery Cross* 7, no. 10 (1972), 6, RWCUIL 51:F16; Brad Witsel, "Cosmological Theism and the Turner Diaries," *Nova Religio* 1 (April 1998), 191, 196n38 confirms that Pierce authored this.

4. For conceptualization, see Sara Diamond, *Roads to Dominion: Right-Wing Movements and Political Power in the United States* (New York: Guilford Press, 1995), 6, 78; Jeffrey Kaplan, ed., *Encyclopedia of White Power* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000), xxii-xxv.

5. On segregationist Protestantism and Klan discourse see Jane Daily, "Sex, Segregation, and the Sacred after Brown," *Journal of American History* 91 (June 2004): 23-25; David L. Chappell, *A Stone of Hope: Prophetic Religion and the Death of Jim Crow* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 317-320; Mark Newman, *Getting Right With God: Southern Baptists and Desegregation, 1945-1995* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2001), Chapter 4, 157-158. Christian Identity is an amorphous set of millennialist escatologies. Militants tend to adhere to pre-millennialism and "seedline" hermeneutics: Believers should act immediately to assure survival during a period of tribulations that would occur before a second coming. A sexual union between Eve and Satan created the Jews, and whites, who descend from biblical Israelites, were produced by a separate creation than people of color. *Revelation* describes race war. Jeffrey Kaplan, "The Context of American Millenarian Revolutionary Theology: The Case of the 'Identity Christian' Church of Israel," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 5 (Spring 1993): 30-82; James A. Aho, *The Politics of Righteousness: Idaho Christian Patriotism* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1990); Michael Barkun, *Religion and the Racist Right: The Origins of the Christian Identity Movement* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994); Mattias Gardell, *Gods of the Blood: The Pagan Revival and White Separatism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 118-129, 370-375.

6. Bruce J. Schulman, *The Seventies: The Great Shift in American Culture, Society, and Politics* (New York: Free Press, 2001), xii.

7. Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1980s* (New York: Routledge and Keegan Paul, 1986); Lisa McGirr, *Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Right* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001).

8. David L. Chappell, "The Divided Mind of Southern Segregationists," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 82 (Spring 1998): 46, 67, 71.

9. Robyn Wiegman, "Whiteness Studies and the Paradox of Particularity," in Donald E. Pease and Robyn Wiegman, eds., *The Futures of American Studies* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002), 271-272; Charles M. Payne, "'The Whole United States Is Southern!': *Brown v. Board* and the Mystification of Race," *Journal of American History* 91 (June 2004): 88-89; Randy Sanders, *Mighty Peculiar Elections: The New South Gubernatorial Campaigns of 1970 and the Changing Politics of Race* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002), Chapter 1, Conclusion.

10. Payne, "Whole United States," 91 (quote); Lani Guinier, "From Racial Liberalism to Racial Literacy: *Brown v. Board of Education* and the Interest-Divergence Dilemma," *Journal of American History* 91 (June 2004): 101-108; Schulman, *Seventies*, xiv, Chapter 4. On these conflicts, see Godfrey Hodgson, *America in Our Time: From World War II to Nixon—What Happened And Why* (New York: Doubleday, 1978), 266-267; Adam Fairclough, *To Redeem the Soul of America: The Southern Christian Leadership Conference & Martin Luther King Jr.* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2001), 266-277, 330; Raymond Wolters, "From *Brown* to *Green* and Back: The Changing Meaning

of Desegregation,” 317-326, and Clive Webb, “A Continuity of Conservatism: The Limitations of *Brown v. Board of Education*,” in *Journal of Southern History* 70 (May 2004): 327-336; Hugh Davis Graham, “Race, History, and Policy: African Americans and Civil Rights Since 1964,” in Jack E. Davis, ed., *The Civil Rights Movement* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2001), 281-297.

11. Omi and Winant, *Racial Formation*, 2-3, 64-69, 113-118; Diamond, *Roads*, 140-160; Carol M. Swain, *The New White Nationalism in America: Its Challenge to Integration* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 3-4, 16; Evelyn Rich, “Ku Klux Klan Ideology, 1954-1988,” PhD dissertation, Boston University 1988, 3-4, 332-335.

12. Diamond, *Roads*, 258.

13. All FBI documents cited in this article are contained in this file unless otherwise indicated. The complete file as released by the FBI in 1977 is available on microfilm: Athan Theoharis, ed., *COINTELPRO: The Counterintelligence Program of the FBI* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 1978). “Director” denotes FBI director J. Edgar Hoover and the Bureau’s executive council. White supremacist archives include the Wilcox Collection of Contemporary Political Movements, Kansas Collection, Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas Libraries; the Right Wing Collection, University of Iowa Libraries; the Special Collection, Duke University; the North Carolina State Archives; the Southern and North Carolina History Collections, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; the Sara Diamond Collection, Social Protest Collection, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley; and the Right Wing Political Collection, University of Georgia.

14. Nelson Blackstock, *COINTELPRO: The FBI’s War On Political Freedom* (New York: Monad/Pathfinder, 1975); Margaret Jayko, ed., *On Trial, The Victory in the Socialist Workers Party Suit Against Government Spying* (New York: Pathfinder, 1988); Ward Churchill and Jim Vanderwall, *Agents of Repression: The FBI’s Secret War on the Black Panther Party and the American Indian Movement* (Boston: South End Press, 1988); Churchill and Vanderwall, *The COINTELPRO Papers: Documents from the FBI’s Secret Wars Against Domestic Dissent* (Boston: South End Press, 1990); Dhoruba Bin Wahad, Mumia Abu Jamal, and Assata Shakur, *Still Black, Still Strong: Survivors of the U.S. War Against Black Revolutionaries* (New York: Semiotext(e)/MIT Press, 1993); David Cunningham, *There’s Something Happening Here: The New Left, the Klan, and FBI Counterintelligence* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 167-180.

15. An early account is Robert M. Mikell, *They Say Blood on My Hands: The Story of Robert M. Shelton, Imperial Wizard of the United Klans of America* (Huntsville, AL: Publishers Enterprise, 1966), Wilcox Collection of Contemporary Political Movements, Kansas Collection, Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas Libraries, (Folder Number RHWL B41), hereafter cited as “RHWL,” followed by the folder number.

16. All author publications and working papers cited in this article are posted at <http://www.geocities.com/Drabbs/workingpapers>.

17. John Drabble, “‘To Ensure Domestic Tranquility’: COINTELPRO-WHITE HATE, and Political Discourse, 1964-1971,” *Journal of American Studies* 38 (August 2004): 297-328; Drabble, “‘Fidelity, Integrity, Bravery’: An Analysis of the FBI’s Campaign to Discredit the ‘Cowardly Jackals’ of the Ku Klux Klan, 1964-1971,” in Matthew Sweney and Michal Peprnik, eds., *‘America: Home of the Brave’: The 11th American Studies Colloquium* (Olomouc, Czech Republic: Palacký University Press, 2005), 103-136.

18. John Drabble, “The FBI, COINTELPRO-WHITE HATE, and the Decline of Ku Klux Klan Organizations in Mississippi, 1964-1971,” *Journal of Mississippi History* 66 (Winter 2004): 353-401; Drabble, “The FBI, COINTELPRO-WHITE HATE, and the Decline Ku Klux Klan Organizations in Alabama, 1964-1971,” *Alabama Review* 61 (January 2008): 3-47; Drabble, working papers.

19. John Drabble, “FBI in Mississippi”; Drabble, working paper, “FBI Covert Operations and Suppression of Ku Klux Klan Violence, 1964-1971”; Drabble, “FBI in Alabama.”

20. Gale to Tolson, July 30, 1964, Baumgardner to Sullivan August 27, 1964, Director to Atlanta et. al., September 2, 1964 (all in Section 1).

21. Kenneth O’Reilly, *Racial Matters: The FBI’s Secret File on Black America, 1960-1972* (New York: Free Press, 1989), 201; Keller, *Liberals and J. Edgar Hoover*, 90.

22. Director, to Atlanta et. al., September 2, 1964, (Section 1).

23. Drabble, “FBI Suppression of Klan Violence”; Drabble, “‘A Negative and Unwise Approach’: Private Detectives, Vigilantes and the FBI Counterintelligence, 1917-1971,” in Clive Helmsey and Haia Shakov-Player, eds., *Police Detectives in History, 1750-1950* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006), 219-250.

24. *Ibid*; Richmond to Director, April 14, 1967, July 14, 1967; Baumgardner to Sullivan May 26, 1966; Director to Kansas City, Los Angeles, June 13, 1966, August 17, 1966, October 6, 1967; Jackson to Director, May 30, 1967, June 2, 1967, June 7, 1967, June 19, 1967, July 28, 1967; July 31, 1967, February 5, 1968, May 28, 1968, June 28, 1968, October 7, 1968, January 21, 1969, February 6, 1969, March 11, 1969; Director to Jackson June 17, 1968, July 18, 1968. Since the main security issue involved illegal weapons, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms undertook primary investigations. On the Minutemen, see T. Harry Jones, *A Private Army* (New York: Collier, 1969); John George and Laird Wilcox, *Nazis, Communists, Klansmen, and Others on the Fringe: Political Extremism in America* (Buffalo: Prometheus Books, 1992), 275-278; 292-294; Richard P. Albares,

- “Native Paramilitarism in the United States: The Minutemen Organization,” *Working Paper No. 109*, Center for Organization Studies, University of Chicago, April 1968; State of California, Office of the Attorney General, *Report on Private Armies*, April 12, 1965.
25. Drabble, “FBI in Mississippi”; J. Edgar Hoover, “The Resurgent Klan,” *American Bar Journal* 52 (July 1966): 617-620.
26. Wyn Craig Wade, *The Fiery Cross: The Ku Klux Klan in America* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987), 323; Baumgardner to Sullivan July 22, 1966 (Section 1); Birmingham to Director, September 20, 1966, (Section 1); Miami to Director March 10, 1970.
27. Drabble, “To Ensure”; Drabble, “Fidelity, Integrity”; Drabble, “Negative and Unwise”; Drabble, “FBI Suppression of Klan Violence”; Drabble, “FBI in Alabama.”
28. *Fiery Cross* 3 (February 3, 1966), RWCUIL, 51:F16.
29. Mikell, *They Say Blood*, 152-155; *Fiery Cross*, undated, RWCUIL, 51:F16.
30. *Birmingham News*, October 25, 1965, 1, 6.
31. Robert Shelton Interview, *Playboy*, August 1965, 46, 52.
32. “Congressmen Swayed On Contempt of UKA,” *Fiery Cross* (“February Issue” 1966), RWCUIL 51:F16.
33. Quoted in Mikell, *They Say Blood*, 54, and “Interview with KKK Leader,” *Fiery Cross* (February 1966), 2, RWCUIL, 51-F16. See also “The U.K.A. in Washington,” *Fiery Cross* (circa late 1965), in, Police Reports, Box 2, Folder 6, Paul J. Dumas Papers, 1949–1972, Special Collections, Library, Duke University; “Plain Talk About the HUAC,” *Fiery Cross* (circa early 1966), RWCUIL, 51:F16.
34. Quoted in Mikell, *They Say Blood*, 54. See also 152-155; *Fiery Cross* (circa 1965), in E. Pam. q #1180, Special Collections, Perkins Library, Duke University.
35. *Ibid.* He lauded FBI investigations of communist infiltration of the “so-called civil rights disorders and violence that are plaguing America.” “L.A. Men Silent at Klan Probe,” *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, January 8, 1966, 1.
36. Drabble, “FBI in Mississippi”; Drabble, “FBI in Alabama”; Drabble working papers.
37. “Is the Justice Department & Anti-Defamation League of B’nai B’rith Conspiring Against White Patriots?” *Fiery Cross* (July 1966) attached to Atlanta to Director, July 18, 1966. Capitalization in original.
38. *Ibid.* See also Mikell, *They Say Blood*, 3-4, 73, 94-104, 104-105.
39. Drabble, “FBI in Alabama.”
40. Richmond to Director, February 8, 1968, April 4, 1968, Director to Richmond, February 21, 1968, April 24, 1968; Director to Philadelphia, May 6, 1966, December 15, 1966, January 11, 1967, September 28, 1966; Philadelphia to Director, June 9, 1966, July 29, 1966, November 22, 1966, January 3, 1967, April 28, 1967, September 19, 1966; Director to Charlotte, May 24, 1967; Charlotte to Director, May 25, 1967; Columbia to Director, June 30, 1970, September 30, 1970, November 4, 1970, December 29, 1970, March 31, 1971 (quote); Drabble, “FBI in Mississippi.” See also Patsy Sims, *The Klan* (New York: Stein and Day, 1978), 57-76, 88-90; Michael and Judy Ann Newton, eds., *The Ku Klux Klan: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Garland, 1991), 438-439, 507.
41. Congress found many COINTELPRO techniques to be illegal, extralegal, unconstitutional, and fundamental violations of human dignity, but civil suits related to the WHITE HATE operation failed. U.S. Congress, Senate, Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence, *Final Report*, 94th Congress, 1st and 2nd Sessions, Book III, 10, 27-28; Sims, *The Klan*, 121-122; Newton, ed., *Ku Klux Klan Encyclopedia*, 390; Author correspondence with Michael Newton; *United Klans of America v. McGovern*, 453 F. Supp. 836 (D.C. Ala. 1978) and 621 F. 2nd 152 (5th Cir 1980). The *non-violent* Socialist Worker’s Party won Federal injunction against FBI spying in a decision that characterized COINTELPRO-SWP as illegal and unconstitutional. Jayko, ed., *On Trial*. In a belated prosecution related to a 1963 Klan bombing however, warrantless FBI surveillance tapes were admitted into evidence. Adam Goldman, “Tapes Shadowing Bomb Case: Recordings Called Possible Key to Appeal,” *Birmingham News*, April 19, 2001; Tom Gordon, Adam Goldman, and Brett J. Blackledge, “Jury Convinced by Secret FBI Tapes,” *Birmingham News*, May 2, 2001; Chandra Temple, “Blanton Appeal Will Focus on Race, Evidence,” *Birmingham News*, May 10, 2001. *Associated Press*, 12 April, 2001. The U.S. Patriot Act has legalized some COINTELPRO techniques. Drabble, “Fidelity, Integrity,” n139.
42. John Drabble, working paper, “The FBI, COINTELPRO-WHITE HATE and the Decline of Ku Klux Klan Organizations in Florida”; Drabble, “FBI in Mississippi”; Brennan to Sullivan January 19, 1967 (Section 1); Drabble, “FBI in Alabama.”
43. John Drabble, working paper, “The FBI, COINTELPRO-WHITE HATE, and the Decline of Klan Organizations in Louisiana, 1964–1971”; Drabble, working paper, “The FBI, COINTELPRO-WHITE HATE, and the Klan in Tennessee, 1964–1971.”
44. Drabble, “FBI in Alabama”; Drabble, “FBI in Florida”; Drabble, working paper, “The FBI, COINTELPRO-WHITE HATE, and the Decline of Ku Klux Klan Organizations in North Carolina, 1964–1971.”; Drabble, working paper, “The FBI, COINTELPRO-WHITE HATE, and the Klan in Virginia.”

45. UKA membership was 10,000 in 1967. By November 1969 this had been reduced to 5,400. Drabble, "FBI in Alabama."

46. "Imperial Press News Release," *Fiery Cross* 6, no. 1 (January 1971), [Microfilm S-27], Special Collections, Perkins Library, Duke University.

47. Drabble, "FBI in Alabama."

48. Schulman, *Seventies*, Introduction.

49. "'Terrorism Today' An Interview with Thomas Tarrants," *Christianity Today*, September 22, 1978, 13-16; Robert P. Hay, "Members Drop Out of Klan as Former Prime Issue Fades," *Christian Science Monitor*, November 16, 1968, 14; Belknap, *Federal Law*.

50. He claimed that a 1965 plane crash had been an "assassination plot," and implied FBI complicity. *Fiery Cross* 16, no. 13 (1978), RHWL, G540. See also Howell Raines, *My Soul is Rested: Movement Days in the South Remembered* (New York: Viking, 1983), 316-320. A Federal Court dismissed a UKA suit against the bureau because it exceeded statute of limitations. "Shelton-Klan to Sue FBI for Harassment," *Fiery Cross* 15 (1977), "Klan Attorney Charges FBI Dirty Tricks," *Fiery Cross* 16 (Special Edition 1978), 1, RHWL, G540; Letter received January 1984, *UKA Ephemera*, RHWL, EPH 2189; <http://www.icdc.com/~paulwolf/cointelpro/law/cointelprocasebook.htm>

51. "David Duke: The Untold Author?" "The Truth About David Duke," and "Bill Wilkinson Pollutes North Alabama," *Fiery Cross* 16, no. 13 (1978): 1, *Fiery Cross* 17, no. 14 (1979), "David Duke is a Con-Artist" *Fiery Cross* 18, no. 17 (1979): 3, and W. J. Kidd, Imperial Klaliff, "Bogus Ku Klux Klan Organizations," *Fiery Cross* 16, no. 13 (1978), reprinted in *Fiery Cross* 16, no. 24 (1981): 2, RHWL, G540; Invisible Empire Knights, "RE: David Duke and James Warner Conviction in Jefferson Parish Louisiana," RHWL, Eph 2165.2; Jerry Dutton, "The FBI and the Green Eyed Monster," *Klansman* 17 (May 1977), and "Duke Attempts To Sell Klan," *Klansman* 52 (July 1980): 1, RHWL, G 549; Giles M. Fowler, "Eyes Right: The Klan Comes Back," *Kansas City Star Magazine*, June 18, 1978.

52. George and Wilcox, *Nazis, Communists*, 357; National Socialist Party of America, "General Order Number 11," Letter to John B. Denson, October 30, 1980 and Letter "To All Party Members," January 7, 1981 in RHWL, Eph. Uncat; W. J. Kidd, "Klan Attorney Charges FBI 'Dirty Tricks,'" *Fiery Cross* 16 (Special Edition 1978): 1, RHWL, G540; "Bill Wilkinson: Judas Goat," *Fiery Cross* 16, no. 24 (1981): 4; Editor, "What Are You Waiting for?" *Fiery Cross* 21, no. 30 (1983), RHWL, G540; "Questions To Ponder About the Metarie edition of the 'White Patriot,'" RHWL, Eph. 2195.5; Letter received January 1984, RHWL, Eph. 2189.1; Betty Dobratz and Stephanie Shanks-Meile, "Conflict in the White Supremacist/Racialist Movement in the United States," *International Journal of Group Tensions* 25 (1995): 57-95; Anonymous, "Deguello Report on the American Right Wing," (1976), Rick Cooper "A Brief History of White Nationalism," Gary Lee Yarbrough, "Alert Update and Advisory," (1983) and Harold Covington, "The Movement's Fatal Fascination," all reprinted in Kaplan, ed., *Encyclopedia*.

53. Gardell, *Gods of the Blood*, 72.

54. Birmingham to Director, April 27, 1971.

55. The group was active in Mobile from 1972-1974, with rallies drawing three hundred people, on average. Newton, ed., *Ku Klux Klan Encyclopedia*, 26, 204, 535. In 1979, the *Fiery Cross* also began to flirt with Identity teachings, but continued to accept converts from Judaism. "Klans Belief in White Supremacy Based on Biblical Interpretation," *Fiery Cross* 18, no. 17 (1979): 1-2; "The True Enemy Within," *Fiery Cross* 16, no. 24 (1981): 6, "The State of Israel," and "Zionists Celebrate U.S. Elections," *Fiery Cross* 21, no. 30 (circa 1983): 2; *Fiery Cross* 22 (Winter 1984), all in RHWL, G540.

56. Drabble, "FBI in Louisiana."

57. Drabble, "FBI in North Carolina"; Drabble, "FBI in Florida"; Baltimore to Director, February 10, 1967, November 21, 1969; Director to Baltimore, November 28, 1969; Atlanta to Director, March 29, 1968; Dan Morgan, "Mahoney Repudiates Klan," *Washington Post*, November 7, 1966, C1; Miami Report, May 9, 1967, Baltimore Report, December 29, 1966, 1-6 in FBI file on the Minutemen (Bureau File 62-107261); Drabble, "FBI in Virginia"; Drabble, "FBI in Tennessee."

58. Miami to Director November 7, 1967; Director to Miami November 17, 1967.

59. Drabble, "FBI Suppression of Klan Violence." FBI informants led at least two Minutemen cells. Jackson to Director May 28, 1968, June 28, 1968, October 7, 1968, January 21, 1969, February 6, 1969, March 11, 1969; Director to Jackson June 17, 1968, July 18, 1968. Informants also led two splinter groups in North Carolina. Drabble, "FBI in North Carolina."

60. See for example, Irwin Sull, *The American Ultras: The Extreme Right and the Military Industrial Complex* (New York: New America, 1962), 57-58.

61. Jones, *A Private Army*, 238-239.

62. "Robert Welch Attacks Right-Wing Organizations: Employs ex-FBI Pimp to Lecture at Rallies!" *Fiery Cross* IV (January 1969): 15, RWCUIL, 51:F16; *White Power* (AWNPN: Russell Veh, J. B. Stoner, James Warner), 2:4, 3; *The White Nationalist* 1 (May-June 1973) and 1 no. 5 (October-December 1973), RWCUIL, 150:W26; "The End of the World," *Thunder and Lightning* (White America Party, Olympia, WA), No. 9/10 (August 1970), RWCUIL, 129:T18. The NSRP firmly supported DePugh. Edward Fields, "FBI Persecutes Patriots," (May 1971), RHWL: E 520;

"DePugh Foils Frame Up Plot," *Thunderbolt* 102 (June 1968): 5; "Pimp Testifies Against Minutemen," *Thunderbolt* 104 (August 1968), "Minutemen," Underground Headquarters to Editor and "Robert Welch Hires Pimp to Smear Klan," *Thunderbolt* 107 (November 1968): 9, RWCUIL, 129:T19; "Minute Man Chief Charges F.B.I. Torture," *Thunderbolt* 130 (October 1970): 4; "Last Letter," *Thunderbolt* 132 (December 1970): 8; Views of Bob DePugh," *Thunderbolt* 148 (April 1972): 5; "DePugh Freed," *Thunderbolt* 161 (June 1973): 7; "Guilty Rabbi Freed" and "Express Outrage at JDL Attack," *Thunderbolt* 140 (August 1971), "Shocking Facts Behind the John Birch Society," *Thunderbolt* 126 (June 1970): 6, RHWL, G1380.

63. Melissa Fay Greene, *The Temple Bombing* (Reading, MA: Addison Wesley, 1996); *Thunderbolt* in RHWL and RWCUIL; Box 2, Folders 44, 45, Right Wing Political Collection, University of Georgia; Steven Weisenburger, "The Columbians, Inc.: A Chapter of Racial Hatred from the Post-World War II South," *Journal of Southern History* 69 (November 2003): 821-860; State of California, *Report on Private Armies*, April 12, 1965, 10, CR-3, CR-6, NSRP. A close associate of Gerald L. K. Smith in the 1940s, Swift circulated Identity audio tapes. Newton, ed., *Ku Klux Klan Encyclopedia*, 282; Barkun, *Religion and the Racist Right*, 60-61, 64-71, 96; Kaplan, ed., *Encyclopedia*, 296-299. On the 1930s, see John Drabble, "Brown Scare," in Peter Knight, ed., *Conspiracy Theories in American History: An Encyclopedia* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2003), Bibliography.

64. Rich, "Ku Klux Klan Ideology," 32 (quote)-35; Drabble, "FBI in Florida."

65. Rich, "Ku Klux Klan Ideology," 74-75; Chappell, *A Stone of Hope*, 318-319; "Terrorism Today," 13-16; "White Knights," Ku Klux Klan (Addition) Manuscript Department, Perkins Library, Duke University; Drabble, "FBI in Mississippi."

66. HUAC, *Present-Day*, 12-14; *Thunderbolt*, RWCUIL, 129:T19.

67. See Rich, "Ku Klux Klan Ideology," 57-79.

68. Alexander Saxton, *The Rise and Fall of the White Republic: Class Politics and Mass Culture in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Verso, 1990), 67, 72, 120, 148-150, 254, 259-262, 281-282. On "Herrenvolk democracy," see George Fredrickson, *White Supremacy: A Comparative Study in American and South African History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981).

69. Official UKA documents never dropped anti-Catholicism, and some klavern units distributed anti-Catholic literature, but individual Catholics were able to join the UKA and other Klan groups. Andrew Michael Manis, *Southern Civil Religions in Conflict: Black and White Baptists and Civil Rights, 1947-1957* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987), 46-48, 57; Newton, ed., *Ku Klux Klan Encyclopedia*, 18-19, 481; David H. Bennett *The Party of Fear: From Nativist Movements to the New Right in American History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 159; U.S. 90th Congress, 1st Session, 1967, House. Committee on Un-American Activities. [HUAC] Report: *The Present-Day Ku Klux Klan Movement*, 366-371; U.S. House. Hearings before the Committee on Un-American Activities [HUAC]. *Activities of Ku Klux Klan Organizations*. 89th Congress, 1st Session, 1966, 3327, 3329; Director to Detroit, December 22, 1966; John Herbers, "The Klan: Its Growing Influence," *New York Times*, April 20, 1965, 1; *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, September 30, 1965 cited in Moore, "A Sheet and a Cross," 179; AP, "Klan to Let Catholics And Immigrants Join," *New York Times*, November 16, 1974, 67.

70. Grand Dragon Dan Burros committed suicide after the *New York Times* exposed his Jewish ancestry, yet the UKA held a memorial service and in "no way disowned" him. Philadelphia to Director, December 15, 1965. See also, A. M. Rosenthal and Arthur Gelb, *One More Victim: The Life and Death of a Jewish American Nazi* (New York: New American Library, 1967), 179-180, 187.

71. George Lewis, *The White South and Red Menace: Segregationists, Anticommunism, and Massive Resistance, 1945-1965* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004), 167-168; Jeff Woods, *Black Struggle, Red Scare: Segregation and Anti-communism in the South, 1948-1968* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004), 197; Rich, "Ku Klux Klan Ideology," 31-32, 68-70; "Communist Infiltration into the Civil Rights Movement," and "Communist Exploitation of the U.S. Racial Crisis," *Fiery Cross* (August 1964): 1, Box 35, Sara Diamond Collection on the U.S. Right, Social Protest Collection, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

72. Rich, "Ku Klux Klan Ideology," 71 (quote), 72-74. Shelton distinguished between "Semitic" and "Khazar" Jews, arguing that that most communists were Khazars, but that all Jews "were by no means communists." "Know Your Enemies," *Fiery Cross* 2, no. 9 (1967): 18, Box 2, Folder 6, "KKK Addition Folder," in Police Reports, Box 2, Folder 6, Paul J. Dumas Jr. Papers, 1959-1972, Special Collections, Library, Duke University. For NSRP anti-Semitism, see *Thunderbolt* 62 (October 1964), *Thunderbolt* 61 (September 1964): 5, and *Thunderbolt* 70 (September 1965), RWCUIL, 129:T19.

73. See Daily, "Sex, Segregation, and the Sacred after Brown."

74. Shelton's order came sometime after August 1963. UKA leaders also forbid associating with the ANP and the Minutemen, and excommunicated some Klansmen who established them. Nevertheless, young leaders of some small UKA units outside the Deep South joined these groups. Los Angeles to Director, August 31, 1966, September 29, 1966; Richmond to Director, September 29, 1966; Los Angeles to Director, October 20, 1966; Baltimore to Director, February 10, 1967; Philadelphia to Director, December 27, 1965, June 9, 1966, September 19, 1966, November 22, 1966; Director to Philadelphia, September 28, 1966; Albares, "Native Paramilitarism," 34, 66-67;

Drabble, "To Ensure"; HUAC, *Activities*, 2114, 2474, 2549, 2653, 3303-3363, 4013, 4027; FBI Monograph, "American Nazi Party," 61-62, available at <http://www.foia.fbi.gov/foiaindex/anpm.htm>; Bill Stanton, *KLANWATCH: Bringing the Ku Klux Klan to Justice* (New York: Weidenfeld, 1991), 82; "Interview with Robert Shelton"; UKA, *Fiery Cross* (1963-1971); "Witness Hits Klan's Nazism, I. W. Replies to Pryor's Claims," *Fiery Cross* (February 1966): 2, RWCUIL, 51:F16; E. B. Duffee Jr., "The National States Rights Party," PhD dissertation, University of Maryland, 1968, 130-132.

75. George Lincoln Rockwell, *This Time the World!*, 3rd. ed. (Liverpool, WV: White Power Publications, 1979), 166; Los Angeles to Director, September 29, 1966; Pamphlets, "The Difference Between National Socialism and Communism," "The Kind of 'Socialism' U.S. Nazis Believe In," and "Program of the World Union of National Socialists," *Rockwell Report, Ephemera*, RWCUIL, 7:A40a; *Rockwell Report* (January 1962): 3, (February 1965): 20, and (October 1965): 9; "Another Jew Spy," *Rockwell Report* 2 (November 1962): 4, "Hoover and the Niggers," and "Is Ed Fields Actually Sammy Davis, Jr.," *Rockwell Report* (November 1964): 10, "Warning!" *Rockwell Report* (April 1965): 6-7, and *Rockwell Report* (January 1967): 16-17, all in RHWL 3278; George Lincoln Rockwell Interview, *Playboy*, April 1966, 154; Jones, *A Private Army*, 93. In the early 1960s, members of the tiny California ANP unit had engaged in paramilitary exercises, resulting in one illegal firearm arrest. State of California, *Report on Private Armies*, 12-13.

76. "Another Jew Spy." See also, "How to Get Out and Stay Out of an Insane Asylum" (circa 1960), in *Rockwell Report, Ephemera*, RWCUIL, A40a.

77. *Thunderbolt* 42 (May 1962): 7, cited in Duffee, "National States Rights Party," 202-206; "Proof Rockwell Cooperates with Drew Pearson and ADL," and Dr. Edward R. Fields, "FBI Counter-spy Says Rockwell Sabotages Right Wing," *Thunderbolt* 44 (August 1962): 6-7, Newspaper #88, Duke University, Special Collections; "Is Lincoln Rockwell an FBI Pimp?" *Thunderbolt* 58 (April 1964): 10, and *Thunderbolt* 71 (October 1965): 1, RWCUIL, 129:T19; William H. Schmalz, *Hate: George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party* (Washington, DC: Brassey's, 1999), 152-154.

78. State of California, *Report on Private Armies*, CR-2; "The Lint Picker," and "Think On This" *The Suburban*, March 24, 1966, distributed by the National States Rights Party, Jacksonville, Florida, The Social Protest Collection at the Bancroft Library of the University of California at Berkeley, Box 22, Folder 28; Duffee, "National States Rights Party," 191-197; *Thunderbolt* 56 (February 1964): 6, and "Minutemen Charge F.B.I. Frameup," *Thunderbolt* 82 (October 1966), RWCUIL, 129:T19. The *Thunderbolt* expressed reservations about paramilitarism only once. "'Minute Man' Type Groups On Dangerous Grounds: Frame-Up Possible," *Thunderbolt* 57 (March 1964), Newspaper #88 Duke University, Special Collections; 6th Annual full NSRP Convention Report, Montgomery, Alabama, September 1-2, 1962, *N.S.R.P. Ephemera*, RWCUIL, 89:TN86. NSRP activists distributed General William Walker's pamphlets on "counterinsurgency." *N.S.R.P. Ephemera*, RWCUIL, 89:TN86. In 1978-1979, the NSRP turned against DePugh, but never condemned paramilitary tactics. *Thunderbolt* 233 (September 1978): 14, RHWL, G1380; "Resignations From DePugh's 10 Million Comm.," and "Hargis," *Thunderbolt* 244 (August 1979), Newspaper #88, Duke University, Special Collections.

79. NSRP anti-FBI rhetoric was thus unique, as were ANP theories of organic society. The NSRP emphasized identity and the ANP, scientific racism and eugenics, but their anti-semitic discourses overlapped. Identity increasingly influenced the ANP after 1964. Frederick J. Simonelli, *American Fuehrer: George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 2, 4, 115-122, 141.

80. Editor's response to Cathyrn Sue Braley, *Fiery Cross* III, no. 6 (June 1968): 23 (quote), RWCUIL, 51:F16; *Fiery Cross* VI, no. 4 (April 1971), *Fiery Cross* VI (February 1971), *Fiery Cross* VI (1971), RHWL, G540.

81. "Message from Imperial Wizard," *Fiery Cross* 7, no. 5 (May 1972): 1, RWCUIL, 51:F16.

82. "It's a Kosher World," *Fiery Cross* 7, no. 5 (May 1972): 5, RWCUIL, 51:F16; "Who is the Real Enemy" *Fiery Cross* VI, no. 2 (November 1971): 13, RHWL, G540.

83. "A Time For Revolution," *Fiery Cross* VII, no. 1 (January 1972): 13, RWCUIL, 51:F16.

84. "Mullins Sues Hoover Estate FBI Secrets Bared," *Fiery Cross* 8, no. 7 (1973): 6, RWCUIL, 51:F16; "Those Poor 6,000,000 'Dead' Jews Are Very Much Alive in the U.S.A.," *Fiery Cross* 8, no. 10, 11, and 12 (1973), RWCUIL, 51:F16. According to the Anti-Defamation League, Mullins wrote for former ANP activist James Warner's Christian Identity and Willis Carto's Holocaust Revisionist publications. ADL, *Danger: Extremism The Major Vehicles and Voices on America's Far-Right Fringe*, (New York 1996), 96-98; *Christian Vanguard* 30 (May 1974), *Christian Vanguard* 32 (July 1974), RWCUIL, 23:C24; Sons of Liberty: Anti-Defamation *Ephemera*, RWCUIL, 127:S24. See also Martin A. Lee, *The Beast Reawakens* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1997).

85. John Drabble, working paper, "FBI Covert Operations against anti-Semitic Agitators and the White Power Revolution."

86. Frederick J. Simonelli, "Thriving in a Cultic Milieu: The World Union of National Socialists, 1962-1992," in Jeffrey Kaplan and Heléne Lööw, eds., *The Cultic Milieu: Oppositional Subcultures in an Age of Globalization* (Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira, 2002), 212, 218-219; Jeffrey Kaplan, "The Postwar Paths of Occult National Socialism: From Rockwell and Madole to Manson," in *The Cultic Milieu: Oppositional Subcultures in an Age of Globalization*, 226-229, 238.

87. Kaplan, "Postwar Paths," 226.
88. Compare the newspapers and pamphlets of the NSWPP, the National Socialist Liberation Front, The National (Youth) Alliance, The National Socialist Movement, the National Socialist Party of America, the White Nationalist Party, and James Buford's ANP with those of Rockwell's ANP in RHCUIL and RHWL. See also, "FBI Uses Jewish Blood Money in Mississippi Murder," *White Power* 12 (March 1970), RHWL, C1873.
89. Joseph Tommasi, "Armed Struggle" and "Building the Revolutionary Party," in National Socialist Liberation Front, *Miscellaneous Ephemera 1969-1984*, RHWL, Folder 1351.1-3; Jeffrey Kaplan and Leonard Weinberg, *The Emergence of a Euro-American Radical Right* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1998), 130-135; Kaplan, "Postwar Paths," 240-243; Newton, *Ku Klux Klan Encyclopedia*, 418.
90. James Warner, "Four Ways To Protect Your Home From Illegal FBI Intrusion," *Attack* (August 1970), 2, RWCUIL, 9:A65; William R. Pierce, "Lessons from *Mein Kampf*," *White Power* 7, no. 7 (1969), RHWL, C1873.
91. "Pittsburgh Activist Assaulted by FBI," *National Socialist Bulletin* 97 (November 1971), RWCUIL, 78:N3.
92. Griswold, "What One Communist Agent Can Do."
93. "Robert Shelton's Homecoming Address," *Fiery Cross* V, no. 1 (January 1970): 1, RWCUIL.
94. Citizens Commission to Investigate the FBI. "The Complete Collection of Political Documents Ripped Off From the FBI Office in Media, Pennsylvania, March 8, 1971," *WIN Magazine* 8, no. 4 and 5, (March 1972).
95. *Fiery Cross* VI, no. 3-VI, no. 7 (March-July 1971), RHWL, G540.
96. "Special Report Exposing! the FBI and the CIA," *Fiery Cross* VI (March 1971): 5, RWCUIL, 51:F16/RHWL, G540.
97. UPI, "Klan Leader Assails FBI," *Washington Post*, June 16, 1971, A10.
98. *Fiery Cross* VI (November 1971): 3, RHWL, G-540.
99. "Shelton: 10th Anniversary Banquet Address."
100. Handbill, "Abolish the FBI," attached to FBI Report, December 6, 1971, United Klans of America Inc., 1971 National Klonvocation, November 27-28, 1971, Tuscaloosa, AL, in UKA-FL Tampa File (157-370-64), Section 10, acquired by author through the Freedom of Information Act. See also Roy Whang, "Big Government Is Enemy For 'New Policy' Klansmen," *Washington Post*, April 27, 1972, G11.
101. FBI Report, December 6, 1971, in *ibid*.
102. "Klan Chief on the Road, Seeking to Regain Power," *New York Times*, November 28, 1970, 32; *Grand Rapids Press*, December 6, 1970, and *Detroit Journal*, September 11, 1971, cited in Moore, "A Sheet and a Cross," 188-189.
103. Letter, "Sanheim Gathering," Leaflet, "Take off Hoods Scream Our Foes," n.d. *KLANS Ephemera*, RHWL, 2191.9; *Thunderbolt* 132 (December, 1970): 10, RWCUIL, 129:T19; Robert Miles, *A Secret Army: Wenn Alle Brüder Schweigen: Followers of the Way* (Fowlerville, MI, 1985) and "From the Mountain," 1987-1989, Box 36, Sara Diamond Collection; Newton, *Ku Klux Klan Encyclopedia*, 133, 388-390, 406; Julian Scher, *White Hoods, Canada's Ku Klux Klan* (Vancouver: New Star Books, 1983), 75, 79, 87; Jeffrey Kaplan, "Right Wing Violence in North America," in Tore Bjørge, ed., *Terror From the Extreme Right* (London: Frank Cass, 1995), 47-50; Kaplan, "Context of American Millenarian Revolutionary Theology," 35-37, 47; Kaplan, ed., *Encyclopedia of White Power*, 209-214.
104. "Conviction," *Fiery Cross* 8, no. 7 (1973): 1, RWCUIL, 51:F16; "Trial Reveals Klansman Framed," *Crusader* 2 (Winter 1974), Special Collections Duke University Library; "Free the Pontiac Five," *The White Nationalist*, 1 (May-June 1973), 1 (July-August 1973), 1 (October-December 1973), 1 (November-December 1975), 5, and Michael D. Papich, "Security Tips Part 2: Radicals and Agents Provocateur," 1 (January-February 1975), RWCUIL, 150/150:W26; "Michigan Trial Reveals FBI Plot To Frame Klansman," *Thunderbolt* 162 (July 1973): 8-9; "Compare F.B.I. Treatment of Klan with JDL: Michigan Case, Jews and Blacks Freed, Whites Jailed for Similar Charges," *Thunderbolt* 144 (December 1971): 13, RWCUIL, 129:T19; "Christian Minister Arrested," *Christian Vanguard* 5 (January 1972): 5; "Patriots Convicted in Michigan," *Christian Vanguard* 22 (July 1973): 7, RWCUIL, 23:C24; *National Spotlight* 29 (July 19, 1976): 10, 13. RWCUIL, 85:N27; Louis R. Beam Jr., ed., *Essays of A Klansman: Being a Compendium of Ku Klux Klan Ideology. Organizational Methods, History, Tactics, and Opinion, with Interpretations by the Author* (Hayden Lake, ID: AKIA Pub., 1983), 10-14, available in the Freedom Center Collection, University of California, Fullerton Library, Special Collections.
105. The term "satanic," common in Identity rhetoric, had not previously been used by the *Fiery Cross*. "Boating Not Busing," UKA Dearborn, circa June 1975, *United Klans of America Ephemera*, RWCUIL, 138:U11.
106. Wesley Swift had trained Butler. Robert Miles, *KKK Ephemera*, RHWL, 2191.9; Rich, "Ku Klux Klan Ideology," 300-326; Brent L. Smith, *Terrorism in America: Pipe Bombs and Pipe Dreams* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994), 55, 90; Thomas Martinez, *Brother-*

hood of Murder (New York: McGraw Hill, 1988), 23; Aho, *Politics of Righteousness*, 9-10, 58-59, 274n76; Newton, ed., *Ku Klux Klan Encyclopedia*, 133, 251-252, 388-389, 406, 413, 499, 594; Jack B. Moore, *Skinheads: Shaved for Battle* (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Press, 1993), 91, 102, 113; James Ridgeway, *Blood in the Face* (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 1990); Anne Bohlen, Kevin Kafferty, and James Ridgeway produced and directed, "Blood in the Face." (Right Thinking Productions, 1991); Andy Oakley, 88: *An Undercover News Reporter's Expose of American Nazis and the Ku Klux Klan* (Skokie, IL: P. O. Pub. Co., 1987), 4-5, 84-85, 92-103, 106-107, 115-116, 128-139; "Louisville Demonstrations," "1700 White Patriots rally at Stone Mountain Georgia," *Thunderbolt* 307 (circa 1985), RHWL, G1380; Ralph S. Ezekiel, *The Racist Mind: Portraits of American Neo-Nazis and Klansmen* (New York: Viking, 1995), 122-142; Kaplan, ed., *Encyclopedia*, 5-11, 35-39. Watchdog reports also provide leads, which require verification. See Laird Wilcox, "'Who Watches the Watchman?': Another Side to the Watchdog Groups," in Kaplan and Löw, eds., *The Cultic Milieu*, 290-337; Wilcox, *The Watchdogs: Anti-Racist Watchdog Groups in America* (Olathe, KS: Editorial Research Service, 1999).

107. Nazi group membership peaked in 1978, at 1000-1200 members. Anti-Defamation League, *The KKK and the Neo-Nazis: A Status Report* (New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1984), 5; Moore, *Skinheads*.

108. William V. Moore, "The White Knight," in Douglas D. Rose, ed., *The Emergence of David Duke and the Politics of Race* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992); Tyler Bridges, *The Rise of David Duke* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1994), Chapter 3; Aho, *Politics of Righteousness*, 43-50; 58-59, 274n76; Rich, "Ku Klux Klan Ideology," 158-170, 179-186, 193-197, 207-223, 272-273, 294-299; Michael Zatarain, *David Duke: Evolution of a Klansman* (Gretna, LA: Pelican Pub., 1990), 116-122, 187-192; Kaplan, ed., *Encyclopedia*, 98-105; Glenn Frankel, "Guerilla-Style Training of KKK Alleged in 7 States," *Washington Post*, October 24, 1980, A29; "Boy Scouts Taught to Fire Weapons, Strangle Opponents," *Washington Post*, November 24, 1980, A13; "Proof of Cointelpro Continuation," *Crusader* 28 (December 1977): 12; "ADL Exposed!" *Crusader* 31 (circa 1978): 4, RHWL, G550.

109. Moore, "David Duke," 44-46; ADL, "The Ku Klux Klans: 1978," *Facts* 24 (March 1978); Julian Scher, *White Hoods, Canada's Ku Klux Klan* (Vancouver: New Star Books, 1983), 72; "The Klan Rides Again: Under a Modern Mask, Old Time Racism and Violence," *Time*, November 19, 1979.

110. Loretta Ross, *White Supremacy in the 1990s*. (Atlanta: Center for Democratic Renewal, 1995); Raymond J. Birt, "Forces of Disunity: The Struggle to Maintain Right-Wing Extremist groups in Contemporary America," MA Thesis, University of Kansas, 1990, 68-69.

111. Some grew out of the Minutemen and Depression-era anti-Semitic organizations such as the Silver Shirts. Daniel Levitas, *The Terrorist Next Door: The Militia Movement and the Radical Right* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2002). Minuteman adherent Walter Peyson was a member of Swift's identity church, and DePugh associated with identity-paramilitary activists Kenneth Goff and John Harrell, who kept the survivalist movement alive while DePugh was incarcerated. Aho, *Politics of Righteousness*, 57; James Coates, *Armed and Dangerous the Rise of the Survivalist Right* (New York: Noonday Press, 1987), 57, 110-111, 145-146, 151-152, 233 *passim*; Albares, "Native Paramilitarism," 32, 34, 65, 129. On Goff and Harrell see Kaplan, ed., *Encyclopedia*, 50, 108, 120-122, 215; Levitas, *The Terrorist Next Door*, 206-208; Newton, ed., *Ku Klux Klan Encyclopedia*, 111-112, 185, 256; Rich, "Ku Klux Klan Ideology," 309-310.

112. Holocaust denial also became a standard tenet of white power ideology during the 1970s. Coates, *Armed and Dangerous*, 145-146, 151-152, 233; Rich, "Ku Klux Klan Ideology," 291-294; *Fiery Cross* IV, no. 9 (September 1969): 26, RHWL, G540; *Fiery Cross* 8, no. 10, *Fiery Cross* 8, no. 11, *Fiery Cross* 8, no. 12 (1973), RWCUIL, 51-F16.

113. Harry Jones Jr., "Spy on DePugh Uncovers Zealous Federal Detective," *Kansas City Star*, January 5, 1975, 22A; Newton, ed., *Ku Klux Klan Encyclopedia*, 111-112, 256, 455.

114. HUAC, *Activities*, 2158-2162, 2187; HUAC, *Present-Day*, 69-70, 164-168; Charlotte to Director, March 30, 1967, May 3, 1967, June 9, 1967, June 28, 1967; Director to Charlotte, April 25, 1967; Letterhead Memoranda, March 30, 1967, June 28, 1967, Belmont Rifle and Pistol Club; Rich, "Ku Klux Klan Ideology," 267-271, 300-303; Anti-Defamation League, *The KKK and the Neo-Nazis*, 1, 11.

115. *Southern Exposure* VIII, no. 2 (Summer 1980); "Klan Leader Criticizes U.S. Report And Asserts, 'We Violate No Law,'" *New York Times*, November 25, 1980, 12; Rich, "Ku Klux Klan Ideology," 171-176, 187-192, 197-200, 208-209, 257; George and Wilcox, *Nazis, Communists*, 402-405; David Chalmers, *Backfire: How the Ku Klux Klan Helped the Civil Rights Movement* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003), 170; R. S. Ezekiel, "An Ethnographer Looks at neo-Nazi and Klan Groups," *American Behavioral Scientist* 46 (2002): 51-71; Tom Gordon, "The Klan Rises Again in the New South" *In These Times*, June 8-12, 1979, 3; "The Ku Klux Klan Tries For A Comeback," *US News and World Report*, June 23, 1975, 32. The group's publication, *The Klansman* (1976-1985) is available in RHWL, G549. As late as 1978, the majority of Klansmen belonged to the UKA, the IEKKKK, and other traditional Klan organizations. Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, *Facts*, 24 (March 1978): 1-4.

116. George and Wilcox, *Nazis, Communists*, 404-405; "Bill Wilkinson Collaborated With the FBI for Seven Years!" *Thunderbolt*, 270, October 1981, 6, RHWL, G1380; Editor, "What Are You Waiting For."
117. James A. Aho, *This Thing of Darkness: Sociology of the Enemy* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994), 51-53.
118. Drabble, "FBI in North Carolina."
119. Newton, ed., *Ku Klux Klan Encyclopedia*, 451-452, 559; Greene, "Apostles of Hate," Chapter 2; Michael and Judy Ann Newton, *Racial and Religious Violence In America: A Chronology* (New York: Garland, 1991), 491, 582-584; "Klansmen Charged with Arson," *Bay State Banner*, March 15, 1973, 10; Martin Waldron, "Houston's KPFT, Two Bombs later, Tries to Rebuild," *New York Times*, October 24, 1970, 36; Waldron, "Liberals Accuse Houston's Police," *New York Times*, November 3, 1970, 56; Waldron, "2 Bombings Laid To 4 In Houston," *New York Times*, June 12, 1971, 35.
120. Aho, *This Thing of Darkness*, 53-54; ADL, *Danger: Extremism*,"6; "The Klansmen Await Their Chance," *Kansas City Star* June 27, 1980; "Paramilitary Actions Irk Neighbors of Texas Camp," *New York Times*, November 30, 1980, 67; U.P.I., "Klansman Backs Survival Camps That Teach Warfare to Children," *New York Times*, December 1, 1980, B12.
121. Beam, *Essays of A Klansman*, 16-18, 20-22.
122. Rich, "Ku Klux Klan Ideology," 166-167, 183-185, 336-338; Barkun, *Religion and the Racist Right*, 225-228; Newton, ed., *Ku Klux Klan Encyclopedia*, 413, 464; Levitas, "Antisemitism and the Far Right," 180-182; Kaplan, ed., *Encyclopedia*, 244-250.
123. Launched in 1966, *National Socialist World* targeted the intellectual wing of the Nazi movement, eventually reaching a circulation of 1,000. Schmaltz, *Hate*, 283.
124. *Crusader* 30 (Nov-Dec 1976): 17, RHWL, G550. See also Levitas, *Terrorist Next Door*, 227.
125. Andrew MacDonald [William Pierce], *The Turner Diaries* (Arlington, VA: National Vanguard Books, 1978). For a brief plot summary, see Terence Ball and Richard Dagger, "Inside the Turner Diaries: Neo-Nazi Scripture," *Political Science and Politics*, 30 (Dec. 1997): 717-718.
126. Drawing on Gnostic and Neo-Platonist themes, Pierce created a "chiliasitic dream with millennial sub currents," Witsel, "Cosmological Theism."
127. David C. Rapoport, "Messianic Sanctions for Terror," *Comparative Politics* 20 (January 1988): 195, 197, 210; Ehud Sprinzak, "Right-Wing Terrorism in a Comparative Perspective: The Case of Split Delegitimization," in Bjørge, ed., *Terror from the Extreme Right*, 18-22, 29, 32-37; *Roads to Dominion*, 257-273; Coates, *Armed and Dangerous*; Kevin Flynn and Gary Gerhardt, *The Silent Brotherhood: Inside America's Racist Underground* (New York: Free Press, 1989); Rich, "Ku Klux Klan Ideology," 336-345; Smith, *Terrorism in America*, 61-71; Kaplan, "Right Wing Violence"; Jessie Daniels, *White Lies: Race, Class, Gender, and Sexuality in White Supremacist Discourse* (London: Routledge, 1997); Betty A. Dobratz and Stephanie Shanks-Meile, *White Power, White Pride! The White Separatist Movement in the United States* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997).
128. William Karl Ziegenhorn, "'No Rest For the Wicked': The FBI Investigations of White Supremacist Groups, 1983-1988," MA thesis, San Jose State University, 1995; Smith, *Terrorism in America*, 72-89.
129. SAC Letter No. 69-67, November 10, 1969, Section (C), Investigation of Unaffiliated White Racial Extremists-Racial Matters, reprinted in U. S. Congress, Senate. *Hearings before the Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence*, Activities of the United States Senate, 94th Cong., 1st Sess. *Hearings*, V6, Exhibit 63-2, 679.
130. Gardell, *Gods of the Blood*, 2-12.
131. Rich, "Ku Klux Klan Ideology," 370.
132. Stanton, *Klanwatch*, 220-226, 240-244; Wilcox, *Communists, Klansmen*, 410; Wilcox, *Watchdogs*, 54-55; Wilcox, "'Who Watches,'" 311-312. Infamous former FBI informant Gary Thomas Rowe also provided highly suspect testimony. Gary May, *The Informant: The FBI, the Ku Klux Klan, and the Murder of Viola Liuzzo* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 360-363.
133. Stanton, *Klanwatch*; Morris Dees and Steve Fiffer, *Hate on Trial: The Case Against America's Most Dangerous Neo-Nazi* (New York: Villard Books, 1993); Gardell, *Gods of the Blood*, 93-94; Wilcox, "'Who Watches,'" 312-314.
134. Gardell, *Gods of the Blood*, 72-73. See also Sher, *White Hoods*; Kaplan and Weinberg, *Emergence*; Sprinzak, "Right-Wing Terrorism," 25-26.
135. Diamond, *Roads*, 3-6, 258; Kaplan, "Context of . . . Theology," 32-35, 42-50, 66n35; Rapoport, "Messianic Sanctions."
136. Sprinzak, "Right-Wing Terrorism," 19-22.
137. Schulman, *Seventies*, xv-xvi (quote), 79, Chapters 6 and 9.
138. Rosalind Pollack Petchesky, "Antiabortion, Antifeminism, and the Rise of the New Right," *Feminist Studies* 7 (Summer 1981): 204-246.
139. Schulman, *Seventies*, Chapter 8; Rich, *KKK Ideology*, 353-355; Wade, *Fiery Cross*; 372-373, 390, 398; Newton, ed., *Ku Klux Klan Encyclopedia*, 53; Gardell, *Gods of the Blood*, 360n32; James Moore, *Very Special Agents: The Inside Story of America's Most Controversial Law Enforce-*

ment Agency—the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco & Firearms (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 227-228, 232.

140. Schulman, *Seventies*, 92-96.

141. Coates, *Armed and Dangerous*; Kaplan, ed., *Encyclopedia*, 71-76, 229-232, 253-257; 488-491; Schulman, *Seventies*, 87-92.

142. The ANP first seized upon the 'White Power!' slogan in 1966, while canvassing ethnic whites during anti-open housing counterdemonstrations in Chicago. Schulman, *Seventies*, 80-84; Simonelli, *American Fuehrer*, 1-2, 85, 96-105, 125, 137, 141; James M. Ralph Jr., *Northern Protest: Martin Luther King Jr., Chicago, and the Civil Rights Movement* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 124-125, 148-149, 164, 221; Stephen Oates, *Let the Trumpet Sound: The Life of Martin Luther King Jr.* (New York: New American Library, 1982), 411-416; Schmaltz, *Hate*, 286-294.

143. James Wilson Gibson, *Warrior Dreams: Paramilitary Culture in Post-Vietnam America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1994). Watchdog organizations exaggerated the influence of White Power discourse on the militia of the 1990s, which drew from an anti-federalist tradition. Robert Hazard Churchill, "'The Highest and Holiest Duty of Freemen': Revolutionary Libertarianism in American History," PhD thesis, Rutgers University, 2001, Chapter 5; Michael Barkun, "Religion, Militias, and Oklahoma City: The Mind of Conspiratorialists," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 8 (Spring 1996); Mack Tanner, "Extreme Prejudice: How the media misrepresent the militia movement," *Reason*, July 1995, 42-48; Jonathan Karl, *The Right To Bear Arms: The Rise of America's Militias* (New York: Harper Collins, 1995), 111-118; George and Wilcox, *American Extremists*, 246-247, 250, 270; Wilcox, "'Who Watches'" 311-312; Wilcox, *Watchdogs*, 14-15, 19-20, 46-47, 52-54; Gardell, *Gods of the Blood*, 92-93, 360-361n34.

144. Schulman, *Seventies*, 176-185, Chapter 7; Abby L. Ferber, ed., *Home Grown Hate: Gender and Organized Racism* (New York: Routledge, 2004); Melley, *Empire of Conspiracy*, 14, 155, 202.

145. Kaplan, ed., *Encyclopedia*, 367-372; Gardell, *Gods of the Blood*, 66-70.

146. Timothy Melley, *Empire of Conspiracy: The Culture of Paranoia in Postwar America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000), 2-3 (quote), 4-8, 12-13, 48-49, 56.

147. Dobratz and Shanks-Meile, *White Power*, 5-6 (quote); Jessie Daniels, *White Lies: Race, Class, Gender, and Sexuality in White Supremacist Discourse* (London: Routledge, 1997).

148. Kaplan in Bjørge, ed., *Terror From the Extreme Right*, 74-79.

149. Chicago to Director, November 27, 1964, December 17, 1964, February 26, 1965, March 31, 1965, May 28, 1965, June 5, 1969, October 23, 1969; Director to Chicago, March 15, 1965, April 14, 1965, May 15, 1969; Baumgardner to Sullivan, April 13, 1965; Philadelphia to Director, November 1, 1965, November 26, 1965; Director to Philadelphia, November 22, 1965.

150. Wilcox, *Watchdogs*, 35.

151. Executive Order 12333—United States Intelligence Activities, Dec. 4, 1981, 46 FR 59941, 3 CFR, 1981 Comp., 200 (quote); Jim Redden, *Snitch Culture: How Citizens Are Turned Into Eyes and Ears of the State* (Venice, CA: Feral House, 2000), 79, 82-83; Wilcox, *Watchdogs*, 10-11, 40-44; Wilcox, "'Who Watches,'" 302-304; Sims, *The Klan*, 334; *Lyndon LaRouche v. National Broadcasting Company*, Civil Action 84-0136-A, U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Virginia (1984).

152. On racist-right recruits, see Aho, *Politics of Righteousness*, 160-163, 185, 190-193, 209-211.