

JUL 20 1989

# ARMED AND DANGEROUS

**The Rise of the  
Survivalist Right**

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**James Coates**

309.73 C652 1987

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The Noonday Press 

Farrar, Straus and Giroux

New York

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*In memory of Mary Garden Brennan Coates*

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Printed in the United States of America  
Published in Canada by Collins Publishers, Toronto  
Designed by Constance Ftera  
Second printing, 1988

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data  
Coates, James.

Armed and dangerous.  
Includes index.

1. Radicalism—United States—History—20th century.
2. Prejudice—United States—History—20th century.
3. United States—Social conditions—1980—
4. United States—Politics and government—1981—
5. Survivalism—United States—History—20th century.
6. Right and left (Political science) I. Title.

E839.5.C59 1987 973.9 87.9278

the earth, their new order of white people will start history over again.

Neither the scope nor the virulent aspects of the Survival movement had been grasped until investigators tied it to the sensational Berg murder. Once the link was made—by matching bullets from an Idaho Survivalist's gun to those taken from Berg—the investigators discovered that the Survival Right was rampant. The trail led everywhere, from spectacular commando raids against armored cars in California and Washington to polygamous communes along the Missouri-Arkansas border in the Ozarks.

These investigations ultimately led to a series of spectacular trials and numerous grand jury indictments, including the lodging of sedition charges in 1987 against many of the Survival Right's most prominent figures, a legal tactic used very rarely in recent U.S. history and a development that underscored just how seriously the federal government regards the movement. The evidence offered in various courtrooms showed the common thread that stitches the Survivalists together. Whether strutting about Idaho in jackboots bought at J. C. Penney's or stalking deer in Montana wearing hand-made moccasins, each group is convinced that the world is on the verge of some form of catastrophic renewal, after which the stage will be set for them to eliminate the Jews, blacks, Hispanics, Catholics and others who are their targets.

Investigators learned early on that having somebody to hate is a crucial element in the Survivalist credo, and its adherents have borrowed from a vast global tradition of intolerance. From the eighteenth century they have adopted the conspiracy theory that an elite group called the Illuminati works behind the scenes to move humanity toward evil. From the anti-Masonic movements of the nineteenth century they have taken up the view that Masons are simply latter-day manifestations of the Illuminati. From the resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan in the early twentieth century comes their rampant hatred of blacks. Most emphatically of all, the Survivalists have taken to their bosoms the rich tradition of anti-Semitism from throughout Western history with a virulence rarely displayed by the world's fringe-group haters.

Tying the Survival Right to the Berg assassination and to scores of other dramatic crimes throughout the United States underscored that the single most significant characteristic of the Survivalists is their willingness to act, indeed to lay down their lives for their bigotry. Above all, it is this activism that separates the Survivalists from other hate groups in America from pre-Revolutionary days to the present.

Talk long has been cheap on both the left and the right of the American political spectrum. Certainly there has been rhetoric aplenty from the right, as white-robed Klansmen burn their crosses in front of TV cameras and self-proclaimed Nazis milk the maximum amount of notoriety out of such gimmicks as demanding permission to stage a march down the main street of Chicago's largely Jewish suburb of Skokie. Followers of the enigmatic extremist Lyndon LaRouche harangue busy crowds at the nation's airports about his National Democratic Policy Committee's belief that international bankers and the drug-dealing British royal family are part of the same Zionist plot. Members of tax protest groups hold seminars in rented Holiday Inn rooms to urge farmers to burn their crop loan papers and strike out against their Zionist oppressors.

By contrast, the Survival Right doesn't just talk hatred. Machine guns blazing, ranting their rhetoric of anti-Semitism, anti-Catholicism, race war and paranoia, they are translating that hatred into a nascent political movement that, while still in the seed stage, threatens to erupt with far more vigor than anyone would have forecast before five members of a hit squad from a neo-Nazi Survivalist group that called itself Bruder Schweigen (the Silent Brotherhood) opened the debate in Berg's dark driveway with a MAC 10.

Since then Survivalist groups throughout the country have been linked to sophisticated counterfeiting schemes, terrorist bombings, masterful loan fraud operations, daring armored car robberies, theft rings, a raft of murders, and thousands of federal firearms and explosives violations. Several of their number have won status as martyrs by dying in shoot-outs with state, local and federal police.

But every bit as disturbing as the violence itself is a preponderance

of evidence that the Survivalists' murderous exploits (and their courage, no matter how horribly misdirected a form of bravery it is) do not go unnoticed by the men and women who live around them in the rural pockets of the United States—people who, on the whole, were already more than intolerant and suspicious enough long before the new breed of haters surfaced.

That same audience of Cowboys who served so well as foils for the Lamms, Harts and Bergs now is listening to the cant of hatred from the Survival Right along with the rest of the political background noise in their lives. The Survivalists are being heard right along with the cable television evangelists whose words and pictures are beamed to outstretched parabolic satellite dishes in farmyards and backyards across the land. One minute, the Cowboys are listening to figures like Republican power broker Pat Robertson calling down the fire and brimstone of Armageddon on abortionists if not on Democrats in general. The next minute, the message from Survival Right groups like the White Aryan Resistance comes in on cable public-access channels followed by that of visionaries such as Reagan's former Interior Secretary, James Watt, who wanted to clear-cut the timber and mine the national parks because of a religious conviction that his will be the last generation to see them before the Four Horsemen ride, just as it says in the Book of Revelation.

Neo-Nazis stockpiling Uzi machine guns in underground bunkers aren't the only ones waiting for the Apocalypse. Many fundamentalist Christians such as best-selling paperback writer Hal Lindsey preach that this is the "Terminal Generation" for "the Late Great Planet Earth," and that the Second Coming is at hand. President Reagan told *People* magazine in 1983, "There have been many times in the past when we thought the end of the world was coming, but never anything like this . . . We're heading very fast for Armageddon right now." Not surprisingly then, for some in the heartland, the Survival Right doesn't sound all that out of sync anymore. And its conspiracy message has a certain political appeal, just as its cosmology has a familiar ring. In more ways than most Americans

would like to think, the Survivalist rampage is acting out the anger and frustration felt by growing segments of the embattled farm economy.

Smack-dab in the middle of the American continent is a group of people who really are being driven into poverty by a system under which outside bankers foreclose on their government loans, force them to sell their hard-earned property at public auction, then drive them off their land jobless, penniless and unwanted by their equally beleaguered neighbors. And the far right has moved quickly to exploit the situation—from flagrant neo-Nazi types openly mouthing ethnic slurs to the clipboard-grasping disciples of Lyndon LaRouche, whose followers in the mid-1980s received as much as 30 and 40 percent of the vote in some congressional districts and won the 1986 Democratic nomination in Illinois for lieutenant governor.

A common tactic on the far right has been to declare that the Survivalists who have died in gun battles with police agencies are martyrs, victims of a Zionist-controlled establishment of the press, the banks and the government—precisely the cabal that anti-Semites of Hitler's era evoked and then damned to rounds of applause in the beer halls of Munich and Berlin.

Notably, in the mid-1980s the well-financed, anti-Semitic American Populist Party deftly incorporated the farm crisis into its longstanding rap about international bankers, Zionist infiltration of the Federal Reserve System and race mixing. The party, which was able to place its candidates on the ballots in fourteen states in the 1984 presidential election, is heavily financed by what is arguably the most solidly entrenched far-right group in America today, the Liberty Lobby, a Washington-based operation whose nationally circulated tabloid, *Spotlight*, has been the leading organ of the extreme right for several decades.

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith views the Populist Party's campaign to exploit the farm crisis as the most sophisticated political move by the anti-Semitic right in recent memory. In study after study, the ADL's analysts warn that the Populists are partic-

heavily armed FBI attackers for two days until the lawmen set afire the house on Whidbey Island, within sight of Seattle, from which he fought alone with no quarter asked or given. They evoke the memory of charismatic Posse Comitatus leader Gordon Kahl holding a small army of federal and local lawmen at bay in Arkansas until he too died in a holocaust of his own exploding ammunition after authorities set his barricaded farmhouse afire. They speak glowingly of Jim Jenkins and his son Steve, who reacted to their local banker's efforts to foreclose on their modest Minnesota farm by shooting the banker and his chief loan officer to death with their Army-issue automatic rifles.

If economic conditions continue to worsen in the American agricultural heartland, and if the sophisticates of the entrenched right, whether the Liberty Lobby Populists or the surprisingly powerful LaRouche group, manage to strike the proper political chords, the day may come when we realize that the Survivalists really were the vanguard of new Aryan warriors that they claimed to be. Or maybe the Survival Right's dream of political power will continue to be denied them by a decent and informed American electorate, leaving them a frustrated corps of armed zealots with only acts of terror to express their canon of hatred and conspiracy.

Either way, it behooves all to learn who and where these dangerous people are, what they are saying and, above all, how they came to be this way. We'll start with the landscape of the Survival Right—its history, its geography and the troubled and troubling people who are its denizens.

*Most of the prophecies that had to be fulfilled before Armageddon can come have come to pass. Everything is falling into place. Ezekiel said that fire and brimstone will be rained upon the enemies. That must mean that they'll be destroyed by nuclear weapons.*

—Governor Ronald Reagan, August 1971

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## I: Where They Come From

During Ronald Reagan's first presidential campaign in 1980, which was to take the United States on the biggest swing toward the right in its history, the candidate's speechwriters sought to emphasize that he no longer was merely a hired actor railing the cant of the ultra-conservative businessmen who had spent millions during the 1950s and 1960s making Reagan their TV spokesman. Instead, the 1980 campaign sought to present Reagan as the leader of a well-entrenched and totally respectable conservative American political movement. The vehicle for this transformation came to be known among the national press corps as The Speech.

Each time he delivered the Speech on the long campaign trail, the Great Communicator superbly used the skills he had learned in Hollywood and honed in the Sacramento governor's office to assure ordinary Americans that despite the fact that his stance was the most extreme right-wing posture ever assumed by a successful presidential candidate, it nevertheless was a reflection of the changed psyche of mainstream U.S.A. The Speech comforted millions of

more rarely spoke of such things as politics or religion. Battered by dozens of hard Montana winters and hardscrabble poor for his entire life, Don Nichols was a perfect example of the personality type that Leslie Fiedler once dubbed "the Montana Face" while writing about his experience as a city-bred New Jersey Jew moving to the Big Sky country.

I was met unexpectedly by the Montana Face. What I had been expecting I do not clearly know; zest, I suppose, naïveté, a ruddy and straightforward kind of vigor—perhaps even an honest brutality. What I found seemed, at first glance, reticent, sullen, weary—full of self-sufficient stupidity; a little later it appeared simply inarticulate, with all the dumb pathos that cannot declare itself; a face developed not for sociability of feeling but for facing the weather. It had friendly things to say, to be sure, and it meant them, but it had no adequate physical expression for friendliness, and the muscles around the mouth and eyes were obviously unprepared to cope with the demand of any more complicated emotion.\*

Nichols was born in Kansas and, when the Dust Bowl was at its Depression-era worst, was brought to Montana by his father, Pat, who found work around Virginia City in the gold and silver mines. His father loved to drink, play the guitar and, above all, hunt and fish. Pat introduced his son to the outdoor life, taking him on numerous trips up the sides of Lone Mountain before being killed in a drunken car crash in the late 1930s. After Pat Nichols's death, Don's mother remarried, presenting her son with a stern, Bible-thumping farmer for a stepfather, a humorless disciplinarian with a ready razor strap. This man, Steve Engleman, had no use for hunting and fishing, which he saw as a waste of leisure time that should be spent in church.

The razor strop and Bible kept Don Nichols in line as he grew into early manhood. He went through the same high school in Harrison, Montana, as did John France and graduated at the top

\* From "Montana: or The End of Jean Jacques Rousseau," in *Collected Essays* by Leslie Fiedler (Stein & Day, 1971).

of his class. He then joined the peacetime Navy in the late 1940s, only to be dismissed on what was called a "Section Eight," mental instability. Later he would brag that he had feigned mental problems to escape the Navy's clutches after he found the rule-bound military life unbearable.

In the early 1950s he wound up in West Virginia, where he married a daughter of Appalachian poverty named Verdina and took a job at one of Union Carbide's big chemical plants. When they had enough money saved, Don and Verdina took their infant son, Dan, and their daughter, Barbara, to Montana, where he bought a piece of land near the mountains and attempted to establish a farm.

Verdina, however, had grown up on just the sort of rustic farm that Nichols desired. She had no stomach for returning to a life of outhouses, hauling well water and chopping the heads off chickens for Sunday dinner. She insisted on a house in town, even though she had to pay for the privilege by working as a nurse and taking other jobs while Nichols scratched at farming for a while, then took to the backcountry for good.

From the time they reached Montana, Don Nichols worked only sporadically, usually as a welder, putting together enough money to tide him over the next few months, then going his own way. He read incessantly, focusing on books of history, geology, biology and the writings of the early trappers and explorers, Verdina later recalled. Quickly he seized on the same conspiracy theory that today drives followers of political extremist Lyndon LaRouche—that all the world's troubles were caused by the British. Every war ever fought by America, he told Dan and others, had been caused by the British. British agents of influence are attempting to bring the country down by selling drugs and poisoning food supplies.

There were dark forces afoot in the land, enemies out to poison people before an ultimate takeover, Nichols concluded. Foods were being poisoned with deadly additives even as overweight and undernourished people were being coddled to the point where they could do nothing on their own when the hard times came.

by explaining that the tape had been played as part of a marital dispute between a feuding husband and wife who were part owners of the station.

In their difficulty getting access to the media, those inflicted with the Survivalist sickness are not unlike fringe elements throughout history who, once denied the establishment's access to the people, were forced to take their case to the public by passing out pamphlets and haranguing crowds while standing on soapboxes or on tables in Bavarian beer halls. But the Survival Right's emergence on the American scene coincided with a number of household technological breakthroughs that have made its message far more accessible than were the preachings of those who espoused such causes in the past.

Instead of handing out crude mimeographed fliers and making street-corner speeches, the Survival Right often disseminates its messages by such newly available methods as:

—Sophisticated personal computer “bulletin boards,” such as the Aryan Nations Net, that can be called up with a home computer, a modem and a telephone.

—Home video cassettes that allow the faithful as well as potential converts to watch programs on their own TV sets, starring leaders like the Posse's James Wickstrom and the Ku Klux Klan's Louis Beam.

—Audio cassettes of Identity sermons by such figures as Gale, Butler, Thom Robb and others that can be ordered through ads in the back pages of *Spotlight* and other publications.

—Telephone “hot lines” that interested parties can call to hear the latest tape-recorded conspiracy theory played on an initiate's phone-answering machine. Michael Ryan made his communal servants call one such “Jew hot line” virtually every day during his reign of terror.

All across the country Survivalists have seized on these pervasive new technologies to get their message before the voters as they press to realize their seemingly impossible dream of turning the United States into a late-twentieth-century version of Hitler's Germany.

While political realities make such an eventuality so remote as to merit consignment to the same category of worries as being struck by a Boeing 747 while on the golf course, the tragic incidents of mayhem, murder and cruelty perpetrated by the relative handfuls of zealots documented in earlier pages are evidence aplenty that the Survival Right's message is being heard.

And despite a rather dramatic lack of success to date, the far-right and often anti-Semitic Populist Party has served up dozens of Identity and Posse adherents as candidates for state, local and national office. Further, the spotty but exceptionally dramatic election successes of followers of Lyndon LaRouche underscore the Survival Right's potential for making inroads at the polls.

The Anti-Defamation League began closely monitoring public opinion in the farm belt in the early 1980s to learn whether the wrenching dislocations brought on by the crisis in the agricultural economy were allowing neo-Nazis, the Posse and other elements of the Survival Right to make political gains. It was clear from the outset that the more sophisticated Survivalist elements had quickly seized upon talk of a farm crisis to promote their movement's political fortunes.

As early as 1984 the Liberty Lobby and its weekly tabloid, *Spotlight*, began promoting a new Populist Party as the way to “revitalize the family farm” and fulfill six other planks of a national platform that evoked virtually all the tenets of the Survival Right. In a special supplement to *Spotlight* promoting the newly created party, Populist chairman Bill Baker pledged the party to a goal of “taking back control of our money system from the mattoid international crooks who have stolen it . . .” (Liberty Lobby founder Willis Carto defined the word “mattoid” as “a criminal of high intelligence. Mattoids often gravitate into international banking or politics . . .”)

For years the Liberty Lobby has played an elaborate word game over the extraordinarily touchy subject of anti-Semitism. The columns of *Spotlight*, for example, are just as free of direct racial or ethnic epithets as are those of *The New York Times*. Instead of blatant Jew baiting, the tabloid uses code words such as “international

four rural residents of these pivotal Midwestern farm states, but that it also means that the residue of 73 percent are not prepared to make such a charge against Jews. However, it must be pointed out that any phenomenon which affects over one in four residents must be viewed as a mass phenomenon, even if it is not massive."

Another unexpected popular attitude emerged when the Harris pollsters asked whether respondents agreed with the statement that "Jews should stop complaining about what happened to them in Nazi Germany." Nebraska and Iowa farmers were about equally split on that question. Overall, they disagreed that Jews complain too much about the Holocaust by a narrow 48-42 percent plurality. But among high school graduates, 48 percent agreed that Jews complain too much about the Nazi death camps and only 42 percent disagreed.

Perhaps the best indicator of what Harris called "penetration" of the Survival Right message came when people were asked whether they agreed or disagreed with the statement that "when it comes to choosing between people and money, Jews will choose money." In virtually every category, a plurality of Nebraskans and Iowans bought the stereotype of the money-grasping Jew. In Nebraska, 48 percent agreed with the caricature while 40 percent rejected it. Jews fared slightly better in Iowa, where the charge was rejected by 44-39 percent. Among people in both states over sixty-five years old, however, 70 percent agreed that Jews choose money over people while only 19 percent did not.

Harris concluded that this question indicated that anti-Semitism is far more prevalent in the farm belt than in the rest of America. In 1985, a nationwide Harris poll found that 63 percent of Americans overall reject the thesis that Jews are more interested in money than people, while only 29 percent accept it.

Noting that the poll deliberately asked emotionally loaded questions about stereotypes, Harris advised the ADL that although between 42 and 43 percent of those questioned in the two farm states indicated fairly strong anti-Semitic views, the actual situation is slightly better than that. "The judgment of the Harris firm is that

these levels state a serious potential for anti-Semitism, but not its active level today in these areas. Instead, we would put the proper level at somewhere between 25 percent and 30 percent. Of course, from an operational standpoint, the precise number when it is above one in four may not be critical. One-quarter of any group of people must be viewed as substantial, when it involves prejudice," Harris warned.

With such a base of potential supporters already in place, extremists are likely to keep on pushing for political acceptance in the farm belt, but poor showings by Populist candidates and other denizens of the far right in the 1986 congressional elections indicate that they still have a long way to go.

Sam Van Pelt, the retired Nebraska judge who began monitoring the movement after completing a study for Nebraska governor Robert Kerrey of the gunfight death of Arthur Kirk, speculated that a big reason that people in Nebraska and Iowa rejected Populist and Posse-style candidates in 1986 was extreme disgust at what happened on the Rulo farm, a story that was widely publicized in the two states. Yet this hardly amounts to a permanent reversal: with time, the memory of Rulo will fade, and people once again will start listening to the rap from the far right. And those listening will be the same people who already hold substantial anti-Semitic views even before the first Survivalist orator steps up to a soapbox or a video camera.

With Populists and Posse members in at least temporary disfavor during 1986, the most potent political force from the far right proved to be that displayed by the political network of extremist Lyndon LaRouche, which is visible to most Americans as a group of insistent men and women who set up card tables at most major urban airports and try to harangue harried travelers with their arguments in favor of nuclear power, the Star Wars defense project and other hawkish crusades. During the 1986 elections no fewer than two hundred candidates with ties to LaRouche ran for office at the state, local and national level. And while the LaRouches failed to capture a single congressional seat or governor's chair, they did pile up



millions of votes and had a profound and surprising impact on national political life, particularly in California and Illinois.

Lyndon LaRouche was born in 1922 into a prominent New Hampshire Quaker family, and in the 1940s joined the Socialist Workers Party. He remained an active old-line Marxist for nearly two decades before being swept up in the turbulent movement politics of the 1960s. During the Vietnam War, LaRouche rose as a leader in the radical-left Students for a Democratic Society and, by the late 1960s, he had a following of several hundred operating out of a headquarters in New York City. He took the name Lyn Marcus and was the leader of the headline-grabbing takeover of Columbia University by student radicals in 1968. In those years, LaRouche zealots, operating under the banner of the U.S. Labor Party, pressed a world view in which right-wing capitalists like Nelson Rockefeller, Richard Nixon and lesser lights were out to start a nuclear war with the Soviet Union.

LaRouches staked out NATO meetings in Brussels and provided reporters with numerous documents purporting to outline the capitalists' plans to destroy the Soviets by a preemptive nuclear strike. The umbrella group for the LaRouche operation was called the National Caucus of Labor Committees and his followers often would tell journalists and other listeners that they had proof that the terminal nuclear war would be launched in, say, ninety days. After the ninety days passed without the onset of Armageddon, the LaRouche representatives would inform questioners that the only reason the missiles hadn't flown was that they had sounded the warning in time to stop it.

The sea change came in 1973, when LaRouche suddenly ordered his followers to begin studying karate and street fighting. He complained that the Soviet KGB was out to kill him, and began spouting the same anti-Semitic cant that was being heard from Liberty Lobby and the rest of the Survival Right. By 1974 the LaRouches were on what they described as a wartime footing. Many supporters quit their jobs and left husbands, wives and parents to become full-time

adherents. The incessant talk of an imminent cataclysm continued, only now the perpetrators were viewed as Jews, international bankers, Trilateralists and other targets of the far right. Once again, when confronted with the fact that the predicted attack from evil outsiders had failed to materialize, the LaRouche group would counter that they had headed off catastrophe by sounding a warning in time.

They trotted out one of the most bizarre scenarios ever proffered by a fringe group:

Jewish bankers are behind the drug trade, and are peddling their wares with the collusion of the royal family of Britain . . . B'nai B'rith is actively involved in kidnapping children for fiendish Jewish temple rituals . . . Henry Kissinger is a "faggot" . . . Carter administration Vice-President Walter Mondale is "an agent of influence" of the KGB . . . Abraham Lincoln was assassinated by a Jewish spy hired by interests in Great Britain, where the government and royal family supported the Confederate cause . . . The only hope for mankind is to colonize Mars before nuclear war eradicates all sentient life on Earth . . .

Liberty Lobby was so taken by these arguments that its various publishing enterprises began selling books, magazines and pamphlets produced by the LaRouches. When old-guard members of the Survival Right expressed natural distrust of the former SDS leader, Liberty Lobby responded by issuing a "White Paper" defending the LaRouche group as a legitimate ally of right-wing interests.

In short order LaRouche set up a number of allied organizations to press his crusade—the Fusion Energy Foundation to press for nuclear power plants and Star Wars; the National Anti-Drug Coalition to press the charges that a conspiracy by the crowned heads of Britain was behind the global drug trade; and the National Democratic Policy Committee, the group under whose banner many LaRouche-backed political candidates raised money and sought election.

The LaRouches also operated an international wire service and

published several Survival Right magazines and newspapers, including *New Solidarity*, *Campaigner*, *Executive Intelligence Review*, *Investigative Leads* and *Fusion*.

Outrageous as his viewpoints may seem, LaRouche proved phenomenally successful as a political organizer. Grand juries in Massachusetts and Virginia estimated in 1986 that at his peak he was bringing in \$10 million per year in contributions for his various crusades and political candidacies.

In 1986 a series of federal crackdowns led to indictments against LaRouche intimates—including at least two Ku Klux Klan leaders—which charged among other things that the airport Star Wars advocates were conning travelers into providing credit card numbers, which the group then used to withdraw large amounts of money from their victims' bank accounts.

It was disclosed in court documents that the LaRouches had also solicited funds by telephone appeals, telling those they contacted that money was desperately needed to stave off imminent catastrophe, such as a nuclear holocaust or an AIDS epidemic. Afterward, contributors were told that they had prevented disaster by making timely donations to LaRouche. One LaRouche defector described life within the fold in terms reminiscent of the recollections of religious cult escapees, telling John Mintz of *The Washington Post*, "It's a seven-day-a-week, twenty-four-hour-a-day total immersion."

In 1986, LaRouche moved his operation from New York City to the Virginia country town of Leesburg, where he was ensconced in a fourteen-room manor house on a 171-acre compound guarded by followers carrying semiautomatic rifles and other commando gear. *The Washington Post*, which devoted substantial efforts to following the new political force in the nearby Virginia countryside, counted nearly a thousand followers moving in and out of the estate.

In April of 1987 federal prosecutors badly damaged the LaRouche apparatus by winning court orders allowing the government to take over control of the group's assets at seventeen locations around the United States, in order to collect more than \$16 million in out-

standing court fines that were set during the inquiries into alleged fund-raising abuses.

Like the Liberty Lobby, LaRouche denied that his operation was anti-Semitic, insisting that he was merely anti-Zionist. And just as the Harris poll for B'nai B'rith indicated, by 1987 many workaday Americans were willing to listen to the LaRouche skein of hard-line "anti-Zionist" rhetoric about conspiracies of international bankers and other obsessions of the far right.

In California during 1986, LaRouche forces had persuaded 700,000 people to sign a highly controversial petition that would have assigned persons carrying the AIDS virus to virtually the same status as that to which Hitler had consigned Jews in the early days of his German chancellorship. Those carrying the virus would have been declared "infectious" and their identities reported to police authorities. While the referendum on the question failed, the LaRouche group nevertheless won the support of nearly three-quarters of a million people for its AIDS project, an undertaking brimful of the sort of scapegoating and persecution that long has proven the key to success for totalitarian crusades.

During the LaRouche AIDS drive, the California White Resistance Movement circulated an essay from prison by the Order's David Lane, who wrote: "It is universally acknowledged that the disease comes from Africa and is transmitted primarily by sexual acts. THAT MEANS IT COMES FROM NEGROES, and mostly from Negro males . . . No White person on earth would have AIDS if they did not engage in inter-racial sex . . . The doctors and scientists who are searching for a cure for AIDS are almost exclusively Jewish. This is not surprising in view of two facts: (a) All race-mixing has been promoted by the Jews through their total control of the media, politicians, government and judiciary. (b) Jews are the ultimate mongrel race."

While California LaRouches were making political hay using the AIDS tragedy to promote racism and anti-Semitism, their brothers and sisters in Illinois stunned political observers by spoiling that state's 1986 Democratic primary.

In the spring of 1986, Illinois Democratic politics were in their typical state of disarray. Forces led by old-guard Chicago pol Edward Vrdolyak were sparring with the budding political apparatus of the city's first black mayor, Harold Washington. With sparks flying between Vrdolyak and Washington, the well-known Illinois Democratic machine had almost perfunctorily given its endorsement to former Illinois senator Adlai Stevenson III in the governor's race to oppose longtime incumbent James Thompson. Stevenson, in turn, had handpicked his own slate of candidates for the jobs of lieutenant governor and secretary of state, posts traditionally filled by people who will rubber-stamp the programs, policies and orders of their governor.

Adlai III, son of the legendary two-time Democratic presidential nominee and former Ambassador to the United Nations, Adlai Stevenson II, was infamous in political circles for his turgid rhetoric and lack of charisma. He ran a predictably lackluster 1986 primary campaign that was largely eclipsed by the shenanigans of those jockeying for power elsewhere in the Illinois Democratic Party in the aftermath of Washington's challenge to the awesome—and virtually all-white—political machine left behind by the late Mayor Richard J. Daley.

As a result of this preoccupation, the machine was blind-sided in the governor's race, and the morning after the March 18, 1986, primary election, Stevenson found himself leading an organization Democratic ticket that included LaRouche followers Janice Hart for secretary of state and Mark Fairchild for lieutenant governor. As *The Washington Post's* Myra MacPherson so aptly put it, "Suddenly Stevenson found himself running on the Democratic ticket with people whose platform includes the colonization of Mars, who threaten their detractors and denounce the 'British crown as in fact the head of the drug lobby.' "

Stevenson had little choice. He declined the Democratic nomination and launched a campaign for governor by starting a new "Solidarity" Party, apparently unaware that the LaRouche group often describes its programs as seeking solidarity and that the major

LaRouche group publication is called *New Solidarity*. Both he and the two LaRouche advocates were handily wiped out by Thompson and his Republican slate in the November general election, but the LaRouches found they had won a new respect as a serious political force.

Subsequent political analysis found that LaRouche's National Democratic Policy Committee had sponsored more than two hundred candidates in twenty-six state primaries during 1986. A clear LaRouche strategy had been to place candidates in several Democratic primaries where the local Republican opponents were so powerful that mainstream Democrats had been reluctant to go out on a limb as hopeless candidates. LaRouche followers Harold Kniffen and Susan Director were unopposed in the Democratic primaries in Texas, as were candidates Clem Cratty in Ohio and Dominick Jeffrey in Illinois. Winning such primaries, of course, gave the impression that the LaRouche candidates were a political force of consequence even though their standard-bearers were overwhelmed in the general elections by popular Republicans.

A poll in California by Mervin Field found that 65 percent of registered voters had heard of LaRouche but that only 10 percent had a strongly favorable view of his political credo, as opposed to 55 percent who had an unfavorable or strongly unfavorable view. Still, one can take scant comfort in the discovery that only one in ten California voters became enthusiastic LaRouche backers after hearing his message.

In California primaries three LaRouche-backed congressional candidates, Art Hoffmann, Alex Maruniak and Maureen Pike, received more than one-third of the vote in their respective districts. While none of the LaRouches went beyond the primaries to win actual national offices, their performances underscored a rising support for the movement. A study of the 1986 primaries by B'nai B'rith found that 119 LaRouche candidates won between 0 and 10 percent of the vote, while 60 scored between 11 and 20 percent, 22 won between 21 and 30 percent, and another 33 LaRouche candidates received more than 30 percent of the vote.

Political experts trying to make sense out of the LaRouche phenomenon in the 1986 elections were quick to note that these particular extremists are hard to classify because they exhibit an annoying propensity for changing direction. (LaRouche himself went from ultraleft to ultraright over a single summer. It should be noted as well, however, that LaRouche, while he was on the extreme left, never enjoyed the sort of successes that he did after the swing to the far right.)

As demonstrated by the energy displayed in recent years by forces as diverse as Richard Butler in his seedy Idaho fenced compound and Lyndon LaRouche in his porticoed \$14 million Virginia manor house, it is clear that the Survival Right will continue its underground political organizing in years to come. It remains to be seen whether future years will bring conditions that are more or less favorable to its message. If the farm economy continues to droop, as virtually all experts predict, the movement's prospects for further growth would appear good.

It is worthwhile, then, to learn the ways these interlocking fringe groups keep their message circulating as they go about their own version of the time-honored American tradition of political organizing. It is here, at the level of grass-roots politics, that the Survivalists have shown an ability to seize on new technologies.

By far the most sophisticated underground communication channel established by the right-wing Survivalists has been the computer bulletin board.

Richard Butler likes to recall how he and Texas Klan Titan Louis Beam—both men were engineers by training—seized on the idea of communicating over phone lines with personal computers after authorities in Canada started confiscating hate literature the neo-Nazis were shipping to followers in that country, where laws governing freedom of speech and of the press are far less liberal than specified in the U.S. Constitution.

In the early 1980s, just as the neo-Nazis were being denied access to potential Canadian adherents, the world's computer hobbyists were discovering "telecommunications," a technique whereby Morse

code-like electronic signals are sent over telephone lines and then translated into text on monitor screens. To pass messages back and forth, participants need only a computer such as the early Apple, Commodore, Osborne and Kaypro models, as well as a device called a modem (modulator/demodulator). With that equipment and the inexpensive software that allows a computer to perform the transfers, they can easily send alphabetic code over phone lines and read it on their computer screens as text.

Most hobbyists used the intriguing new technology to subscribe to commercial bulletin boards like CompuServe and The Source, which offer such things as up-to-date news bulletins, computerized banking, transfer of software and "chat" sessions during which different individuals go "online" and communicate via keyboards and phone lines.

Butler and Beam established the Aryan Nations Net, a system of bulletin boards located throughout the country through which their followers could both keep in touch and spread their message of hatred. Computer technology allows the bulletin board system (BBS) to keep certain data secret until a code word is invoked, while at the same time public messages can be played for any and all callers. Thus the boards serve both as an avenue of propagandizing among outsiders as well as a fairly secure message center for initiates.

Here are excerpts from one session downloaded from a BBS number in Chicago in early 1987:

YOU ARE CONNECTED TO THE CHICAGO LIBERTY NET, AN AFFILIATE OF THE ARYAN NATIONS LIBERTY NET.

THIS SYSTEM IS DEDICATED TO THE FREE EXCHANGE OF IDEAS.

IF YOU ARE AN ANTI-COMMUNIST YOU HAVE MADE THE RIGHT CONNECTION. IF YOU LOVE THE HERITAGE, CULTURE, AND TRADITIONS OF THE WHITE RACE THEN YOU ARE AT HOME.

IF, ON THE OTHER HAND, YOU ARE CONSUMED WITH ONE OF THE MODERN MALIGNANT SOCIAL DISEASES SUCH AS LIBERALISM, ATHEISM, OR EGALITARIANISM, THEN YOU MOST DEFINITELY DIALED THE WRONG NUMBER.

centers for the commandos after several of the armored car robberies, was actively proselytizing from his jail cell.

The Seattle *Post-Intelligencer* quoted officials at the Pierce County Jail, where the Order defendants were kept during the five-month trial, who said that Silva sent a steady stream of letters and other materials to inmates in various prisons during the hours he wasn't sitting in the courtroom.

Bruce Carroll Pierce, the gunman in the Berg assassination, told Kevin Flynn of the *Rocky Mountain News* during an interview at Leavenworth Prison that he and his cellmate, Order member Randolph Duey, have been active in recruiting other prisoners to the racist movement since being jailed. Of the Order, he said, "We're still a group, albeit incarcerated. But the ideas and principles of the group and what we wanted are still intact, even though we're in prison right now. Just exactly what that can mean, whether that means someone else will rise up and do some of the same things, I don't have the slightest idea. But the ideas that we had, what we wanted to accomplish, I think that will continue to live within the movement for as long as this earth is intact, which I don't feel is going to be very long."

Perhaps the most active incarcerated Order member has been David Lane. First jailed at the federal penitentiary in Fort Wayne, Indiana, Lane was transferred to Miles's alma mater, the maximum security institution at Marion, after prison officials concluded that his constant haranguing of fellow inmates was disruptive.

Once in the penitentiary at Marion, Lane became an active correspondent with a neo-Nazi group in northern Idaho who called themselves Bruder Schweigen II. That group was broken up after several members were charged with the September 1986 bombings of three buildings in Coeur d'Alene, including the federal building and the house of the Reverend Bill Wassmuth, a Roman Catholic priest who emerged as the leading Idaho establishment critic of Butler and his followers in the neighboring hamlet of Hayden Lake.

The Survival Right, then, is active in its political organizing all across the American landscape. It operates out of prison cells in

Indiana just as it does from LaRouche card tables in America's airports. The message is beamed electronically to home computers and carried as well by hundreds of tabloids and magazines. Zealots tie up their home phones to operate racist and anti-Semitic "hot lines," and there appears to be a brisk market in videotapes and audio cassettes bearing the same message now being beamed across America via cable television. Meanwhile, polls taken by Louis Harris, Marvin Field and others indicate an alarming acceptance of that message both in the American heartland and in California, where so many national trends first surface.

To be sure, the movement in question is very much on the fringes of current American political life. But it is, for all that, a fairly substantial fringe and, above all, a very dangerous one. Far too many people already have suffered and died at the hands of the Survival Right for its minions to be taken lightly. It is important to attempt to fathom just what is it that makes otherwise normal-appearing men and women accept the credo best described as the Survival Sickness.

The following articles from California newspapers contain virtually all that is known about the Wilseyville torture compound:

—“2 Lives, 1 Road to Sex, Slavery, Death” by Gretchen Kell and Nancy Weaver, *Sacramento Bee*, November 24, 1985.

—“Death Trail Leads to Humboldt / SF Police to Probe Suspect's Ex-Home” by Thom Akeman, *Sacramento Bee*, June 13, 1985.

—“Treaty Could Stall Return of Fugitive / Canada Holds Man Linked to Deaths” by Jay Matthews, *The Washington Post*, July 9, 1985.

—“Ex-Wife Clams Up, Demands Immunity for Calaveras Help” by Dan Nakaso and Stephen E. Wright, *San Jose Mercury-News*, June 17, 1985.

—“Investigation Moves to South Bay as Evidence Ties 6 to Survivalists” by Linda Goldston, Maline Hazle and Bill Romano, *San Jose Mercury-News*, June 11, 1985.

The interview with Lake's neighbor, Thomas Southern, cited in the text was published in “Cops Followed Trail of Blood to Bare Mass Murders,” by James Coates, *Chicago Tribune*, June 13, 1985.

## 7: THE POLITICS OF HATRED

The Liberty Lobby reprint “Populism: New Ideas for the Future” is dated August 1984 and is available through Liberty Library, Washington, D.C.

*Profiles in Populism*, edited by Willis A. Carto (Flag Press, Old Greenwich, Conn., 1982).

The Harris poll cited in the text is “A Study of Anti-Semitism in Rural Iowa and Nebraska,” February 1986, Louis Harris and Associates, New York.

Major stories about the LaRouche organization from *The Washington Post*, all by John Mintz, include:

—“LaRouche Followers Indicted / 10 Persons, 5 Groups Face Federal Charges: Va. Offices Raided,” October 7, 1986.

—“Hard Times in the LaRouche Camp / Suits, Claims Against Extremist's Organization Reach \$23 Million,” September 14, 1986.

—“An ‘Underground’ of LaRouche Foes / Loudoun Residents Lauded for Role in Probe of Extremist,” October 8, 1986.

—LaRouche and Aides Reacted to Heat from Federal Probe / FBI Tells of Picketing and Harassment,” October 10, 1986.

See also “Letting LaRouche Off Easy,” *Washington Journalism Review*, November 1986.

Myra MacPherson's treatment of the LaRouche candidates is “Adlai Stevenson's Long, Hot Summer / In Illinois a Troubled Campaign & an Imperiled Legacy,” *The Washington Post*, September 5, 1986.

The ADL study of the LaRouche 1986 successes is “The 1986 LaRouche Primary Campaign: An Analysis” by the Fact-Finding Department of the Civil Rights Division of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

Federal prosecution of the LaRouche group is detailed in “Federal Raids Effectively Shut LaRouche Organization,” *Washington Post*, April 22, 1987.

New Mexico prison warden George Sullivan's admission that Aryan Resistance Movement members were riding roughshod over that state's other inmates is described in “‘Predators’ Control Pen, Warden Says,” by Harold Cousland, *Albuquerque Journal*, August 19, 1986.

Problems with the Aryan Brotherhood in Arizona prisons is the subject of “Prison Gangs Spread Menace into Society” by Albert J. Sitter, *Arizona Republic*, January 25, 1985.

The prison gang situation—both black gangs and white ones—is treated in “Extremism Targets the Prisons / An ADL Special Report,” June 1986. Ironically, Robert Miles was so impressed by the document that he made copies and distributed them to followers inside prisons.

The day they were convicted, Order members vowed to use their prison time to recruit new movement members. See “‘Order’ Will Survive, Jailed Member Vows” by Lisa Schnellinger, *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, December 31, 1985.

Kevin Flynn's interview with Pierce appeared as “Racist in Berg Case Compares Self to Job,” *Rocky Mountain News*, August 10, 1986.