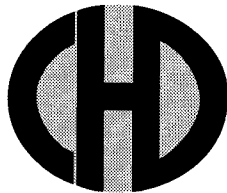


THE
NORTHWEST
IMPERATIVE

Documenting A Decade Of Hate

Robert Crawford
S. L. Gardner
Jonathan Mozzochi
R. L. Taylor



COALITION FOR HUMAN DIGNITY
PORTLAND, OREGON

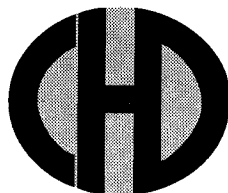
NORTHWEST COALITION AGAINST MALICIOUS HARASSMENT
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

Copyright © 1994 by Coalition for Human Dignity

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or by any information storage and retrieval system, without permission in writing from the Publisher.

Published in association with
The Northwest Coalition Against Malicious Harassment
Seattle, Washington

Printed in the United States of America
by Paragon Printing
Portland, Oregon



COALITION FOR HUMAN DIGNITY

P.O. Box 40344
Portland, Oregon 97240
(503) 281-5823/ (206) 233-9775

***To the memory of Leopold Trepper, an
anti-fascist who fought both hard and smart;
and to all the victims of racist,
anti-Semitic and homophobic terror.***

Contents

T A B L E O F

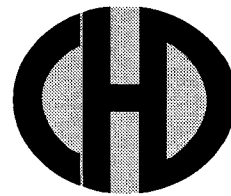
Forward by Bill Wassmuth	i.6
Preface: Using This Manual	i.7
Acknowledgments	i.8
Introduction	i.9

Chapter 1 – Neo-Nazis: Klansmen, Skinheads & Violence

Introduction	1.3
Profiles in Hate:	1.10
American Front	1.10
Asatru Alliance	1.13
Church of the Creator	1.15
Church of Jesus Christ Christian–Aryan Nations	1.16
Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	1.23
National Socialist Front/Northwest Concern	1.26
National Socialist Vanguard	1.28
National Socialist White People’s Party	1.30
NSDAP-AO	1.31
Populist Party of Washington State	1.32
White Aryan Resistance	1.34
Endnotes	1.36

Chapter 2 – Patriots: Tax Protesters, Populists & the New World Order

Introduction	2.3
Profiles in Populism:	2.8
Association de Libertas	2.8
Barrister’s Inn School of Common Law	2.10
Martin J. “Red” Beckman	2.11
Christian Patriot Association	2.13
Concerned Citizens of Idaho	2.16
Fully Informed Jury Association	2.18
Golden Mean Team	2.19
James “Bo” Gritz–Center for Action	2.21
Medford Citizens Bar Association	2.28
National Commodity and Barter Association	2.30
Pilot Connection	2.33
Republic v. Democracy Redress	2.36
State Citizens Service Center	2.38
Survival Center	2.39
Endnotes	2.41



Chapter 3 – Identity: Christian Identity —Kingdom of Hate

Introduction	3.3
Northwest History	3.6
Profiles in Identity:	3.8
American Christian Ministries	3.8
America’s Promise Ministries	3.11
Christian Israel Covenant Church	3.16
Christ’s Gospel Fellowship	3.17
The Jubilee	3.18
Judah’s Praise Ministries	3.21
Kingdom Covenant College	3.22
Marble Community Fellowship	3.25
Olympia Christian Fellowship	3.26
Scriptures For America	3.27
Endnotes	3.33

Appendix A – Lexicon

Lexicon and Usage Guide

CONTENTS

Foreword

AT LONG LAST, with the publication of *The Northwest Imperative: Documenting a Decade of Hate* we have an in-depth look at white supremacist and right wing extremist organizations and individuals in the Northwest. Those who are working for justice in the region have been waiting for a long time for a tool such as this to aid them in their struggle against bigotry. *The Northwest Imperative: Documenting a Decade of Hate* is a welcome resource.

The information contained in this volume comes from many sources including written and spoken material from white supremacist individuals and groups, media clips, and interviews. What was previously contained in researchers' memories, in paper and computer files, or on thousands of pieces of paper, has now been compiled into a useful format. Those who have been fighting extremist bigotry for years as well as those who are new to the struggle will find this work to be a very helpful tool.

The publication of *The Northwest Imperative* does not imply an intention to restrict the freedom of speech of any individual. However, justice can best be served when the words and actions of those who would deny human rights to some in society are brought into the public arena.

Not everyone in white supremacist groups commits violent acts; but violence frequently springs out of such groups. Moreover, the presence of such groups can intimidate whole communities unless voices for justice and respect are raised to counter words of hate. To ignore hate groups, even though they usually include relatively small numbers of people, is to miscalculate the impact that they can have on a

community, and to miss an opportunity to bring a community together to take another step toward justice for all.

The Coalition For Human Dignity and the Northwest Coalition Against Malicious Harassment in producing this document recognize that the roots of bigotry and prejudice lie not in extremist groups but in society generally. Even if all of the individuals and groups identified in this document somehow left the region, racism would still remain. Hate groups are not the root of the problem; rather they are the extreme expression of the problem.

Special thanks to Jonathan Mozzochi, Steven Gardner, Robert Crawford, Randi-Lee Taylor and others at the Coalition for Human Dignity for their comprehensive research and diligent determination to complete this document. It is another example of the high quality work for which CHD is developing a well earned reputation.

Thanks also to the Needmor Fund which contributed toward the publication of this document from its discretionary fund.

Tracking white supremacist and other extreme right groups is an ongoing process. The Northwest Coalition Against Malicious Harassment and the Coalition for Human Dignity welcome comments and additional information which will be incorporated into future updates.

Bill Wassmuth
Northwest Coalition
Against Malicious Harassment

Documenting a Decade of Hate

About this Volume

THE NORTHWEST IMPERATIVE IS the product of over three years of research on the white supremacist movement in the Pacific Northwest. It is intended as a comprehensive overview of organized white supremacist and far right activity in the region.

The largest part of the information contained in *The Northwest Imperative* applies to the geographic area of Oregon, Washington, Idaho and Montana. A number of organizations with headquarters outside of the region have extensive operations here and are therefore included.

Each chapter begins with an introductory narrative written to familiarize the reader with some of the key concepts found therein. The bulk of each chapter consists of a series of organizational profiles designed for use by civil rights activists, journalists and others who have occasion to encounter the groups that are detailed.

Throughout the text marginal comments have been added to facilitate information access and understanding. References can be found at the end of each chapter.

Following the introductory section, which gives a brief history and social movement analysis of the white supremacist movement as a whole, the remainder of this work is divided into three sections or chapters.

Chapter One covers neo-Nazi, Ku Klux Klan, Skinhead and anti-Christian white supremacist organizations with operations in the region.

Chapter Two profiles Christian Patriot groups, including a number with headquarters outside our four-state area of focus, but whose activities significantly impact the region.

Chapter Three takes us into the theo-political world of the Christian Identity "churches" that dot the Northwest landscape.

Also included is a lexicon which defines key terms used in the various segments of the contemporary white supremacist movement. Readers unfamiliar with the esoteric jargon of the movement will find this section exceptionally helpful.

The Northwest Imperative was produced in this loose-leaf format to allow for additions.

Readers should familiarize themselves with a copy of the acclaimed handbook *When Hate Groups Come To Town: A Handbook of Effective Community Responses*, available from the Center for Democratic Renewal, P.O. Box 50469 Atlanta, GA. 30302. Phone: (404) 221-0025. *When Hate Groups Come To Town* is available for \$18.95 and is an indispensable companion volume for devising effective responses to the organizations profiled in this volume.

Acknowledgments

THE AUTHORS WOULD like to thank the following individuals and organizations for their support over the duration of this project.

Leonard Zeskind, who is a superb mentor for many in the CHD network and, in our opinion, the finest anti-fascist researcher in the United States. Without Lenny this project would never have been conceived of or brought to fruition.

Bill Wassmuth, Executive Director of the Northwest Coalition Against Malicious Harassment, who arranged for the financing of the project, made numerous suggestions on the scope and specifics of the book, and believed in the desirability and feasibility of the project from the start. This project, having been in the works for three years, would not have been possible without Bill's support.

Danny Levitas, former Executive Director of the Center for Democratic Renewal, has kept us fed and clothed during the past year and made useful suggestions on various manuscript editions of the manual.

Loretta Ross and the staff of the Center for Democratic Renewal, with whom CHD is affiliated, for their continuing work against hate groups and unflagging support of our projects.

Thanks to civil rights activists Devin Burghart and Lisa Hartrich for helpful fact-checking and editing and to Matt Halperin for the photography and research.

The hundreds of CHD members who have paid their dues and supported us over the past five years also deserve thanks. This document

would not have been possible without their support.

Special thanks to the following foundations: The Boehm Foundation, C.S. Fund, McKenzie River Gathering, the Needmor Fund, and the Normon Foundation, for generous financial support.

Thanks to our printer, Paragon Printing; and the photo work by the folks at Faststats.

There are also individuals who cannot be named but who must be thanked. In particular our friends in Colville, Washington, and our landlords—you know who you are.

To our families, thank you, though it is sparse return for the food, finances and understanding that was given at crucial junctures. Know that it kept us hanging in.

Of course the ideas and opinions expressed in this work are solely the responsibility of the authors and the Coalition for Human Dignity. Support or assistance from other individuals and organizations should not be interpreted as an endorsement of *The Northwest Imperative* of any part thereof.

The Authors,

R. Crawford
S.L. Gardner
J. Mozzochi
R.L. Taylor

Portland, Oregon
October 25, 1994

Documenting a Decade of Hate

Introduction

"The essence of certain doctrines is to be found in their expression when they have not yet arrived: in the period of formulation, controversy, soap box oratory, and obscure pamphleteering; in the discussions and exegeses of the movements theorists, whose definitions and formulas may be removed from the brutal realities of the political struggle, but are accepted and honored in the breach if not in the observance."

—Eugen Weber
Varieties of Fascism

Within the white supremacist movement it is called the "Northwest Territorial Imperative," a vision of an Aryan homeland in the Pacific Northwest.¹ Ever since the day in 1978 when Richard Butler nailed up his gaudy "ARYAN NATIONS" sign at the entrance to his compound outside of Hayden Lake, Idaho, residents of the region have been forced to deal with this vision.²

Over the years a variety of neo-Nazi and white supremacist organizations, including Aryan Nations, the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, the Northwest Concern and the American Front have supported the idea of creating a white homeland in the region. Even as this volume goes to press, Harold Covington, a professional neo-Nazi and General Secretary of the National Socialist White People's Party, has announced that he is relocating to the Northwest. He writes in a recent press release:

The N.S.W.P.P. has relocated its national headquarters from Raleigh, North Carolina. The N.S.W.P.P. is extremely pleased so far by our reception in Seattle. Our printing facility plans to make available sufficient amounts of National Socialist literature for the youth of Seattle to promote the "Northwest Imperative—5 white states."³

Covington is the latest, and perhaps the most dangerous, of the neo-Nazi organizers to move to the Northwest. The question that is inevitably asked is why: Why here? Why now?

The answer is, in part, obvious. In the first place are the demographics of the region. Even in the relatively cosmopolitan cities of Portland and Seattle the minority population does not exceed 20% of the total population. In the rural areas of the region there are entire counties where racial minorities make up less than 1% of the residents

Kim Badynski, leader of the Northwest Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, has pushed this argument, writing:

We consider the Northwest Territorial Imperative as the last hope for the White Race within the present political system. In no other region of the United States is the White Race in the demographic majority. For this reason alone, we can politically and economically unite better than anywhere else.⁴

Badynski makes the population argument with

**American Front
Flyer
Produced in
the Wake of the
Los Angeles
uprising.**

Whites Must Arm!

IT'S A JUNGLE OUT THERE
Protect Yourself! • Protect Your Wives! • Protect Your Children!

FILE COPY

received
5/17/92

POB 68333 • Portland OR • 97268

Message Telephone: (503) 796-2124

American Front

IN VIEW OF THE RECENT WAVE OF HATE CRIMES COMMITTED AGAINST WHITE PERSONS SOLELY ON THE BASIS OF THEIR ETHNICITY, AND THE RECENT WELL-DOCUMENTED VERBAL AND PHYSICAL ASSAULTS AGAINST WHITES, THE AMERICAN FRONT RECOMMENDS THAT WHITE PEOPLE IN FULL COMPLIANCE WITH ALL FEDERAL, STATE, & LOCAL LAWS OBTAIN FIREARMS, CARRY THEM, AND USE OF FIREARMS OBTAIN SUCH WEAPONRY AS THEY DEEM MAY BE NECESSARY TO THEIR SELF-DEFENSE SHOULD ANTI-WHITE SPEECH AND RESISTANT VIOLENCE OCCUR IN THEIR NEIGHBORHOODS, AS IT HAS RECENTLY OCCURRED IN LOS ANGELES AND OTHER METROPOLITAN AREAS. THE AMERICAN FRONT RECOMMENDS PRECAUTIONARY SELF-DEFENSE MEASURES ONLY, AND DOES NOT ADVOCATE TAKING THE LAW INTO ONE'S OWN HANDS, SUPPORT THE POLICE, OR LAND POLICE BARRIERS.

The Northwest Imperative:

typical neo-Nazi exaggeration, but he is not incorrect in his assessment of the demographics. The Northwest is perhaps the only remaining temperate region in the United States where white people constitute an overwhelming, four-fifths majority.

Another reason for the Northwest Imperative is not so obvious.

The "Imperative" is a political position within the most radical wing of the modern white supremacist movement, represented by neo-Nazis and Klansmen. But the idea of the Northwest Imperative will remain little more than the futile fantasy of the aging Richard Butler *unless a suitable social climate exists or is*

seeking to restore and re-invent America as a "white, Christian Republic." It includes suburban Christian Identity pastors who teach that God will raise up the true "Tribes of Israel"—i.e. white people in Identity belief—to rule in his Kingdom and makes room for conspiracy theorists who define all of history as a struggle against a demonic elite intent on destroying white civilizations, an elite that is subtly—or not so subtly—identified with Jews. It includes charming, grandmotherly German-American women who deny the Holocaust and urban professionals who espouse neo-Pagan racialism. The modern white supremacist movement consists of all of these strands and more.

This is the water in which neo-Nazi hatred, bigotry and violence is nourished.

This is not to say that the white supremacist movement is monolithic. Even within identifiable segments of the movement there is considerable disagreement on specifics and inevitable competition for leadership positions, resources and membership. Between segments—Christian Patriot and neo-Nazi for example—there can even be open hostility.

Christian Patriots may condemn neo-Nazis for their "pagan, un-American, Hitler worship," but in practical terms, the goals they seek coincide closely enough to make them allies in effect. Even in the act of denunciation this is revealed.

Robert Wangrud, the leader of the Oregon City, Oregon Christian Patriot group Republic v. Democracy Redress, for example, has criticized neo-Nazi organizations, writing:

In this nation you have what is known as the Aryan Nations who believe that Hitler had the right idea as to the formation of government. The issue of Hitler has been argued back and forth, pro and con. As I see it, Hitler was not all the Jews [sic] claim he was, but Hitler is not all the Aryan Nations claim he was either.⁵

The condemnation here is clearly less than



A group of Portland-area skinheads, circa 1991.

created in the region.

Neo-Nazis, racist skinheads and klansmen are the sharks of the white supremacist movement. Like sharks they inspire fear for the immediate threat they pose. Like sharks they attract a lot of attention. But like predators of all kinds, they are in the minority.

The hard-core violent wing of the white supremacist movement could not exist without the nurturing waters of the movement as a whole. The movement consists not only of violent and openly racist and anti-Semitic organizations, but of so-called Christian Patriots

Documenting a Decade of Hate

overwhelming. True, Wangrud and other Christian Patriots do not, as a rule, make use of the swastika and other symbolism of the Third Reich. They generally do not favor the highly centralized governments of classical fascism. But they are certainly ready to use the force of law to attack minorities and promote bigoted ideas. For example Wangrud has said:

We need to begin taking care of our own. People should also take a Christian oath of allegiance before taking any office. That would eliminate the religious cults like Hindus and Jews from taking power....

adding that,

Blacks really wouldn't care if they lost their rights. I mean look at the L.A. riots. Now can you really say that those people that burned the city down are capable of governing themselves? If the blacks don't like it here they should leave.⁶

These "nurturing" elements, these friendly Christian Patriot and Christian Identity waters, constitute the largest part of the modern white supremacist movement. *And they already exist in relatively large numbers in the Pacific Northwest.* Christian Patriot leader and former presidential candidate James "Bo" Gritz has recognized this, staking his future on the region. Gritz, though little influenced by the idea of the "Northwest Imperative" as formulated by the hard-core neo-Nazi wing of the movement, is nonetheless moving to central Idaho. He and former Arizona police officer Gerald "Jack" McLamb are establishing what they refer to as "Christian Covenant Communities" there, in effect tiny Christian Patriot homelands.

But if the hard-core wing is nourished and sustained by the broader movement, the neo-Nazis and klansmen also give something back. Through public and open acts of violence and racism, they desensitize people to bigotry, making Patriots and Identity believers—not to mention less radical parts of the far right—seem more acceptable by comparison.

Further, the neo-Nazi part of the movement attracts the lion's share of attention from law enforcement and private civil rights organizations, leaving the rest of the movement to

Read What They're Saying About The SPOTLIGHT!

"... hard-hitting and factual, and contains a great deal of material that can't be found elsewhere."



—Former Congressman
George V. Hansen
Idaho Republican

"I enjoyed your articles on the National Rifle Association in The SPOTLIGHT. I thought they were pretty good."



—Then-Sen. Dan Quayle (R-Ind.)-1980
Now Vice President of the United States

"The SPOTLIGHT is the only newspaper in the country that has printed the truth about my husband."



—Imelda Marcos
Former Philippine First Lady

"I want every American to subscribe to The SPOTLIGHT, the first newspaper to expose the drug links of high-up Washington officials with international suppliers. Other papers don't have the guts."



—Lt. Col. James (Bo) Gritz
America's Most Highly-Decorated
Vietnam Veteran

Weekly news you can use—and profit from—on a regular basis.
Exclusive stories ignored, buried or otherwise suppressed
by the Establishment media. Only in The SPOTLIGHT.

organize almost without opposition.

Finally, the hard-core edge of the movement is the most prepared to use violence to achieve its ends. As a strategy, this may ultimately lead to defeat, imprisonment and martyrdom for movement activists, but as a tactic it cannot fail to profoundly effect both individual lives and communities.

Racism and Bigotry in America

The various factions of the white supremacist movement, Neo-Nazi, Christian Patriot and Christian Identity, do not exist in a vacuum. Both the neo-Nazi sharks and the friendly waters of Patriot and Identity belief exist within the ocean that is bigotry in America.

The Spotlight
An ad for *The Spotlight*, the leading anti-Semitic publication in the country.

Documenting a Decade of Hate

Introduction

Endnotes

¹ There are several versions of the idea, but the earliest and most common, as formulated by Robert Miles and his ally Richard Butler of the Church of Jesus Christ Christian–Aryan Nations, involves the establishment of an independent nation-state composed of the territory now occupied by Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Montana and Wyoming.

² Kevin Flynn and Gary Gerhardt, *The Silent Brotherhood: Inside America's Racist Underground* (New York & London: Free Press, 1989), p.55.

³ Harold Covington, "Press Release: Commander Harold Covington is pleased to announce the opening of the Seattle office of the National Socialist White People's Party," (Seattle, Washington: National Socialist White People's Party, undated (circa October 1994).

⁴ Kim Badynski, *Klan Kourage* (undated [circa 1989]), p.1.

⁵ Robert Wangrud, *BEHOLD!* March 1987, p.9.

⁶ *Clackamas County Review*, May 28 – June 3, 1992.

