

**STRATEGY
RESEARCH
PROJECT**

The views expressed in this paper are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Department of Defense or any of its agencies. This document may not be released for open publication until it has been cleared by the appropriate military service or government agency.

**CURRENT TRENDS IN ORGANIZED HATE GROUPS AND THEIR
IMPACT ON THE UNITED STATES ARMY**

BY

**LIEUTENANT COLONEL GEORGE E. REED
United States Army**

**DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A:
Approved for public release.
Distribution is unlimited.**

19990601 045

USAWC CLASS OF 1999



U.S. ARMY WAR COLLEGE, CARLISLE BARRACKS, PA 17013-5050

USAWC STRATEGY RESEARCH PROJECT

**CURRENT TRENDS IN ORGANIZED HATE GROUPS AND THEIR
IMPACT ON THE UNITED STATES ARMY**

By

Lieutenant Colonel George E. Reed
United States Army

Colonel John W. Brinsfield
Project Advisor

The views expressed in this academic research paper are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the official policy or position of the U.S. Government, the Department of Defense, or any of its agencies.

U.S. Army War College
CARLISLE BARRACKS, PENNSYLVANIA 17013

DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A:
Approved for public release.
Distribution is unlimited.

ABSTRACT

AUTHOR: George E. Reed, Lieutenant Colonel, U.S. Army

TITLE: CURRENT TRENDS IN ORGANIZED HATE GROUPS AND
THEIR IMPACT ON THE UNITED STATES ARMY

FORMAT: Strategy Research Project

DATE: 23 January 1999 PAGES: 37 CLASSIFICATION: Unclassified

The hate-motivated murders of Michael James and Jackie Burden in Fayetteville, North Carolina, by three Fort Bragg soldiers resulted in an unprecedented self-examination by direction of the Secretary of the Army on the extent of extremism in the Army. In the four years since 1995 there were significant changes in the hate movement that will impact on the Army in the future as it struggles to deal with manifestations of extremist behavior. This study examines ramifications of soldiers that participate in hate groups, considers several significant hate group trends, and looks at the Army response to soldiers who do not internalize Army values. Except for some notable measures taken at the installation level after well-publicized events the long-term Army response lags behind measures taken at the federal and state levels.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	v
PREFACE	vii
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	ix
LIST OF TABLES	xi
THE PROBLEM	1
SCOPE	6
TRENDS	11
INTERNATIONAL RACIST SKINHEAD MOVEMENT	12
THE NATIONAL ALLIANCE	14
CYBERHATE	15
SHORTWAVE RADIO	16
ANTIGOVERNMENT THEMES	17
THE ARMY RESPONSE	17
IMPLICATIONS	20
RECOMMENDATIONS	23
AVAILABLE RESOURCES	27
ENDNOTES	31
BIBLIOGRAPHY	35

PREFACE

The Secretary of the Army's Task Force Report on Extremist Activities acknowledged that "The Army is a reflection of American society and has a 21% annual turnover of personnel. The Army cannot escape the growing impact of extremist and racist organizations in our society at large: but clearly, the Army must identify and address indications of extremist and racist attitudes among soldiers and appropriately deal with extremist behavior when it occurs." This paragraph clearly states the challenge to Army leaders. In order to identify extremist and racist attitudes, leaders must be aware of organized hate groups that aggressively attempt to instill values that are inconsistent with military service. It is difficult to determine the actual scope of the problem, but the consequences of even a small number of highly publicized incidents is the lamentable loss of faith and confidence of the American people.

Hate groups exist worldwide. Military personnel will undoubtedly come into contact with groups such as racist skinheads and The National Alliance that dispense an increasingly sophisticated stream of racist and antigovernment themes. Despite some notable initiatives the Army response has not kept pace with that of the civilian community. This paper

identifies some of the recent changes that should be of concern to an organization that holds central values of respect and selfless service to the nation and recommends additional measures to respond to an increasing threat.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1	8
Figure 2	10
Figure 3	11

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1 4
Table 2 6
Table 3 13

THE PROBLEM

On December 7, 1995, James Norman Burmeister, a 20 year old white soldier, accompanied by fellow white soldiers Malcom Wright and Randy Meadows, murdered a black couple, Jackie Burden and Michael James, as they strolled along the 400 block of Hay Street in Fayetteville, North Carolina.¹ It was a brutal attack motivated by bigotry. Burmeister allegedly shot 27 year old James with a 9mm pistol from less than seven feet away, his second shot entering from just eight inches away. Burden was shot in the back as she tried to flee. It was one of 7,497 hate crime incidents reported to the FBI during 1995 and one of 59 reported by the State of North Carolina.²

Burden and James were killed because they were black and because circumstances put them in the path of Burmeister and his associates. Malcom Wright sported a spider web tattoo on his elbow. In the organized hate movement this indicates violence against a minority group or time served in jail. According to court testimony by Randy Meadows, James Burmeister said on the night of the murders, "Maybe I'll earn my spider web tattoo tonight."³

Although Burmeister was not a member of a recognized hate group, he was heavily influenced by the skinhead white supremacist ideology and associated with others of the same

view. Burmeister was sentenced to life without parole in February 1997. Wright was convicted in May 1997 and was sentenced to life in prison. Meadows pled guilty to lesser charges and served as the star witness for the prosecution. A nationally broadcast television documentary included the following statement: "Evil lives in America in the Neo-Nazi fantasy world of some young enlisted men of the elite 82d Airborne Division at Fort Bragg, North Carolina."⁴

The tragic incident was a wake-up call. During the course of the homicide investigation Criminal Investigation Command agents uncovered evidence of a number of soldiers involved in extremist activities and notified commanders who took administrative action. At Burmeister's rented trailer agents found an assortment of characteristic racist publications, nazi paraphernalia and hate music. Some media outlets including news magazines and print journalists depicted a racist skinhead culture at Fort Bragg and suggested that the Army was aware but took no action to curtail it. It was press coverage of the worst kind.

The Fort Bragg leadership responded quickly. Some of the more notable efforts included tattoo inspections, publication of commanders guides to educate leaders on hate symbols and appropriate response, extremism awareness instruction in pre-command courses, formal liaison with organizations (NAACP and

ADL), and establishment of an equal opportunity coordinating committee to exchange information among agencies across command and even installation boundaries. The chain of command, Staff Judge Advocate, and equal opportunity agencies were energized. Law enforcement agencies (Military Police and Criminal Investigation Command) were alerted and attuned to monitor hate and bias indicators. The Secretary of the Army initiated an unprecedented review of the extent of extremism in the Army.

Burmeister's actions were typical of hate crimes in that most perpetrators are not card-carrying members of racist organizations. They tend to be excessively brutal in using personal violence. Such crimes tend to be perpetrated at random upon total strangers, and are usually perpetrated by multiple offenders.⁵ By legal definition, a gang is a group of three or more persons, whether formal or informal in terms of its organizational sophistication, wherein the members engage in acts of crime over a period of time. Their crimes are either known to the group or organized by the group itself.⁶ A collective Caucasian identity and ideology inimical to peaceful race relations characterize a white racist extremist gang. Only whites are allowed into this type of gang.⁷

White Racist Gang Member Profile⁸

- Pattern involving expressive violence.
- Pattern of early school failure or difficulty in school.
- Troubled individual with socially maladjusted background in terms of socialization and family life.
- 1/5 report sexual abuse in their background.
- >2/3 report their family knows about their gang involvement.
- ¼ reported their father encouraged gang involvement, and 1/5 reported their mother encouraged gang involvement.
- 2/5 report a parent who served prison time.
- Spiritually deficient or confused: 2/3 rarely attends church. ¼ report that they identify with the Devil rather than God.
- Proclivity to engage in violence with non-whites.
- Strong involvement in sale of drugs like other types of gangs.
- Gang joining decision has less to do with making money or seeking protection and may have more to do with being recruited into the gang.
- Prone to violence against symbols of authority, particularly police officers and correctional officers

Table 1

Unfortunately, there have been other incidents of soldier involvement with extremism. A worst case scenario came to light in 1992 when a joint federal investigation uncovered soldier involvement in the theft of US Government weapons, ammunition, explosives, and other property for a white supremacist group.⁹ Sergeant First Class Michael Tubbs of the 5th Special Forces Group was implicated in both the theft and involvement in a white supremacist organization.

Military personnel undoubtedly present a high payoff target for organized hate groups. They have access to arms, ammunition and explosives, military training, and expertise, and have close association with large numbers of potential recruits to the

movement. Thomas James (TJ) Leyden, a reformed skinhead, began a 15-year association with the White Aryan Resistance when he was a Marine. "When I was in Hawaii, I began associating with Tom Metzger, the founder of the White Aryan Resistance. Tom wanted more military recruits so they started sending me literature. I successfully recruited at least four other marines by showing them videos about the White Aryan Resistance and playing them the music of bands whose lyrics preach hatred and violence."¹⁰ Leyden notes that he was eventually kicked out of the Marines for alcohol related incidents not for his racist activities. "If you look at my military packet you're not going to see anything about me being a racist. And I had two-inch high Nazi SS bolts tattooed on my neck!"¹¹

It is unusual for a hate group to present a direct threat to a military organization, but it does happen. On July 4, 1997 two armed antigovernment activists were arrested near Fort Hood, Texas. They allegedly intended to enter the installation and kill foreign troops they believed were housed there. Five other militia activists associated with a splinter group of the Third Continental Congress were arrested as part of a plot to invade posts where they believed UN forces were planning to assault Americans.¹² These incidents illustrate a growing number of groups expressing a confused antigovernment and anti-New World Order sentiment.

SCOPE

The Secretary of the Army's Task Force on Extremist Activities: Defending American Values, represented the first attempt to quantitatively determine the extent of the problem. Published in 1996, the report included confidential written surveys of over 17,000 soldiers administered on 28 installations. The Task Force interviewed soldiers and checked military and local law enforcement records for evidence of extremist activity. It was the first effort to determine the actual extent of extremism in the Army.

Key Findings of the SECARMY Task Force¹³

- 3.5% of responding soldiers reported they have been approached to join an extremist organization since joining the Army.
- 3.1% of soldiers surveyed reported having been approached to participate in an extremist activity since joining the Army.
- 7.1% knew of another soldier whom they believed to be a member of an extremist organization.
- 11.6% of soldiers surveyed reported they knew another soldier whom they believed to be an extremist, but not a member of an extremist organization.
- 17.4% of those surveyed reported coming into contact with extremist or racist material.
- There were 40 first hand reports that another soldier, Army civilian employee or Army family member was an active participant in an extremist organization.
- 72 interviewees told of some contact with extremist organizations within the preceding 12 months.
- 70 soldiers felt that they or their families were being threatened by illegal and violent gang activity in or around Army installations. Much gang activity was territorially and racially defined.

Table 2

Hate crime statistics are another indicator of the scope of the problem. The Hate Crimes Statistics Act (28 USC 534) was passed in 1990 mandating the collection of national data on the frequency and incidence of bias crimes.

The FBI Uniform Crime Reporting Division collects and publishes data on hate crime offenses and incidents. This data is limited by a number of factors including inconsistencies in reporting and classification. In 1991 2,771 agencies participated in the voluntary crime reporting program. In 1996 the number increased to 11,354 (49 states and District of Columbia). The effort falls short of a complete view of the crime picture. Still, the FBI effort represents the most comprehensive source of information on the national scope of hate and bias crimes. During the period 1991 to 1995, reported hate crimes increased (See Figure 1)¹⁴; but they also showed remarkable stability when examining bias motivation and type of offense.¹⁵

COMPARISON OF FBI HATE CRIME STATISTICS 1991-1996

	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
Participating Agencies	2,771	6,181	6,551	7,356	9,584	11,355
Total Hate Crime Incidents Reported	4,558	6,623	7,587	5,932	7,947	8,734
Number of States, including DC	32	42	47	44	46	50
Percentage of U.S. Population Agencies Represent	N/A	51	58	58	75	84

Offenders' Reported Motivations in Percentages of Offenses

	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
Racial Bias	62.3	60.7	62.4	59.8	60.7	61.6
Anti-Black	35.5	34.7	37.1	36.6	37.6	41.9
Anti-White	18.7	20.3	19.4	17	15.4	12.6
Religious Bias	19.3	17.5	17.1	17.9	16.1	15.9
Anti-Semitic	16.7	15.4	15.1	15.1	13.3	12.7
Anti-Semitic as Percentage of Religious Bias	86.4	87.5	88.1	86.2	82.9	79.2
Ethnicity	9.5	10.1	9.2	10.8	10.2	10.7
Sexual Orientation	8.9	11.6	11.3	11.5	12.8	11.6

Figure 1

1998 Hate Crime Laws. Anti-Defamation League, 1997. Website: <http://www.adl.org>. Reproduced by permission of the Anti-Defamation League, New York, NY.

The Army does not participate in the Uniform Crime Reporting system. The Army Crime Records Center recently included a data

field in the Automated Criminal Information Reporting System as part of an effort to conform to the National Incident Based Reporting System. The Army database is still too immature for accurate data collection to determine the extent of hate crimes in the Army.¹⁶

The Southern Poverty Law Center Intelligence Project tracks the number and types of active hate groups in the United States. The project counted 474 active hate groups in 1997 and noted a 20% increase from 1996 to 1997. The greatest increases were in the Indiana-based American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, The National Association for the Advancement of White People, The World Church of the Creator, The National Alliance and racist Skinhead organizations.¹⁷ Concentrations of groups exist in sections of the country with dense military populations (See Figure 2).¹⁸

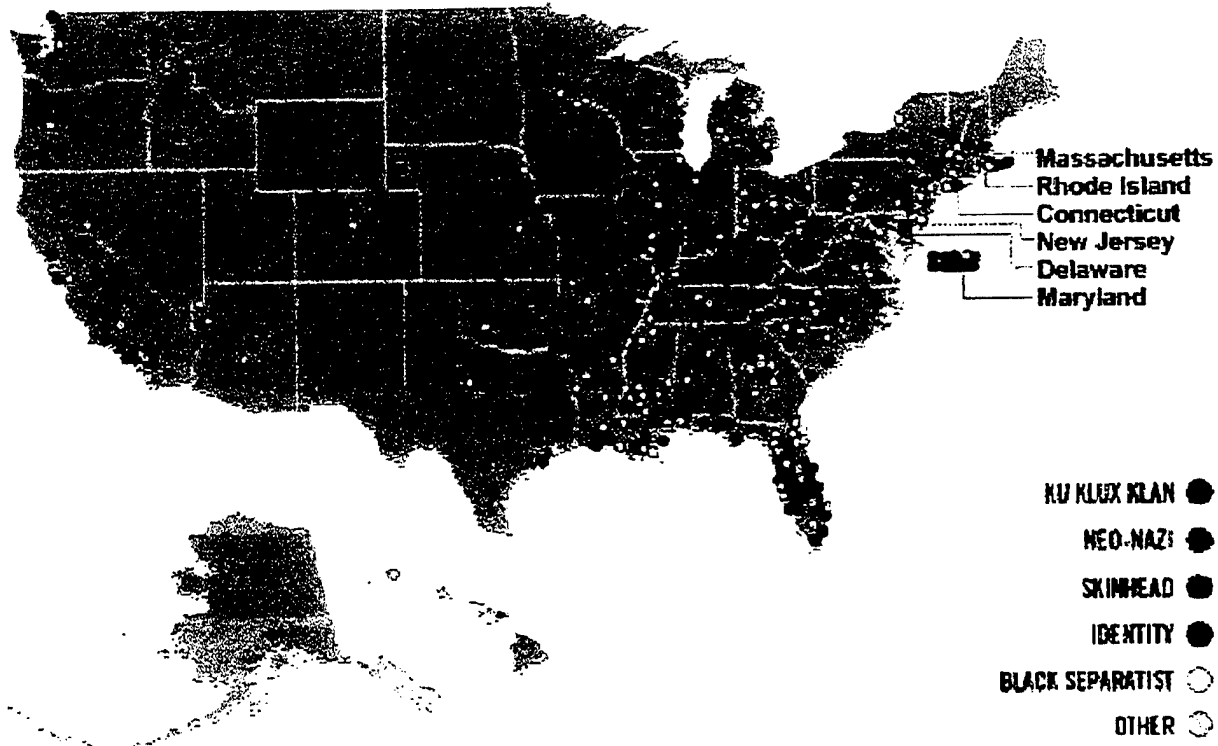


Figure 2

Figure 2 & 3 from website: <http://www.splcenter.org/klanwatch>.
Reproduced by permission of the Southern Poverty Law Center,
Montgomery, AL.

Right-wing militias, sometimes heavily armed, and espousing extreme antigovernment and anti-New World Order ideologies grew dramatically after the Oklahoma City bombing. The Anti-Defamation League noted in 1995 that militias were operating in at least 40 states with a membership of about 15,000.¹⁹ In 1994 the Southern Poverty Law Center noticed links between so called "Patriot" groups and leaders of the organized hate groups

including the Aryan Nation, and racist Christian Identity movement.²⁰ The Southern Poverty Law Center noted a decline in the number of Patriot groups from 858 in 1996 to 523 in 1997 with the greatest decline in militia groups, (See Figure 3).²¹

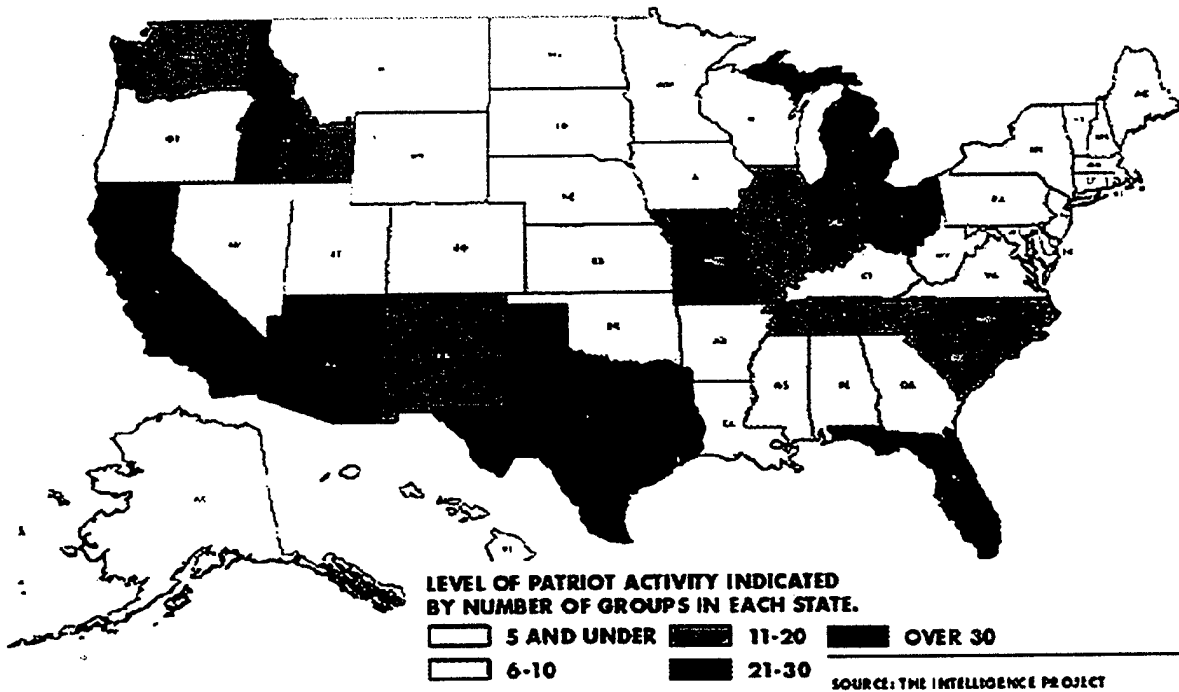


Figure 3

They also noted a "leaner, harder" movement "producing terrorist conspiracies and crimes on a level not seen in decades".²²

TRENDS

Hate groups are in a state of constant change and adaptation. The Washington D.C. Regional Director of the Anti-Defamation League said the following about the changes in the hate movement from 1996 to 1998, "It is only a slight

exaggeration to compare this to the pre and post atomic era."²³ Skinheads are not only prone to violence, but are part of an international phenomenon. Soldiers can run into Skinheads on six continents. The Author of The Turner Diaries, William L. Pierce, leads one of the fastest growing Neo-Nazi groups in America, The National Alliance. Hate groups are taking full advantage of the Internet and shortwave radio using high-tech avenues for recruiting and revitalization. Inexpensive, and able to reach an international audience of potential recruits the World Wide Web compresses time and distance providing a readily accessible and steady stream of hate and misinformation. Of significance to the Army is the increasing portrayal of the government as the enemy. The anti-tax, anti-gun control and anti-New World Order messages proffered by increasingly armed extremist groups represent a threat of violence and unrest.

INTERNATIONAL RACIST SKINHEAD MOVEMENT

Skinheads are often loosely organized, bonded more by shared taste in music, paraphernalia, and general bigotry than formal alliance. It is their propensity for violence and international presence that makes them of particular concern.

When Skinheads appeared in the U.S. in the 1980s organized extremist groups rushed to bring them into the fold.²⁴ Skinheads can be found in locations where soldiers are forward deployed in large numbers, especially in Europe where the Skinhead movement began (See Table 3 illustrating countries with greater than 1,000 Skinheads and links to political parties).²⁵

Country	Number of Skinheads	Political Party Links
Germany	5,000	Free German Workers Party German National Democratic Party
Hungary	>4,000	Hungarian Interest Party (MEP)
Czech Republic	>4,000	Republican Party
United States	3,500	Populist Party
Poland	2,000	Polish National Community/Polish National Party
United Kingdom	1,500	British National Party
Brazil	1,500	
Italy	1,000-1,500	Movimento Sociale Italiano (MSI)
Sweden	>1,000	Sweden Democrats

Table 3

Skinheads thrive in a youthful subculture of white power music known as "oi", alcohol consumption, vandalism, violence, and xenophobia. Army leaders should be alert for soldiers wearing thin or red suspenders, Doc Marten boots, bomber

jackets, and Nazi symbology. Skinheads will often possess newsletters they refer to as "zines" easily identified by symbology. In the United States Skinhead groups are prevalent in California, Florida, Michigan, New Jersey, Texas, Pennsylvania and Washington. Popular Skinhead organizations include the Hammerskins, American Front, Army of Israel, Resistance Records (produces most of the racist music available today), and the War Skins.²⁶

THE NATIONAL ALLIANCE

Oklahoma City bomber and former soldier Timothy McVeigh was enamored with *The Turner Diaries*, a book about an apocalyptic race war touched off by the bombing of a federal building. The author was the leader of The National Alliance, William L. Pierce, writing under the pseudonym Andrew Macdonald. The Anti-Defamation league considers The National Alliance as "the single most dangerous organized hate group in the United States today."²⁷ Pierce can be heard railing against the "Jew controlled press" and spouting his weekly pseudo-intellectual brand of hate via the Internet and shortwave radio. The National Alliance uses multiple forms of advertising and a very sophisticated Internet web site to spread their message. In 1995 the National Alliance rented a billboard near Fort Bragg, North

Carolina that read, "Enough! Let's start taking back America! National Alliance" along with a telephone hotline number.

CYBERHATE

Hate group use of the Internet is one of the most significant recent developments. Through the use of search engines computer users can access hundreds of hate sites. Hate and antigovernment groups are now able to reach out to much larger segments of the population than through traditional methods of demonstration and flyer distribution. Some sites are specifically targeted to military personnel. One site claims that some people in the government are extremely troubled by what they are being asked to do. "One of those things is making preparations for a general warrantless search of every site in the United States, using military personnel, to confiscate all firearms and shoot anyone who resists. A clear violation of almost all of the rights in the Constitution. Don't rely on this document, check it out for yourself through military channels and think about what it means." It continues with, "In the meantime citizens throughout the country are organizing independent local militias, to resist assaults on the Constitution. At some point, you may be called upon to choose sides."²⁸ Another site run by an organization calling itself

"Police Against The New World Order" boasts a membership of over 5,000 and encourages police officers and soldiers to resist the impending "one world government." The home page for the North Carolina Citizens Militia includes a photograph of a heavily armed camouflaged group with the caption "A Team... 'prowlin' & growlin'" Bad boys, bad boys, whacha gonna do, whacha gonna do when you come for us?"²⁹ The Internet provides hate groups with an inexpensive means to send encrypted messages among like-minded members, rally sympathizers, victimize targeted groups with anonymous hate e-mail messages, recruit new members, and merchandise bigotry.³⁰ The Internet is one of the most potent new additions to the antigovernment extremist's arsenal.³¹

SHORTWAVE RADIO

Shortwave radio provides hate groups with another inexpensive means to reach large audiences while avoiding Federal Communications Commission regulations. Hosts can circumvent the requirements of mainstream broadcasting, saying whatever they want without fear of restriction.³² Shortwave radio is popular among extremists, particularly among conspiracy theorists who rail against the flights of "black helicopters" and an alleged new-world order that will subjugate the American populace under a United Nations led oppressive government.

ANTIGOVERNMENT THEMES

So called "Patriot Groups" are organizations that define themselves as opposed to the "New World Order" or advocate extreme antigovernment doctrines. Paranoid perceptions of a global conspiracy, perceptions of the federal government as abusive and hostile, apocalyptic fears, anti-gun control and radical anti-abortion sentiments fuel the patriot and militia movements. "On the far right flank of the Patriot movement are white supremacists and anti-Semites who believe that the world is controlled by a cabal of Jewish bankers."³³ The antigovernment and anti-tax sentiments appeal to a broader base of the American populace than traditional hate messages. There is significant evidence of cross-fertilization between the Patriot movement and organized hate groups. "It is the virulent hatred of the federal government that is driving the militia movement, while at the same time masking its insidious racist underpinnings."³⁴

THE ARMY RESPONSE

After the Fayetteville murders and calls from groups concerned about the extent of extremism in the Armed forces, the Secretary of the Army launched a comprehensive review. The

Secretary of the Army's Task Force provided 14 specific recommendations:

- Revise Army Regulation 600-20, Army Command Policy, paragraph 4-12, to eliminate the confusion created by the distinctions between active and passive participation in organizations and activities; to specify more clearly when commanders will counsel and/or take adverse action against soldiers who are displaying extremist behavior, and to make the regulation punitive.
- Conduct separate in-depth reviews of the extent of extremist activity and the human relations environment in the Reserve Components and in the Army civilian workforce.
- Develop a reporting process for the timely and accurate sharing of information on extremism among appropriate staff agencies, e.g., Equal Opportunity, Military Police, and Staff Judge Advocates.
- Ensure that all information on extremist activities is disseminated to leaders at battalion and lower levels.
- Develop a process to evaluate soldiers' behaviors, adaptability, and sensitivity to human relations issues during recruitment and initial entry training.
- Review Initial Entry Training to determine whether it is properly structured, resourced, and conducted to instill necessary individual discipline and motivation, team building, and inculcation of Army values. Review sustainment training of Army Values after Initial Entry Training.
- Review officer pre-commissioning programs to determine the adequacy of leadership and human relations training with an eye toward adopting a comprehensive program like the United States Military Academy's *Consideration of Others'* program.
- Ensure that officer and noncommissioned officer professional development courses include sufficient instruction on leadership, human relations and extremism.
- Review the Army Equal Opportunity Program, including the complaint process, training, reporting, and oversight to ensure responsiveness to the contemporary needs of soldiers.
- Improve the Equal Opportunity training in Army schools and units, conduct as required by regulation, and incorporate relevant portions on extremism.
- Fully staff Equal Opportunity Staff Officer, Advisor, and Representative positions with appropriately trained personnel who represent the racial and gender composition of the Army.

- Establish an Army policy and clarify guidance on Single Soldier Initiatives and the Better Opportunities for Single Soldiers programs. Clarify policies on acceptable standards of conduct in and appearance of soldier quarters and on the chain of command's role in enforcement.
- Clearly state policy and then ensure that membership in fraternal, social, or private organizations will in no way impact upon the conduct of official or on-duty activities.
- Implement the detailed recommendations concerning Policy, Training, Data Reporting and Accessions contained in Part II.³⁵

As of January 1999, AR 600-20 has not been republished with the recommended changes. The Army did publish a message revising policy on participation in extremist organizations and activities that clarified command responsibilities and expanded on prohibited activities.³⁶ The recommended review of extremist activity in the Reserve Components and civilian workforce has not yet been published. The *Consideration of Others* Program and a number of other training initiatives are in full force throughout the Army implemented by Equal Opportunity Offices at installation level. Misperceptions about command responsibility for billets resulting from the Better Opportunities for Single Soldiers programs have largely been cleared up resulting in greater command presence and control of soldier housing facilities. Department of Defense Directive 1325.6, Guidelines for Handling Dissident and Protest Activities Among Members of the Armed Forces was republished on October 1, 1996. Section 3.5.8. addressed prohibited activities and emphasized that "Military personnel must reject participation in organizations

that espouse supremacist causes; attempt to create illegal discrimination based on race, creed, color, sex, religion, or national origin; advocate the use of force or violence; or otherwise engage in efforts to deprive individuals of their civil rights." It further states, "Commanders have authority to employ the full range of administrative procedures including separation or appropriate disciplinary action against military personnel who actively participate in such groups."³⁷ Local responses vary from installation to installation. Commanders guides to extremist activity published by the 82d Airborne Division and U.S. Army Special Operations Command are good examples of local efforts to increase vigilance and clarify appropriate command actions.

Inspections implemented by direction of the XVIII Airborne Corps Commander in the 19th and 82d replacement detachments at Fort Bragg have discovered soldiers with offensive tattoos. Some of the soldiers involved were new arrivals having just graduated from Initial Entry Training.

IMPLICATIONS

Commanders have an inordinate amount of responsibility in recognizing and dealing with evidence of extremism, yet they do not necessarily possess a corresponding depth of knowledge on how to recognize extremist manifestations. Unfortunately the

level of knowledge and expertise peaks right after a catastrophic event, then declines with the inevitable turnover of personnel.

Hate crime expertise and reporting by military law enforcement across installation boundaries is inconsistent. Lulled by a sense that extremism is not widespread, hate and bias training does not compete well for limited unit training time with other priorities. Investigators may tend to underreport borderline cases when it is perceived that the chain of command will overreact to hate and bias incidents. Due to the extreme level of interest in these incidents investigators can easily become overwhelmed by incessant, yet necessary, requests for information from every level of the chain of command. Law enforcement agencies are sensitive to the need to protect criminal intelligence and must carefully weigh the release of unconfirmed information. Military law enforcement agencies must be very careful in releasing civilian law enforcement information to commanders. Civil agencies are not particularly understanding and sometimes distrustful of the military need to brief the chain of command. They are sometimes caught off guard by the speed at which information travels through the Army leadership. Army law enforcement agencies are very sensitive to restrictions on the collection of information about non-

Department of Defense personnel and may not become cognizant of off-post influences early enough for appropriate intervention.

Once indicators are discovered quick and aggressive command responses serve to discourage overt behavior and drive extremist displays underground and off the installation into the local community where command oversight is more problematic. Command actions in response to extremism manifestation cannot be expected to change personal convictions but they can modify behavior and serve to eliminate problems before they become crises. When countering extremism commanders and investigating officers should anticipate becoming targets of media outlets eager to publicize a perceived overreaction, from defense counsels who use the press to build client support, and from hate groups seeking to intimidate.

In such an alert environment extremist recruitment efforts will likely be a more subtle process of finding like-minded individuals. Such associations are difficult to discover by outsiders and often remain undetected until an act of violence or other form of misconduct draws attention to the group. Individuals inclined toward extremism do not have to look far. The over 800 hate related sites on the Internet, chat rooms and news groups combined with short wave radio programs bring an ideological sense of community, ratification, and common purpose to conspiracy theorists and bigots alike.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The first lines of defense in combating extremism are knowledge and communication. In light of the limited scope of extremism in the Army an extensive training program beyond that already underway targeting all levels of leadership is not cost effective. Due to the extensive impact of extremist incidents there are specific agencies that should provide a consistent level of knowledge and expertise at all installations. Military Police, Staff Judge Advocates, Criminal Investigation Command Agents and Equal Opportunity Advisers require formal training on recognition of and effective response to extremism. Training should be based on, but not restricted to, the U.S. Department of Justice National Bias Crimes Training Curriculum. Military Police and Criminal Investigator training should emphasize extremism indicators, classification, response and investigative techniques. Staff Judge Advocate training should include federal and state statutes, prosecutorial aspects, victim assistance and advocacy services. Equal Opportunity Advisers should receive special instruction on deterrence, recognition, and community impact. Public Affairs officers play an important role in consequence management and should receive instruction on special considerations associated with hate and bias incidents.

There is a real need for information on recognized hate and extremist groups at installation level, especially regarding antigovernment groups that could pose a direct threat. Commanders require tools to recognize and respond to extremism. Examples of hate symbology and extremism indicators are available from a number of notable sources. Due to sensitivities associated with the collection of information on non-Department of Defense personnel open source publications should be used. Several reputable organizations will provide high quality resources for reference purposes (See Annex A). Army publications should focus on policy implementation, consequence management and proactive measures. Attempts to provide information on extremism indicators would probably be diluted by legal concerns associated with labeling specific organizations as extremist or hate groups. Organized hate groups change at a rapid rate. Considering the length of time it takes to develop and publish official publications Army pamphlets addressing extremism are likely to be out of date or be so general as to lack utility at the local level.

Include extremism recognition in pre-command courses including those at installation level. A periodic updating of standardized briefings, including prepared slides, could be disseminated through Equal Opportunity technical channels to ensure the quality and consistency of training. Commands should

be encouraged to modify the standard package with relevant local information and policies.

The Uniform Code of Military Justice should be modified to reflect state of the art in codifying hate and bias offenses and should include sentencing enhancements for hate and bias crimes. Congress enacted four criminal statutes that specifically address hate and bias crimes. 18 USC Section 241 prohibits conspiracies to injure citizens exercising rights protected by the Constitution. 18 USC 245 prohibits interference by force or threat of force with specified rights where the interference is motivated by discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, or national origin. 42 USC 3631 applies to forcible interference associated with dwelling transactions on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. 18 USC Section 242 prohibits the deprivation of constitutional and federal statutory rights on the basis of race, color or ethnicity. 28 USCA 534 requires the Department of Justice to collect data on bias crimes. Section 280003 of the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 directed sentencing enhancements of not less than 3 offense levels for hate crimes. 18 USCA 247 broadened federal jurisdiction to include attacks on houses of worship, increased penalties and establish loan guarantees. Almost every state has legislation targeted at criminal acts of hate and bias. Some laws

criminalize acts committed as the result of bias motivation, others prohibit certain actions (e.g.: cross burning, mask wearing, paramilitary training, interference with religious worship).

Installation officials should encourage and actively seek liaison with organizations that monitor hate groups including ADL, NAACP, and SPLC. Trust and communications links built through partnerships with community leaders including elected officials will be invaluable after a hate or bias event. Military leaders must recognize the significant impact of hate and extremist incidents.

Those with force protection responsibilities should recognize hate and bias groups as both a direct threat to public safety and an indirect threat to military readiness. Clear delineation of responsibility for the collection and exchange of extremist information is necessary. We need regulations and policies that encourage the collection and dissemination of hate group information. Without a central clearinghouse for extremist information it is likely that important indicators will be lost between the many agencies involved in the process (e.g.: IG, SJA, MP, CID, EO, Chaplains, and various levels of command).

Hate crimes and extremist manifestations sometimes require skills and knowledge not available at every installation.

Commanders should be provided with points of contact for resources available at the national level.

Innovative practices used by military and civilian agencies should be publicized and shared. Fort Bragg's Equal Opportunity Coordinating Committee, Commander's Guides, civil liaison program and tattoo inspection procedures are examples worthy of emulation by commands not yet touched by extremist events.

AVAILABLE RESOURCES

American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee- Engages in public advocacy, litigation and immigration counseling. Publishes reports on anti-Arab hate crimes. Website: <http://www.adc.org>. 4201 Connecticut Avenue N.W., (Suite 500), Washington, D.C. 20008 (202)244-2990.

American Citizens for Justice, Inc.- Conducts legal consultation, monitors anti-Asian violence and engages in advocacy and community education. 15777 W. Ten Mile Road, Southfield, MI 48075 (313)557-2772.

Anti-Defamation League- A human relations organization dedicated to promoting intergroup cooperation and interfaith understanding. Monitors hate groups and provides exceptionally high-quality publications and research papers. Provides hate group information and training to requesting agencies. Sponsors hate crime legislation. Provides expertise upon request. Website: <http://www.adl.org>. National Office: 823 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017, (212) 490-2525.

Bureau of Justice Statistics- A component of the Office of Justice Programs in the U.S. Department of Justice, is the United States' primary source for criminal justice statistics. BJS collects, analyzes, publishes, and disseminates information on crime, criminal offenders, victims of crime, and the operation of justice systems at all levels of government. Website: <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs>. 810 Seventh Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20531 (202)-307-0765

Center for Democratic Renewal- Information clearinghouse on the white supremacist movement. Formerly known as the National Anti-Klan Network. Website: <http://www.publiceye.org/pracdr/cdr.html>. P.O. Box 50469, Atlanta, GA 30302 (404)221-0025.

Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute (DEOMI)- Provides training for Armed Forces personnel, both military and civilian, who advise commanders and are assigned equal opportunity or equal employment opportunity (EO/EEO) responsibilities. Performs EO/EEO and human relations research. Provides input to Department of Defense leadership in formulating EO/EEO policy. Provides EO/EEO training or consulting services. Collects and disseminates information to assist EO/EEO advisors and human relations professionals in performing their duties. Website: <http://www.pafb.af.mil/deomi/deomi.htm>. 740 O'Malley Road, Patrick Air Force Base, Florida 32925-3399 (497)494-6976.

Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund- Promotes civil rights of Latinos with emphasis on employment, education, immigration, political access, language and leadership development. The organization achieves its objectives through litigation, advocacy, community education, collaboration with other groups and individuals, and scholarship awards. Website: <http://www.maldef.org>. 733 15th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005 (202) 628-4074.

National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium- Provides legal advocacy, through litigation, public education and public policy. Focuses expertise on anti-Asian violence prevention and education, voting rights, immigration, naturalization, affirmative action, language rights and the census. Website: <http://www.napalc.org>. (202) 296-2300.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People- The oldest, and largest and strongest Civil Rights Organization in the United States with over 2,200 chapters nationwide. Ensures the political, educational, social and economic equality of minority group citizens of the United States. The NAACP is committed to achievement through non-violence and relies upon the press, the petition, the ballot and the courts, and is persistent in the use of legal and moral persuasion. Website: <http://www.naacp.org>. 4805 Mountain Hope Drive, Baltimore, MD 21215 (410)358-8900.

National Center for Victims of Crime- Working with more than 10,000 grassroots organizations throughout the nation, the Center carries out this mission through victim services, public

education, public policy, civil justice, training and technical assistance. Website: <http://www.ncvc.org/main/main.htm>. 2111 Wilson Blvd. (Suite 300), Arlington, VA 22201 (703)276-2880.

National Conference for Community and Justice- Founded in 1927 as the National conference of Christians and Jews. A human relations organization dedicated to fighting bias, bigotry and racism in America. NCCJ promotes understanding and respect among all races, religions and cultures through advocacy, conflict resolution and education. Website: <http://www.nccj.org>. 71 Fifth Avenue, 11th Floor New York, NY 10003 (212)807-8440.

National Criminal Justice Reference Service- An extensive source of information on criminal and juvenile justice. A collection of clearinghouses supporting all bureaus of the U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs: the National Institute of Justice, the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, the Bureau of Justice Statistics, the Bureau of Justice Assistance, the Office for Victims of Crime, and the OJP Program Offices. It also supports the Office of National Drug Control Policy. Includes online abstract search capabilities. Website: <http://www.ncjrs.org>. P.O. Box 6000 Rockville, MD 20849-6000 1-800-851-3420 or 301-519-5500.

Northwest Coalition Against Malicious Harassment- Includes over 250 organizations and groups from Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Oregon, Washington and Wyoming. NWC works to foster communities free from malicious harassment, violence, and bigotry based on race, religion, gender, sexual orientation, and national origin and ethnicity. Website: <http://members.aol.com/~ncamh>. Box 16776, Seattle, WA 98116 (206) 233-9136.

Project Change- An anti-racist initiative sponsored by The Tides Center founded by the Levi Strauss foundation. Designed to improve race relations through the formation of multi-racial coalitions. Project Change helps local leaders build strategies to combat institutional racism. Website: <http://www.projectchange.org>. P.O. Box 29919, San Francisco, CA 94129-0919

Public Good Project- A research and education network rather than a chartered institution or an organization. As a network, it is flexible, adaptive and oriented towards a constantly evolving set of goals and priorities best suited to the defense of democracy. Publishes research reports. Website: <http://nwcitizen.com/publicgood>. P.O. Box 28547, Bellingham, WA 98228 (360) 734-6642.

Simon Wiesenthal Center- The Simon Wiesenthal Center has a fully-staffed information resource center on the Holocaust, Twentieth-century genocides, anti-Semitism, racism, and related issues. Its resources are available to researchers, media, students and the public. The Center publishes a particularly useful guide "The New Lexicon of Hate: The Changing Tactics, Language, and Symbols of America's Extremists" and a slick interactive report on CD-ROM "Racism, Mayhem, & Terrorism: The Emergence of an Online Subculture of Hate. Website: <http://www.wiesenthal.com>. 9760 West Pico Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA 90035.

Southern Catalyst Network- A regional alliance devoted to combating prejudice and bigotry in the Deep South. A Project of the Southern Institute for Education and Research in New Orleans, SCN's goal is to strengthen anti-prejudice organizing and leadership through networking, training, and education. SCN links together activists and organizations working to promote democratic values and organizing against prejudice and hatred. Website: <http://www.tulane.edu/~so-inst/catalyst/catalystmainwindow2.htm>. MR Box 1692, 31 McAlister Drive New Orleans, LA 70118 (504) 865-6100.

Southern Poverty Law Center- Monitors hate and militia groups. Initiates litigation to counter hate groups. Conducts training and research. Publishes a useful intelligence report that chronicles hate crimes and hate and Patriot group activities. Engages in public advocacy. Website: <http://www.splcenter.org>. Address: Southern Poverty Law Center, 400 Washington Avenue, Montgomery, Alabama 36104 (334)264-0286.

United States Army Criminal Investigation Command (CID)- Responsible for investigating felony crimes of Army interest. CID offices are located at most Army installations. Website: <http://www.belvoir.army.mil/cidc>. 6010 6th Street, Fort Belvoir, VA 22060-5506 (703) 806-0414.

United States Department of Justice Civil Rights Division- Established for the purpose of enforcing federal statutes that prohibit exclusion and discrimination. The primary institution within the federal government responsible for enforcing federal statutes prohibiting discrimination on the basis of race, sex, disability, religion, and national origin. Website: <http://www.usdoj.gov/crt/crt-home.html>. Criminal Section P.O. Box 66018, Washington, D.C. 20035-6018 (202) 514-3204.

Word Count: 5980

ENDNOTES

¹ U.S. Army Criminal Investigation Report of Investigation, 1280-95-CID023-47530, 87th Military Police Detachment, (Fort Bragg, North Carolina, 17 May 1996).

² U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Criminal Justice Information Services (CJIS) Division, "Uniform Crime Reports, Hate Crime 1995", available from <<http://www.fbi.gov/ucr/hatecm.htm>>; Internet; accessed 19 October 1998.

³ Court TV, Trial Story. NC V. Burmeister: Facing the Death Penalty: The Story of Private Burmeister, 45 min., February 1997, videocassette.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Jack Levin and Jack McDevitt, Hate Crimes, The Rising Tide of Bigotry and Bloodshed (New York: Plenum Press, 1993), 1-20.

⁶ Thomas F. McCurrie, "A Special Report of the NGRC White Racist Gang Members: A Behavioral Profile", National Gang Research Center, Journal of Gang Research, 5 no. 2 (Winter 1998): 51.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid, 57-58.

⁹ U.S. Army Criminal Investigation Report of Investigation, 0715-90-CID033-31340, Fort Campbell Resident Agency, (Fort Campbell, Kentucky, April 17, 1992).

¹⁰ "The Making of A Skinhead", Simon Wiesenthal Center, available from <<http://www.wiesenthal.com/tj/index.html>>; Internet; accessed 19 October 1998.

¹¹ Southern Poverty Law Center, "A Skinhead's Story: An Interview With A Former Racist", Intelligent Report, 89 (Winter 1998): 22.

¹² "Bomb, Bullets and Bodies: Terrorism on the rise since Oklahoma City, Southern Poverty Law Center Intelligence Report, Spring 1998", available from <<http://www.splcenter.org/klanwatch/kw-4f2.html>>; Internet; accessed 24 November 1998.

¹³ Department of the Army, The Secretary of the Army's Task Force on Extremist Activities: Defending American Values, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Army, March 21, 1996), 5-9.

¹⁴ David Rosenberg, 1998 Hate Crime Laws: A Publication of the Anti-Defamation League (New York, 1997), 21.

¹⁵ Bryan Byers and Richard A. Zeller, "Examination of Official Hate Crime Offense and Bias Motivation Statistics for 1991-1994", Journal of Crime and Justice, XX, no.1 (1997): 91-106.

¹⁶ Phillip J. McGuire, Director, U.S. Army Crime Records Center, interview by author, 17 September 1998, Fort Belvoir, VA.

¹⁷ Southern Poverty Law Center, "Active Hate Groups in the United States in 1997", Intelligence Report, 89 (Winter 1998) 30-31.

¹⁸ Southern Poverty Law Center, "Active Hate Groups", available from <<http://www.splcenter.org/klanwatch/kw-2.html>>; Internet; accessed 8 December 1998.

¹⁹ Anti-Defamation League Fact Finding Report, Beyond the Bombing: The Militia Menace Grows, (New York, 1995).

²⁰ Morris Dees and James Cochran, Gathering Storm: America's Militia Threat, Harper Collins, (New York, 1996) 79-93.

²¹ Southern Poverty Law Center, "Active Patriot Groups in 1997", available from <<http://www.splcenter.org/klanwatch/patriot1st.html>>; Internet; accessed 8 December 1998.

²² Southern Poverty Law Center, "The Patriot Movement: Fewer, but harder, patriot groups in 1997", available from <<http://www.splcenter.org/klanwatch/kw-4fl.html>>; Internet; accessed 8 December 1998.

²³ David C. Friedman, "The Organized Hated Groups Today", memorandum for LTC George E. Reed, Washington, D.C., 30 November 1998.

²⁴ Gathering Storm, 91.

²⁵ Anti-Defamation League, The Skinhead International: A Worldwide Survey of Neo-Nazi Skinheads, (New York, 1995) 1-2.

²⁶ The Simon Wiesenthal Center, The New Lexicon of Hate: The Changing Tactics, Language and Symbols of America's Extremists, (Los Angeles, 1998) 8-9.

²⁷ Anti-Defamation League, Explosion of Hate: The Growing Danger of the National Alliance, (New York, 1998) 3.

²⁸ "Attention All Military Personnel", available from <http://www.constitution.org/mil/_attn.htm>; Internet; accessed 23 November 1998.

²⁹ "North Carolina Citizens Militia", available from <<http://www.netpath.net/~jeffr/badboys.htm>>; Internet; accessed 9 September 1998.

³⁰ Anti-Defamation League, Extremist Use of the Internet, (New York, 1997) 1-25.

³¹ Anti-Defamation League, Vigilante Justice, (New York, 1997) iv.

³² Anti-Defamation League Research Report, Poisoning the Airwaves: The Extremist Message of Hate on Shortwave Radio, (New York, 1996) 3.

³³ Daniel Junas, "The Rise of the Militias", available from <<http://www.worldmedia.com/caq/militia.htm>>; Internet; accessed 19 November 1998.

³⁴ Gathering Storm, 4.

³⁵ The Secretary of the Army's Task Force on Extremist Activities, 37-38.

³⁶ HQDA DAPE-ZA message dated 201640Z DEC 96, Subject: Revised Army Policy on Participation in Extremist Organizations or Activities, Washington, D.C.

³⁷ Department of Defense, Guidelines for Handling Dissident and Protest Activities Among Members of Armed Forces, Department of Defense Directive Number 1325.6 (Washington: U.S. Department of Defense, 1 October 1996) 4.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Anderson, Edwin W., Jr. Right-Wing Extremism in America and its Implications for the U.S. Army. Maxwell Air Force Base Alabama: Air War College Air University, 1 April 1996.
- Anti-Defamation League. Explosion of Hate: The Growing Danger of the National Alliance. New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1998.
- Anti-Defamation League. Extremist Use of the Internet. New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1997.
- Anti-Defamation League. Fact Finding Report: Beyond the Bombing: The Militia Menace Grows. New York: Anti Defamation League, 1995.
- Anti-Defamation League. Research Report, Poisoning the Airwaves: The Extremist Message of Hate on Shortwave Radio. New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1996.
- Anti-Defamation League. The Skinhead International: A Worldwide Survey of Neo-Nazi Skinheads. New York: Anti Defamation League, 1995.
- Anti-Defamation League. Vigilante Justice. New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1997.
- "Attention All Military Personnel." Available from <http://www.constitution.org/mil/_attn.htm>. Internet. Accessed 23 November 1998.
- Byers, Bryan and Zeller, Richard A. "Examination of Official Hate Crime Offense and Bias Motivation Statistics for 1991-1994." Journal of Crime and Justice, XX, no.1 (1997): 91-106.
- Court TV, Trial Story. NC V. Burmeister: Facing the Death Penalty: The Story of Private Burmeister, 45 min., February 1997. Videocassette.
- Dees, Morris and Cochran, James. Gathering Storm: America's Militia Threat. New York: Harper Collins, 1996.

- Friedman, David C. "The Organized Hated Groups Today."
Memorandum for LTC George E. Reed. Washington, D.C., 30
November 1998.
- Junas, Daniel. "The Rise of the Militias." Available from
<<http://www.worldmedia.com/caq/militia.htm>>. Internet.
Accessed 19 November 1998.
- Levin, Jack and McDevitt, Jack. Hate Crimes, The Rising Tide of
Bigotry and Bloodshed. New York: Plenum Press, 1993.
- McCurrie, Thomas F. "A Special Report of the NGRC White Racist
Gang Members: A Behavioral Profile.", National Gang Research
Center, Journal of Gang Research 5 no. 2 (Winter 1998): 51-
60.
- McGuire, Phillip J., Director of U.S. Army Crime Records Center.
Interview by author, 17 September 1998, Fort Belvoir, VA.
- North Carolina Citizens Militia. "North Carolina Citizens
Militia." Available from <[http://www.netpath.net/~jeffr/
badboys.htm](http://www.netpath.net/~jeffr/badboys.htm)>. Internet. Accessed 9 September 1998.
- Rosenberg, David. 1998 Hate Crime Laws: A Publication of the
Anti-Defamation League. New York: Anti-Defamation League,
1997.
- Simon Wiesenthal Center. "The Making of A Skinhead." Available
from <<http://www.wiesenthal.com/tj/index.html>>. Internet.
Accessed 19 October 1998.
- Simon Wiesenthal Center. The New Lexicon of Hate: The Changing
Tactics, Language and Symbols of America's Extremists. Los
Angeles: The Simon Wiesenthal Center, 1998.
- Southern Poverty Law Center. "A Skinhead's Story: An Interview
With A Former Racist." Intelligence Report 89 (Winter 1998):
21-23.
- Southern Poverty Law Center. "Active Hate Groups in the United
States in 1997." Intelligence Report 89 (Winter 1998) 30-33.
- Southern Poverty Law Center. "Active Patriot Groups in 1997."
Available from [http://www.splcenter.org/klanwatch/
patriot1st.html](http://www.splcenter.org/klanwatch/patriot1st.html). Internet. Accessed 8 December 1998.
- Southern Poverty Law Center. "Bomb, Bullets and Bodies:
Terrorism on the rise since Oklahoma City, Southern Poverty
Law Center Intelligence Report, Spring 1998." Available from

<http://www.splcenter.org/klanwatch/kw-4f2.html>. Internet.
Accessed 24 November 1998.

Southern Poverty Law Center. "The Patriot Movement: Fewer, but harder, patriot groups in 1997." Available from <http://www.splcenter.org/klanwatch/kw-4f1.html>. Internet. Accessed 8 December 1998.

U.S. Army Criminal Investigation Command. Report of Investigation, 1280-95-CID023-47530. 87th Military Police Detachment, Fort Bragg, North Carolina, 17 May, 1996.

U.S. Army Criminal Investigation Command. Report of Investigation, 0715-90-CID033-31340. Fort Campbell Resident Agency, Fort Campbell, Kentucky, 17 April, 1992.

U.S. Department of Defense. Guidelines for Handling Dissident and Protest Activities Among Members of Armed Forces. Department of Defense Directive Number 1325.6. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Defense, 1 October 1996.

U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Criminal Justice Information Services (CJIS) Division. "Uniform Crime Reports, Hate Crime 1995". Available from <http://www.fbi.gov/ucr/hatecm.htm>. Internet. Accessed 19 October 1998.

U.S. Department of the Army. HQDA DAPE-ZA message dated 201640Z DEC 96, Subject: Revised Army Policy on Participation in Extremist Organizations or Activities. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Army, 20 December 1996.

U.S. Department of the Army. The Secretary of the Army's Task Force on Extremist Activities: Defending American Values. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Army, March 21, 1996.