# The Ku Klux Klan: America's Forgotten Terrorists

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# Conspiracy in Carolina

Local and federal law enforcement officers in Johnston County, North Carolina, swooped in on July 19, 2002, to arrest Charles Robert Barefoot, Jr., a local Ku Klux Klan leader. Authorities claimed that he had been plotting to blow up the Johnston County Sheriff's Office, the sheriff himself, and the county jail. According to Sheriff Steve Bizzell, about a dozen people had been meeting at Barefoot's home and were gathering bomb-making materials, such as detonation cords and fuses.

When police searched Barefoot's home, they discovered a cache of at least two dozen weapons that included handguns, rifles, an Uzi, and an AK-47. They also found 4,500 rounds of ammunition, two homemade bombs, and bomb-making ingredients. Federal authorities charged Barefoot, the "Grand Dragon" of the Nation's Knights of the KKK, with weapons violations.

A confidential source had contacted the Johnston County Sheriff's Office about the Klan leader's alleged bomb-making activities. According to Sheriff Bizzell, the source said that about a dozen people had met several times at Barefoot's trailer home and were gathering bomb-making materials. This triggered the investigation that led to Barefoot's arrest. Charles Barefoot eventually pleaded guilty to federal weapons charges and was sentenced in June 2003 to 27 months in prison (Weigl, 2005).

# The Forgotten Terrorists

The arrests in North Carolina highlight an overlooked danger in America. Since the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, the attention of the American public has been focused, understandably, on foreign terrorist groups such as al Qaeda. Even when domestic terrorism surfaces as an issue, the emphasis is often on flashy neo-Nazi organizations or weapons-fixated militia groups.

Yet the Ku Klux Klan, America's oldest terrorist organization, has never gone away. More importantly, it has never stopped trying to create terror. With eight major groups and around 40 minor ones, comprising roughly 110 chapters or "Klaverns," Klan groups are still the most common type of hate group in the United States. An estimated 4,000 to 5,000 Klan members, with greater numbers of associates, sympathizers, and those hanging on, perpetuate its history. Every year, people associated with Ku Klux Klan groups commit crimes ranging from minor acts of intimidation to major hate crimes and even terrorism. Perhaps because the Klan is universally familiar, Americans are apt to ignore or even to laugh at it, yet to underestimate the hatred inherent in the Klan's ideology and the violent and criminal acts that this ideology so often motivates its adherents to commit, is to make a serious error.

Despite its age, the Klan has demonstrated amazing resiliency, adapting to different times and situations and outlasting other like-minded groups. This resiliency has allowed the Klan to appeal to poor and working-class whites, addressing their economic and social frustrations, regardless of what those frustrations may be at any given point in history. Klan ideology and conspiracy theories provide members with scapegoats to blame for their failures and misfortunes, an enemy to absorb their attention, and activities on which to focus their energies. It also provides self-respect, pride, and empowerment.

The Klan's enemies are often minority groups in direct economic competition with the lower- and working-class whites who form the Klan's core constituency. Other perceived enemies are groups that in some other way threaten white control of society. At various times, Klan enemies have included African-Americans, Jews, immigrants, Catholics, anti-Prohibitionists, drug dealers, homosexuals, and others.

Klansmen (and Klanswomen) also have a strong sense of victimization. Many Klan members are motivated to commit acts of intimidation, murder, torture, and terrorism and to rationalize these acts as "self defense" because of a twisted perception that they are under attack and have to protect their "way of life." In the minds of most Klan members, the Klan never attacks innocent victims—it simply responds with vigor and righteousness to encroachments on the God-given rights of whites.

# The Klan Today

Today, there is no such thing as *the* Ku Klux Klan. Fragmentation and decentralization are the rule, as is true for most of the extreme Right organizations. Many of the approximately 110 Klan groups or chapters (often known as Klaverns), comprising around 4,000 to 5,000 members and a greater number of sympathizers, remain at least nominally independent, although some are attached to national organizations—Klan groups that claim a national or multiregional reach (ADL, 2001).

Various Imperial Wizards, who set the tone for their subordinate chapters, lead these national organizations. The larger Klans sometimes have an intermediate level of organization, the "Realm," usually a regional or state collection of states. Both independent local Klaverns and national Klans tend to revolve around a central leader with a strong, charismatic personality, and the fortunes of the organizations typically rise and fall with those of their leaders.

Today's Klans generally adopt one of two public stances. Some, taking a cue from David Duke, have attempted to "mainstream" their image. They use euphemisms instead of racial epithets and proclaim pride in their "heritage" rather than hatred of other groups. Some attempt to participate in state-run, good-citizenship initiatives, like "Adopt-a-Highway" cleanup programs, which also attract free publicity.

Others, however, consider themselves "old school" and take pride in the Klan's heritage as a terrorist organization. They take a confrontational approach to law enforcement and make no effort to disguise or tone down their beliefs.

Most of today's Klans have also adopted beliefs from both the militia and Christian Identity movements. Klansmen fear the "New World Order," believe Jews and liberals are attempting to outlaw their religious practices, and consider homosexuals to be

"deviants" intent on forcing their lifestyles to be accepted by others. Although many Klan members receive food stamps or other forms of government assistance, they rant against African Americans and immigrants who receive "welfare" (Akins, 1998).

# Klan Ideology

Today's splintered Klan encompasses a range of beliefs. While the ideology is categorized here into religious, political, racial, and anti-Semitic beliefs for the sake of clarity, Klan members do not necessarily make the same categorical distinctions.

Klan ideology, at its core, is centered on the idea that white Americans are threatened by nonwhite minorities and that most of these threats are arranged or encouraged by a sinister Jewish conspiracy. The Klan promotes itself as a way for white Americans to right these perceived wrongs, protect themselves, and strike back at their enemies. At the heart of Klan beliefs is the notion that violence is justified in order to protect white America (Chalmers, 1987).

#### **Political Beliefs**

One basic assumption behind the Klan's political ideology is that nonwhites and immigrants threaten whites; therefore, Klan members seek to remove those threats, either by themselves or through government action (IKA, 2002). Another assumption is that, because Klan members believe that the government sides with minorities and immigrants instead of with whites, the government itself has become an enemy. Specific political issues that concern Klan members include immigration, free trade agreements, "racial purity," affirmative action programs, foreign aid, gun control laws, gay rights, and what they perceive as an unconstitutional separation of church and state (WKK, 2005).

Because of its emphasis on an America "by, for, and of" whites, the Klan is also extremely anti-immigration and often calls for military forces to be deployed along U.S. borders. The National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, for example, call for a halt to immigration on their website, suggesting that "unemployment, overcrowding, and crime are the results of our open gate policy" (Robb, 2001).

"Taking back" America is an important theme in Klan ideology. The Texas Knights make this clear on the Ku Klux Klan's website:

Enemies from within are destroying the United States of America. An unholy coalition of anti-White, anti-Christian liberals, socialists, feminists, homosexuals, and militant minorities have managed to seize control of our government and mass media... We shall liberate our nation from these savage criminals and restore law and order to America. (Texas Knights, 2002)

## **Religious Beliefs**

Traditionally, the Ku Klux Klan has held extremely conservative Protestant Christian beliefs. Since the early 1970s, many Klaverns have converted to strongly fundamentalist Protestant beliefs, Christian Identity beliefs, or an amalgam of the two.

## Christian Identity

Christian Identity, which has become popular among many Klan groups, is a relatively obscure sect known primarily for its racism and anti-Semitism. Its core belief is that whites are actually descendants of the Biblical lost tribes of Israel and are therefore God's "Chosen People." Most Identity adherents believe that Jews, in contrast, are descended from Satan and that other nonwhite peoples are "mud" people on the same spiritual level as animals.

One of the main teachings of Identity Christianity is that all other Christians are "false" Christians, followers of corrupt "Churchianity" and duped by a Jewish conspiracy. This is clearly explained on the White Camelia Knights website:

I understand that most people have been educated to believe that the jewish [sic] people are God's chosen people. Christians have even gone as far as to call themselves judeo-christians [sic], they become extremely hostile at the Klan whenever this subject is mentioned. But, we are followers of Christ and even if our beliefs are unpopular, they are still correct. I am constantly told that Christ was a jew [sic]. That Moses and Abraham were jews [sic], but, this belief is incorrect. (Lee, 2005a)

In effect, this belief system teaches that since they are animals, blacks are subhuman, do not have souls, and therefore do not deserve equality before the law, much less American citizenship. Jews, as the descendants and representatives of Satan, are considered the root of all evil in the world today. The White Camelia Knights explain, "Satan's children, 'jews' [sic] have worked long and hard to destroy White America."

#### Fundamentalism

While many Klan members have converted to Christian Identity, others have merely adopted some of its tenets, or practice instead one of several *extreme* variations of Christian fundamentalism. It is important to note that most fundamentalists in America in no way agree with or are sympathetic to the Klan, but there are three primary facets of extreme fundamentalism that are important in understanding Klan ideology (Almond, Sivan, & Appleby, 1991):

- 1. Fundamentalists in general are millennialists and believe that the world is fast approaching its end. Many fundamentalists expected the anticlimactic "Y2K" crisis to cause the downfall of civilization. Others foresee an economic collapse or a race war, and some prophesy the Battle of Armageddon. What they all have in common, however, is a belief that a final, major event of apocalyptic proportions will "purify" the Earth and leave only true believers behind in a perfect world. Klan members intermesh these beliefs with their racism and anti-Semitism; thus, the final battles may be against racial minorities or Jews.
- 2. Extreme fundamentalism is an essentially dualist belief system that offers black-and-white answers to all questions. Anyone who does not share the fundamentalist view is wrong; compromises would be capitulations to evil.

3. Most importantly, fundamentalists are conspiracists. Their interpretations of history and society hold that there are secretive, manipulative, all-powerful entities (such as the anti-Christ) operating behind the scenes.

#### Anti-Semitism

The Klan has traditionally viewed itself as a defender of white American Protestantism. Protestantism needed "defense," Klan leaders thought, primarily against Catholics and Jews. Over the decades, the Klan's anti-Catholicism waned, although never entirely disappeared. At the same time, the Klan's anti-Semitism grew as it added ideological anti-Semitic convictions to its religious ones.

The Klan sees Jews as the source of virtually all evil in American society—as secretive, hidden manipulators operating behind the scenes to control government, education, banking, and the mass media. Anti-Semitism was not an original Klan concern but became so in the early 20th century during a period of considerable Eastern European immigration. The Klan equated immigration with Catholicism and Judaism, both of which threatened Protestant control of society. During the middle years of the century, the Klan's antagonism toward Judaism slowly evolved, shifting from a concern about Jewish immigration and competition for lower-class jobs to a conspiratorial view of Jews as rich and powerful manipulators of government and media.

This is well summarized by the Alabama White Knights: "More than 62% of all the real estate, industrial plants, natural resources, and banks in the United States are either controlled by or owned outright by Jews. Of course the motion picture business and the clothing industry and a few others are owned and controlled exclusively by Jews . . . all important legislation passed by the Congress of the United States in the last few years was written by Jews" (Alabama White Knights, 2002). Such patently false statements are routinely accepted as fact by the Klan.

In the mind of the Klansmen, Jews are the hidden powers behind everything the Klan hates; even the U.S. government is run by Jews. Most Klansmen refer to this supposed secret Jewish cabal as "ZOG," or "Zionist Occupied Government," a phrase sprinkled throughout Klan literature and websites, as in this Southern White Knights example: "I hope this sight [sic] shows you who we truly are and at the least opens your eyes to the changes taken [sic] place... and how this Country and others are being ran [sic] by the ZOG" (Southern White Knights, 2002). Many Klansmen believe that Jews are behind the federal government's efforts to combat organizations such as the Klan. According to the White Camelia Knights' leader Charles Lee, "the jews [sic] tried to entrap Jesus in a conspiracy against the government, just as they do to Christian Klansmen today" (Lee, 2005a).

What is the ultimate goal of this alleged Jewish conspiracy? Jews, the Klan believes, are bent on first controlling and then destroying the white "race," primarily by encouraging miscegenation. One way Jews are encouraging race-mixing, Klan members claim, is by featuring African Americans in prominent roles on television. According to the White Camelia Knights, . . .

We see more and more All-Black TV programs that pollute the airwaves. Where are the White people in these Black Sitcoms? You can be sure to find a majority of the credits for these Black Sitcoms belonging to the Jews. In a Country where

the Majority rules, you would think that the White Man would be in control and therefore rid this land of the evil that plagues it. But instead you have the parasitic Jew at the Head of Government. (Lee, 2005b)

Jews also serve another function by reconciling a glaring inconsistency in Klan ideology. Klan members believe that blacks are unintelligent, lazy, and inferior. But if whites are so superior to blacks, how can blacks be such a monumental threat? The Klan answer is that Jews control the blacks. Jews manipulate African Americans, encouraging them to commit crimes against whites, and also manipulate the government to give blacks preference over whites. If the "Jewish problem" could be solved, therefore, all of America's other minority "problems" would become easier to deal with.

Klan leaders also insist that Jews are attempting to outlaw Christianity and often claim the Supreme Court's ban on mandatory prayer in public schools as proof. According to the Mystic Knight's website, "The Jews all over the world are doing everything in their power to remove every Christian symbol that there is! The Jews hate Jesus Christ and his people! White Christians of America and the whole world . . . don't fall prey to the wicked ways of the Jews!" (Walker, 2002). These teachings feed the Klan sense of victimization.

#### Race

Race has always been the central issue in Klan ideology. Klan activists believe that all nonwhite races are a threat to whites; most of the organization's history has revolved around its attempts to exert or retain white control over minorities. Today, many Klan leaders offer a perverse variation on this theme: not only have whites lost control of their country, but the future of the white race itself is now threatened. Only the Klan can save it.

#### African Americans

The typical Klan activist believes that African Americans are the cause of most crime in America. They also believe that blacks are intellectually inferior and have no moral sense, that they rely on welfare to survive, that they are drug users, and that black men are pathological rapists of white women. In other words, blacks are the focal point of lower- and working-class white fears.

Klan literature also blames the failure of whites to succeed or advance in their careers on "reverse discrimination." According to the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, for example, . . .

Anti-White discrimination is official government policy through 'affirmative action' schemes such as minority scholarships, minority business grants, contract 'set-asides,' and the hiring and force fed promotion of less qualified employees. We demand an end to all government enforced race mixing such as busing and moving welfare recipients into Middle Class neighborhoods. (Robb, 2002)

According to the Klan, because blacks are so unintelligent and lazy, they are incapable of accomplishing any real task or even getting a job. If any African American does hold a worthwhile or important job, therefore, it was obviously the

result of affirmative action and cost a hard working "real" (i.e., white) American his or her job. This is a key part of the Klan sense of victimization, especially its belief that white males are the "real" victims. It also scapegoats blacks, allowing them to be blamed for economic failures that whites themselves experience.

C. Edward Foster (1997) wrote that . . .

The Pennsylvania Ku Klux Klan recognizes the simple fact that ALL African niggers are all savage, bloodthirsty Satanic beasts... In the last 30 years these cannibalistic apes have fiendishly MURDERED over 50,000 White Christians. A nigger cannot be a Christian. Voodoo is the only appropriate religion for these deprayed, demonic, vile, ape-like creatures of jungle darkness. (p. 2)

This sort of rhetoric attempts to dehumanize African Americans, to make them easier and more acceptable targets for violence and intimidation.

Among the people most hated by the Klan are interracial couples and the children of interracial unions. Such people—"miscegenators"—are believed to be contributing directly to the pollution and eventual extinction of the white race. As a result, they are frequent targets of Klan-related harassment and violence.

## **Hispanics**

Fear of foreign "invasion" is a source of great anxiety among Klansmen. This fear demonstrates the Klan tendency to hate those who might compete with lower class whites in the job market and to seek scapegoats to blame for economic and educational failures. Klan websites and newsletters are replete with calls for the military to "seal the border." Hispanics, of whatever background, are simultaneously and paradoxically seen as direct economic competition (stealing the jobs of white men) and as lazy welfare recipients.

# Klan Criminal Activity

The hallmark activity of the Ku Klux Klan is the perpetration of violence. From the early days of the original Klan when "night riders" terrorized former slaves, through the firebombing and murders of the Civil Rights Era, to the present day, the Klan has been America's most notorious and well-known domestic terrorist movement. Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas accurately characterized the Klan in 2003 as a "terrorist organization, which, in its endeavor to intimidate, or even eliminate those it dislikes, uses the most brutal of methods" (Thomas, 2003). The Klan is known for terrorism, murder, and assault, all stemming from its basic hate-based ideology, but Klansmen also commit a wide variety of non-hate-related crimes, largely because of the criminal milieu from which it draws portions of its membership.

Klan violence largely stems from a combination of Klan ideology combined with the lack of political power on the part of Klan members. Typical Klan members are poor, with low education levels and little or no access to political leaders. Moreover, their ideology is by and large unpopular—associating with the Klan is a stigma. Thus, Klan groups rarely experience success using normal political and social means of achieving their goals. This makes violence a more attractive option for some Klan members. Perhaps more importantly, because Klan ideology and identity stem from extreme

hatred of other groups, they feel urgently the need to strike out at those groups. Finally, Klan members are often recruited from among people with violent or criminal histories, and the Klan focuses their violence and crime on its perceived enemies.

Klansmen have committed, and continue to commit, acts of terrorism and major violence, weapons and explosive violations, arson, hate crimes, crimes against police officers, other crimes to further their cause, and a number of coincidental crimes.

Major acts of violence are the deeds for which the Klan has gained most of its reputation. Torture, bombings, and other assorted brutal acts gain massive publicity and create fear among minorities and non-racist whites; in its long history, the various incarnations of the Klan have been responsible for hundreds and hundreds murders, arsons, bombings, rapes, assaults, and other crimes.

Rather than being ashamed of the Klan's sordid past, many modern Klan members are quite proud of this history. Grand Dragon C. Edward Foster once said the following of the Klan:

I'll tell you this, the Klan's here because we've been here for 131 years. The legacy is that, uh, we've had a lot of hangings, a lot of bombings, a lot of shootings. That don't bother me at all. If somebody wants to go out here and kill a nigger or something, I don't know . . . They're [African Americans] not our equal, they have got no right to breathe free air in America. This is not the Boy Scouts; this is the Ku Klux Klan . . . You know who we are, and you know what our history is. (Brummel, 1998)

#### **Terrorism**

Ku Klux Klan groups continue to be a major source of domestic terrorism. In 1996 and 1997, in one of the more spectacular cases, three Klansmen and a Klanswoman—Edward Taylor, Jr., Shawn Dee Adams, Catherine Dee Adams, and Carl Waskom, Jr.—plotted a series of terrorist acts in north Texas ("Three," 1997). The first target they chose was a natural gas processing plant near Bridgeport, Texas. This would merely serve as a diversion for a \$2 million armored car robbery. With the proceeds from this robbery and from robbing drug dealers, the group would finance further acts of terrorism. The group conducted surveillance of the plant and the armored car, obtained bomb-making manuals and materials, and exploded two prototype bombs. While surveilling the natural gas refinery, the Klan members noticed children nearby and realized they would be likely victims of a blast. "But if it has to be," Catherine Dee Adams said, in words caught on tape, "I hate to be that way, but if it has to be . . ." Another Klan member had reservations and alerted the police, however, and the plot was foiled before it could be carried out. The four were arrested in April 1997 and eventually pled guilty (Schutze, 1997).

## Weapons and Explosives Violations

Weapons and explosives violations are a common element in Ku Klux Klan criminal behavior. This is a reflection of members' fascination with firearms as well as a natural side effect of their self-conception as white warriors. In January 1994, for example, Connecticut authorities arrested four members of the Unified Klans in Wallington on weapons charges following raids on a number of residences. Among

the arrested was the New England leader of the Unified KKK, William Dodge. The police recovered a pipe bomb that had been delivered to Dodge during a sting operation. Wallingford police learned that Klan members in their area were seeking explosive materials, silencers, and automatic weapon conversion equipment. The other three arrested were Scott Palmer, Martin Regan, and Dean Hucal. Three more members were arrested at later dates—George Steele; Stephen Gray; and Edmund Borkoski, who conspired to purchase a silencer to use on his sister's black boyfriend. Dodge later pled guilty to possession of a pipe bomb and was sentenced to slightly over 5 years in prison; Steele committed suicide before sentencing; Gray was sentenced to 6 months in a halfway house; Regan was sentenced to a year in prison; Palmer received 63 months in prison; and Borkoski received 54 months in prison ("Prison Term," 1994; O'Leary, 1997).

The fixation of many Klansmen with weapons and explosives sometimes leads to potentially dangerous situations at Klan rallies and marches. At one rally in Fort Payne, Alabama, in June 1999, a police officer spotted a pistol in open sight in a car. Five Klan members approached the officer and began arguing. One man claimed the pistol, and police placed him under arrest and searched the car. They found two more pistols, but all five Klansmen denied ownership. Police arrested Scott Alan Lockamy, Howard C. Lockamy, Edwin Layfield, and two other Klan members on charges of possession of a firearm while attending a demonstration. A large group of robed Klansmen later tried to forcibly enter the jail but left after they encountered a phalanx of 20 police officers in riot gear. The Lockamys and Edwin Layfield received 6-month suspended sentences (SPLC, 2002).

#### **Hate-Related Offenses**

#### African Americans

Klansmen target blacks more often than any other group for a variety of reasons. The first reason, naturally, is that African Americans are easily recognizable. Especially in the South, Klansmen also often live in close proximity to blacks. African Americans are also typically Klan members' greatest competition for employment.

Historically, a primary focus of Klan violence has centered on resistance to integration. Even today, desegregation can spur Klansmen to commit violent acts. In the early 1990s, when officials attempted to integrate a public housing project in Vidor, Texas, various Klan factions used intimidation tactics designed to keep blacks from moving in and encourage those residing in the project to move out. These tactics included driving slowly through the area and brandishing automatic weapons, marching in uniform, and threatening residents.

U.S. District Judge Tucker Melancon emphasized the malevolent role that the Klan plays in the United States by saying, "While foreign terrorists would kill our bodies and destroy our buildings, the American Invisible Empire and the Ku Klux Klan and what they stand for and the type of conduct these defendants engaged in to rid themselves of their black neighbors, attacks our nation's very soul" (U.S. v. David Anthony Fuselier, 2004).

The case of Klanswoman Judith Ann Foux and her sons, David Carl Foux and Steven Joseph Foux, was typical of Klan involvement. The leader of a local church,

Reverend Dennis Turbeville, spoke out against the Klan's intimidation tactics in 1992. That evening, Judith Foux placed a card at his church that read, "You have just been paid a friendly visit by the Ku Klux Klan. Don't make the next visit your worst nightmare." One of her sons, Steven Foux, later allegedly gave false testimony to a federal grand jury about his knowledge of the event. Another son, David Foux, harassed one of the witnesses against his mother. In 1994, Judith Foux pled guilty to criminal violation of the Fair Housing Act, Steven Foux to being an accessory after the fact, and David Foux to obstruction of justice (Stewart, 1994).

Klan members often commit crimes after rallies, speeches, or other gatherings because the hate-filled rhetoric at those events builds up their courage and rage. This happened in October 1996 after Christian Knights of the KKK members Clayton Edward Spires, Jr., and Joshua Grant England attended a Klan-sponsored turkey shoot. Afterwards, they went to a Council of Conservative Citizens (CofCC) rally in Lexington County, South Carolina, to show their support of the state's flying of the Confederate Battle Flag. After the rally, the two Klansmen climbed into Spires' truck and drove past an African American bar, Club Illusion, where they fired at least 10 rounds from an SKS assault rifle into the crowd, wounding three. Police arrested the two men later that night and found Klan literature, the SKS rifle, and 100 rounds of ammunition in the truck. England received a 25.5-year prison sentence, and Spires received 26 years for three counts of civil rights violations and one count of using a firearm in an assault ("SC Klansman," 1999).

## Biracial Couples or Individuals

Klan ideology is especially vicious toward interracial couples. Such couples are frequent targets of Klan violence. To Klan members, interracial couples are provocative signs of miscegenation and the future "disappearance" or "extinction" of the white race. The Klan gets particularly angered by white women who date or marry non-white men.

#### Anti-Semitism

Anti-Semitism is central to the ideology of the Klan, pervading its rhetoric and literature. Because of this, it is not surprising that Klan members are willing to target Jews.

The case of Donald Ray Anderson provides a stark example of the results of such anti-Semitism. In April 1997, Anderson, a Klansman since 1979, mailed a 30-page manifesto to a McKinney, Texas, newspaper that "exposed" a Jewish conspiracy to control white people through race mixing and the media. Ten minutes after mailing the manifesto, Anderson walked into the parking lot of the Baruch Ha Shem synagogue (ironically, a place of worship not for Jews but for formerly Jewish Christians) in Dallas, Texas, and fired dozens of rounds into the synagogue while screaming, "Die, Jews, die!" He was dressed in fatigues and alternated shooting with giving Nazi salutes. Luckily, Anderson failed to hit any of the hundreds of people inside. After being indicted on state and federal charges, Anderson pled guilty and was sentenced to 12 years in prison ("Shooter," 1998).

## Gays and Lesbians

Klan literature and propaganda is rabidly homophobic and encourages violence against gays and lesbians. While homosexuality has not been a traditional concern of the Klan, society's growing acceptance of it, as well as growing legal recognition of the civil rights of gays and lesbians, has infuriated many on the extreme Right. Since the late 1970s, the Klan has increasingly focused its ire on this previously ignored population.

A particularly grisly example of what Klan rhetoric can inspire was seen in Alabama in 1999. Steven Eric Mullins and Charles Monroe Butler lured a gay man from his home, took him to an isolated spot near town, and savagely beat him to death. When they were through beating their victim, they placed his body atop a pile of old tires and set it afire, burning the body almost beyond recognition (Firestone, 1999).

# **Crimes Against Government Officials**

Klan followers have also been involved in violence against police officers. Law enforcement officers are targeted for several reasons. Often, it is because they "interfere" with Klansmen attempting to commit crimes (or arrest them afterward). Some Klan members may target government officials and buildings out of long-standing frustrations and feuds with the government. On a more ideological level, though, policemen are seen as the "foot soldiers" or "jack-booted thugs" who enforce the New World Order's oppression of white men and carry out the will of the Jewish conspiracy.

One example from 1994 illustrates Klan reactions to law enforcement officers carrying out their duties. In Kentucky, Klansman Chris Connor was convicted for twice threatening the life of an ATF agent investigating an arson and for threatening to "shoot up" an employment services office in Bowling Green. The agent was investigating the burning of a church in Bowling Green, whose pastor had made anti-Klan comments. Two Klansmen, Earnest Glenn Pierce and Brian Grayson Tackett, were convicted for the arson (U.S. Court of Appeals, 1999).

A case of Klansmen attempting to murder police occurred near Waco, Texas, in 1999, when two visiting North Carolina Klansmen tried to kill two police officers during a high-speed chase down Main Street in Taylor. Police encountered Jimmy Ray Shelton and Eddie Melvin Bradley speeding through Taylor at 85 MPH and chased them. During the chase, Bradley fired 8 to 14 gunshots that shattered a police officer's windshield and struck a sheriff's department vehicle. A Texas State Trooper shot out one of the men's truck tires, which forced the truck to stop. The men exited their truck and surrendered to the officers. Inside the truck, officers found four high-powered rifles, a handgun, detonation cord, seven knives, \$1500 in cash, a Bible, armor-piercing ammunition, four Confederate flags, a whip, brass knuckles, pepper spray, Klan literature, a copy of *The Poor Man's James Bond*, and methamphetamine. The Bible had an inscription identifying Shelton as "Reverend Jimmy Ray Shelton, Imperial Wizard of the Confederate Ghosts of the Ku Klux Klan" ("Klan Figure," 1999).

#### **Coincidental Crimes**

Other crimes committed by members of the Ku Klux Klan appear to have little or no connection to their ideology. These non-ideological, or what the Anti-Defamation League's Dr. Mark Pitcavage has termed "coincidental crimes," are prevalent among Klansmen because, despite its religious and moral rhetoric, the Klan attracts many adherents who have violent or criminal backgrounds or tendencies.

Perhaps most noteworthy are the Klan leaders who have been convicted of sex crimes. Such activities have dethroned more than one Klan leader in recent years. One example is Tony Gamble, one-time Imperial Wizard of the Tristate Knight Riders of the Ku Klux Klan. Throughout the 1990s, Gamble led a fight each year at Christmas to erect a Klan-sponsored cross in Cincinnati's Fountain Square. Each year, he won the legal battle and placed the cross in the park. "What we try to do is just put Christ on Fountain Square," he once said to a reporter. "The only thing the cross is going to have on it is the John 3:16 verse . . . Ours is not a Klan cross; it's a Christian cross." While engaged in this battle, however, Gamble was repeatedly raping and sodomizing two young girls for at least the last two years of his struggle for freedom of speech. In March 1998, Gamble was convicted on eight counts of rape, sodomy, and sex abuse of a 13-year-old girl and sentenced to 55 years in prison ("Klan Leader Charged," 1997).

While Gamble's activities occurred in private, the actions of Eric Brandon Lane of Berleson, Texas, did not. Lane was the Imperial Wizard of the Dixieland White Knights, and in an initiation ceremony in October 1996, he blindfolded two 14-year-old girls, stripped them naked, ordered them to publicly perform sex acts on each other, and then to engage in sex with him. A court sentenced Lane to 10 years in prison in May 1998 for sexual assault (Pitcavage, 1998).

## The Future of the Klan?

Unfortunately, despite its age, the Ku Klux Klan's presence in the United States is still strong. Though smaller than in the Klan's heyday in the 1920s, or its resurgence in the 1950s and 1960s, the Klan today is still the most common type of hate group in America, more than 130 years after it was first conceived. Looking at its recent past and its present state, it is possible to gain some insight as to what the Klan might look like in the near future.

Many racists and anti-Semites in the United States today choose other paths, such as joining neo-Nazi or neo-Confederate groups. This virtually guarantees that the Klan will not regain the stature it had half a century ago; however, the Klan continues to appeal to many angry whites, especially those coming from poorer socioeconomic backgrounds. This, plus the long tradition of the Klan in some parts of the country, unfortunately ensures that it will not wither away.

The Klan will continue to be strongest in the South and the Midwest. Klan groups are particularly numerous in these areas, where Klan rallies and marches occur frequently every year. These rallies and marches cost communities tens to hundreds of thousands of dollars in lost revenues, not to mention the non-monetary costs: hooded Klansmen are still one of the most well-recognized and feared symbols of hate in the United States.

As immigrants, particularly Hispanic immigrants, continue to move into the South and the Midwest in unprecedented numbers, creating Hispanic communities in many areas for the first time, the Klan will increase its anti-immigrant and anti-

Hispanic rhetoric. It is likely that crimes targeting such immigrants will also increase. Such immigrants trigger both the Klan's racism and its traditional enmity against people perceived to be in economic competition with poor whites.

The Klan is likely to become even more decentralized. Large, hierarchical Klan structures are more vulnerable to collapse than smaller Klan groups. The number of so-called "independent" Klansmen is also likely to rise, as people may identify with the goals of the Klan without formally joining any particular Klan group. The future may also see more "hybrid" Klan groups, like the Aryan Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, that combine Klan traditions and goals with those of newer white supremacist groups such as neo-Nazi groups.

The level of Klan criminal activity is likely to remain high. In addition to their rallies and publicity-gaining stunts, Klan groups routinely engage in more sordid forms of activity, from harassment and intimidation to hate crimes to acts of terrorism. The Klan was born as a terrorist group in 1865 and has never abandoned that image, despite the efforts of occasional Klansmen like David Duke and Thom Robb to "clean up" the Klan. Klan-related criminal acts are common and will remain so in the future. Because of this, law enforcement cannot afford to relax its vigilance against the Klan.

In the 21st century, the Ku Klux Klan still stands as a stark symbol of hatred in America—a symbol of racism, anti-Semitism, and anti-immigrant and anti-gay bigotry.

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# The Legality of Canine Sniffs and Motor Vehicle Traffic Stops

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Police are currently celebrating the U.S. Supreme Court's 2005 decision in *Illinois v. Caballes*; however, that celebration may be a bit premature and, perhaps, unwarranted.

The topic of canine sniffs and subsequent vehicle searches in the individual states has garnered much attention in the last few years. In fact, it has garnered so much attention and seemingly conflicting decisions, that the United States Supreme Court finally accepted a case on the legality of canine sniffs and subsequent vehicle searches—the *Caballes* case. Perhaps the U.S. Supreme Court decided that it was time to weigh in on this topic, since it has not visited the topic of searches incident to a canine sniff since the case of *United States v. Place* in 1983. The key question now is "Does an officer need reasonable suspicion to have a trained narcotics dog sniff a vehicle on a traffic stop?" In many states, the answer has been "no"; however, Illinois had ruled in several cases, including *Caballes*, that a police officer does, in fact, need reasonable suspicion before calling for a drug-sniffing dog.

The United States Supreme Court first addressed the issue of canine sniffs in *United States v. Place*. In the *Place* case, police detained a person's luggage at an airport for the purpose of having the luggage checked by a drug-sniffing dog. The Court ruled that a canine sniff is not considered a search and held that the canine sniff was justifiable because a dog-sniff is not a search under the Fourth Amendment. Additionally, the Court claimed that the canine sniff was similar in nature to the plain view doctrine in that the person had no expectation of privacy to luggage openly displayed in a public place. In deciding *Place*, the Court also alluded that, since in this case, the police officer's observations provided him with reasonable and articulable suspicion that the traveler was carrying luggage that contained narcotics (the same principles as involved in *Terry v. Ohio*), it would permit a temporary detention to investigate.

Another point worth noting is that the Court in *Place* ruled that the 90-minute detention of the suspect was unreasonable, in spite of its holding on the dog-sniff issue. In other words, the Court in *Place* held that if a police officer has reasonable suspicion that the detainee is in possession of narcotics in his or her luggage, the officer may conduct a canine sniff, if done quickly after detention, and that may provide probable cause for a warrantless search of the luggage if the dog reacts positively.

Many states have carried over, at least parts of the *Place* rationale, to motor vehicle traffic stops in which there is no initial reasonable suspicion that the car contains narcotics so that when the drug-dog alerts on the vehicle or the suspect, it is then considered probable cause for a warrantless search of the car. If the officer conducting

the traffic stop is a canine officer, the sniff would be conducted immediately and not be considered an unreasonable delay; however, if a canine unit has to be called to the scene, the question of reasonableness could then be raised based on the time of detention factor. It would not be unreasonable for a canine officer working the same shift to be called to conduct the sniff. It may be considered unreasonable to call in a canine unit from another jurisdiction or a canine officer who is off-duty. As stated in the case of *Place*, the United States Supreme Court ruled that 90 minutes was unreasonable and constituted an unlawful detention.

In the leading Illinois case on this issue, prior to *Caballes*, the case of *People of the State of Illinois v. Cox*, a Fairfield police officer stopped Anne Cox for an alleged license plate light violation. During the officer's testimony in court, he admitted that he did not see or smell the presence of cannabis or other drugs. The officer called for a county deputy canine unit to respond to his location. The officer testified that it took about 15 minutes for the county canine unit to arrive. The dog sniffed the vehicle and alerted on the car. A subsequent search of the vehicle revealed the presence of cannabis residue and seeds in the vehicle. During the trial, the length of the detention became an issue, although not a critical one. The officer testified that it took no more time to have the canine unit respond than it took for him to conduct the stop and write the citation.

The main issue on appeal in the *Cox* case was the allegation that the search violated Cox's 4th Amendment right against unreasonable search and seizure. The State cited the *Place* case, as precedent, in claiming that a dog sniff is a not a search. In Illinois' final decision on this in the Illinois Supreme Court, it did note that a canine sniff of a vehicle is not considered a search pursuant to the 4th Amendment in the U.S. Supreme Court, as outlined in *Place*; however, the Illinois Appellate Court stated (at p. 1070) that a canine sniff may constitute a search under Illinois state law.

Article I, section 6, of the 1970 Illinois Constitution states, "The people shall have the right to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and other possessions against unreasonable searches, seizures, invasions of privacy, or interceptions of communications by eavesdropping devices or other means" (Ill Constitution 1970, article I, §6). The 4th Amendment sets the minimum rights a person shall receive against unreasonable government search and seizure. The Illinois Constitution can give people more protection. The United States Supreme Court has ruled in *Place* that a canine sniff does not constitute a search under the 4th Amendment (*Place*, 462 U.S. at 707, 77 L. Ed. 2d 110, 103 S. Ct. at 2644-45). However, a canine sniff may still constitute a search under section 6 of article I of the 1970 Illinois Constitution.

In *Cox*, the amount of time the defendant was detained was not a real issue, as the length of the detention was minimal; however, the Illinois Supreme Court cited that the officer conducting the traffic stop did not have reasonable suspicion to believe that drug activity had or was taking place; therefore, the officer had no justification to call for a drug-sniffing dog.

In other words, the Illinois Court in *Cox* was saying that state courts can always give their citizens more protection from governmental intervention set out in a law or U.S. Supreme Court interpretation. In *Cox*, the Court basically said that Illinois chooses to go beyond the *Place* standard in protecting its citizens by holding that