

ARMED VIGILANTES ROAM ARIZONA BORDER

THE SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER'S

Intelligence Report

SPRING 2003 · ISSUE 109

HATE TAKES A HIT

DEATHS, DEPORTATIONS AND ARRESTS
ROIL THE WHITE SUPREMACIST MOVEMENT





EDITORIAL

Into the Mainstream

BY MARK POTOK, EDITOR

When Sen. Trent Lott blurted out what amounted to an endorsement of institutionalized segregation last December — only the latest in a series of such remarks offered up by the Mississippi senator over the last three decades — the tut-tutting of the politicians, the national press and the talking heads that populate our television screens could be heard from sea to shining sea.

Suddenly, almost all commentators seemed to have simultaneously realized the obvious: The “Southern strategy” used by the Republican Party since the days of Richard Nixon to win white votes in the South was fundamentally racist. The Dixiecrats whom Lott had been cheering were now, in the eyes of the press that had long given them an easy pass, transparent champions of white supremacy. The White House and the GOP, after some hesitation, joined in the almost universal criticism of Lott, casting their heretofore Senate leader into the political wilderness.

Implicit in the chorus of condemnation was the idea that public endorsements of white supremacy by public figures like Lott were a thing of the past. Many commentators sounded positively gleeful as they suggested that Lott was a political dinosaur whose evolutionary line had been extinguished at long last. Even *The Nation*, a center-left periodical not given to putting a pretty face on political reality, implied that leaders like Lott belonged to a past now finally behind us.

In reality, that is hardly the case. When Lott said the country would have been better off had Strom Thurmond been elected president as a Dixiecrat in 1948, he was stating the view of a large and growing constituency — the neo-Confederates who have sprung up since the mid-1990s. Led in large part by intellectuals and Southern academics, these white nationalists and neo-segregationists have been working to bring back the idea of a South created by and for whites, and they have not been shy about saying so publicly. Their critique of multicultural ideology and racial and ethnic integration is finding more listeners every day.

As was the case with Lott’s segregationist statements, it is tempting to conclude that the American white supremacist scene is headed for oblivion, its back broken

by the passage of time and a recent series of setbacks. As documented in this issue of the *Intelligence Report*, the radical right has in fact suffered a remarkable series of disasters over the last year. Deaths, deportations, arrests and internal splits have left many of the nation’s leading hate groups staggering.

But the radical right is not fading away.

In fact, the *ideas* of the radical right are thriving in a number of venues. On hugely popular talk shows like “The O’Reilly Factor,” conspiracy theories about non-white immigration that originated on the extreme right are now bandied about as fact. A number of major foundations are pushing the notion that a tiny group of German Jews are behind the destruction of “American culture.” In much of the South, the idea of Abraham Lincoln as a racial emancipator is under attack by right-wing academics. Extremists have seized control of the Sons of Confederate Veterans, a purportedly mainstream Southern heritage group with 32,000 members, a \$5 million bank account, and an increasingly far-right political agenda.

“A lot of the white supremacist impulse has found its way into much more mainstream organizational and political life,” says Leonard Zeskind, a long-time analyst of the radical right. Just as the early Klan withered away once Jim Crow laws had effectively rolled back Reconstruction, Zeskind argues, this movement of ideas into the mainstream has had the effect of weakening organized hate groups.

“You don’t need the Aryan Nations,” explains Zeskind, referring to an Idaho-based neo-Nazi group, “if you can run the Sons of Confederate Veterans.”

Sam Francis, perhaps the leading intellectual of the radical right, recently wrote that the future of the movement lies with the softer-line hate groups like *American Renaissance*, a journal and allied foundation focusing on the “science” of race, and the Council of Conservative Citizens, which sees non-white immigration as a threat to the nation. “Both have succeeded in learning how to discuss ... the scientific, social, and political realities of race without reliance on the old rhetoric of what was called ‘white supremacy’ and ‘hate,’” Francis wrote.

The sad reality is that Francis is mostly right. Trent Lott is no longer Senate majority leader and white supremacist groups across the board have taken a serious body blow. But the ideas they represent are alive and doing surprisingly well. ▲



30 On the Cover For the first half of 2002, America’s radical right looked more potent than ever. The nation’s dominant neo-Nazi group was turning a profit, anti-immigrant fever was spiking after 9/11, and extremists were winning the Southern culture wars. But after neo-Nazi leader William Pierce died unexpectedly in July, the momentum was crushed by a succession of unqualified disasters. While the number of hate groups in America stayed essentially steady in 2002, the movement suddenly finds itself in disarray.



6 Open Season In the desert of southern Arizona, home of the O.K. Corral and the orneriest white guys in the West, a record flow of illegal immigrants has spawned vigilante violence — while local law enforcement seems to look the other way.



52 Insatiable David Duke was once the rising star of the white supremacist movement. But a 30-year habit of ripping off comrades and supporters has finally caught up to the ace confidence man of the American radical right.



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An antigovernment conspiracy theorist wends his way to the bottom of the World Trade Center disaster — and finds the Post Office there.



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NEO-CONFEDERATES

SCV Purges Moderates

The timing was uncanny. Right after the Feb. 1 deadline for 32,000 Sons of Confederate Veterans (scv) members to send in their annual dues, Commander in Chief Ron G. Wilson fired another shot in the Southern culture wars, moving to purge the organization of a number of moderates.

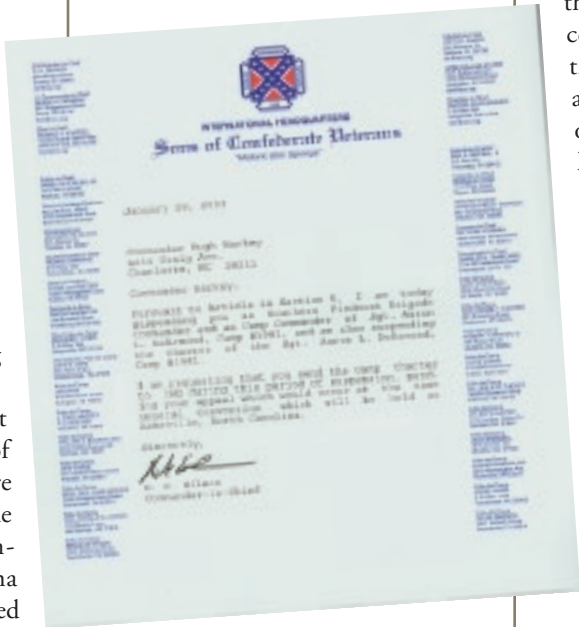
Hundreds of North Carolinians affiliated with Save the Sons of Confederate Veterans got letters in early February telling them their scv memberships had been suspended. Save the scv was set up after Wilson’s election last summer to protest growing racial extremism in a group that has been traditionally “non-political” and “non-racial,” devoted to preserving the legacy of Confederate troops.

According to Save the scv, about 350 North Carolinians — 10% of the state’s scv members — were suspended, including four brigade commanders and nine camp commanders. Seven North Carolina camps had their charters suspended as well. Greensboro camp leader Gilbert Jones, a leader in Save the scv, said Wilson would appoint a tribunal at this July’s scv conference to decide whether or not the suspended members and camps should be permanently expelled. Ironically, the scv member in charge of the camp that will host the conference, in Asheville, N.C., is one of those who’s been suspended.

If the dissenters are expelled, it will tilt the divided groups’s balance even farther toward the hard right. Wilson had already removed one of the organization’s most powerful moderates, Commander of the Army of Northern Virginia Charles Hawks, from office in November. Shortly afterward, N.C. Division Chief of Staff Lewis Lawrence and Historian Larry Walker were relieved of their duties, too.

In Lawrence’s stead, Wilson appointed Boyd Cathey, an editorial board member of the Holocaust-denying Institute of Historical Review.

In addition to steering the scv rightward, Wilson’s purge might be intended to stop Save the scv from asking pesky



questions about how dues money is being spent. On its Web site, Save the scv questions the scv’s Heritage Defense Fund, which has helped finance the work of Wilson’s extremist ally, Kirk Lyons of the Southern Legal Resource Center (see story, p. 61). Save the scv has asked for a “case by case accounting” of legal causes the scv has paid Lyons to pursue. Ben Sewell, executive director of the scv, refused to respond to *Intelligence Report* questions about Save the scv’s concerns.

Wilson’s faction might not even need to purge Save the scv members

to complete its takeover of the group. Officials have refused to say how many members have quit, but it’s clear that prominent voices for tolerance in the scv have started to throw in the towel. Gilbert Jones, Greensboro camp leader and Save the scv activist, resigned his membership in February. Kyle VanLandingham, a semi-retired attorney and amateur historian who’d been a prominent member of the group for more than 25 years, decided a month earlier to let his membership lapse. VanLandingham told the *Intelligence Report* he became concerned about hate groups infiltrating the scv last year, then was viciously attacked when he aired his worries on the scv’s official E-list. The scv, he says, “is in real trouble.”

That opinion is shared by Charles Yow, an attorney who quit the group not long after being appointed Judge Advocate of the Alabama scv. In 2001, Yow teamed with Kirk Lyons to file a “heritage defense” suit against the Lawrence County, Ala., school system. Less than two years later, Yow, a Cherokee Indian, has resigned because of the scv’s incipient racism. “I have said it until I’m blue in the face,” reads Yow’s E-mail letter of resignation. “Unless the scv cleans house, and removes anyone who advocates against sitting and eating with another person because of the color of their skin, the end is in sight.”

BLACK NATIONALISM

Black Supremacist ‘Savior’ Guilty of Mass Molestation

Dwight York, founder and kingpin of the black supremacist hate group Nuwaubian Nation of Moors, pleaded guilty in January in what prosecutors called the largest case ever mounted against a single child molester.

A decade ago, as chronicled in the Fall 2002 *Intelligence Report*, York moved the headquarters of his sprawling cult (which claims chapters in several U.S. and foreign

PRESERVING RACISM

Alabama ‘Heritage’ Defender in Secret Meeting with Neo-Nazis

Like most latter-day Confederate groups, the Atlanta-based Heritage Preservation Association (HPA) says it cares about preserving history, not promulgating racism. “We do not foster hatred, nor do we tolerate those who do,” the HPA’s Web site declares. “Our organization is built on the love of our heritage and not [on] hatred or bigotry towards our fellow Americans.”

But the president of HPA’s Alabama branch, Linda Sewell, has been keeping company that calls the group’s tolerant nature into question. On Jan. 25, a clumsily disguised Sewell joined a coalition of hard-line neo-Nazi, Ku Klux Klan and Christian Identity hate groups in a protest outside the Southern Poverty Law Center. She then gathered with about 60 of the white supremacists at a post-rally meeting in the

Clanton, Ala., Shoney’s Inn, where Sewell accepted a “certificate of appreciation” from Bradley Jenkins, imperial wizard of the Aryan Nights of the Ku Klux Klan.

“This is somebody who needs to be recognized,” Jenkins said, introducing Sewell. Then, before she came forward, he lapsed into a racist reverie: “The only people I hold grudges against is the Jews, the niggers, the Mexicans, the mud race,” Jenkins ranted, before coming back to the matter at hand. “This certificate of appreciation is presented to Linda Sewell in appreciation of all her hard work and dedication to our cause.”

That cause is far more extreme than the one publicly espoused by the HPA and its Alabama president. Sewell has been involved in Confederate battle flag controversies in her home town of Mobile and in Biloxi, Miss., and her musings on “heritage” issues have popped up on neo-Confederate Web sites including *The First Freedom*, where last September she weighed in on South Carolina’s flag debate. “Personally, I have ancestors who fought, died and were imprisoned, defending the CSA Constitution and the Southland against tyranny and an illegal invasion,” Sewell wrote. “I love the Confederate Battle Flag and will continue to fly it in honor of my revered ancestors and heroes until it is pried from my cold, dead hands. If that makes me a racist, then so be it.”

Below: Linda Sewell and husband Jim at SPLC rally. Right: Sewell accepts certificate from Imperial Wizard Bradley Jenkins



cities) from Brooklyn, N.Y., to a 476-acre dairy farm in rural Georgia. York told his followers they were building a sovereign nation where they would be free from the influence of white “devils.” But the leader, who claimed at various times to be a space alien and God in the flesh, had other reasons to want sovereignty. After 25 years of leading his cult, York had left New York while authorities were investigating allegations of molestation, murder and financial shenanigans.

The law finally caught up with York last May, when he was indicted on 197 counts of child molestation. Prosecutors said the number of counts could have reached the thousands, but York’s young victims could not recall all the specific dates on which he abused them. Rather than face a trial, the Nuwaubian “savior” pleaded guilty in January to 77 state charges of molesting 13 Nuwaubian children. The 57-year-old York, who will serve

between 15 and 50 years in federal prison, also copped pleas to federal charges of financial reporting fraud and transporting children across state lines for sex. York forfeited the more than \$400,000 in cash that was taken from his house when federal and local officers raided the Nuwaubian compound last May. Part of the money will go to his victims.

Some of York’s cult members, taught to believe he was the target of a vendetta by white racists and “house niggers,” have remained loyal. But several of the formerly faithful have denounced York. His driver during the 1970s, Saadik Redd, told the *Macon Telegraph* he hopes his daughter — still a disciple of York’s — will join other Nuwaubians in leaving the group. “I hope they can see the fallacy in him,” Saadik said, “and understand that the whole thing was a lie.”

EXTREMISTS BEHIND BARS

Utah Teen Kills for Racist Gang Tattoo

Early in the last century, psychologist Alfred Adler broke with Sigmund Freud, declaring that people’s behavior is driven largely by their need to belong. In October 2001, 18-year-old Darren Neil Grueber Jr. provided grisly confirmation of Adler’s theory.

According to Salt Lake County prosecutor Vincent Meister, Grueber longed to belong to the Silent Aryan Warriors (SAW), a white supremacist gang that operates inside and outside of Utah prisons.



Grueber, whose father is a Silent Aryan Warrior serving time on a weapons conviction, reportedly asked to go to jail after he assaulted a youth detention counselor in June 2001. The reason, Meister said, is that Grueber knew he couldn’t join the gang until he’d been behind bars.

After he got probation instead, Grueber began writing to SAW members at the Utah State Prison, begging to be allowed the gang’s “patch” — a tattoo with an Iron Cross, swastika, skulls, lightning bolts and a Runic phrase that translates, “Forever white, forever proud.” When saw members turned down his pleas, Grueber waited for his chance — and found it soon enough.

Five ex-convict saw members took Grueber along that Oct. 10 when they kidnapped 36-year-old Don Dorton. The gang, which Utah officials say is more committed to methamphetamine than to white-power politics, believed Dorton had stolen an ounce of the substance. Dorton was beaten, gagged, wrapped in a sheet and bound with duct tape, then driven to a remote location in Salt Lake County. At that point, prosecutors say, Grueber took it on himself to administer further punishment, killing Dorton by dropping an 87-pound rock onto his head. After the murder, Meister said, Grueber was seen “licking his bloody gloves.”

Grueber swore he was innocent, but he didn’t deny that he wanted to join the gang. This January, after a jury convicted him, Judge Robin Reese gave Grueber plenty of prison time: five years to life for the murder, and 15 years to life for the

aggravated kidnapping. The judge said Grueber’s act was “nothing more than killing for the sake of killing.” But it was also, apparently, killing for the sake of a patch.

PATRIOT CRIMES

FBI: Bogus Election Spawned Assassination Plot

When an antigovernment group in Washington elected James D. Brailey as “true governor” of the state in 1998, the members surely had no idea how seriously Brailey would take his duties. After he was arrested in January for firearms violations, federal investigators said the 43-year-old had been plotting ever since his mock election to kill Washington’s actual governor, Gary Locke. “Brailey hates Governor Locke because he believes he is the only true governor of this state,” FBI Special Agent James Keesling wrote in his criminal complaint. “Brailey also hates Governor Locke because of his ethnicity.” Locke, who delivered the Democratic response to this year’s State of the Union address, is Chinese-American.

Court documents allege that Brailey’s hatred for Locke began to boil over during his time in the Jural Society, which believes federal and state governments are illegitimate and works toward the establishment of a “people’s government” based on British common law. The local chapter, which meets regularly in Ellensburg, conducts its own elections for state offices, including the one in which Brailey was voted “true governor.”

After his election, Brailey allegedly started making dry runs to the state Capitol in Olympia, armed at least once with a rifle, two handguns and an explosive mine. He got close enough on that occasion to see the governor, Brailey told a friend who informed authorities about the plot, but the time wasn’t right. In 2001, the Jural Society voted Brailey out of the group, reportedly because members were worried about his increasingly violent tendencies. But court documents say Brailey stayed in touch with Society members and also hung out with adherents of Christian Identity, a wildly racist and anti-Semitic theology.

On New Year’s Eve, Brailey traveled to an Identity meeting in Arkansas with another informant, who told the FBI that Brailey still had plans to kill Locke. Two weeks later, federal and state officials raided Brailey’s residence outside of Olympia, carting out several boxes full of evidence and arresting Brailey for illegally possessing two loaded handguns.

At press time, Brailey had not been charged in the alleged plot to kill Gov. Locke. But when he appeared in court on the gun charges, Brailey stuck to his common-law beliefs. Acting as his own lawyer, Brailey deluged prosecutors with legal briefs arguing that the court has no jurisdiction over him because he is not truly a citizen of Washington or the United States, but “a free, white inhabitant on the soil in original jurisdiction Washington.”

WHITE NATIONALISM

Fractured Southern Party in Unity Talks

When 150 neo-Confederates gathered in the summer of 1999 for a kick-off rally of the Southern Party, they heard party leader Ron Holland exclaim, “This is the most important day in Southern history since Lee’s surrender at Appomattox.”

When perhaps 100 neo-Confederates gathered for a “unity rally” this Feb. 22 in Abbeville, S.C., they heard Holland — the editor of Dixie Daily News — talk about “finally reconciling and getting our political act together after a long nightmare period of mistakes, infighting and failures.”

Launched by Holland and other members of the League of the South hate group, along with other Southern activists, the Southern Party fell apart almost as soon as it formed. War broke out between state chapters about whether there should be a central committee overseeing the organization. Many Southern Party activists went off on their own, forming Southern

Independence parties in different states. Now, after making little headway with their separate efforts, some have allied themselves again with the League, whose



South Carolina chapter is headquartered in Abbeville. “In our view, the key to the future is Unity, not unanimity,” wrote one of the former dissidents, Madison Cook, chair of the Southern Independence Party of Tennessee.

Holland and other speakers at the Abbeville conference tried hard to rekindle the secessionist spirit of ’99. “[T]he conflict

and political movement is not over until we are, again, a free people and a free nation taking our place among the nations of the earth,” Holland told the assembled.

Among the political plans of these reunified Southerners could be a run for U.S. president by Donnie Kennedy, co-author of the neo-Confederate bibles *The*

South Was Right! and *Was Jefferson Davis Right?* Kennedy, at least, has no trouble being upbeat about the next new Southern political movement. In a recent essay posted on the Internet, “2004 — The South Strikes Back,” Kennedy writes that “3,000 to 5,000 dedicated Southerners could begin a movement that within six years would turn the world upside down.”

NEO-NAZIS

Shuttle Disaster Cheered by Extremists

While most Americans gazed sadly at images of the latest NASA disaster, neo-Nazis rejoiced at the loss of the space shuttle Columbia on Feb. 1. In their eyes, the multicultural shuttle crew — especially its Israeli payload specialist — deserved nothing less than total annihilation.

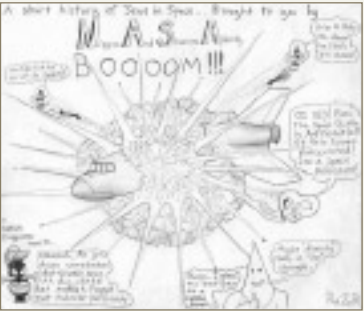
The Vanguard News Network circulated a cartoon of a hooded Klansman watching the shuttle explode and commenting, “Maybe ‘diversity’ really iz [sic] ‘Our’ strength.” On the Keystone State Skinheads E-list, “Keith” suggested, “Let’s put them all on a shuttle.” “Tom” of the neo-Nazi White Revolution echoed that wish: “Too bad that 14 million kikes weren’t on board when it went into sparkler mode.” David Pringle, membership coordinator for the nation’s largest neo-Nazi group, the National Alliance, took a stab at cleverness by parodying a television ad campaign: “One Space Shuttle — \$4,000,000,000; One IsraHelli Asstronaut — \$10,000,000 in training; One IsraHelli Airforce pilot dying over Palestine, Texas — Priceless.”

Holocaust denier Michael Hoffman took the location of the destruction as a sign of good things to come. “The symbolism of the Israeli ‘combat air force’ pilot blowing up in the approximate vicin-

ity of Palestine, Texas, requires no embellishment or explications,” Hoffman wrote. “Rarely does what we might call ‘the hand of God’ move so dramatically in world affairs.”

Pringle and Hoffman’s gloating was notably similar to the celebratory Web page posted by the pseudo-Islamic Taliyah al Mahdi movement. “It is clear that there can be no coincidence in the remains of these traitors falling on ‘Palestine,’ Texas,” reads the page. “All Praise is due unto Allah for the execution of this Zionist and the indifferent criminals with him.”

Back in the neo-Nazi realm, Sean Cougar reminded the White Revolution E-group that rocket technology was created during Adolf Hitler’s reign and that a German, Wernher Von Braun, brought the technology to America. “[H]ow right is it that the first Jew in outerspace [sic] should perish,” Cougar commented. “Dr. Von Braun’s revenge?”



OPEN SEASON

As extremists peddle their anti-immigrant rhetoric along the troubled Arizona border, a storm gathers

BY BOB MOSER

TOMBSTONE, ARIZ. — In 1881, it took just 30 seconds and 25 gunshots at the O.K. Corral to stamp this tiny border town onto the national imagination. This past October, it took just one editorial in an error-prone local newspaper to turn this Old West tourist trap — and the mean, green border country in which it sits — into a symbol of how vehement and reckless America's anti-immigration movement has become.

"ENOUGH IS ENOUGH!" hol-
lered the banner headline of the Oct.
24 *Tombstone Tumbleweed*. "A PUBLIC
CALL TO ARMS! CITIZENS
BORDER PATROL MILITIA NOW
FORMING!" In slightly smaller type,
Tumbleweed owner, publisher and man-
aging editor Chris Simcox exhorted his
fellow Arizonans, "JOIN TOGETHER
TO PROTECT YOUR COUNTRY IN
A TIME OF WAR!"

Simcox was not talking about a war
in Iraq. He was talking about a war
being fought in the *Tumbleweed's* back



LOWELL HANDLER PHOTOS

MERCEDES DOMINGUEZ CANO

Missing migrants, posted on a bulletin board at the Mexican Consulate in Douglas.

SE BUSCA
SAMUEL NÚÑEZ MONTERO

EDAD: 19 AÑOS
ESTATURA: 1.80 m
COMPLEJÓN RUBIO
OJOS CAFÉ CLAROS
CEJAS SEMI-POBLADAS
CARA OVALADA
NARIZ PEQUEÑA
PIEL MORENA CLARA
CABELLO NEGRO RIZADO
BOCA GRANDE
LABIOS DELGADOS
EN EL SR. RECTOR MONTERO VARGAS

JOSE ANGEL TENORIO HERNANDEZ
EDAD: 7 AÑOS
CABELLO COLOR NEGRO Y LACIO,
OJOS NEGROS.
*NFORMES: 01(753)71717 Izaro Cárdenas, Michoacán.
01(753)11133 Guacamayas, Mich.

DESCRIPCIÓN FÍSICA
Estatura 1.75 Metros .
Peso 71 kilos Aprox.
Complexión delgada.
Piel color morena clara.
Ojos color café.
Pelo castaño, lacio y corto.

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3°.- A CIUDAD DE MEXICO (5) 56 19 46 28

NOMBRE ABEL SAN

EDAD: 15 AÑOS
FECHA QUE DESAPARECIÓ (aproximada)
24 DE JULIO, 2000
AREA DONDE DESAPARECIÓ:
SONOYTA (Sonora, México)
LUKEVILLE > TUCSON (Arizona)
DESTINO BUSCADO:
SANTA ROSA (CALIFORNIA, USA)

OSCAR ALFJANDRO PORTILLO RAMIREZ.

BERGEO GARCIA DIAZ
FECHA DE NACIMIENTO: 07/OCT/1963
ORIGEN: GUAYMAS, SONORA, MICHIGAN
COMPLEJÓN: gruesa
INFORMES AL TELEFONO: (972)438 1395



Tombstone lures tourists with its Wild West legacy, but nobody takes it seriously — except, apparently, *Tumbleweed* honcho Chris Simcox.

yard, on the border between Mexico and the United States. There, Simcox wrote in language echoing Patrick Buchanan and other anti-immigration extremists, “a swarm of uncontrolled refugees” is “fleeing a marxist structured government” in what amounts to an “invasion” of the U.S.

To repel this supposed invasion, Simcox called for drastic measures: a “committee of vigilantes” that would prowl the borderlands, catching immigrants and sending them back south. The beauty of vigilantism, Simcox wrote, is simple: “We actually have more freedom to tackle the problem than the Government and law enforcement agencies that are bogged down in the quagmire of laws and restrictions.”

Anyplace else, the notion that gun-toting private citizens don’t have to answer to “laws and restrictions” might sound flat-out ridiculous. But amid the copper-colored mountains and lush-but-thorny desert of Southeast Arizona, the vigilante legacy of the Earp boys has never completely died away. It appeals to folks like Simcox, a transplant from Los Angeles.

Heidi Beirich and Martin A. Lee contributed to this story.



LOWELL HANDLER/PHOTOS

“The guy is a lunatic,” says Tombstone mayor Dusty Escapule, “and is going to get somebody killed.”

‘I’d Shoot Every One’

Simcox is far from alone. Over the last five years, the Wild West mentality has been revived in this desert. With a vengeance.

In the mid-’90s, a major change in U.S. border policy shifted migrants away from urban areas in California and Texas

— where access has traditionally been easy — and forced most of them to cross through far harsher terrain. The idea was that crossing through deserts, and over rivers, would deter migrants from making the trip. Instead, the main result of the policy was to transform southern Arizona into the most popular place to cross from Mexico, with hundreds of thousands making their way through this treacherous desert every year.

Understandably enough, such a state of affairs did not please ranch owners in this combustible corner of Arizona. They found their livestock being stolen or killed for food, their cattle fences being cut, and trash and human waste dotting their land. Several ranchers responded by arming themselves with Colt .45s, M-16s and high-tech surveillance systems to detect “intruders.” At least 20 private citizens have reportedly used their arsenals to apprehend — and, in some cases, abuse and shoot — migrants coming over the border.

“If I had my way,” one rancher reportedly bellowed at a meeting with U.S. Border Patrol officials last summer, “I’d shoot every single one of ’em.”

It hasn’t quite come to that. But this past fall, the ranchers’ “self-defense” efforts — and their fury — not only inspired Simcox, who says he got fed up with the “criminal” immigrants

he encountered in Los Angeles; it’s also attracted one of the nation’s leading anti-immigration extremists, who is using the craziness here to stimulate fear and loathing of immigration across the U.S. And in October, a heavily armed paramilitary group established a “semi-permanent” presence in the area after conducting a two-week hunt for drugs and migrants.

So far, local law enforcers have declined to prosecute apparent acts of vigilantism, though the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights has joined the ACLU, the Mexican government, human-rights groups and local governments in calling for an end to the violence. “If you don’t prosecute these people for beating Mexican nationals or killing them,” says Mayor Escapule, “then it’s kind of like open season.”

Which is exactly what human-rights advocates fear, as millions more migrants thread perilous paths through the Johnsongrass and *saguaro* cactus over the next few years. “You’ve got people running around down there with guns, thinking the sheriff’s in support of what they’re doing,” says John Fife, who runs a Tucson-based group called Samaritan Patrol. “It’s straight out of the Old West. When you get that kind of mindset, with this kind of immigration crisis, you’ve got all the potential for trouble. Real trouble.”

A History of Torture

Trouble — real trouble — is nothing new in these parts. Ask anybody north or south of the border, and chances are they can tell you: Cochise County has a hard-earned reputation for racist violence.

That rep was cemented on a hot August day in 1976. Three Mexican nationals scaled the border fence into Cochise County, headed for nearby job sites. When they stopped to refill their water jug at a windmill, they were taken hostage at pistol-point by young rancher Tom Hanigan, who was soon joined by his brother, Patrick, and his elderly father, George, a right-wing political activist. According to attorney Antonio Bustamante and Tom Miller’s book *On the Border*, the Mexican men were told, “All right, you fucking wetbacks. You’re not going anywhere.”

While George Hanigan stood guard with his shotgun and guffawed, his boys hog-tied the Mexicans — later immortalized in folk song as *los tres mojados* — and used a knife to saw off their hair and strip off their clothes. The *gringos* built a mesquite fire near the naked migrants, burning their clothes and sacks of food while threatening and taunting the men. “Let’s see if your Virgin of Guadalupe can help you now,” George Hanigan sneered.

One of the Hanigan boys pulled a long iron out of the fire and dangled its hot end over the naked men’s bodies. The other young Hanigan allegedly took it from him and touched it to one of the men’s



feet, again and again, until the stink of burning flesh mingled with the mesquite. The old man grabbed a knife and threatened to cut off one of the men's testicles. One of the men had a rope tied around his neck and was dragged through the scorching desert sand.

"When they'd had their fun," recalls long-time community activist Max Torres, "they cut them free one at a time, pointing them to Mexico and opening fire with birdshot." One of the men ended up with a back full of 47 pellets; another had 125. "Imagine the horror of the two remaining — and then the one remaining — as they heard the shots," Torres says.

Miraculously enough, *los tres mojados* survived to tell officials about their ordeal. Even more miraculously, the Cochise County attorney indicted the Hanigans on 11 counts each. Then the miracles ran out. George Hanigan died before the trial — but that only meant that he didn't live to be exonerated. An all-white jury of their Cochise County peers found Tom and Pat Hanigan not guilty of every charge.

For the next two decades, vigilantism broke out sporadically in Southeast Arizona. Sometimes the outlaws were local ranchers, like the one in 1980 who chained a 16-year-old Mexican immigrant by the neck to an out-house toilet, torturing and starving him for four days. Sometimes they were outside agitators like Civil Materiel Assistance, a paramilitary group that was also mixed up with the contras in Nicaragua. In 1986, CMA reportedly detained immigrants at gunpoint and later turned them over to Border Patrol agents, after having "had their fun" with the captives for hours.

But it was the Hanigan episode that let migrants know, once and for all, what could happen if they crossed into Cochise County. And now that the United States' hugely expensive "Southwest Border Initiative" has ensured that hundreds of thousands cross the border here every year, the memory of *los tres mojados* hangs over this desert like a bad dream.

Scariest of all, in many ways, was the way law-enforcement officials reacted. The Hanigans' only mistake, a couple of them told Tom Miller, was not finishing off the Mexicans. "I can see shooting them, you know, blowing their heads off," said Drex Atkinson, then a senior Border Patrol agent. "But torturing them makes no sense."

Border Justice?

A quarter century after the Hanigan case, officers of the law wouldn't be caught dead saying such things to a reporter. But while their words are more politic — "We don't want the

crazies here," Cochise County Sheriff Larry Dever declared this fall — the recent rekindling of vigilantism has certainly not inspired a crackdown.

"Citizens' arrest is an American right," says Border Patrol spokesperson Ryan Scudder. "As long as they don't break the law, it's not our role to critique what they do."

But laws appear to be broken routinely during citizens' arrests in southern Southeast Arizona. The Mexican government has documented more than 40 possibly illegal citizens'



LOWELL HANDLER



LOWELL HANDLER

While Tombstone Mayor Dusty Escapule (top, left) and Douglas Mayor Ray Borane (bottom, left) have been unstinting opponents of vigilantism, Cochise County Sheriff Larry Dever (above) has sent mixed signals.

alone. After a 1999 incident in which he was accused of holding seven migrants at rifle-point, Barnett made his Haniganesque attitude abundantly clear. "If them poor bastards felt threatened, sorry," Barnett told the *Arizona Daily Star*. "If they don't like it, they better stay home."

Since the contemporary outbreak of vigilantism, local, state and federal authorities appear to have mostly looked the other way. "Prosecutions?" asks newly elected Congressman Raul Grijalva, who represents a big slice of southern Arizona (see interview, p. XX). "There haven't even been *investigations*."

Grijalva believes that race is a big factor in the lack of prosecutions. So does Douglas Mayor Ray Borane, whose town council passed a resolution this fall condemning both vigilantism and U.S. border policy. Borane asks a rhetorical question: "If it were American citizens that had gotten detained and held

at gunpoint and who knows what else for two or three hours, I wonder what would happen?"

Current Cochise County Attorney Chris Roll says that his office has "had very few reports involving detentions of undocumented migrants" submitted by local law enforcement agencies. Roll says his office would "pursue a criminal prosecution only when there is sufficient evidence to provide a reasonable likelihood of conviction at trial." In a place where the Hanigans could be found not guilty, "a reasonable likelihood of conviction" has to be hard to find, even 27 years later.

Folks like Jennifer Allen, who runs a reform group called Border Action Network, say the real problem is that law enforcement officials "have a deep complicity" with the vigilantes. Sheriff Dever, despite his recent denunciations of militia groups and self-appointed lawmen, gave warm words of welcome and encouragement when anti-immigration groups came to Cochise in 2000 for a conference on "Illegal immigration: What can citizens do?"

David Aguilar, current chief of the Tucson Border Patrol sector, reacted angrily in 2000 when his bosses at the INS delivered a warning about "known racial supremacy hate groups" infiltrating the area. "I know many of the people in these groups," Aguilar, who declined through a spokesperson to answer questions about vigilantism for this story, told the *Arizona Daily Star*. "Some of my friends are in these groups. These people are not anti-immigrant, and [these] are not hate groups."

Ranchers, Racists and Reconquest

This September, the leader of one of the hate groups that came to Cochise in 2000 — a man so far right he calls the *Wall Street Journal* "anti-American" — set up headquarters at a secret location in Cochise County. The simmering cauldron of Southeast Arizona was now home to Glenn Spencer, one of the nation's noisiest anti-immigration rabble-rousers.

Spencer unveiled his new effort, called American Border Patrol (ABP), at a hotel ballroom in Sierra Vista. Though the *Los Angeles Times* had reported a year earlier that Spencer's California-based hate group, American Patrol, was "strapped for cash," the 65-year-old told his new neighbors he'd left his former home for far different reasons. "California is a lawless, lost state," the white-haired Spencer declared, shaking his head sadly as he paced in front of a big American flag. "It's a mess. There's nothing I can do for California. It is finished."

But Spencer sees hope for Arizona — in the form of folks like Roger Barnett, whom he met at the anti-immigration shindig in

2000. “Talk about your real American hero!” Spencer gushed, introducing Cochise County’s busiest self-appointed lawman as a key supporter of American Border Patrol.

Spencer insists that his outfit will not go hunting for migrants. Instead, he says, ABP’s volunteers — known as “Hawkeyes” — will use high-tech surveillance and communications equipment to videotape “border intruders” as they enter the U.S. The point is to expose viewers of Spencer’s Web sites, Americanpatrol.com and Americanborderpatrol.com, to images of “*la Reconquista*” (“the Reconquest”) — a Mexican “invasion” purportedly designed to win back territory lost in the 1848 Mexican-American War.

“If the Border Patrol had done its job, using the technology that is available to us, we could stop these people,” Spencer said in November, when he was a guest on the *Donahue* show. “This is an invasion of the United States!”

Since he ambled into Arizona, Spencer has tried gamely to separate himself from his controversial past. While his Web sites look identical, the anti-Mexican rhetoric has been watered down on Americanborderpatrol.com. But at the same time, Spencer’s American Patrol site has called migrant-rights advocate Isabel Garcia a “Mexican government agent” and accused Congressman Grijalva of formerly belonging to an “anti-American seditionist organization.” Garcia, the Web site claims, is “part of an advance fifth column” of the *Reconquista*.

Garcia does not mince words in reply: “The man is a racist.”

At least one of Spencer’s local supporters has come to a similar conclusion. Francis McWilliams, a local retiree who was introduced as an American Border Patrol director in September, quickly resigned after hearing enough to deem Spencer “borderline xenophobic.”

Though he said last summer that ABP would be the first of several satellite efforts of American Patrol, Spencer now says the organizations are totally separate. ABP has been set up as its own non-profit group, registered with the state of Arizona. (The agent who filed Spencer’s corporation papers was the city attorney of Bisbee, John F. Kelliher Jr.)

When a reporter from the *Tucson Weekly* pressed Spencer about his racist comments in the past — “Mexican culture is based on deceit,” “Chicanos and Mexicanos lie as a means of survival” — ABP’s chief said these statements were his biggest mistakes to date. But he did not disavow them. “The point was that Mexicans have to cheat and lie because their government is so corrupt,” Spencer said. “It’s a survival mechanism. But you can’t say those things. We should be able to talk about those things. If we could, we might be able to work out some difficulties.”

Packing Heat in the Desert

In his quest for respectability, Spencer has repeatedly pledged that American Border Patrol will stick to broadcasting the “invasion,” and won’t light out after immigrants. “We’re not going to be out enforcing the law,” he said in September. His assurances convinced Ron Sanders, the former Tucson Border Patrol chief, to lend his name to the group as a director. “I told

Glenn right up front: If there’s anything illegal I’m not going to be involved,” Sanders says. “If there’s any of your people carrying guns and making arrests, I’m not going to be involved.”

Spencer’s Web site features images of immigrants crossing the border, then being apprehended and arrested by U.S. agents. But it includes a disclaimer: “ABP’s policy prevents making contact with suspects.” Which makes some folks in Cochise wonder: Just how, exactly, do you convince migrants to sit quietly and wait to be arrested without having any contact — or any guns to prevent them from fleeing?

An Oct. 27 incident may provide some clues. That day, ranchers Roger Barnett and his brother, Don, were reportedly riding in a truck down Cochise’s main highway when they spotted 26 immigrants traipsing through the desert. The Barnetts allegedly used their dogs to help round up the presumed illegal aliens. The migrants later told Mexican officials that when two of them were not “fast enough in complying with the orders” to keep quiet and sit down, “one of the Barnetts roughed them up and made them sit.”

At this point, the Barnetts’ usual routine is to summon



Border Patrol agents to pick up the migrants and process them back across the border. But this time, they may have called someone else first. The migrants claimed that “two other individuals, both armed in a similar way,” with “holstered side guns,” soon appeared on the scene. One had a video camera. He began filming the dejected migrants, “and kept on filming ... as they were marched towards waiting Border Patrol agents.”

The man with the camera — and the side-arm — may have been Glenn Spencer.

Spencer has admitted rushing, armed, to the scene of the Barnetts’ detentions. In November, he told a reporter about “grabbing a rifle” to help the Barnetts detain immigrants.



Signs of the times: Anti-immigrant rabble-rouser Glenn Spencer (left) moved to Cochise County last fall; billboards denouncing the “invasion” have been put up around Cochise County by the anti-immigrant Border Defense Coalition (above); the paramilitary Ranch Rescue, led by angry Texan Jack Foote (right, front right), has established a “semi-permanent” presence in southern Arizona.

In January, Spencer told the *Washington Post*, “We’re not vigilantes; we’re not kooks.” But, he added, “We carry guns, because our position is guns are not illegal. They are commonly worn by people in this part of the country, because laws are not enforced.”

“What he’s doing is piggy-backing on the vigilantes,” says Jennifer Allen.

Spencer’s act is getting mixed reviews in Cochise County. By the end of the year, Spencer said he’d signed up 60 “Hawkeye” volunteers to document the Mexican invasion — fewer than the 100 he had planned on. Several ranchers, reportedly fearing legal trouble, declined Spencer’s request to film “intrusions” on their land. Still, launching a new non-profit has done more than help Spencer skirt the hate-group label; it’s also given him a fresh way to raise money. “This stuff is worth its weight in gold,” he reminded his new recruits in September, encouraging them to send video reports to ABP. Spencer told the *Tucson Weekly* he expects to haul in \$400,000 in 2003.



The Paramilitaries Move In

In October, about 40 miles west of Spencer’s “secret headquarters,” a notorious paramilitary outfit set up camp near the border. Headed by an angry Texan and Gulf War veteran named Jack Foote, Ranch Rescue was no stranger to these parts. Members first showed up in 2000, helping ranchers including Roger Barnett “clean up” their property.

Since then, this wild bunch of ex-law officers and military adventurers claims to have increased its international roster to 250 members. They've also upped the ante in their "defense" of ranchers' property.

On its Web site, Ranch Rescue says its mission is to "help ... private landowners with the repair of private property destroyed by those mass numbers of criminal trespassers" — a.k.a. migrants. But three weeks before Operation Hawk, Rob Krott — the chief foreign correspondent for *Soldier of Fortune* magazine and a man who has fought with, among others, the Croatian Army — sent a confidential E-mail to

Ranch Rescue members outlining a very different set of goals. Among them: "observe and surveill [sic] border incursions" and "deter criminal trespass."

Ranch Rescue's means of deterrence? "We are attempting to standardize (for ammunition resupply purposes) with 5.56mm assault rifles and .45 caliber pistols. However, AKs, SKSs, and 9mm/.30 cal Tokarev arms are also expected. As are shotguns and bolt-action 'counter-sniper' rifles." Every Rescuer was ordered to wear camouflage, because "the area is 'green.'" The E-mail defined Ranch Rescue's "enemy forces" as, among others, "5-10 man groups of lightly armed

bandits," "[c]ivilian criminal trespassers who may present a threat," "[p]ossible Islamic terrorist infiltrators," and "armed drug smugglers."

Thirty-five Rescuers answered the call, reporting for duty on Earl Hardy's 10,000-acre ranch, near the border hamlet of Lochiel. It was a serious bunch: Among those participating were Tim Meyer, a former U.S. Customs inspector and current "private investigator"; Rusty Rossey, an ex-Marine who ran with the contras in Nicaragua and counter-insurgents in Guatemala and now runs a sniper range in Alabama; a former U.S. Special Forces soldier; and two Canadian light infantry soldiers.

Operation Hawk was supposed to stick to Hardy's ranch. (According to Ranch Rescue's Web site, "We only participate in repair and security efforts while we are the invited guests of the private property landowners. As guests, we are obliged to



Ranch Rescue volunteers pose with their pot.

VIGILANTE VIOLENCE

Crimes against border-crossers are hard to detect in the lonely Arizona Desert. But suspicious incidents keep cropping up

With hundreds of thousands of migrants coming through the desert and ranchlands of southern Arizona every year, it is impossible to know how many crimes are committed against them. In a 2001 report by the non-partisan U.S. General Accounting Office, the sheriff of Santa Cruz County is unusually candid about some of the reasons why: "Crimes against illegal aliens have increased because the migrants are forced" — by U.S. border policy — "to attempt entry through

remote areas outside town, where criminal activity is less likely to be detected and more difficult to respond to."

The result? "Assailants are rarely captured, crime scenes ... are rarely located, and victims disappear." Bodies rot fast in the desert, and bones are quickly scattered.

Compounding the problem, migrants who survive have every incentive to keep quiet about whatever they've suffered. If they complain about human rights abuses, they know they'll be incarcerated in the U.S. while the case is looked into.

"Most folks who cross the border don't know they have rights in the first place," says the Rev. Mark Adams, whose Healing Our Borders group interviews illegal migrants who are being returned to Mexico by the U.S. Border Patrol. And even if the migrants are aware of their rights, they tend to cover up abuses. "They'll say, 'I tripped and fell,' or, 'I walked into a fence post,'" Adams says. "All they want to do is get back, so they can try to come over again."

Of course, there's no incentive for vigilantes to 'fess up, either. All of which makes it

mighty easy for the law to throw up its collective hands. The Border Patrol does "extensive interviews" any time a civil-rights violation is alleged, says spokesperson Ryan Scudder, but "we only know what we're told. All you can know is what people say."

In the rare instances where migrants do report abuses, what people say is almost always contradictory. Take March 27, 2000, when Cochise County rancher Daniel Morrison spotted nine migrants moving through a ditch along Highway 80. After ordering them to stop, Morrison fired six or seven shots, which the migrants "emphatically" told Mexican officials were aimed at them. Morrison said he fired his gun merely as a warning. When the migrants told a sheriff's deputy they didn't want to press charges because they wanted to return to Mexico, the investigation apparently ended.

When in doubt, investigators can pin the blame on *coyotes*, smugglers of drugs and migrants from Mexico. Coyotes have been blamed, most recently, for the murders of two migrants outside of Tucson (see story, p. 6). It's become a running joke along the border, says Tucson attorney and activist Isabel Garcia. "No matter what they find," she says, "it'll be the *coyotes*' fault."

Following is a small sampling of reports of questionable apprehensions of migrants by private citizens in southern Arizona. Descriptions of these incidents are based on Mexican government documents and accounts in the *Arizona Daily Star* and *Douglas Dispatch* newspapers. No charges have been filed in any of these incidents, and none of these allegations have been adjudicated in court.

APRIL 19, 1999 Migrant Ramona Magana became separated from a group of border-crossers and approached a Hereford ranch owned by Ralph Berdyc, hoping to find food and water. As she drew near the house, she heard a man yelling and dogs barking. After she tried to explain her situation, Berdyc went back into his ranch house and, as Magana fled, fired three shots with a semiautomatic rifle. Berdyc told Border Patrol agents they were warning shots.

NOVEMBER 20, 1999 Brandishing rifles, brothers Roger and Donald Barnett took seven illegal aliens into custody on their property, then transported them in their pickup truck to the Douglas Border Patrol station. The migrants said they felt threatened because the Barnetts were pointing their guns at them.

MARCH 18, 2000 A remote Border Patrol cameraman watched as Douglas rancher Richard Puzzi pointed a rifle at six migrants and detained them in his yard. The migrants told Mexican officials they felt threatened because Puzzi kept his rifle pointed at them, sometimes shoving it in their faces, until they were picked up by Border Patrol agents. After Puzzi told a Cochise County sheriff's deputy he did not point his rifle at the migrants, the deputy decided not to file a criminal report.

APRIL 5, 2000 A group of between 12 and 15 migrants was allegedly detained and held at gunpoint by Andreas Mueller, a professional dog trainer who had also fired a warning shot in the direction of 31 border-crossers in February 2000. One of the migrants, Bencomo Arreola, said Mueller threatened to shoot

him. One of Mueller's German shepherds bit another man, who was taken to a hospital and treated for puncture wounds.

MAY 3, 2000 Roger and Donald Barnett, accompanied by two unidentified women and a television news crew, used their dogs to apprehend nine migrants who were resting in the brush on the Barnetts' ranch. The migrants alleged that Roger Barnett, wearing a holstered pistol, sicced the dogs on the migrants, and Donald Barnett ordered them to sit on the ground and wait for Border Patrol pickup.

MARCH 21, 2001 Near the San Pedro River, nine migrants were crossing a ranch when an unnamed person emerged from a house, carrying a rifle and accompanied by a dog. When the man opened fire, six of the migrants ran and leaped over a fence, hiding in nearby bushes. The other three migrants, illuminated by the man's flashlight beam, threw themselves to the ground and felt at least three bullets pass over their heads. When the rancher got into his truck to look for the migrants, all nine fled, hearing more shots.

SEPTEMBER 20, 2002 As they waited alongside Interstate 90 for a scheduled pickup, three migrants were allegedly apprehended by Henry Harvey, a volunteer "Hawkeye" for American Border Patrol. The migrants said Harvey pulled his SUV onto the side of the interstate and got out wearing a holstered

side-arm pistol with a couple of extra clips, carrying a can of mace. They said he asked them if they had papers, then ordered them to keep still and stay down until an undercover Border Patrol agent came to pick them up.

OCTOBER 9, 2002 A Mexican national was walking along the shoulder of Highway 92, near Sierra Vista, when a man driving a pickup pulled over and asked the migrant if he was "illegal." When the migrant answered affirmatively, the man pulled out a handgun and pointed it at him. Ordering the migrant to lie on the ground, the man called Border Patrol agents, who came and took custody of the migrant.

JANUARY 19, 2003 Rodrigo Quiroz Acosta, a migrant from Navajoa, Sonora, was approaching Highway 80 when a truck pulled over. A tall man dressed like a rancher got out of the vehicle and began to punch and kick Quiroz, who said he was also hit in the head with a flashlight and bitten by one of the man's dogs. After a woman emerged from the truck and intervened to stop the beating, Quiroz jumped a nearby barbed-wire fence but was caught by the man's dogs and soon arrested by Border Patrol agents.

— **Bob Moser**

adhere to the wishes of our hosts.”) But on Oct. 15, a 13-member “special operations” group, headed by Rossey, was dispatched — without being invited — to a nearby ranch owned by the Nature Conservancy. Rossey’s group scored right away, when four men stumbled on the “special ops” around suppertime, carrying bales of marijuana on their backs. Not surprisingly, they dropped the pot and fled when they caught sight of Rossey’s men and their military grade weapons. Early the next morning, the scenario repeated itself, and Ranch Rescue had a grand total of 279 pounds.

This was a tiny haul along this busy drug route; U.S. Customs agent Kyle Barnette told a local paper that, in southern Arizona, “I could train a chimpanzee to catch 300 pounds of weed.” But Ranch Rescue turned it into a public-relations coup. Rather than calling federal or local authorities, Foote summoned reporters from Tucson. It wasn’t until between 1 and 2 p.m. on Oct. 16 — some 16 to 20 hours after the first seizure — that a Rescue member flagged down a passing sheriff’s deputy and reported the contraband. The deputy picked it up while the cameras continued to roll.

The rest of Operation Hawk mostly remains a mystery — just the way Ranch Rescue apparently wants it. As Foote wrote in a 2000 E-mail, “We know that law enforcement is always a long, long way away from us out in the field.”

But Foote’s opinion of the “criminal trespassers” his troops encountered during their October adventure is not so murky. In another E-mail from 2000, Foote wrote the following to a correspondent named Gonzalo: “You and the vast majority of your fellow dog turds are ignorant, uneducated, and desperate for a life in a decent nation because the one that you live in is nothing but a pile of dog shit, made up of millions of little dog turds like you. You stand around your entire lives, whining about how bad things are in your dog of a nation, waiting for the dog to stick its ass under our fence and shit each one of you into our back yards.

“Just be careful where the dog shits, pal, because sooner or later we will be there.”

Murder and Vigilantism

On Oct. 16, when about half of the Ranch Rescue volunteers were posing with their bales of pot, a pair of masked gunmen opened fire on 12 migrants who were dozing at the edge of a cattle pond near the tiny town of Red Rock, about 90 miles north of Earl Hardy’s ranch. Two were killed. Nine were apparently kidnapped. One eyewitness escaped, telling the first person he encountered, “They were soldiers.”

At first, investigators suspected either vigilantes or *coyotes*, who smuggle humans and drugs across the border. The 12 migrants had been waiting to be picked up by a *coyote*. But, for obvious reasons, *coyotes* rarely dress like soldiers, preferring to remain as inconspicuous as possible.

The vigilante angle seemed intriguing, especially with Ranch Rescue on the prowl. According to a confidential source, most of Operation Hawk consisted of small teams of two to six members, personally dispatched by Jack Foote to undisclosed locations for up to 24 hours at a time. In their camo, with their military bearing and their sniper rifles, the Ranch Rescue volunteers would certainly look a lot like soldiers.

A month after the crime, the Pinal County Sheriff’s Depart-



LOVELL HANDLER PHOTOS

ment announced that it had ruled out the vigilante theory — though the neighboring sheriff’s department in Santa Cruz County, where Ranch Rescue was camped, was still looking into the possibility. In an E-mail message to reporters, Pinal sheriff’s spokesperson Mike Minter said “there have been no leads indicating a ‘vigilante group’ was involved.” The evidence for the *coyote* theory seemed thin: “surrounding area property owners,” Minter wrote, “believe that this was done by rival alien smuggling groups, not vigilantes.”

Questioned further, Sheriff Roger Vanderpool would say only, “We have a witness to the crime. That is how we ruled out vigilante groups.” At press time, however, no arrests had been made.

Like most crimes in the green desert, this one may never be conclusively solved. At press time, only one of the dead bodies had even been identified, and nobody knew where the nine missing migrants might have ended up.

Meanwhile, after gaining a bit of local fame with their drug bust, Jack Foote’s troops decamped on Oct. 28, promising that Ranch Rescue’s local chapter would continue unofficial patrols in the area. Foote plans to return in full force next spring for



Who did it? A bullet shell found weeks after the murders at Red Rock (left), where investigators have pinned the killings on Mexican smugglers rather than vigilantes.



“Operation Thunderbird,” once again living up to the motto on the group’s Web site, taken from President Bush: “Every American is a soldier in this fight.”

‘Evangelist of Fear’

Heading south from Red Rock, as Highway 80 snakes toward the border, there’s a billboard you can’t miss. Partly because there aren’t many billboards in Cochise County. But mostly because this one features a gaggle of bigger-than-life gunfighters, aiming their weapons right at you. “O.K. Corral,” reads the legend beneath the snarling outlaws. “Gunfights Daily!”

It’s just a few miles farther on to Tombstone, where the most famous of Wild West shoot-outs gets re-enacted every day — and where, on a Wednesday afternoon in early December, the man who fired off the infamous call to arms in the *Tombstone Tumbleweed* is sitting in his office. Chris Simcox’s faithful .45 lies within arm’s reach on his paper-strewn desk. And man, is he psyched.

“I have 600 people from everywhere in this country saying enough is enough,” Simcox says in his high-pitched, rapid-fire voice. “It’s grown beyond my wildest expectations. We’ve had 1,384 E-mails in support, let alone letters.”

Simcox, a baby-faced 42-year-old who previously taught kindergarten in Los Angeles at a “very high-end, wealthy private school where I taught the kids of the stars and producers,” moved to Tombstone in November 2001. He landed work

as a hired gunslinger in Tombstone's daily shootouts and as a reporter for the *Tumbleweed*, which he bought when its previous owner decided to give up. In his spare time, Simcox says he began to patrol nearby Middlemarch Road, encountering "thousands" of migrants and apprehending 500.

Though he has been called an "evangelist of fear" by the Rev. Robin Hoover, who runs the Tucson-based humanitarian group Humane Borders, Simcox says there is nothing racist in his desire to round up immigrants. "I've got all the compassion in the world for them," he says.

So why raise a militia to stop them? Simcox first uses an economic argument, saying that unemployed U.S. citizens would love to have the low-wage jobs that many immigrants take. But his tune quickly changes. "I've lived in Manhattan and I have lived in Chicago and I've lived in Los Angeles. Those people don't come here to work. They come here to rob and deal drugs."

That's what drove him out of Los Angeles?

"Oh Jesus, it is unbelievable. I mean, we need the National Guard to clean out all our cities and round them up. They are hard-core criminals. They have no problem slitting your throat and taking your money or selling drugs to your kids or raping your daughters and they are evil people."

Like Spencer, Simcox swears his intentions are peaceful. Civil Homeland Defense, the name he finally settled on for his group, will call the Border Patrol promptly after rounding up suspected illegal entrants. And their arsenal will be modest: "We will wear side-arms only, and even go to the point of no magnum loads," Simcox says.

None of which satisfies Mayor Dusty Escapule, a former deputy sheriff. "To me, there's only one reason you put a gun on and that is to kill somebody," says Escapule. "If their intentions are peaceful, well, take some blankets, water and sandwiches out to these people and say, 'Here's something to eat, here's some water, here's a warm coat or blanket if you want them, but we're gonna have to turn you over to the Border Patrol.'"

"I think they are adventure-seekers," agrees Douglas Mayor Ray Borane, who has gotten death threats for speaking out against vigilantism. "There's no danger involved for them. They are the ones packing the arms and looking important. There's no bravery there. There's no patriotism there. These people can't fight back and aren't gonna fight back; they're on their way to work. If the people *were* coming over here armed and they *were* fighting back, then we'd see how many volunteers he'd get."

The U.S. Border Patrol has no plans to monitor Simcox's group, according to spokesperson Ryan Scudder. But on Jan. 26, Simcox was arrested for possessing a loaded weapon, conducting a special operation without a permit and interfering with a law enforcement function in Coronado National Memorial, a park not far from Tombstone. Simcox laughed off the incident, saying it would be "good publicity," but he told Glenn Spencer's Americanpatrol.com that the park ranger who cited him "mentioned her Hispanic heritage three times during the investigation." Picking up on this theme, the hate

group California Coalition for Immigration Reform headlined a story on its Web site, "Chris Simcox Possibly Targeted by Latino Park Ranger."

Gathering Storm

While the racial rhetoric and citizens' arrests continue to escalate, the number of migrants is set to swell to historic proportions as Mexico's shaky economy grows shakier still. Southern Arizonans got a taste of the coming catastrophe this past October, traditionally the last month before the cold winds slow immigrant traffic to a relative trickle. The Border Patrol nabbed twice as many illegal aliens as it did the previous October. Roger Barnett says he snared five times as many. Reports of citizens' arrests went up.

Unsolved shootings have also been on the rise. In early November, two weeks after the murders at Red Rock, a masked man fired at a group of 14 immigrants southwest of Tucson, sending them scattering into the desert. On Feb. 12, a border-croser was shot in the stomach in the same area — on the same day that shots were fired from a car at a group of six illegal entrants.

Nobody knows better than Mayor Escapule, whose town includes a bar featuring the "Tombstone Vigilantes Hall of Fame," that history dies hard in this part of the world — and that history indicates there's no end of nastiness on the horizon. But the subject perks up the burly, mustachioed mayor for a second, because there's something in the annals of Tombstone not nearly so well known as the gunfight at the O.K. Corral. Do you know, the mayor asks, what happened after the Earp boys turned Southeast Arizona into vigilante country?

"It was this way in Tombstone 120 years ago — you didn't know who the lawmen were," he says, settling back into his chair

for a good yarn. "Not till a guy by the name of John Slaughter came in as Cochise County sheriff and showed them who the lawman was.

"Slaughter was 5-foot-2, they say, with steel-blue eyes. It's in the history books. And they say when Sheriff Slaughter went after his outlaw, if he didn't bring him back, he would bring back his boots.

"More often than not, he brought back the boots. But he stopped the vigilantism."

Who's going to stop it now?

Escapule grows uncharacteristically pensive. His mustache droops. Nowadays, he finally reckons, it would have to be the feds. "I think the U.S. government is gonna have to step in, say, 'Sorry, boys, you're out of line.'"

Unless that happens soon, the orneriest white guys in the

West are about to get a lot more ornery — with agitators like Spencer, Simcox and Ranch Rescue egging them on.

"This is my land. I'm the victim here," Roger Barnett recently growled in the right-wing *Washington Times*. Barnett, who says he's personally lobbied more than 300 members of Congress to do something about the border, knows it's U.S. policy that's primarily responsible for victimizing him and his fellow ranchers. But he can't seem to make a dent in that. He can make a dent in the migrant traffic, though. And with many thousands more headed right through his back yard, another thing Barnett told the *Times* was downright chilling. "Something has to be done or there's going to be bloodshed."

In this part of the world, a man's word is his bond. ▲



VIGILANTE WATCH

A NEWLY ELECTED CONGRESSMAN DISCUSSES ANTI-IMMIGRANT VIGILANTISM AND RACISM IN HIS SOUTHERN ARIZONA DISTRICT

Elected in a landslide last Nov. 5, 55-year-old Raul Grijalva became one of 22 Hispanic members of the current U.S. Congress this January. Despite his freshman status, few people in Grijalva's district, which spans much of southern Arizona, expect him to sit at the back of the chamber and stay quiet. Grijalva's been an outspoken civil-rights advocate since the 1960s in Tucson, where he has run a series of winning campaigns — for county school board, board of supervisors and, now, Congress. In January, Grijalva wrote to Attorney General John Ashcroft, inviting the nation's top law officer to come to southern Arizona and witness the threat of anti-immigrant vigilantes in person. He called on the FBI to investigate connections between Arizona militias and white supremacist groups, asked the U.S. Border Patrol to issue a "declarative condemnation" of citizens taking the law into their own hands along the border, and began rallying other members of Congress to the cause of border reform. The *Intelligence Report* talked with Grijalva in December, the day after he took a helicopter tour of the border with Sens. John McCain and Jon Kyl and Congressman Jim Kolbe. The magazine followed up with Grijalva in February, asking about the progress of his anti-vigilante campaign.

INTELLIGENCE REPORT: Southeast Arizona has a long history of vigilantism and racist violence, but things were relatively calm for much of the 1980s and '90s. Did the recent resurgence of anti-immigrant vigilantism take you by surprise?

GRIJALVA: It looked like a dead issue for a while. But then you had the

whole new U.S. border policy in the mid-'90s [when U.S. officials effectively shut down popular crossing routes in urban parts of California and Texas], which forced millions to cross the border through the Arizona desert, and it started again. I think what's happened in Southeast Arizona — mostly in Cochise

County — is that there's been a kind of official tolerance of vigilantism, leading to the notion that it's OK. By tolerating it, you allow it to breed.

IR: Who is responsible for this official tolerance?

GRIJALVA: Local authorities, the sheriff of Cochise County primarily. Sheriff [Larry] Dever was on the helicopter ride yesterday, and I asked him, "Have there been no complaints about the vigilantes?" He said, "Zero." I said, "No complaints to the county attorney?" "Zero." I said, "Hmm. You know, from [the anti-immigrant group] American [Border] Patrol's Web page and some other information that I've seen, you seem to be a supporter of theirs. Don't they tout you as being one of their supporters?" He said, "Well, they can claim all kinds of support. All you're doing is drawing attention to these people; you're making the issue bigger than it is."

IR: So are you approaching the federal government instead?

GRIJALVA: Yes, and I think it makes sense. If federal policy is driving this, causing these problems with immigration — and it is — then there has to be federal intervention. The bottom line is this: You can't just allow vigilantes and hate groups to exist without a consequence. They need to know that they can't take the law into their own hands, they can't violate people's civil liberties, and they can't violate people's

human rights. When there seems to be this official sanction by law enforcement authorities, this blind eye turned to it, it breeds.

IR: Like the kind of defiance that Chris Simcox, leader of the Civil Homeland Defense group, showed when he dared President Bush to come arrest his militia?

GRIJALVA: Yes. When he did that, there should have been an immediate response. Good, bad or indifferent on the immigration law, there are bona fide enforcers of that law: officers. No one else has the right to do that, nor should they have the right. If Simcox's group or Ranch Rescue [a Texas-based paramilitary anti-immigration group] wants to call themselves "civilian patrols," that's a kind way to put it. The right term is vigilantes, and there's no place in this country for them. Vigilantes have never been successful, and their agenda has

nothing to do with us trying to solve this issue on the border.

IR: Do you suspect these groups of any illegal activities?

GRIJALVA: There's a violation of federal law when you carry guns on national lands. There are issues of intimidation, violations of civil rights, and violations of the federal hate crime statute.

IR: Do you think the anti-immigrant groups operating in Cochise County have been encouraged by a lack of prosecutions in the past?

GRIJALVA: Prosecutions? There haven't been *investigations*. That's why I want an FBI investigation. Who are these groups? Who are they linked to? But really, the more light you shine on the cockroaches, the quicker they run for cover. Besides, we're talking about hate crime issues. I'm asking federal investigators to follow our federal law and apply it

to this region the way you'd apply it anywhere else. I don't think you'd tolerate this in Dade County, Fla. You wouldn't tolerate it in New York. You're not going to tolerate it on the East Coast or the Midwest. These groups have had impunity, despite the fact that a lot of their leadership is driven by hate, not by any other reason. They use the excuse that "we're here defending the homeland," or "protecting private property," but that's not the basis of it.

IR: What do you think drives groups like American Border Patrol, Ranch Rescue, and Civil Homeland Defense then?

GRIJALVA: The strain that runs through these groups is anti-immigrant and downright racist. You look at their Web sites, their links — there's an ugly strain to these groups. They're intensifying and bringing considerable danger



LOWELL HANDLER

to an area that's already in the grip of a crisis, with the huge numbers of migrants being forced through the desert.

IR: There have been dozens of reported incidents in which private citizens have detained migrants at gunpoint, or even shot at them. At least some of these incidents clearly involved lawbreaking. Why has this been tolerated in southern Arizona?

GRIJALVA: Partly because of a double standard that is both racial and legal. The victims we're talking about are undocumented; they don't have the same rights as U.S. citizens. That has made it easy for the vigilantes. Among elected officials, I think there have been some political calculations about the support these groups might

have; they're good at organizing letter-writing campaigns and making their support look greater than it is. Letters to the editor have been running six-to-one against me, for instance, since I started asking for investigations.

IR: That suggests some genuine support for these groups. Is that real?

GRIJALVA: I think it's pretty shallow, much more shallow than the numbers they boast about. But they are able to tap into a general feeling of anxiety in America. There's an economic downturn in this country, there's a recession approaching a depression, there's the threat of terrorism. In these historical cycles, there's always a scapegoat — an economic scapegoat, usually. Now it's Mexicans, "invading" and "taking our jobs." So these groups, like American Patrol, very conveniently point to a target and say, "This is why we're in this situation. We have to keep them out of here, because look what they're doing to our jobs. We have to guard the borders, because of what happened on 9/11." They're appealing to that threatened feeling that Americans have right now, saying, "It's just them against us."

There is an appeal to that — the appeal of simple answers, and of having a target

to point to. A lot of people don't buy their rhetoric, of course. There was an older gentleman in Douglas yesterday, where we were talking about terrorism and national security. When we broke, he came up to me and said, "You know, Raul, I haven't seen too many terrorists picking tomatoes in Willcox." What a perceptive way to put it. Almost all of the migrants are coming here for work, period.

IR: Why focus on vigilantism when there are hundreds of people dying as they try to cross the deserts of northern Mexico and southern Arizona?

GRIJALVA: The deaths in the desert are connected to the vigilante issue. Both are occurring as results of a failed border policy. One issue is the compassion and humanitarian support needed because of a failed policy; the other is defiance because of a failed policy. The reason for concentrating on the vigilantes is not just the threat they pose, but also the arrogance with which they're doing it. For us not to stand up to that arrogance would be a big mistake.

IR: If you were sitting here with Chris Simcox, the newspaper owner who started the armed Civil Homeland Defense patrols, what would you say?

GRIJALVA: I would tell him he's going to lose. Very directly. I would say, "You are an aberration, and you're going to lose."

I think there's a streak of decency in the American people. We can debate immigration, but there's a basic, fundamental streak of decency in Americans and this is not American. Simcox's group is the most un-American thing I've seen in a while, and I've seen a bunch. It goes to the basest part of people's character.

IR: How do you get people past that? How do you counter the rhetoric?

GRIJALVA: The whole border issue is being dealt with piecemeal, and that gives these groups — and their message — an opportunity to flourish. The border policy put in place in the 1990s is not working. It hasn't worked, and it won't work. So what are we going to do? Instead of talking about "invasions" and using fear tactics and putting more military on the border, we need to talk about the root problems: How the Mexican economy has suffered after NAFTA, the historic patterns of migration that have

been changed by U.S. policy, the history and culture of the border region. And we need to explain that people are not running away from Latin America and Mexico because they want to flee their countries, or because there's some "invasion" going on. They're coming here for economic reasons.

IR: What makes it so hard to talk rationally about immigration?

GRIJALVA: Even within progressive ranks, the debate over immigration tends to float over into emotion. There's something unsettling for people about the changes in demographics. You get the English-only initiatives in California, the effort to ban bilingual education here in Tucson. I'm not a conspiracy guy, but there seems to be an unsettled mood that the majority of Americans feel about what's going on around them. As much as we all preach diversity and inclusion and how we're a mosaic, that side of the American picture is not taking hold. And as you marginalize people more and more, you create the kind of breeding ground for racist violence that you have in Cochise County.

IR: Has your letter to Attorney General Ashcroft, requesting an investigation

of vigilante groups and asking him to visit southern Arizona, gotten any response?

GRIJALVA: No. But we are going to meet with the U.S. attorney in Tucson, to talk about the vigilantes. The FBI has indicated they are looking at things. And I'm working to get more of my colleagues, especially in the Hispanic caucus, to sign on to the letter to Ashcroft, so I can forward it with more names than just my own.

I don't know where my complaints are going to go, to be quite honest with you. I don't know if they'll fall on deaf ears. But the point is making the complaint, energizing people and helping them focus on this issue.

IR: You've asked the Border Patrol to issue a "declarative condemnation" of vigilante groups. Has there been any response?

GRIJALVA: Not really. But the Tucson sector chief, David Aguilar, did say something that almost approached a condemnation — that these groups are not useful and that they're in the way.

IR: After your election, Glenn Spencer's American Patrol Web site accused you of supporting what he calls the "*reconquista*" — the reconquest of lands lost by Mexico to the U.S. in 1848. American Patrol also said you were "in cahoots" with a "Mexican government agent." Do you see these as racist attacks?

GRIJALVA: Yes, I think they are. They don't want to deal with the issues, don't want to confront the issues as equals, so they use all this other stuff. I basically ignore that. By virtue of the position I have now, I've been able to say something and people paid attention. That's how I became a target.

IR: Some local officials have gotten death threats for speaking out against the vigilantism. Does that include you?

GRIJALVA: Yes. We got five or six E-mails about my calling for an investigation of the groups. The subject line said, "VIGILANTES INVESTIGATED," and the message said, "If you do this, your family will be killed!" It was a pretty organized campaign, because they were all form letters.

IR: Were you surprised or scared?

GRIJALVA: Certainly not surprised. I knew this was going to happen. And when it did, it just told me that I was affecting them somehow.

IR: Hearing about vigilantism and the current anti-immigrant fervor in southern Arizona, many people probably assume that this area is more racist than other parts of the country. You've lived your whole life here. Is that true?

GRIJALVA: No, not necessarily. All the local communities' elected leadership, churches and other groups have rejected the vigilantes and anti-immigrant groups. But I think that because of the tolerance level of local authorities, they've had room to operate and to draw attention to themselves.

IR: After two migrants were gunned down in October at a remote spot outside Tucson, sheriff's investigators said they were looking at both vigilantes and Mexican smugglers as possible perpetrators. Now they seem to be blaming smugglers. Are you satisfied that the vigilante angle has been fully investigated?

GRIJALVA: No, no, no! I think that one required a much deeper investigation. It happened at a time when heightened tensions on the border were occurring, with Ranch Rescue patrolling and Civil Homeland Defense and American Border Patrol starting up, and I think the logical groups should have been investigated much more deeply. That includes the smugglers, but not only the smugglers.

IR: Aside from the decision to push illegal border-crossers inland to the desert, what aspects of U.S. border policy seem like particularly bad mistakes?

GRIJALVA: The fence along the border. It was built as a cattle barrier, you know; it was never meant as a human barrier. Those fences were put up in the '30s, '40s and '50s as a way to control livestock. Back then, seasonal migration from Mexico and back was a way of life. But now we've put up these horrendous walls. There's a restaurant in Nogales/Sonora where I've been going since I was a kid. I actually avert my eyes when I cross the border there now, 'cause the wall's right in front of the restaurant I eat at. It makes me sick.

IR: What is your biggest challenge in trying to make others in Washington see the immigration problem — and the vigilante problem — the way you do?

GRIJALVA: Politicians are afraid of the immigration issue. Terribly afraid, because people are talking about how "they're coming over, they're taking our jobs, and what about the security risks?"

IR: Given the power of the anti-immigrant lobby in Washington, what can be done to overcome that political fear?

GRIJALVA: First, somebody's got to speak out about the real issues. Fortunately, I represent part of southern Arizona now, so I've got a way to speak out about it. Which is good, because we haven't heard the other side for a while. You also change minds by talking about things that haven't been talked about. One of the things I read after 9/11, after that horrible thing happened, was that part of the problem they had in identifying victims was that many of them were undocumented, working as cleaning people and as restaurant people in the towers. Interesting commentary. They perished along with everybody else. The tragedy is the same.

IR: Are you afraid you'll be a lonely voice in Congress?

GRIJALVA: No. I think that other members of Congress are going to want to listen to the vigilante problem and hear about the deaths in the desert. If we create enough attention, then we're going to force some reactions on the part of the administration and the leadership of the Congress. The only way to do it is to create a burr. If we have a significant burr in the saddle, someone will have to react.

Like I said before, the more light, the better. Because there's something horrific going on. It's a tragedy. It should be an embarrassment to our government. The more people hear about it, the better off we're going to be. There's a big place in this debate for organized labor, for communities of faith, for environmentalists. If we can create enough interest among those groups, I think we'll start drawing some real attention to the problems. That's going to be my little task. ▲

CREATOR CRACK-UP

With its leader imprisoned, its name illegal and its ranks thinned by splits, the World Church of the Creator is on the ropes

BY HEIDI BEIRICH AND MARK POTOK

The world caves in: Matt Hale at the moment of his arrest.



Two days after his favorite follower began a 1999 murder spree that left two people dead, neo-Nazi leader Matt Hale told the first reporter who called that he had met Benjamin Nathaniel Smith only once, eight months earlier, and barely knew him. Hours later, the World Church of the Creator (WCOTC) chieftain admitted to a second reporter from the same newspaper that he did know Smith and conceded that he'd actually spoken to him a week before. To still another reporter, Hale claimed that Smith's membership in the WCOTC had lapsed months before. In the following days, Hale's account of his relationship to Smith would change almost hourly.

Matt Hale was lying. In fact, officials said, Hale had spoken to Smith by telephone for some 13 hours in the three weeks leading up to Smith's rampage — 28 minutes of that time just two days before the shooting began. Six months earlier, Hale had named Smith "Creator of the Year," the group's top honor, saying that his other followers should see in Smith "an example to follow." As late as a month before the rampage, Hale's publications described Smith as a group member. Then, the week after the murders, a registered letter arrived at Hale's house in East Peoria, Ill., claiming Smith was "formally breaking" with WCOTC. Conveniently for Hale, Smith had sent the letter on the morning of the day that he opened fire.

Ben Smith killed himself as police closed in at the end of the three-day rampage that also left nine minorities wounded, and Matt Hale was never charged in connection with Smith's crimes. But now, almost four years later, Hale once again finds himself at the eye of a violent storm. This time, many who suspect he got away with something in 1999 hope, Hale may have to pay for his role in a criminal plot.

On Jan. 8, the so-called "Pontifex Maximus" of the WCOTC was arrested in the federal courthouse in Chicago and charged with obstruction of justice and solicitation to murder a federal judge. FBI agents said that Hale had tried to recruit an informer to assassinate U.S. District Judge Joan Humphrey Lefkow, who had been presiding in a copyright trial in which WCOTC lost the right to use its long-time name. The arrest followed weeks of furious WCOTC attacks on Judge Lefkow, who was vilified as a "probable Jew," "criminal judge" and "kike- and nigger-loving" traitor.



U.S. Attorney Patrick Fitzgerald discusses the charges against Matt Hale shortly after Hale's arrest.

JENNIFER WARRING

In 1999, Hale depicted Ben Smith's rampage as an understandably furious reaction to the Illinois Bar Association's refusal to grant Hale a law license just a day earlier. Blind rage may explain Hale's recent actions, as well. Hale had defied Judge Lefkow's order to give up use of his group's name, and he fully expected to be jailed when he showed up on Jan. 8 for a contempt hearing before her. Despite his many pronouncements about acting legally, Hale allegedly had decided the judge's punishment would be death.

Matt Hale hadn't figured on one thing. Shortly after the Smith rampage, the FBI, apparently seeing Hale as a dangerous threat, recruited a key wCOTC official as an informant. Wearing a concealed recording device, the informant — Hale's chief of security — spent the next four years taping conversations of his leader.

The result, it turns out, could be the destruction of the wCOTC.

Teddy Bears and Hitler Watches

Matt Hale began his career as a professional racist at the age of 12, when he says he read Hitler's *Mein Kampf* from cover to cover. He set up a tiny hate club he called the New Reich in eighth grade and tried to organize a White Students Union at Bradley University when he went there. He would form the American White Supremacist Party in 1990, switching the following year to the National Association for the Advancement of White People, run by David Duke (see story, p. 52).

Hale took over what was then called the Church of the Creator in 1995, two years after its founder Ben Klassen, depressed over the death of his wife, committed suicide after several attempts to install a successor. In 1996, at the Montana ranch of Slim Deardorff, Hale was officially elected as leader of the group, which he renamed the World Church of the Creator, by the church's Guardians of the Faith Committee, which included Deardorff. Hale's 10-year-term is set to expire in 2006.

Unusually well educated for a neo-Nazi, Hale managed to revitalize an organization that had virtually disappeared after Klassen's death. From 14 chapters in 1996, wCOTC had grown to 88 chapters by 2002, making it the neo-Nazi group with the largest number of chapters in America. Hale also built up the group's Web presence enormously, and proved adept at winning national publicity on a number of occasions. His members commonly leaflet in various cities around the country, and even after his arrest managed to pull off a fairly substantial rally in Maine.

But Hale is also a bit of a cartoon character.

At age 31, he has spent almost his entire life living in his father's two-story house in East Peoria, operating out of an upstairs bedroom painted red to depict the blood of the white race. He has never held a serious job, sports a Hitler wristwatch and uses an Israeli flag as a doormat outside his room. He keeps a collection of teddy bears on his bed, and although he has been married twice, neither union has lasted more than a few months. His latest marriage, to Peggy Anderson, apparently ended days after his arrest, when she sent his belongings back

to his father's home. An earlier marriage, to a 16-year-old follower, ended within 12 weeks.

Hale's talk was big, but his walk was small. He told reporters that he had as many as 80,000 followers — a patently ludicrous assertion for a group that never had more than several hundred. He received national publicity for a Web page he put up that was supposedly meant to recruit young children — but confided to insiders that it was a publicity stunt aimed at generating media interest. Hale appeared repeatedly on the "Today" show and other national TV news programs and a *New York Times* columnist recently described him as "the face of hate" in America. But the mundane reality was that Hale, while depicting himself as a red-hot revolutionary, spent much of the last two years lecturing in small library rooms under heavy police protection. Matt Hale, his detractors joked, was rescuing the white race one library at a time.

Even so, Hale's group has attracted a number of sociopaths and other violently inclined individuals. Ben Smith left two dead and nine wounded in Illinois and Indiana. Another acolyte, Erica Chase, was convicted last fall in a plot to blow up landmarks on the East Coast. Hale's followers have been arrested for aggravated assault, armed robbery, witness intimidation and attempted murder. Under Klassen, COTC leaders murdered a black man in Florida, shot up an occupied car in North Carolina, brawled in Ohio and blew up an NAACP office in Washington.

What's in a Name?

Matt Hale's wCOTC was already in trouble when his January arrest sent shock waves through his organization and the American radical right at large (see related story, p. 30). The group had suffered through two splits in the previous year and a half. It had lost a civil suit for failing to register as a charity and was ordered to disclose its finances as a result. Hale was personally under investigation for advertising himself as a lawyer when, in fact, he was not. And, in the case before Judge Lefkow, he had lost the right to use wCOTC's name in a copyright lawsuit filed by a church dedicated to multiculturalism rather than neo-Nazism.

Hale's predicament actually started to take shape years earlier.

In 1999, after the Ben Smith rampage, the state of Illinois sued Hale's group, which had claimed tax-exempt status, for failing to register as a charity and disclose its finances as required by state law. Hale claimed that as a "church," wCOTC was not required to register, but in 2001 he was finally ordered to do so. As of press time, the organization had still failed to register as a charity or disclose its finances.

After appealing the Illinois Bar Association's refusal to grant him a law license all the way to the Supreme Court, Hale also lost his bid to become an Illinois lawyer. Although he had passed the bar exam, the association found that he was

not morally fit. A similar attempt to get licensed in Montana also failed.

Starting in 2001, the wCOTC began to suffer from internal splits and defections. In December 2001, Hale — described as a misogynist by some insiders — lost his two most important female activists. Lisa Turner and Melody LaRue, who led wCOTC's efforts to recruit women in their roles at the head of the Sisterhood of the wCOTC, quit the organization. Turner cited her mother's failing health, while LaRue wrote cryptically that many of her reasons were "of a personal nature." With other female former Creators, LaRue set up Hypatia Publishing on the model of the Sisterhood. Hypatia has a Web site and now publishes *Sisterhood* magazine.

Just a few months later, in March 2002, Hale expelled long-time Montana Creators Dan Hassett and Slim Deardorff, who had helped him win his Pontifex Maximus title back in 1996. Hale told followers that he'd sent the men \$8,740 in



Matt Hale was denied bond after his arrest for soliciting the murder of a federal judge.

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

wCOTC funds for safekeeping after the group was sued by the families of Ben Smith's victims. (The civil suit was ultimately unsuccessful.) Hassett and Deardorff bought gold with the money, burying it near Deardorff's Montana cabin. Hale said the men later claimed the cabin burned down and the money had been lost.

Enraged, Hale accused the men of embezzlement and "treason." He charged that Hassett had threatened to inform on wCOTC members to the FBI. Deardorff, Hale added, was having "fatherly relations" with his two mixed-race children — born before he joined the COTC — and was thereby defiling the white race.

But Hassett and Deardorff had apparently been unhappy with Hale for some time when these events occurred. In late 2001, Deardorff had sent a private letter to William Pierce, then the leader of the neo-Nazi National Alliance, asking him if he might be interested in taking over WCOTC. Pierce declined. In May 2002, after Hale made his accusations, Hassett, Deardorff and three other Creators — men who said they made up the Guardians of the Faith Committee that had once elevated Hale to leader — fired back. They sent Hale a letter informing him that he was no longer WCOTC's leader. Hale ignored the rebels, but Hassett and Deardorff started a rival Northwest COTC that has since rejoiced in Hale's legal troubles.

Lefkow ruled in WCOTC's favor. But an appeals court reversed the decision, sending the case back to Lefkow for reconsideration. Last July 25, Lefkow ruled against Hale, issuing a toughly worded injunction on Nov. 19 that forbade WCOTC from using the term "Church of the Creator." The WCOTC was ordered to give up its Web Site domain names and remove or cover up the phrase "Church of the Creator" on all WCOTC publications and other products.

Rather than comply, Hale told his followers that Lefkow's orders meant that the group's "bibles" — *The White Man's Bible* and other books written by Klassen — would have to be burned. Vowing to defy her, he transferred WCOTC's publications and its "world headquarters" to Riverton, Wyo., in an apparent bid to

and her "three half-bred Negro" grandchildren. He apparently had forgotten that Lefkow originally ruled in his favor, and he neglected to mention that her injunction only required covering up the words "Church of the Creator" with sticky labels. It was simply untrue that any WCOTC books had to be burned.

'Exterminate the Rat'

On Jan. 8, Matt Hale arrived at the federal courthouse in downtown Chicago to face a contempt hearing for refusing to comply with Judge Lefkow's order. He gave a typically angry press conference, criticizing the judge in no uncertain terms, and then headed through the courthouse metal detectors for his hearing. Emerging, he was seized by agents of the Joint Terrorism Task Force and arrested. His much-vaunted "White Berets" security force was pushed out the building's glass doors as a shocked Hale was hustled into an elevator.

The details of what Hale is accused of came out that day and in a later bond hearing held before another judge. After Lefkow had entered her order — barring the neo-Nazis from using "Church of the Creator" or any "facsimile thereof, including specifically the World Church of the Creator, WCOTC, COTC or the words 'church' or 'creator' together in the same name or mark" — Hale was enraged. Early last December, he vowed never to change his group's name and even wrote to followers that a "state of war" existed between Lefkow and their organization.

Already, he was defying the judge, and Hale understood that he was risking being sent to jail for contempt of court. But there was much, much more. In the bond hearing, prosecutors read some transcripts of recordings made by their informant and presented other evidence. On Dec. 4, they said, Hale E-mailed their source under the heading "assignment" and asked him to find out Lefkow's home address.

The next day, the man told Hale he was working on it.

"When we get it, we going to exterminate the rat?" the source asked, according to a transcript that was read in the Jan. 23 hearing.

"Well, whatever you want to do basically," Hale reportedly replied.

"The Jew rat," the informant said.

"You know, my position has always been that I, you know, I'm going to fight within the law ... but that information has been provided," Hale allegedly added on the informant's tape recording. "If you wish to do anything yourself, you can."

On Dec. 17, 12 days later, prosecutors said that their source told Hale that plans were in place to assassinate Lefkow. Hale did not directly endorse the murder, but he did tell the source to remember they were discussing Little League baseball. Apparently, Hale feared the conversation could come back to haunt him.

In other tapes, Hale also allegedly discussed with the source — identified by prosecutors as "Tony," the head of the WCOTC "White Beret" security team — how angry he was with a certain church member. "If I was to tell you to go out and shoot this bastard," Hale allegedly confided to the source, "I know you would."

'World Church of the XXXXXXX'

When prosecutors announced who their informant was during the bond hearing — all without using his name — Hale looked shocked, visibly slumping in his chair. Within days, other bitter Creators had named Tony Evola of Chicago in various E-mail groups as the man who had betrayed their organization.

"TONY, YOU PIECE OF SHIT, RUN FOR SOME OTHER NIGGER COUNTRY," wrote Jon Fox, a key WCOTC "reverend" who took Hale's place at the head of a January anti-immigration rally in Lewiston, Maine. "It has been said that treason against one's country is worthy of death. And certainly we as Creators believe that treason against one's race is a crime of much greater magnitude. This withstanding [sic], Rev. Kroenke, Hasta Primus, orders all Creators worldwide not to harass or touch Tony Evola. ... We have enough on our plate."

After Hale was denied bond, many Creators spoke bravely of the fight they intended to put on to save their organization. But WCOTC has always been a group that largely revolved around the personality of Matt Hale. And it relied heavily on the "holy books" penned by Klassen — books that cannot be sold now without having WCOTC's name blotted out first. What's more, after federal agents seized a large amount of the group's material in raids in East Peoria, WCOTC virtually ran out of the racist paraphernalia that it sells in order to finance the organization.

Today, there already are signs of severe strains on the group that has lost its leader. Hale was denied bond, even though his retired police officer father offered to put up \$200,000 in property to free his son, and it seems unlikely that the group is capable of producing another charismatic leader. In general, there is a pall across the larger white supremacist movement, thanks to Hale's arrest in combination with a series of other arrests, deaths and departures in the last year. Many veterans of the movement are disheartened, and some fear mass arrests are coming soon.

For the WCOTC, it all adds up to a feeling of quiet desperation.

In a Jan. 25 E-mail headed "BEG-A-THON," Kroenke, the group's current nominal leader, pleaded for money from his comrades. If he couldn't raise \$600 in two weeks, he wrote, WCOTC's Web sites would be shut down. Newly apprised of the dangers of defying federal judges, Kroenke gave the WCOTC a nickname that betrayed much about its future prospects: "World Church of the XXXXXXXX."

It's not known how strong Hale's defense against the federal charges facing him will be. Prosecutors revealed very little of what were apparently hundreds of hours of taped conversations between Hale and their source. But one recording they did quote threw light on Hale's attitude toward those who kill for the cause.

"I wish he hadn't done it," Hale told the source in a recording made July 23, 2000, about a year after Ben Smith's bloody rampage. "But he made us a household name. That's why I will always remember him, respect him and appreciate him." ▲



"THAT INFORMATION HAS BEEN PROVIDED. IF YOU WISH TO DO ANYTHING YOURSELF, YOU CAN."

Here Comes the Judge

These losses were setbacks for Hale, but by far the most important threat to WCOTC came from a trademark complaint that was brought against Hale and the WCOTC by the TE-TA-MA Truth Foundation, a peace-loving, multicultural church in Oregon that supports "the Family unification of Mankind." In 1987, the U.S. Patent and Trademark Office granted the foundation's request to copyright the name "Church of the Creator." After five years during which no contest was filed against its trademark, the foundation's ownership of it became legally "incontestable," even though Creators had used the phrase since COTC's founding in 1973.

In May 2000, upset about confusion between Hale's violently racist outfit and its own peaceful aims, the foundation sued the WCOTC. Hale won the first round in January 2002, when Judge

keep the books safe from the court. "No tyrant's paws will ensnare our Holy Scriptures," Hale said, adding that Wyoming state leader Thomas Kroenke was being elevated, in effect, to second in command ("Hasta Primus," or Spearhead) of the WCOTC.

All the while, Hale raged against the judge. In early December, he sent out an E-mail about the case that quoted from *The White Man's Bible*. "We have every right to declare [Jews] open criminals for violating the Constitution," he wrote. "They then obviously are the criminals and we can then treat them like the criminal dogs that they are and take the law into our own hands. This is the obvious, logical thing to do. We must then meet force with force, and open warfare exists."

On Christmas Eve, Hale sued Judge Lefkow, lambasting her for caving in to "pressure from the Jews" and deriding her personally (and apparently falsely) for her "marriage to a Jew"



THE YEAR IN HATE

HATE TAKES A HIT AS DEATHS, DEFLECTIONS, ARRESTS AND INTERNAL SPLITS ROIL AMERICA'S EMBATTLED WHITE SUPREMACIST MOVEMENT

By Mark Potok

Just one year ago, America's radical right was thriving, its confidence and swagger obvious to all who looked. For the first time in its history, the country's largest neo-Nazi group was pulling in close to \$1 million a year and supporting a paid national staff of 17 people. Anti-immigration fever was heating up, and hate groups around the nation were holding their most successful rallies in years. A year ago January, hundreds of white supremacists from a coalition of groups battled their enemies in the streets of Pennsylvania.

By late summer, extremists had seized control of the Sons of Confederate Veterans, a 32,000-member Southern heritage group.

Hate was in the headlines, and it was doing rather well.

What a difference a year has made. As the first few months of 2003 begin to unfold, the radical right is in turmoil. Starting with the July 23 death of William Pierce, founder and leader of the neo-Nazi National Alliance, white supremacists and other extremists have suffered a series of unmitigated disasters. Splits and other internal battles have started to tear apart several groups. Defections, deportations and desperate finances are sapping the movement's lifeblood. Starting last December, a series of arrests has put key leaders behind bars, and hysteria is on the rise.

"Any one of us can be next," former Alliance attorney Victor Gerhard wrote after an FBI raid on a friend's house in Virginia. "There's no use urging everyone to stay 'legal' as that has nothing to do with what is happening. If you are a pro-White activist, you're on the list; and a P.O. box or a pseudonym will not help.

"We are all being rounded up."

Through it all, the number of hate groups operating in the United States remained essentially steady. The Southern Poverty Law Center's Intelligence Project counted 708 hate groups that were active in 2002, up almost 5% from 2001's count of 676 (map, p. 36; complete listing, p. 38). But the increase of 32 groups was almost entirely accounted for by improved counting techniques that uncovered more active black separatist groups — not by the appearance of new groups during the calendar year. At the same time, the number of U.S.-based hate sites on the Web rose to 443 from 405 the year before (listing, p. 42). The 9% hike was not extraordinary, roughly matching the expansion of Web sites overall.

"The number of hate groups stayed more or less steady last year," said Joe Roy, director of the Intelligence Project. "But those numbers mask an important

Heidi Beirich, Michelle Bramblett, Nia Hightower and Laurie Wood contributed to this report.

reality — extremists in America are going through some very rough times."

The Ailing Alliance

As 2002 began, hate groups were holding rallies almost weekly, and the National Alliance was hosting particularly noticeable demonstrations in front of the Israeli Embassy in Washington, D.C. On Jan. 12, some 250 neo-Nazis and other white supremacists battled a like number of anarchists and other enemies in the streets of York, Pa. The Alliance was expanding its publication list, and white power music from its Resistance Records distributorship was selling briskly. The second most important neo-Nazi group, the World Church of the Creator, was garnering headlines around the country with a series of events. Neo-Confederate groups were fighting, sometimes successfully, to get their version of Southern history accepted by schools, museums and city councils. Hate groups of all stripes were sounding increasingly anti-Semitic, as anti-Israeli feeling grew in society at large in the wake of the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks and in the run-up to a probable war with Iraq.

Neo-Confederate groups, in particular, seemed to be thriving. The most important coup was the summer takeover of the Sons of Confederate Veterans by a slate of extremists headed by Ron Wilson, who won election as commander in chief. In early 2003, Wilson began consolidating the takeover by purging some 350 members who opposed racism and the extremists within the scv. Most of those kicked out were connected with a rump group called Save the scv, which was formed last fall to battle the extremist faction (see story, p. 2).

But last July, Alliance founder William Pierce died unexpectedly from cancer. Although the 1,500-member group has so far managed to avoid dissolution, it now appears that his demise was the harbinger of a series of movement disasters.

In the wake of Pierce's death, the *Intelligence Report* published details of his last speech, in which the Alliance leader attacked other groups' members as "freaks and weaklings." As a result, many racist Skinheads and other extremists quit buying Resistance CDs and other

products, which are the Alliance's main source of income. In addition, Alliance principal Billy Roper, a popular organizer who had reached out to Skinheads, was ejected from the group. Together, these events may be responsible for the financial problems the Alliance seems to be suffering from today.

Hits to the Resistance Records Web site have declined markedly. And the Alliance's three flagship publications — *Resistance*, *National Vanguard* and *Free Speech* — are all several months late. "*National Vanguard Magazine* and *Resistance Magazine* are published irregularly not for lack of writers," wrote Tim Scott, who is with the National Alliance's video production unit, "but for lack of money."

"Look at the NA and all the great potential they once had," lamented John Lee, a neo-Nazi member of another hate group. "What are they doing today? ... The NA seems to be pulling inward... [T]oo much of our 'movement' is a mess."

Crackdown

The Alliance's troubles were only the beginning. During the same period that the group's new leader, Erich Gliebe, was struggling to avoid a schism, a wide array of other hate groups were experiencing devastating setbacks. Consider:

- On Nov. 7 British neofascist Mark Cotterill, who had worked to unite factions of the American radical right, was deported to England. Immigration and Naturalization Service officials investigated Cotterill in the wake of an *Intelligence Report* exposé that reported Cotterill had used his American Friends of the British National Party to raise some \$85,000 for a British hate group — in contravention of a U.S. law that requires agents of foreign parties to register. Though Cotterill married an American woman last spring, he will not be eligible for reentry for 10 years.

- Former Klansman David Duke, the only figure on the American scene with stature approaching that of Pierce, returned after two years in Europe to plead guilty this December to federal charges related to his ripping off his supporters (see story, p. 52). His standing in the movement has been badly damaged

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by revelations that the money he raised for the cause was actually blown at casino craps tables.

- The break-up of Aryan Nations, one of America’s best known neo-Nazi groups until it was sued into bankruptcy by the Southern Poverty Law Center in 2000, continued. In December, the aging and sickly Aryan founder, Richard Butler, named Ray Redfeairn as his heir — for the second time. After the first appointment, Redfeairn had booted Butler out of the group. But then he thought better of it, and the two made up. Meanwhile, a small Aryan faction based in Pennsylvania and led by August Kreis continued to claim that *it* was the real Aryan Nations. Though Butler’s faction absorbed a small Southern Klan group in early 2003, neither his Idaho-based faction nor Kreis’ group appears capable of resuscitating the Aryan Nations of old, which held important annual congresses and was a key movement player.

Butler’s faction, now based in his Hayden tract home, is clearly in trouble. This February, Bradley Jenkins, who heads the new Aryan Nations Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (see related story, p. 3), pleaded for \$1,700 for Butler’s mortgage. “Pastor Butler stood for all of us when he was on trial,” Jenkins wrote. “Now we can help give a little back. Pastor needs \$1,700 before Feb. 20th or he is going to loose [sic] his home.”

- The World Church of the Creator (wcorc) has been hurt seriously by two splits, the loss of its name in a copyright lawsuit, and other legal actions against it (see story, p. 24). But that didn’t compare to the damage caused by the arrest this January of wcorc leader Matt Hale, who was charged with soliciting the murder of the federal judge in his copyright case. Hale could face 30 years in prison.

In raids after Hale’s arrest, authorities seized much of the racist line of goods that has sustained wcorc financially. As a result, Hale stand-in Thomas Kroenke pleaded for money in a recent E-mail headed “BEG-A-THON,” telling his comrades that wcorc’s many Web sites would be shut down if he didn’t raise \$600 right away.

- FBI agents this January testified about a bizarre espionage case involving the theft of top-secret U.S. military documents (see story, p. 63). An old acquaintance of well-known white supremacist attorney Kirk Lyons, the agents testified, sent a box of documents to Lyons’ North Carolina organization (see story, p. 61); \$2,000 was allegedly sent back. Lyons was not indicted, and strongly protested the way he was named, describing himself in a press release as “a loyal American.”

- Immigration officials this February arrested Ernst Zundel, a notorious Holocaust denier and German citizen who lived for years in Canada, for immigration violations. Zundel had moved to Tennessee in 2001, after Canadian courts refused to grant him citizenship, and married his U.S. collaborator, Ingrid Rimland. In late February, officials deported Zundel back to Canada, which may decide to send him on to his native Germany. At the same time, the Germans issued an arrest warrant for Zundel for producing Holocaust denial material that is illegally distributed in Germany.

THE BLOTTER

The last year has seen a remarkable series of arrests and other legal actions against the radical right. In addition to the major leaders whose troubles are documented elsewhere (see story, p. 30), a large number of white supremacists and other antigovernment activists have been arrested for crimes ranging from weapons violations to bombing plots to murder. Here, in chronological order, is a list of many such incidents in 2002 and the first two months of 2003:

LANCASTER, KY.

Charlie Puckett, commander of the paramilitary Kentucky State Militia, turned himself in to authorities on April 4 after three weeks on the lam. Puckett had been arrested in February on federal weapons charges, then slipped out of an electronic house-arrest monitor and fled. In May, Puckett pleaded guilty to two weapons charges and one count of intimidating a witness, landing a 30-month prison sentence.

JOHNSTON COUNTY, N.C.

After getting a tip about a plot to blow up the local sheriff’s office, the county jail and the sheriff himself, federal and local law enforcements officers arrested **Charles Barefoot Jr.**, fiery leader of the Nation’s Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, on July 19. After the arrest, a search of Barefoot’s home uncovered an Uzi and an AK-47, two homemade bombs and bomb-making materials. In January, Barefoot pleaded guilty to weapons charges. While he awaited sentencing, his wife and three other local Klan members were charged with the murder of an unidentified man. The victim was allegedly killed because he knew about threats against law enforcement officers supposedly made by Anthony Brewer, grand dragon (or state leader) of a Klan faction based in nearby Robeson County.

BOSTON, MASS.

Two members of a neo-Nazi terror cell, **Leo Felton** and **Erica Chase**, were convicted on July 26 in a conspiracy to bomb Jewish and African-American landmarks and

leaders. Felton, a White Order of Thule member who planned the cell with members of the Aryan Brotherhood prison gang, was sentenced to more than 20 years on multiple federal counts. Chase, who had ties to the neo-Nazi World Church of the Creator and the Outlaw Hammerskins gang, received a lesser sentence.

SEMINOLE, FLA.

When police answered a domestic dispute call on Aug. 22, they ended up searching the townhome of podiatrist **Robert Goldstein**, uncovering plans and ammunition for a series of attacks on Islamic targets in Florida. Goldstein, who was reportedly seeking to retaliate for the Sept. 11 attacks and the Palestinian intifada, faces up to 30 years in prison. His wife, Kristi, charged in October with being his accomplice, agreed to cooperate with prosecutors in a plea bargain.

LEWISTON, IDAHO

On Oct. 3, FBI agents seized pipe bombs, homemade land mines, 13 firearms and 13,000 rounds of ammunition from antigovernment activist **Larry Raugust**, who was arrested on seven federal counts and held without bond. A member of the Idaho Mountain Boys militia group, Raugust is also an undicted co-conspirator in a plot to kill U.S. District Court Judge Edward Lodge. Lodge handled the murder trial of white supremacist Randy Weaver, who reportedly inspired Raugust’s antigovernment passions. (Weaver was acquitted of the murder charges.) Raugust has asked to represent himself at his trial, scheduled to begin June 9.



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PHOENIX, ARIZ.

When an Oct. 16 brawl spilled out of the River City Pockets pool hall, police say three white supremacists viciously attacked 20-year-old Cole Bailey Jr., who was standing nearby waiting for a taxi after applying for a job at the club. The three allegedly chased, tackled and stomped Bailey to death while yelling “white power.” Two of the suspects, National Alliance members **Sammy Compton** and **Christopher “Cracker” Whitley**, eluded police for several weeks before they were arrested and charged with murder. The victim’s father, Cole Bailey Sr., personally apprehended Whitley after more than two months of hunting him down.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Jewish Defense League (JDL) National Director **Irv Rubin**, charged with plotting to bomb a mosque and a congressman’s office, was declared brain dead on Nov. 4 after slashing his throat and then plunging from a balcony in an apparent suicide in federal prison. Rubin’s second-in-command at JDL, Earl Krugel, subsequently pleaded guilty to charges stemming from the plot and faces 10 to 20 years behind bars. The JDL hate group leaders were arrested in December 2001, after Krugel instructed an FBI informant to bomb the King Fahd Mosque in Culver City, Calif.

REDDING, CALIF.

Benjamin Matthew Williams, a devotee of the anti-Semitic Christian Identity religion who teamed with his little brother to fire-bomb three California synagogues and an abortion clinic, killed himself in Shasta County Jail on Nov. 17. His trial for murdering a gay couple — a

crime he said was “God’s will” in a confession to newspaper reporters — had been scheduled to start this January. Williams had recently been convicted of attempting to kill a corrections officer with a hatchet in a botched escape attempt.

SANTA ANA AND LONG BEACH, CALIF.

Three of Southern California’s most active neo-Nazis were arrested on Nov. 18. **Christine Greenwood** and boyfriend John Patrick McCabe, members of Blood and Honor, were charged with possessing bomb-making materials. Greenwood founded Women for Aryan Unity, a group closely affiliated with the neo-Nazi World Church of the Creator, and launched an “Aryan Baby Drive” to distribute food and clothing to poor white families. John Frederick Steele II, head of the “Brandenburg Division” of the Aryan Nations, was arrested on weapons charges. During a search of his apartment, investigators said they found a letter advocating that the Aryan Nations partner with Islamic extremists.

CHEROKEE COUNTY, N.C.

Federal authorities searched more than a year before nabbing **Steve Anderson**, a white-supremacist shortwave radio operator and former stalwart of the Kentucky State Militia, on Nov. 22. Anderson had fled into the woods in October 2001 after allegedly firing 25 shots with an automatic at a sheriff’s deputy who had stopped him for a traffic violation. After his arrest in the mountains of North Carolina, a federal grand jury indicted Anderson on 18 counts of weapons charges.

OLYMPIA, WASH.

James D. Brailey, a former member of the antigovernment Jural Society

who had recently attended a meeting of the anti-Semitic Christian Identity movement, was arrested this Jan. 18 on firearms charges. Authorities have also accused him of plotting to kill Washington Gov. Gary Locke (see story, p. 4)

LEESBURG, VA.

On Jan. 23, armed FBI and Secret Service agents raided the home of **Byron Calvert**, a former National Alliance staff member who owns the neo-Nazi Web site www.tightrope.com. Calvert, who was not arrested, sent an E-mail message to supporters saying the agents seized “10 shitloads” of stuff under the pretext of a copyright infringement for Nike/Nazi shirts he had made.

MACON, GA.

Dwight York, founder and leader of the black supremacist hate group Nuwaubian Nation of Moors, pleaded guilty on Jan. 23 to 77 state charges of molesting 13 children of his cult members. York was sentenced to between 15 and 50 years in federal prison (see story, p. 2).

PHOENIX, ARIZ.

White supremacist **Tracy Hampton** was sentenced to death on Jan. 24 for murdering his two housemates in 2000. Prosecutors said Hampton killed one of the housemates, Tanya Ramsdell, because he believed her unborn baby had been fathered by a black man. Hampton, who had a “White Power” tattoo to go along with an extensive criminal record, smiled and stretched as the death sentence was read.

SPOKANE, WASH.

Former Army intelligence officer **Rafael Davila** and his ex-wife Deborah Davila were arrested on Feb. 4 after a grand jury indicted them for unlawfully possessing top-secret military documents. Deborah Davila, who has ties to the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations, was also charged with attempting to disseminate the documents for profit (see story, p. 63).

CEARFOSS, MD.

Craig Allen Jackson, an ex-Marine who worked on President Reagan’s Camp David security detail and later became a local leader of the neo-Nazi National Alliance, died in a

single-car crash on his way to court on Feb. 11. Jackson was expected to plead guilty to one count accepting bribes in the Maryland Correctional Institution, where he worked as an officer.

LAS VEGAS, NEV.

On Feb. 11, agents of the Internal Revenue Service raided the office of **Irwin Schiff**, longtime producer of books and videos that encourage people not to pay income tax. Schiff, who calls the IRS the “Instant Robbery Service,” said agents spent more than six hours carting away materials. At press time, Schiff faced no charges.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Joshua Caleb Sutter, former minister for Islamic liaison with the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations, was arrested on Feb. 12 when he tried to buy an unmarked pistol from undercover agents. Sutter, who attracted the FBI’s attention by trying to form alliances with anti-American Islamist groups after 9-11, posted a “message of solidarity and support” to Saddam Hussein on the Aryan Nations Web site last March, expressing his hope that “the evil regime of the United States ... shall be utterly wiped off the face of the earth.”

SANTA FE, N.M.

Former Minutemen Militia member **Raymond Kodiak Sandoval** was arrested on Feb. 14 in connection with two anti-environmental crimes: putting a pipe bomb in an environmental group’s mailbox and setting a forest fire in June 1998 that scorched more than 5,100 acres of the Jemez Mountains and nearby Pueblo land. It took more than 800 firefighters and \$3.5 million to contain the blaze. Sandoval, who reportedly started his own militia after leaving the Minutemen, could serve up to 70 years if convicted.

WASHINGTON, PA.

David Wayne Hull, imperial wizard (or national leader) of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, was arrested on Feb. 13 and charged with making a pipe bomb and trading it to an FBI informant for a cell phone. Hull, who was held for trial without bond, had first alarmed authorities when he tried to buy 10 hand grenades from the informant, saying he needed them to attack abortion clinics.

— **Bob Moser**



• Also this February, the proprietor of Stormfront, America's best-known white supremacist Web site, told backers that his site was being "relentlessly" attacked by antiracist hackers. Don Black said that the only solution was to buy more bandwidth and computer power, but that his site was already in the red. "My friends," he wrote, "we are in a crisis situation. If donations don't pick up, right now, Stormfront will soon be history. It's that bad. There is only a matter of a few weeks, if that."

Black Muslims and Al Qaeda

This litany of events, along with the arrests of an array of lesser lights and alleged criminal plotters (see story, p. 32), has the radical right in a frenzy.

"It isn't being reported in the media, but there is a roundup taking place of those deemed most likely to lead insurrections against the American government in a time of civil disturbances," wrote Edgar Steele, an anti-Semitic Idaho attorney who once represented the Aryan Nations. "Suddenly, all the stops have been pulled out... I speak for the politically incorrect among us who are being led away."

Taken together, the leading organizations that have suffered severe setbacks make up a sizeable portion of the movement. The National Alliance, David Duke's European-American Unity and Rights Organization, Matt Hale's World Church of the Creator and the two factions of Aryan Nations are composed of

a total of 183 chapters — or almost 26% of the total number of U.S. hate groups operating in 2002.

Also ailing is the American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, which dropped in 2002 from 18 chapters to 14 and whose listing of "events" on its Web site remains blank. The so-called "bully-boy Klan" has been extremely weak since its leader, Jeff Berry, was sentenced to seven years in late 2001 for his role in holding two reporters at gunpoint. Prosecutors brought charges against him after the Southern Poverty Law Center sued on behalf of the journalists and won them a \$120,000 judgment.

Racist black groups haven't suffered the same slings and arrows. But they have courted more controversy than many others on the radical right. Last summer, Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan took an antiwar "peace tour" that included stops in Iraq and Libya. In October, after it came out that alleged Washington, D.C., sniper John Allen Muhammad had been a member, Farrakhan said he would not eject him unless he is proven guilty. Another group, the New Black Panther Party, joined with other marchers calling for "Death to Israel" on the Capitol Mall in April. Panther leader Malik Zulu Shabazz, meanwhile, offered his "support" to accused Sept. 11 terrorist Zacarias Moussaoui during his trial. And another Panther leader, Quanell X of Houston, stood by former bodyguard Leon Battle after Battle and four others were charged

with trying to join Al Qaeda and fight in Afghanistan.

There were some signs, however, that the Panthers had stalled. Late last year, principals of the original Black Panther Party — which, unlike the New Panthers, has no real history of racism — filed a copyright infringement suit against the new group. New Panther activity, including efforts to start chapters in three Alabama cities, fell off after the suit was filed. In October, the Panther Web page was taken down.

'There's Nobody Left'

The pall over most of the radical right also extends to "Patriot" groups, such as militias, which have been characterized less by race hatred than antigovernment ideology and anger over gun control and the Waco disaster. As the 10th anniversary of the Feb. 28, 1993, Waco raid approached, the number of Patriot groups fell from 158 in 2001 to 143 in 2002 (complete listing, p. 48) — the seventh consecutive annual decline reported by the Intelligence Project since 1996, when the militia movement peaked with 858 groups. At the same time, Patriot Web sites rose from 143 in 2001 to 175 last year (listing, p. 50).

Many Patriot groups simply disappeared, including the Connecticut 51st Militia, the Minnesota Militia and the Texas Unified Field Forces, often mocked by others in the movement as a "wannabe" militia. The Ohio Unorganized Militia Assistance and Advisory Committee, which had eight chapters in 2001, fell to a single chapter in 2002 — and announced that, "due to declining participation," it would be completely dissolved this Jan. 31. Last November, United America Patriot Alliance leader Dennis Slatton called for a national meeting of militia groups; some of the responses he received said much about the state of the movement.

"There's nobody in Arizona left," said one. "Except me. Now what?"

"I tried to form a group in San Diego," lamented another. "Could not even get people to give me a call when they could not show up, let alone show up."

A symbolic moment came early this year when former Nye County, Nev., Commissioner Dick Carver died of brain

cancer. Carver became an important early hero to the militia movement when, on July 4, 1994, he used a large, flag-draped bulldozer to lead armed marchers down a closed federal road in defiance of U.S. Forest Service rangers — landing him on the cover of *Time* magazine.

Members of the Patriot movement for years insisted that they were not racist or anti-Semitic and, indeed, those were not the predominant features of most such groups during the height of the militia



movement in the 1990s. But to some extent, many of these groups simply hid their hatreds; in addition, other Patriot groups, cross-pollinated by race-based groups, have become increasingly anti-Semitic. This was evidenced last year, when several major Patriot publications began publishing anti-Semitic screeds. Among other developments, Paul Hall, owner of the anti-Semitic *Jubilee* newspaper, bought the popular Patriot publication *Media Bypass*. Not long after, the magazine published an article by neo-Nazi leader Erich Gliebe.

Another indication of the same trend came with the secret initiation of the brother of Oklahoma City bomber Terry Nichols into the anti-Semitic theology of Christian Identity. The *Intelligence Report* revealed that James Nichols had taken the "soldier's ransom" oath to a religion that promises to eliminate Jews and others at an Oct. 5 ceremony in the back of a furniture store in rural Michigan. Attending with Nichols were some of the country's

most rabid neo-Nazi leaders. "The Jew's God is Satan," one of them said. "Let them be blotted out of the book of the living."

The apparent crackdown on hate groups this year has heightened paranoia in the already paranoid world of the radical right. After Ernst Zundel's arrest, a "snitch list" was circulated on the Internet that accused a long list of white supremacist figures — virtually every leader of note — of being agents or informers. The arrests also produced fury. In January, federal prosecutor Michael Chertoff, who heads the Justice Department's Criminal Division, was singled out on the Internet as the main architect of the raids. One posting in a "racialist forum" on the Net gave a detailed history of Chertoff, including photos of and information about Chertoff's wife and young daughter. The posting informed readers where the girl attends school.

Unfortunately, this kind of reaction is not unexpected. Although the rash of arrests and other problems are clearly hurting the extreme right, experts worry that they may also provoke a violent backlash. In the past, major setbacks to hate groups have spurred some members to lash out, occasionally with extreme violence.

'The Last Roundup'

A few sectors of the radical right seemed to thrive. In particular, the world of academic racists — those who promote racial theories of intelligence and a return to the once discredited "science" of eugenics, or "race betterment" — is doing well. The Pioneer Fund, which funds such studies, has received new infusions of cash in the last two years. Funding is also up for the New Century Foundation, which publishes the eugenicist *American Renaissance* magazine, whose circulation has now reached 6,000. The magazine's editor, Jared Taylor, has recently appeared on "The Donahue Show," in *FrontPage Magazine* and even on Black Entertainment Television.

Academic racists also added a new and important organization to their ranks. The Charles Martel Society, with its journal *Occidental Quarterly*, has an editorial board stacked with leaders of anti-immigrant organizations and hate groups like Taylor's

New Century Foundation and the Council of Conservative Citizens. The society, which plans research on how government programs negatively affect white families, is partly funded by William Regnery II, heir to a publishing fortune.

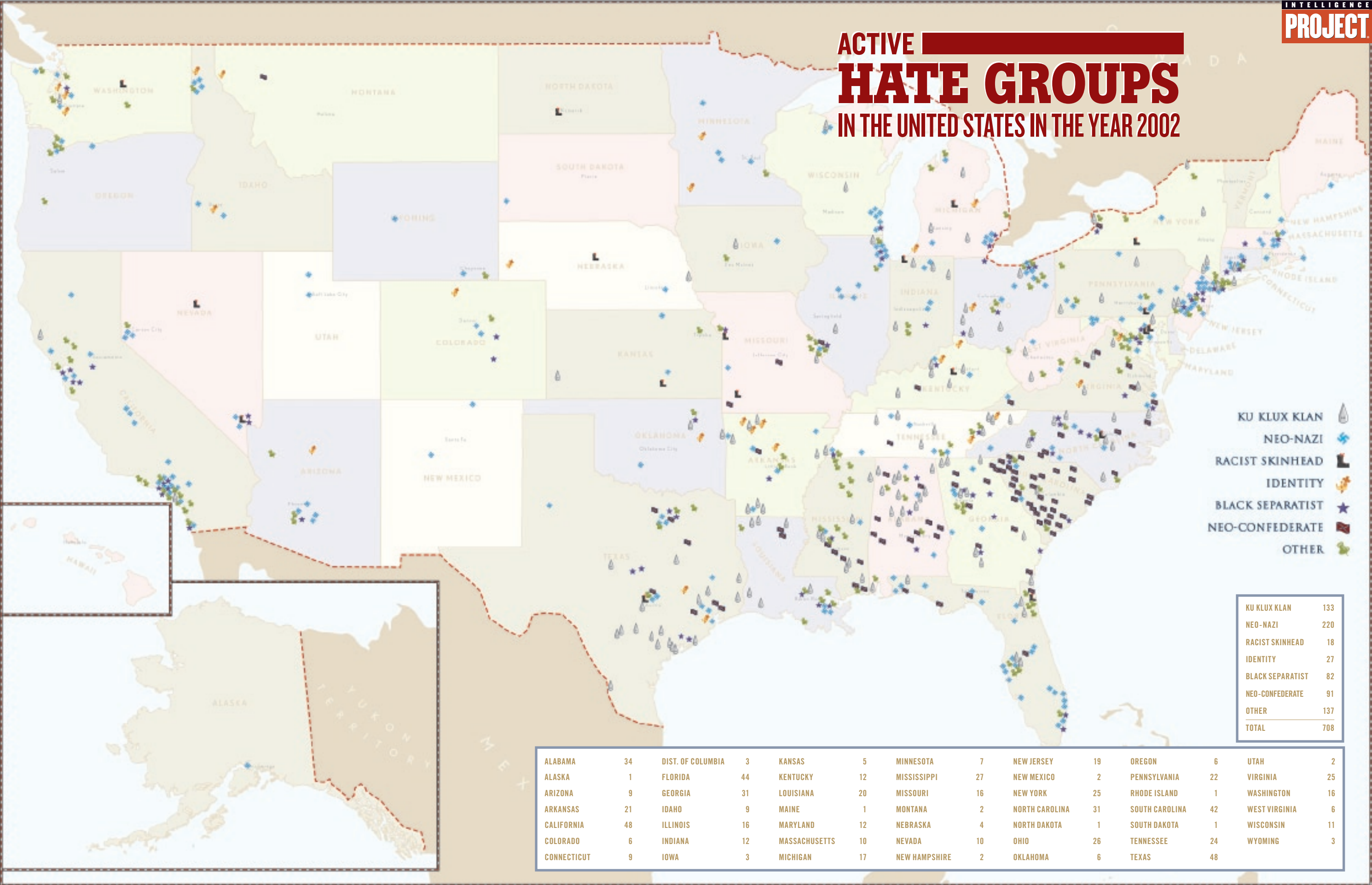
In addition, anti-immigrant groups have benefited tremendously from worries about foreign terrorism that have some Americans wanting to shut down national borders. Several major vigilante groups are currently operating in Southeast Arizona, where they have participated in roundups of illegal migrants (see story, p. 6). The activities of these groups, as well as the recent murders of a number of Mexicans as they tried to cross the U.S. border, have many officials deeply worried.

Neo-Confederate groups, too, have been doing well, despite a small drop in their numbers. The takeover of the scv was surely the plume in this sector's hat. But neo-Confederates also were particularly pleased with the election of Sonny Perdue as Georgia governor over incumbent Roy Barnes, who analysts said lost last year's election because of his opposition to the Confederate battle flag. The League of the South hate group, which lost members in 2001 after president Michael Hill described the Sept. 11 attacks as a fruit of multiculturalism, is now leading an effort to create a new group out of the remnants of the Southern Party (see story, p. 5). The party collapsed into factions last year as the result of political infighting.

Another group that may become an important player is White Revolution, the organization formed by Billy Roper after he was ejected from the National Alliance. This Jan. 25, Roper managed to bring 66 white supremacists to a rally in front of the Southern Poverty Law Center (see related story, p. 3). Although many of those demonstrators traveled long distances, Roper had hoped to get far more.

All in all, the last year has not been a good one for the radical right. Edgar Steele, in a February essay entitled "The Last Roundup," captured the desperate and angry mood of the movement well. "The time has come for every single American to speak out in protest," Steele wrote. "Trust me, this is our last chance." ▲

ACTIVE
HATE GROUPS
IN THE UNITED STATES IN THE YEAR 2002



ACTIVE

HATE GROUPS

IN THE UNITED STATES IN THE YEAR 2002

This list of 708 active hate groups (map, pp. 36-37), up almost 5% from 676 a year before, is based on information gathered by the Intelligence Project from hate groups’ publications, citizens’ reports, law enforcement agencies, field sources and news reports. Only organizations known to be active in 2002, whether that activity included marches, rallies, speeches, meetings, leafleting, publishing literature or criminal acts, were counted in the listing. Entities that appear to exist only in cyberspace are not included because they are likely to be individual Web publishers who like to falsely portray themselves as powerful, organized groups. This listing contains all known chapters of hate organizations. If the group has a known headquarters, it appears first in the listing of the group’s chapters and is marked by an asterisk.

Groups are categorized as Ku Klux Klan, Neo-Nazi, Racist Skinhead, Christian Identity, Black Separatist, Neo-Confederate and Other. Because Skinheads are migratory and often not affiliated with groups, this listing understates their numbers. Christian Identity describes a religion that is fundamentally racist and anti-Semitic. Black Separatist groups are organizations whose ideologies include tenets of racially based hatred. Neo-Confederate groups seek to revive many of the racist principles of the antebellum South. The Other category includes groups, vendors and publishing houses endorsing a hodgepodge of hate doctrines.

KU KLUX KLAN	133
NEO-NAZI	220
RACIST SKINHEAD	18
CHRISTIAN IDENTITY	27
BLACK SEPARATIST	82
NEO-CONFEDERATE	91
OTHER	137
TOTAL	708

KU KLUX KLAN - 133

Alabama White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Clanton, AL*
Anniston, AL
Birmingham, AL
Sylacauga, AL
Wilton, AL

American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Butler, IN*
Cedarville, AR
Goshen, IN
Welsh, LA
Amherst, NY
Collinsville, OK
Watts, OK
Cokeburg, PA
Hillsboro, TN
Mauriceville, TX
Port Lavaca, TX
Riesel, TX
San Antonio, TX
Victoria, TX

American White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Munford, AL*
Shelby, AL
Cordele, GA
Lucedale, MS
Somerset, TX

America’s Invisible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Hartselle, AL*
Danville, AL
Longville, LA
Erwin, TN

Bayou Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Homer, LA*
Fulton, MS

Bonnie Blue Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Hiawassee, GA

Brotherhood of Klans
Prospect Heights, IL*

Omaha, NE
Westfield, WI

Confederate Crusaders
Homer, LA

Confederate Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Lexington, KY*
Henderson, NC
Forest, VA
Sandston, VA

Divine Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Elizabethtown, NC

Free Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Hiram, GA
Madison, NC
New York

Georgia White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Rossville, GA

Imperial Klans of America
Powderly, KY*
Bankston, AL
Colt, AR
El Dorado, AR
Magnolia, AR
Newport Beach, CA
Crestview, FL
St. Marys, GA
Ty Ty, GA
Litchfield, IL
Center Point, IN
Iowa
Lakin, KS
Louisville, KY
Downsville, LA
Churchville, MD
Gregory, MI
Roscommon, MI
Mapaville, MO
Hildebran, NC
Sunbury, NC
Walkertown, NC
Fresh Meadows, NY
Massena, NY
Newburgh, NY

Shirley, NY
Warwick, NY
Amelia, OH
Elyria, OH
Richmondale, OH
Boothwyn, PA
Baxter, TN
Cunningham, TN
Texas
Harrisonburg, VA
Tacoma, WA
Hometown, WV

International Keystone Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Johnstown, PA*
Parkin, AR

Invisible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Conroe, TX

Invisible Empire White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Oaks, PA

Knight Riders of the Ku Klux Klan
Daniels, WV

Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Harrison, AR

Knights of the Ku Klux Klan/Knights of the Apocalypse
Kathleen, FL

Knights of the White Kamellia
Jasper, TX*
North Carolina
Germantown, OH

Knights of Yahweh
Morristown, TN*
Dandridge, TN

Ku Klux Klan
Compton, AR

Mississippi White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Petal, MS

Mystic Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Dayton, OH*
Caledonia, MI
Delaplane, VA

National Knights of the KKK
South Bend, IN*
Calpella, CA
Lakeland, FL
Pennsylvania
Mercer, WI

Nation’s Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Benson, NC

North Georgia White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Fort Oglethorpe, GA

Royal Confederate Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Jackson, MS

South Arkansas Knights
Smackover, AR

Southern Cross Militant Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Idler, AL*
Red Bay, AL

Southern Mississippi Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Petal, MS

Southern White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Denham Springs, LA*
Saint Elmo, AL
East Haven, CT
Register, GA
Lexington, SC

SS Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Liberty, KY
Louisville, KY

Templar Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Fort McCoy, FL

Texas Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Dewitt County, TX
Fayette County, TX
Goliad County, TX
Gonzales County, TX
Jackson County, TX
Lavaca County, TX
Matagorda County, TX
Webb County, TX

United White Klans
Philadelphia, MS

U.S. Klans
Jonesboro, GA

U.S. Klans Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Big Sandy, TN

White Camelia Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Cleveland, TX

White Knight Coalition of the Ku Klux Klan
Starke, FL
Morristown, TN

White Knights of the Sovereign State of Mississippi
Jackson, MS

NEO-NAZI - 220
American Nazi Party
Eastpointe, MI

Aryan Nations
Hayden Lake, ID*
Magnolia, AR
Sunland, CA
West Wego, LA
Cumberland, MD
Lavale, MD
Hampton Beach, NH
Reno, NV
Rapid City, SD
Hurst, TX
Mercer, WI

Aryan Nations (offshoot)
Ulysses, PA*
Brookland, AR
Long Beach, CA
Oviedo, FL
Prospect, KY
Bryans Road, MD
North Bergen, NJ
Wantagh, NY
Leola, PA
Woodlawn, TN
Huffman, TX
Suffolk, VA

Aryan Renaissance Society
Livingston, NJ
Fort Worth, TX

Aryan Werwulfe Brotherhood
Palm Beach, FL

Christian Defense League
Arabi, LA

German American Nationalist PAC
Pensacola, FL

Inter-National Socialist Party
Cheyenne, WY

Liberty Bell Publications
Reedy, WV

National Alliance
Hillsboro, WV*

Anchorage, AK
Little Rock, AR
Uniontown, AR
Phoenix, AZ
Oakland, CA
Riverside, CA
Sacramento, CA
Van Nuys, CA
Denver, CO
Hartford, CT
Gainesville, FL
Orlando, FL
Plant City, FL
Atlanta, GA
Dahlonaga, GA
Boise, ID
Hayden, ID
Chicago, IL
Downers Grove, IL
Boston, MA
Cape Cod, MA
Baltimore, MD
Hagerstown, MD
Detroit, MI
Kalamazoo, MI
Petoskey, MI
Plymouth, MI
St. Louis, MO
Benson, NC
Charlotte, NC
Raleigh, NC
Hewitt, NJ
Henderson, NV
Las Vegas, NV
Cleveland, OH
Harrisburg, PA
Philadelphia, PA
Reading, PA
York, PA
Chattanooga, TN
Memphis, TN
Nashville, TN
Austin, TX
Dallas/Fort Worth, TX
Houston, TX
Salt Lake City, UT
Herndon, VA
Seattle/Tacoma, WA
Kenosha, WI

National Socialist German Workers Party
Lincoln, NE

National Socialist Movement
Minneapolis, MN*
Munford, AL
Calpella, CA
Los Angeles, CA
Redding, CA
Reseda, CA
San Diego, CA
San Francisco, CA
Lakeland, FL
Lake Park, FL
Bonaire, GA

VALERIE DOWNES

Cedar Falls, IA
Post Falls, ID
Goshen, IN
Indianapolis, IN
Wakarusa, IN
Hutchinson, KS
Scandia, KS
Redford, MI
Grove City, MN
Hutchinson, MN
Park Rapids, MN
Archie, MO
Collinsville, MS
Greensboro, NC
Livingston, NJ
Oaklyn, NJ
El Prado, NM
Fallon, NV
Syracuse, NY
Warwick, NY
Columbus, OH
Lakewood, OH
Mansfield, OH
Bethlehem, PA
Enoree, SC
Sequatchie, TN
Lubbock, TX
Port Angeles, WA
Port Hadlock, WA
Yelm, WA
Cudahy, WI
Mercer, WI

National Socialist Vanguard
The Dalles, OR

New Order
Milawukee, WI

Sons of Liberty
Arabi, LA

SS Enterprise
Fresno, CA

SS Regalia
Edgewater, MD

White Aryan Resistance
Fallbrook, CA

White Revolution
Russellville, AR

World Church of the Creator
East Peoria, IL*
Clio, AL
Decatur, AL
Florence, AZ (2)
Phoenix, AZ
Big Bear, CA
Corcoran, CA
Lancaster, CA
Orange Cove, CA
Tehachapi, CA
Aurora, CO

Clinton, CT
Middlebury, CT
Wallingford, CT
Bradenton, FL
Century, FL
Clearwater, FL
Davie, FL
Defuniak Springs, FL
Fort Lauderdale, FL
Indiantown, FL
Lake Worth, FL
Milton, FL
Monticello, FL
Okeechobee, FL
Perry, FL
Punta Gorda, FL
Raiford, FL
St. Petersburg, FL
Atlanta, GA
Columbus, GA
Coeur d’Alene, ID
Notus, ID
Bloomington, IL
Chicago, IL
Creve Coeur, IL
Deerfield, IL
Joliet, IL
Park Ridge, IL
Pontiac, IL
Indianapolis, IN
Lancaster, KY
Boston, MA
Peabody, MA
South Walpole, MA
Sterling, MA
Sutton, MA
Cumberland, MD
Matinicus Island, ME
Raymond, MS
Cullowhee, NC
Marshville, NC
New Hampshire
Bordentown, NJ
Hamilton, NJ
Island Heights, NJ
Montville, NJ
Mt. Holly, NJ
Newark, NJ
Trenton, NJ
Rio Rancho, NM
Reno, NV
Brooklyn, NY
New York, NY
Akron, OH
Cleveland, OH
Lisbon, OH
Chickasha, OK
Portland, OR
Greensburg, PA
Philadelphia, PA
Pittsburgh, PA
York, PA
Rhode Island
Edgefield, SC
Ramer, TN
Austin, TX

Groveton, TX
LaMarque, TX
Ogden, UT
Newport News, VA
Pound, VA
Vancouver, WA
Cudahy, WI
Milwaukee, WI
Racine, WI
Riverton, WY

RACIST SKINHEAD · 18
Celtic Knights
Austin, TX

Confederate Hammerskins
Jacksonville, FL
Kentucky
North Carolina

Eastern Hammerskins
Baltimore, MD

Empire State Skinheads
Corning, NY

Keystone State Skinheads
Harrisburg, PA

Las Vegas Skinheads
Las Vegas, NV

Midland Hammerskins
Springfield, MO*
Sterling, MA
Kansas City, MO
Nebraska

National Skinhead Front
Ellicott City, MD
Bismarck, ND

Northern Hammerskins
Michigan
Washington

Outlaw Hammerskins
Michigan City, IN

Western Hammerskins
Nevada

CHRISTIAN IDENTITY · 27
America’s Promise Ministries
Sandpoint, ID

Artisan Publishers
Muskogee, OK

Aryan Covenant Church/ACC Services
Anderson, TX

By Yahweh’s Design
Stevensville, MI

Christian Research
Eureka Springs, AR

Christian Separatist Church Society
Kodak, TN

Church of Christ in Israel
Essexville, MI

Church of Jesus Christ
Bergman, AR

Church of the Sons of Yhvh
Dayton, OH

Church of True Israel
Noxon, MT

Covenant Church of Yahweh
Pipestone, MN

Crusade for Christ
North Little Rock, AR

Fellowship of God’s Covenant People
Burlington, KY

Gospel Broadcasting Association
Houston, TX

Gospel Ministries
Boise, ID

House of Yahweh
New Tazewell, TN

Kingdom Identity Ministries
Harrison, AR

Kinsman Redeemer Ministries
Tacoma, WA

Lord’s Work
Louisville, KY

Mission to Israel
Scottsbluff, NE

New Covenant Bible Church
Port Orchard, WA

Remnant Outreach Ministries
Cottonwood, AZ

Scriptures for America Ministries
LaPorte, CO

Upper Room Identity Fellowship
McKenna, WA



Virginia Christian Israelites
Round Hill, VA

Virginia Publishing Company
Lynchburg, VA

Weisman Publications
Burnsville, MN

BLACK SEPARATIST · 82
Nation of Islam
Chicago, IL*
Birmingham, AL
Huntsville, AL
Montgomery, AL
Little Rock, AR
Phoenix, AZ
Compton, CA
Long Beach, CA
Los Angeles, CA
Montclair, CA
Oakland, CA
Rialto, CA
Richmond, CA
Sacramento, CA
San Diego, CA
San Francisco, CA
West Oakland, CA
Colorado Springs, CO
Denver, CO
Bridgeport, CT (2)
Hartford, CT
Washington, DC
Fort Lauderdale, FL
Miami, FL
Albany, GA
Athens, GA
Atlanta, GA
Indianapolis, IN
Louisville, KY
Baton Rouge, LA
New Orleans, LA
Boston, MA

Springfield, MA
Baltimore, MD
Detroit, MI
Kansas City, MO
St. Louis, MO
Jackson, MS
Charlotte, NC
Durham, NC
Greensboro, NC
Hickory, NC
Raleigh, NC
Reidsville, NC
Newark, NJ
New Brunswick, NJ
Las Vegas, NV
Buffalo, NY
New York, NY
Cincinnati, OH
Cleveland, OH
Columbus, OH
Toledo, OH
Tulsa, OK
Philadelphia, PA
Charleston, SC
Greenville, SC
Knoxville, TN
Memphis, TN
Austin, TX
Dallas, TX
Houston, TX
Richmond, VA
Seattle, WA
Milwaukee, WI

New Black Panther Party
Washington, DC*
Atlanta, GA
Savannah, GA
Chicago, IL
New Orleans, LA
Detroit, MI
Newark, NJ
Trenton, NJ
Las Vegas, NV

New York, NY
Cleveland, OH
Austin, TX
Dallas, TX
Houston, TX
Norfolk, VA

United Nuwaubian Nation of Moors
Putnam County, GA

NEO-CONFEDERATE · 91
League of the South
Monroe, LA*
Alexander City, AL
Atalla, AL
Auburn, AL
Cusseta, AL
Montgomery, AL
Selma, AL
Spruce Pine, AL
Tuscaloosa, AL
Wetumpka, AL
York, AL
Mayflower, AR
Apopka, FL
Panama City, FL
Pensacola, FL
Tallahassee, FL
Yulee, FL
Adairsville, GA
Athens, GA
Atlanta, GA
Augusta, GA



Brunswick, GA
Macon, GA
Silver Creek, GA
Statesboro, GA
Lebanon, KY
Monroe, LA
Columbia, MO
Joplin, MO
St. Louis, MO
Brandon, MS
Jackson, MS
Laurel, MS
Mendenhall, MS
Wiggins, MS (2)
Bigfork, MT
Charlotte, NC
Greenville, NC
Hertford, NC
Kinston, NC
Salisbury, NC
Wilmington, NC
Buffalo, NY
Abbeville, SC
Aiken, SC
Aiken County, SC
Anderson, SC
Bamberg, SC
Barnwell, SC
Beaufort County, SC
Charleston County, SC
Colleton County, SC
Columbia, SC
Easley, SC
Edgefield County, SC
Florence, SC
Greenville County, SC
Greenwood County, SC
Horry County, SC
Kershaw, SC
Laurens, SC
Lexington County, SC
Marlboro County, SC
Newberry, SC
Newberry County, SC

Oconee County, SC
Orangeburg, SC
Richland, SC
Salley, SC
Saluda, SC
Spartanburg, SC
Summerville, SC
Sumter, SC
Surfside Beach, SC
York, SC
Westminister, SC
Franklin, TN
Arlington, TX
Austin, TX
Conroe, TX
Humble, TX
Pasadena, TX
Tarrant County, TX
Tyler, TX
Dayton, VA
Dublin, VA
Fredricksburg, VA
Hanover, VA
Harrisonburg, VA
Norfolk, VA

OTHER · 137
14 Word Press
Napa, CA

88 Enterprises
Canton, OH

American Immigration Control Foundation
Monterey, VA

American Third Position
Clifton, NJ

Americans for Self Determination
Falls Church, VA

Blood and Honour
Richardson, TX*
Sherwood, AR
Costa Mesa, CA
Laguna Niguel, CA
Kennesaw, GA
Powder Springs, GA
Coeur d’Alene, ID
Traverse City, MI
Liberty, MO
Salem, OH
Wheatland, PA
San Antonio, TX

California Coalition for Immigration Reform
Huntington Beach, CA

Charles Darwin Research Institute
Port Huron, MI

Charles Martel Society/ Occidental Quarterly
Mount Airy, MD

Conservative Citizens Foundation Inc.
Bridgeton, MO

Council of Conservative Citizens
St. Louis, MO*
Birmingham, AL
Jasper, AL
Mobile, AL
Montgomery, AL
Little Rock, AR
Jacksonville, FL
Tampa Bay, FL
Atlanta, GA
Paragon, IN
Baton Rouge, LA
New Orleans, LA
St. Louis, MO
Byrum, MS
Calhoun, MS
Holly Springs, MS
Jackson, MS
Pineywoods, MS
Vaiden, MS
Webster, MS
Clemmons, NC
Morganton, NC
Raleigh, NC
New York, NY
Upstate New York
Cleveland, OH
Grove City, OH
Mount Sterling, OH
Saluda, SC
Chattanooga, TN
Cleveland, TN
Knoxville, TN
Memphis, TN
Falls Church, VA

Diehard Records
Chesapeake, OH

European American Culture Council
Sacramento, CA

European-American Unity and Rights Organization
Mandeville, LA*
Hanceville, AL
Phoenix, AZ
Novato, CA
Jacksonville, FL
Ames, IA
Joliet, IL
Shreveport, LA
Thibodeaux, LA
St. Louis, MO
Ripley, MS
Southaven, MS
Cleveland, OH
Tulsa, OK
Pittsburgh, PA
Columbia, SC
Southern South Carolina

Woodruff, SC
Dallas/Fort Worth, TX
Irving, TX
Richmond, VA
Cheyenne, WY

Foundation for Economic Liberty Inc./ Barnes Review
Washington, DC

Hypatia Publishing
Lynnwood, WA*
Connecticut
New Jersey

Institute for Historical Review
Newport Beach, CA

Jewish Defense League
Los Angeles, CA*
Kingman, AZ
Phoenix, AZ
Brookdale, CA
Sacramento, CA
Fort Lauderdale, FL
Tampa, FL
Skokie, IL
Revere, MA
D’Iberville, MS
Reno, NV
Brooklyn, NY
Rochester, NY
Kent, OH
Philadelphia, PA
Fredricksburg, VA

Micetrap Distribution
Maple Shade, NJ

MSR Productions
Wheat Ridge, CO

NAAWP Florida Chapter Inc.
Jacksonville, FL

National Association for the Advancement of White People
Callahan, FL*
Tampa, FL
Marrero, LA
Daniels, WV

Nationalist Free Press
Dandridge, TN

Nationalist Movement
Learned, MS

New Century Foundation/American Renaissance
Oakton, VA

NF Publications
Olympia, WA

Odium Books
Montecito, CA

Overseas Friends of the British National Party
Ashburn, VA

Panzerfaust Records
Newport, MN

Pioneer Fund
New York, NY

Racial Nationalist Party of America
Lockport, NY

Resistance Records
Hillsboro, WV

Sigrdrifa
Port Angeles, WA
Vancouver, WA

Social Contract Press
Petoskey, MI

Thule Publications
Portland, OR

Union Christian Church
Martinsville, IN

Upfront Records
Portland, OR

Vinland Records
San Diego, CA

Vinland Winds Records
New York, NY

Voice of Citizens Together/American Patrol
Sherman Oaks, CA

Volksfront
Portland, OR*
Ventura, CA
Eugene, OR
Mohnton, PA
Washington

Voz de Aztlan
Whittier, CA

Westboro Baptist Church
Topeka, KS

White Power Records
Wilmington, NC

Women for Aryan Unity
Costa Mesa, CA
O’Fallon, MO
Brooklyn, NY ▲

ACTIVE

HATE

WEB SITES

IN THE UNITED STATES IN THE YEAR 2002

This list of 443 U.S.-based hate sites on the World Wide Web, up from 405 a year earlier, includes pages from Klan, Neo-Nazi, Racist Skinhead, Christian Identity, Black Separatist, Neo-Confederate and Other hate groups. Web sites tend to move from server to server or shut down without notice, so they may be hard to locate. Sites marked with an asterisk are organizations that actively promote hate beyond the mere publishing of Internet material (see also hate group listing, p. 38). Locations where sites are based are listed when known. Sites linked to a group’s headquarters are marked with a †.



Ku Klux Klan	120
Neo-Nazi	64
Racist Skinhead	16
Christian Identity	32
Black Separatist	13
Neo-Confederate	28
Other	170
TOTAL	443

KU KLUX KLAN - 120
Alabama White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*
www.kukluxklan.net
Clanton, AL

America’s Invisible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*
www.aie-usa.com/
Danville, AL

www.aiekkkk.hostmb.com/
home.hiwaay.net/~krotos/mainpage.html
Hartselle, AL †

www.aie.hostmb.com/index.html
Erwin, TN

American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*
www.americanknights.org/
www.americanknights.com/
Butler, IN

www.americanknights.com/ny/
Amherst, NY

www.texasamericanknights.org
Mauriceville, TX

klavern.org/main.html
San Antonio, TX

American White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*
www.awkkkk.com/
Munford, AL

www.awkkkk.org/
Cordele, GA

Bayou Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*
www.bayouknights.org
Homer, LA

www.bayouknights.org/mississippi.htm
Fulton, MS

Brotherhood of Klans Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*
www.geocities.com/itsonlyme53934/
Prospect Heights, IL

Divine Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*
www.divineknightshq.freeservers.com/
Elizabethtown, NC

Free Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*
www.geocities.com/bigj418/
index.html?986331629890
Hiram, GA

www.geocities.com/freenightsnc/
Madison, NC

www.geocities.com/free_knights_of_ny/free_knights_of_ny.html?1009398641870
New York

Imperial Klans of America*
www.kkkk.net/alabama/index.htm
Bankston, AL

www.k-k-k.com
Magnolia, AR

www.kkkcalifornia.org
Newport Beach, CA

www.kkkk.net/florida/
Crestview, FL

www.kkkk.net/georgia/
St. Marys, GA

www.k-k-k.com/illinois.htm
Litchfield, IL

www.kkkk.net/Indiana/
Center Point, IN

www.geocities.com/klasp2002/
Iowa

www.kkkk.net/kansas/
Lakin, KS

www.kkkk.net/kentucky1/index.htm
Louisville, KY

www.kkkk.net/
Powderly, KY †

www.k-k-k.com/louisiana/index.htm
Downsville, LA

www.k-k-k.com/maryland/index.htm
Churchville, MD

www.kkkk.net/michigan/
Roscommon, MI

www.kkkk.net/missouri/index.htm
Mapaville, MO

www.kkkk.net/northcarolina/ikanc.htm
Hildebran, NC

www.geocities.com/IKATARHEELS/
IKANC.html
Walkertown, NC

www.k-k-k.com/newyork/index.htm
Warwick, NY

www.kkkk.net/ohio/index.html
Amelia, OH

www.kkkk.net/pennsylvania/
Boothwyn, PA

www.kkkk.net/tennessee/index.htm
Cunningham, TN

www.kkkk.net/texas/
Texas

www.k-k-k.com/virginia/
Harrisonburg, VA

www.kkkk.net/washington/index.htm
Tacoma, WA

www.kkkk.net/westva/
Hometown, WV

International Keystone Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*
www.angelfire.com/sc2/Keystones/
Johnstown, PA

Invisible Empire White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*
iewk.kukluxklan.cc/
Oaks, PA

Klans from Across America
expage.com/page/klansmen2

Knights of Lady Inamorata
www.geocities.com/
knightsoladyinamorata/

Knights of Sir Whistler
www.sirwhistler.net/

Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*
www.geocities.com/Heartland/Grove/
6818/Poor-White-Cracker.html
Kathleen, FL

Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*
www.kukluxklan.org/
www.kkk.com/
Harrison, AR

Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Women’s Page
www.kukluxklan.org/women.htm

Knights of the White Kamellia*
www.expage.com/kwknc
North Carolina †

www.expage.com/kwkohio
Germantown, OH

www.angelfire.com/tx5/kwkkkk/
Jasper, TX

Konfederation of Klans
www.konfederationklans.org

Ku Klux Klan
www.kukluxklan.bz/

Ku Klux Klan Realm of Alabama
kukluxklanalabama.com/

Mississippi White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*
mwkkkk.europeanwhiteknights.com/
Petal, MS

Mystic Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*
www.mysticknights.org/Michigan.htm
Caledonia, MI

www.mysticknights.org/
Dayton, OH †

www.mysticknights.org/VIRGINIA.htm
Delaplane, VA

National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*
members.odinsrage.com/nkkkkca/
Calpella, CA

www.geocities.com/whiteboy335/
South Bend, IN †

members.odinsrage.com/kigy/
Mercer, WI

North Georgia White Knights*
www.surfsouth.com/~ngwk/
members.surfsouth.com/~ngwk/
Fort Oglethorpe, GA

Order of the French Broad
www.angelfire.com/nc3/ofb/

Order of the Ku Klux Klan
www.kkkklan.com/

South Arkansas Knights*
www.bayouknights.org/
southarkknights.htm
Smackover, AR

South Mississippi Knights
www.angelfire.com/ms3/smkkkk/

Southern Cross Militant Knights*
militant2.homestead.com/SCMK.html
Ider, AL

Southern Mississippi Knights*
www.kukluxklan.net/south_mississippi_knights.htm
Petal, MS

Southern White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*
www.alabamakkk.com/
www.alabamaswk.cjb.net/
Saint Elmo, AL

www.knightskkk.org/conn/
ctswkkkk.homestead.com/index.html
East Haven, CT

www.knightskkk.org/ga/
Register, GA

www.knightskkk.org/
www.louisiana.cjb.net/
www.knightskkk.org/ks/
www.knightskkk.org/tx/
www.knightskkk.org/cajunrealm/
www.knightskkk.org/mo/
www.knightskkk.org/ill/
www.knightskkk.org/miss/
www.knightskkk.org/fl/
www.knightskkk.org/tenn/
www.knightskkk.org/va/
www.knightskkk.org/mass/
www.swkmass.cjb.net/
Denham Springs, LA †

www.knightskkk.org/sc/
Lexington, SC

Southern White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Women’s Auxiliaries
lotie.cjb.net/

Southern White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan/LOTIE
www.knightskkk.org/lotie/

SS Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*
www.sskkk.com/
Louisville, KY

Texas Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*
texasknights.com/
www.texaskkk.com/
www.klavern.org/
www.texasknights.com/orange/
www.klavern.org/calhoun/
www.klavern.org/victoria/

www.texasknights.com/dewitt/
Dewitt County, TX

www.texaskkk.com/fayette/
Fayette County, TX

www.texasamericanknights.org/goliad/
Goliad County, TX

www.klavern.org/gonzales/
Gonzales County, TX

www.klavern.org/jackson/
Jackson County, TX

www.klavern.org/lavaca/
Lavaca County, TX

www.klavern.org/matagorda/
Matagorda County, TX

www.klavern.org/webb/
Webb County, TX

The Redneck Shop
unique.com/theredneckshop/

United Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
www.unitedknights.org/

United White Klans*
expage.com/uskmisissippirealm
Philadelphia, MS

US Klans*
klavaliere.freeyellow.com/
Jonesboro, GA

White Camelia Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*
www.wckkkk.com/
Cleveland, TX

White Knight Coalition of the Ku Klux Klan
www.whiteknightcoalition.com/

White Knights of the Sovereign State of Mississippi*
www.angelfire.com/theforce/
wkkkssms/
Jackson, MS

Wizard’s Corner
militant2.homestead.com/
wizardscorner.html

Women of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
www.kukluxklan.org/lady4.htm

Women of the United Knights of the KKK
www.unitedknights.org/Women_s_Index.html

NEO-NAZI - 64
American Nazi Party*
www.americannaziparty.org/
www.americannaziparty.com
Eastpointe, MI

Aryan Nations*
www.twelvearyannations.com
Hayden Lake, ID

members.odinsrage.com/wisconsin/
Mercer, WI

Aryan Nations (offshoot)*
www.aryan-nations.org
Ulysses, PA

Aryan Renaissance Society*
members.odinsrage.com/ars/
Fort Worth, TX

Aryan Werwulfe Brotherhood*
www.geocities.com/aryanwerwulfe
brotherhood/
Palm Beach County, FL

Christian Defense League*
www.newchristiancrusadechurch.com/
Arabi, LA

Deseret National Socialist Syndicate
libreopinion.com/members/dnss/

Gas A Jew for Jesus
www.gasajewforjesus.com/

German S.S. Knights of Minnesota
www.neonazi.4ever.cc/

International Socialist Party
www.insptx.org

InterNational Socialist Party*
www.insp88.org
Cheyenne, WY

Liberty Bell Publications*
www.lbp2.com/index.htm
Reedy, WV

National Alliance*
www.natallco.com
Denver, CO

www.ctnatall.com/
Hartford, CT

209.126.160.2/nageorgia/index_2.html
members.odinsrage.com/lumpkinunit/
www.nageorgia.com
Dahlonaga, GA

www.natallchicago.com
Downers Grove, IL

www.natallboston.com/
Boston, MA

www.jeffsarchive.com
Cape Cod, MA

www.natallnj.com/
Hewitt, NJ

www.natallnv.com/
Henderson, NV

www.natall-pa.com/
Philadelphia, PA

www.natalltn.com/
209.126.160.2/natalltn/index.html
Tennessee

www.winatall.com/
Kenosha, WI

www.natall.com
www.natvan.com/
Hillsboro, WV †

National Alliance of European American Merchants
www.natalltacoma.org

National Socialist German Workers Party*
www.nazi-lauck-nsdapao.com/
Lincoln, NE

National Socialist Movement*
members.odinsrage.com/nsm88/
index.html
Calpella, CA

members.odinsrage.com/iamnaziskin/
Cedar Falls, IA

www.nsm88.com/
Minneapolis, MN †

expage.com/mississippiunit
Collinsville, MS

members.odinsrage.com/nsmnc88/
Greensboro, NC

New Jersey White Alliance
www.geocities.com/njwa8814/

New Order*
www.theneworder.org/
Milwaukee, WI

Save Lewiston
www.savelewiston.com/

S.S. Enterprises*
www.ssenderprises.com
Fresno, CA

SS Regalia*
ssregalia.com/
Edgewater, MD

Vote Hale
www.votehale.com/

Wake Up Now
www.wakeupnow.net

White Aryan Resistance*
www.resist.com/
Fallbrook, CA

White Nationalist Women
members.odinsrage.com/wfslc/

White Planet: The White Man's Radio
www.rahowa.org/whiteplanet/
www.wcotc.com/whiteplanet/
index.html
www.whiteplanet.org

White Power Flags
www.whitepowerflags.com/

White Power Shirts
www.whitepowershirts.com/

White Pride in FDL
www.geocities.com/boot_boy_88us/whitepridefdl.html

White Revolution*
www.whiterevolution.com/
Russellville, AR

White Search
www.whitesearch.net/

White Survival
www.whitesurvival.com/

World Church of the Creator*
www.wcotc.com/

www.creator.org/
www.rahowa.com
www.rahowa.org/
www.churchofthecreator .com/
East Peoria, IL

members.odinsrage.com/ncwcotc/
North Carolina

www.pittsburghcreator .com/
Pittsburgh, PA

www.creator.org/wyoming/
Riverton, WY

World Church of the Creator Kids
www.wcotc.com/kids/

SKINHEADS - 16 Celtic Knights*
www.todesengel.net/
CK/index1.htm
Austin, TX

Connecticut White Power Skinheads
www.angelfire.com/ct3/
arise14/

Hammer of Thor
www.hammerofthor.net/

Hammerskin Nation
www.hammerskins.net/
hsn.html

Las Vegas Skinheads
24.234.62.221/

www.midlandhammerskins.net/
www.MIDLANDHAMMERSKINS.com/
Springfield, MO

Midwest Skins
www.geocities.com/mwskins/
Home.html

National Skinhead Front*
www.whitevictory.com/
Ellicott City, MD

Psycho Bitch 1488
members.odinsrage.com/psychobitch/

Skinheadz
www.skinheadz.info/

Storm Skins
www.anycities.com/user/stormskins/



United Skins
www.unitedskins.com/

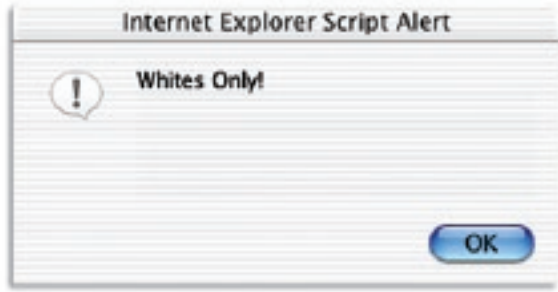
West Virginia Skinheads
www.WVSkinheads.com/

White Alliance.com Steel Toe Pride
www.whitealliance.com/steeltoepride/

White Skinheads of America
www.geocities.com/punc21/W.html

Gospel Ministries*
www.melvig.org/gmo.html
Boise, ID

House of Yahweh*
www.geocities.com/christian_soldiers2001/houseof.htm
www.sbtc.net/~teacher/
houseof.htm
New Tazewell, TN



CHRISTIAN IDENTITY - 32 America's Promise Ministries*
www.amprom.org/
Sandpoint, ID

Artisan Publishers*
www.artisanpublishers.com/
Muskogee, OK

By Yahweh's Design*
wdxp.com/2seed/
Stevensville, MI

Children of Yahweh
www.childrenofyahweh.com/index.htm

Christian Research*
www.christianresearch.info/
sharpwebpage.com/CR/
Eureka Springs, AR

Christian Separatist Church Society*
www.christianseparatist.org/
Kodak, TN

Church of Jesus Christ/Thomas Robb Ministries*
www.christianidentity.tv/
Bergman, AR

Church of the Sons of Yhvh*
www.churchofthesonsofyhvh.org/
Dayton, OH

Church of True Israel*
www.churchoftrueisrael.com/
Noxon, MT

God's Order Affirmed in Love (G.O.A.L.)
www.melvig.org/

Gospel Broadcasting Association*
www.broadcaster.org/
Houston, TX

James Wickstrom
www.JamesWickstrom.com/

Jewish Ritual Murder
www.melvig.org/jrm/jrm_toc.html

Jubilee Newspaper
www.jubilee-newspaper.com

Kingdom Identity Ministries*
www.kingidentity.com/
Harrison, AR

Kinsman Redeemer Ministries*
www.kinsmanredeemer.com/
Tacoma, WA

KKK Gallery
www.kkkgallery.com/

Lord's Work*
www.thelordswork.ws/
Louisville, KY

Mission To Israel *
www.missiontoisrael.org/
Scottsbluff, NE

Reformed Church of Israel
www.reformedchurchofisrael.com/

Remnant Outreach Ministries*
www.scatteredremnant.org/
Cottonwood, AZ

Right of Israel Online
home.arkansasusa.com/dlackey/

Scriptures for America*
www.scripturesforamerica.com/
www.scripturesforamerica.org/
LaPorte, CO

Thatcher Thunders/ACC Services*
www.thatcherthunders.org/
Anderson, TX

Virginia Publishing Company*
www.richardhoskins.com
Lynchburg, VA

Weisman Publications*
www.seek-info.com/
Burnsville, MN

Yahweh's Truth
wdxp.com/YT/

BLACK SEPARATIST - 13 Tribes of Israel
www.12tribes.com/

Blacks and Jews Newspage
www.blacksandjews.com/

Final Call
www.finalcall.com/

Nation of Islam*
www.noi.org/losangeles/
Los Angeles, CA

www.noi.org/dc/Default.htm
Washington, DC

www.noi.org/miami/
Miami, FL

www.noi.org/atlanta/
Atlanta, GA

www.noi.org/
Chicago, IL †

www.noi.org/boston/
Boston, MA

www.noi.org/durham/
Durham, NC

www.noi.org/newyork/Default.htm
New York, NY

www.noi.org/houston/Default.htm
Houston, TX

New Black Panther Party*
newblackpanther.net/
Washington, DC

NEO-CONFEDERATE - 28 FreeMississippi.org
www.freemississippi.org

League of the South*
www.alalos.org/
Alabama

www.auburnlos.20m.com/
Auburn, AL

members.tripod.com/~rebmaster/
York, AL

www.netdor.com/josh/flots.htm
Florida

www.freeflorida.org
Panama City, FL

www.freewestflorida.org/
Pensacola, FL

bartowlos.tripod.com/
Adairsville, GA

pages.greetsomeone.com/savedixie/
savedixie.homestead.com
Brunswick, GA

www.georgiacsa.org/
Silver Creek, GA

www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/Senate/
4440/lsgsu.htmlchris
Statesboro, GA

www.georgiacsa.com/atlanta/
www.dixienet.org
Monroe, LA †

www.geocities.com/swmolos/index.html
Missouri

www.4noel.com/freemissouri/contacts/
bonnieblue/index.html
Columbia, MO

www.geocities.com/swmolos/
Joplin, MO

www.expage.com/page/slmols
St. Louis, MO

ms.dixienet.org/menu/join/join.htm
Mississippi

ms.dixienet.org/
Brandon, MS

www.roanoke.infi.net/~jtuggle/
index.htm
www.TarheelLS.com/
Charlotte, NC

members.tripod.com/~nycopperhead/
New York

www.sclos.org
Abbeville, SC

dixie.palmettosystems.com/
Laurens County, SC

www.texasls.org/main.htm
Humble, TX

virginiaLS.org/
Virginia

johnnyreb22553.tripod.com/
Fredricksburg, VA

OTHER - 170 14 Word Press*
www.14words.net
Napa, CA

88 Enterprises*
home.earthlink.net/~ns4us/
Canton, OH

88 Music
www.88music.net/

311 Mountain Church of Florida
expage.com/mountainchurchoffl

American Civil Rights Review
webusers.anet-stl.com/~civil/

American Immigration Control Foundation*
www.americanimmigrationcontrol.com
Monterey, VA

American National Conference
home.swbell.net/crg120/ANC.htm

American Patrol/Voice of Citizens Together*
www.americanpatrol.com/
Sherman Oaks, CA

American Resistance Corps
www.geocities.com/ARCOrg/

American Third Position*
www.politicalsoldier.net/atp/index.shtml
Clifton, NJ

Americans for Self-Determination*
www.separatism.org/index.htm
Falls Church, VA

Angry White Men
www.geocities.com/angrywhitemen/

Armageddon Warriors of America
www.angelfire.com/home/aryankindred/AWA.html

Army of God
www.armyofgod.com/

Aryan Kindred
www.angelfire.com/home/aryankindred/HOMEPAGE.html

Aryan Unity
aryanunity.com/

Aryan Women
women.stormfront.org/

A Woman's Voice
www.elishastrom.com/

Blood and Honour*
www.bloodandhonour-usa.com/
Richardson, TX

Campaign for Radical Truth in History
www.hoffman-info.com/

Charles Darwin Research Institute*
www.charlesdarwinresearch.org/
Port Huron, MI

**Charles Martel Society/
Occidental Quarterly***
theoccidentalquarterly.com/
Mount Airy, MD

Christian Legal Reformation Club
www.clrc.net/

Council of Conservative Citizens*
arcofcc.freesevers.com/index.html
southernnation.websitenow.com/
arcofcc/index.html
www.cofcc.info/littlerock/
Little Rock, AR

www.atlantacofcc.org
Atlanta, GA

members.tripod.com/northputsoldiers_1/
indianacofcc.org/
Paragon, IN

slccc.tripod.com/index2.htm
New Orleans, LA

www.slacc.com/stlcofcc/
www.cofcc.org/
St. Louis, MO †

nycofcc.blogspot.com/
New York

home.earthlink.net/%7ejukjs2/
index.html
New York, NY

www.ncccofcc.org/
nc.cofcc.us/
North Carolina

www.cofcc.info/columbus/
cofcc.info/index.htm
Grove City, OH

David Duke Online
www.davidduke.org/
www.davidduke.com/
www.duke.org/

David Duke's Official Online Store
www.davidduke.net/store/commerce.cgi

Diehard Records*
www.diehardrecords.net/
www.whitepowermusic.com
Chesapeake, OH

Digital Hate
todesengel.net/
kickass.at/pride

Euro-American Students Union
www.natesu.org/

EuroKnowledge
www.EuroKnowledge.net/

European-American Unity and Rights Organization*
www.whitecivilrights.com/
Mandeville, LA

Final War
finalwar.rac-usa.org/

First Amendment Exercise Machine
www.faem.com/

Folk and Faith
www.folkandfaith.com/

**Foundation for Economic Liberty/
Barnes Review***
www.barnesreview.org/
Washington, DC

Free American Magazine Online
www.FreeAmerican.com/

Fresh Nigger Joke Section
www.fortunecity.com/roswell/vanthal/360/nig.htm

FUCK ALL DIRTY NIGGERS
www.angelfire.com/ky/biggot/index.html

Guys Against Zionism: Exposing Zionists and Zionism
www.geocities.com/GAZUnited/index.html

GRAND NIGGER JOKE PAIGE OR ANY OTHERS FOR THAT MATTER
www.fortunecity.com/bennyhills/marge/106/index.html

Hal Turner Show
www.halturnershow.com

Heritage Press
www.heritagepress.org/

Holy Western Empire
www.holywesternempire.org/

Hypatia Publishing*
hypatia.whitepride.com/
Lynnwood, WA

Institute For Historical Review*
www.ihr.org/
Newport Beach, CA

Intimidation One
www.intimidationone.com/

Iron Guard
www.geocities.com/ironguard88/

Jerry's Aryan Battle Page
jabpage.com/
www.jna.tzo.com/

Jew Watch
www.jewwatch.com/

Jewish Defense League*
www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/Lobby/5586/
Brookdale, CA

www.jdl.org
Los Angeles, CA †

jdl-florida.org/
Ft. Lauderdale, FL

www.angelfire.com/ma3/jdlboston/index.html
Revere, MA

jdl.org.il/
Reno, NV

www.jdl-ny.org/
Brooklyn, NY

Johnny Rebel
www.officialjohnnyrebel.com/home_page_1.htm

Kevin Strom
Kevin-Strom.com/

KPS Report
www.teutonicism.com/

Library of Yggdrasil
www.ddc.net/ygg/

Lone Wolf
victorian.fortunecity.com/statue/1007/

Long County Rebel
www.longcountyrebel.org

Lords of Hell
www.geocities.com/colinthethird/

Louis Beam
www.louisbeam.com/

Martin Luther King Jr. A Historical Examination
www.martinlutherking.org/
www.mlking.org

Micetrap Distribution*
www.anpforum.org/
www.whitepower.ws/
www.micetrap.net
combat18.com
www.whitepride.com/
www.whitepower.com
www.whitepride.com/rahowa/
Maple Shade, NJ

MSR Productions*
www.msrproductions.com/
Wheat Ridge, CO

MWW Regalia
www.micetrap.net/regalia

NAAWP Florida Chapter Inc.*
www.naawpfllch.org/
Jacksonville, FL

National Association for the Advancement of White People*
www.naawp.org/
www.naawp.com/
Callahan, FL

National Online Resistance
www.angelfire.com/realm/nor/

Nationalist Free Press
www.nationalistfreepress.com/
www.liesexposed.net/nfp/nfp.htm

Nationalist Movement*
www.nationalist.org/
Learned, MS

Neo Schutzstaffel for All Whites
members.odinsrage.com/neoss/Startup.html



New Century Foundation/American Renaissance*
www.amren.com/
Oakton, VA

New Nation News
www.newnation.org/index2.html

Northwest Agency
www.northwestagency.com/

Odium Books*
www.odiumbooks.com/
Montecito, CA

Our Legacy of Truth
www4.stormfront.org/posterity/

Overseas Friends of the British National Party*
www.heritageanddestiny.com/
Ashburn, VA

Overthrow.Com
www.outherthrow.com/

Paneuronet
www.paneuronet.org/

Panzerfaust Records*
www.panzerfaust.com/
Newport, MN

Patriots Front
expage.com/PatriotsFront

Pioneer Fund*
www.pioneerfund.org/
New York, NY

Race Crisis and Separatism in America
pw1.netcom.com/~owensva/separatist.html

Race Realist
www.racerealist.com/

Racial Compact
www.racialcompact.com/

Six Chimneys: Holocaust Comedy at Its Best
www.holocaustianity.com/

Social Contract Press*
www.thesocialcontract.com/
Petoskey, MI

Solar Cross
www.solarcross.com/

Southern Outlaw
www.homestead.com/southern_outlaw/index.html

Stormfront
www3.stormfront.org/jewish/talmud.html
www.stormfront.org/

Stormfront for Kids
kids.stormfront.org

The Common Sense Club
www.commonsenseclub.com/

The First Freedom
www.gulftel.com/homefree/

The Von Bluvens Show
www.vonbluens.com/
www.racistaction.com/

Thoughtcrime - Harold Covington
hacovington.blogspot.com/

Thule Publications*
www.thulepublications.com/
Portland, OR

Tightrope
www.tightrope.cc/

Truth at Last
www.stormfront.org/truth_at_last/

Union Christian Church*
ican11.tripod.com/id21.htm
Martinsville, IN

Uniqe.com
www.uniqe.com/

Upfront Records*
www.upfrontrecords.org/catalog/default.php
Portland, OR

U.S. Friends of Palestine
hometown.aol.com/jukjs2/myhomepage/index.html

Vanguard News Network
www.govnn.com
www.vanguardnewsnetwork.com/

Vinland Winds Records*
www.vinlandwinds.com/
New York, NY

Volksfront*
www.volksfront.com/
www.volksfront-usa.org/
Portland, OR

Voz de Aztlan*
www.aztlan.net/
Whittier, CA

Wake Up or Die
www.wakeupordie.com/

Westboro Baptist Church*
www.godhatesamerica.com/
www.godhatesfags.com/
Topeka, KS

White 88
members.odinsrage.com/white88/

White Alliance
www.whitealliance.org/

White Children
www.whitechildren.com/

Whitehomeland.org
www.whitehomeland.org/pages/1/index.htm

White Minority
www.whiteminority.org/

White Nationalist News Agency
nna.stormfront.org/

White Power Records*
www.whitepowerrecords.com/
Wilmington, NC

White Pride in Southeastern PA
www.faughaballagh.com/

White Pride World Wide Java IRC
www.wpww.net/

White Revolution Now
members.odinsrage.com/whitepride/

Whites Only
whitesonly.org

White Singles
www.whitesingles.com/
ws.stormfront.org/

Women for Aryan Unity*
www.creator.org/womenforunity/waumain.html
www.wauhq.s.cjb.net/
Costa Mesa, CA

www.wau14.cjb.net/
O'Fallon, MO ▲

ACTIVE

‘PATRIOT’ GROUPS

IN THE UNITED STATES IN THE YEAR 2002

The Intelligence Project identified 143 “Patriot” groups that were active in 2002. Of these groups, 54 were militias and the remainder include “common-law” courts, publishers, ministries and citizens’ groups. Generally, Patriot groups define themselves as opposed to the “New World Order” or advocate or adhere to extreme antigovernment doctrines. Listing here does not imply that the groups themselves advocate or engage in violence or other criminal activities, or are racist. The list was compiled from field reports, Patriot publications, the Internet, law enforcement sources and news reports. Groups are identified by the city, county or region where they are located. Within states, groups are listed alphabetically by place of origin.

ALABAMA Alabama Committee to Get US Out of the United Nations Birmingham	John Birch Society Brea	John Birch Society Oceanside	Citizens for Better Government Gainesville
	State Citizens Service Center Research Headquarters Canoga Park	Southern California High Desert Militia Oceanside	Constitution Party Jupiter
ALASKA Jefferson Party Anchorage	Truth Radio Delano	John Birch Society Orange	GEORGIA Militia of Georgia Lawrenceville
	John Birch Society Fountain Valley	Freedom Law School Phelan	Ranch Rescue Tunnel Hill
ARIZONA American Patriot Friends Network Glendale	Free Enterprise Society Fresno	John Birch Society Santa Ana	Constitution Party Woodstock
Ranch Rescue Tucson	Ranch Rescue Gardena	Truth In Taxation Studio City	IDAHO Constitution Party Boise
	Second Amendment Committee Hanford	COLORADO American Freedom Network Johnstown	Sons of Liberty Boise
ARKANSAS Militia of Washington County Fayetteville	John Birch Society Irvine	DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA <i>American Free Press</i> Washington	Police Against the New World Order Kamiah
Ranch Rescue Fayetteville	John Birch Society Laguna Hills		Constitution Party Post Falls
Constitution Party North Little Rock	John Birch Society Mission Viejo		Idaho Mountain Boys Woodland
CALIFORNIA California Militia Brea	John Birch Society Newport Beach	FLORIDA Florida Minutemen Bryceville	

ALABAMA	1
ALASKA	1
ARIZONA	2
ARKANSAS	3
CALIFORNIA	18
COLORADO	1
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	1
FLORIDA	3
GEORGIA	3
IDAHO	5
ILLINOIS	2
INDIANA	12
IOWA	1
KANSAS	1
KENTUCKY	8
MARYLAND	3
MICHIGAN	10
MINNESOTA	1
MISSOURI	3
MONTANA	3
NEVADA	1
NEW JERSEY	2
NEW MEXICO	1
NEW YORK	2
NORTH CAROLINA	1
NORTH DAKOTA	1
OHIO	5
OKLAHOMA	1
OREGON	6
PENNSYLVANIA	3
SOUTH CAROLINA	2
TENNESSEE	7
TEXAS	21
VIRGINIA	2
WASHINGTON	2
WISCONSIN	3
WEST VIRGINIA	1
TOTAL	143

ILLINOIS Southern Illinois Patriots League Benton	Old Paths Baptist Church Campbellsburg
Constitution Party Springfield	NORFED Evansville
	Indianapolis Baptist Temple Indianapolis
INDIANA Indiana Citizens Volunteer Militia 2nd Brigade Allen County	Indiana Citizens Volunteer Militia 1st Brigade Lake County

Indiana Militia Corps 2nd Brigade Northeastern Indiana	Constitution Party Louisville	Citizens Militia of St. Clair County Memphis
Indiana Militia Corps 1st Brigade Northwestern Indiana	Kentucky State Militia 9th Battalion Murray	Michigan Militia Inc. Redford
Indiana Militia Corps 5th Brigade Pendleton	Constitution Party Nicholasville	Southern Michigan Regional Militia St. Clair
Constitution Party Shoals	Kentucky State Militia Nicholasville	Lawful Path Tustin
Indiana Militia Corps 4th Brigade Southeastern Indiana	MARYLAND Southern Sons of Liberty	MINNESOTA Constitution Party St. Paul



Indiana Militia Corps 3rd Brigade Southwestern Indiana	Constitution Party Taneytown	MISSOURI Missouri 51st Militia Grain Valley
Indiana Citizens Volunteer Militia 3rd Brigade Tippecanoe County	Save A Patriot Fellowship Westminster	Phelps County Militia Rolla
	MICHIGAN Southern Michigan Regional Militia Capac	2nd Missouri Militia Tuscumbia
IOWA Constitution Party Randall		MONTANA Constitution Party Elmo
KANSAS Constitution Party Wichita	Michigan Militia Detroit	Project 7 Kalispell
	Michigan Militia Corps Wolverines 9th Division Detroit	Militia of Montana Noxon
KENTUCKY Kentucky State Militia 4th Battalion Bagdad	Patriot Broadcasting Network Dexter	NEVADA Center for Action Sandy Valley
Kentucky State Militia 5th Battalion Central Kentucky	Michigan Militia Corps Wolverines Kalamazoo	NEW JERSEY New Jersey Committee of Safety Shamong
Take Back Kentucky Clarkson	Michigan Militia Corps Wolverines 8th Division Monroe County	PENNSYLVANIA American Nationalist Union Allison Park
Free Kentucky Lebanon		Pennsylvania Minutemen Erie

NEW MEXICO Ranch Rescue Animas	Constitution Party Lancaster	Republic of Texas Dallas
NEW YORK Constitution Party Central Square	SOUTH CAROLINA AWARE Group Greenville	Republic of Texas Fort Worth
We The People Queensbury	Constitution Party Greenville	Republic of Texas Houston
NORTH CAROLINA Constitution Party Rocky Point	TENNESSEE Constitution Party Chattanooga	Constitution Party Huntsville
NORTH DAKOTA Constitution Party Casselton	Constitution Party Cookeville	Constitution Party Marshall
OHIO Right Way L.A.W. Akron	Constitution Party Germantown	Constitution Party Odessa
Unorganized Militia of Champaign County Champaign County	Militia of East Tennessee Knox County	13th Texas Infantry Regiment San Antonio
Central Ohio Unorganized Militia Columbus County	Take Back Tennessee Maynardville	Republic of Texas Victoria
E Pluribus Unum Grove City	Constitution Party Nashville	Church of God Evangelistic Association Waxahachie
Ohio Unorganized Militia Assistance and Advisory Committee Westerville	Constitution Party Winchester	Republic of Texas White Oak
OKLAHOMA Present Truth Ministry Panama	TEXAS Ranch Rescue Abilene	VIRGINIA Virginia Citizens Militia Roanoke
	13th Texas Infantry Regiment Austin	Constitution Party Vienna
	Constitution Society Austin	WASHINGTON Jural Society Ellensburg
	Living Truth Ministries Austin	Ranch Rescue Pasco
Ranch Rescue Grants Pass	Constitution Party Brenham	WISCONSIN American Opinion Book Services Appleton
Freedom Bound International Klamath Falls	13th Texas Infantry Regiment Bryan	John Birch Society Appleton
Constitution Party Scappoose	Buffalo Creek Press Cleburne	Constitution Party Watertown
Embassy of Heaven Stayton	Constitution Party Cleveland	
	13th Texas Infantry Regiment Conroe	WEST VIRGINIA Minutemen of America Highview ▲
PENNSYLVANIA American Nationalist Union Allison Park	Constitution Party Conroe	
Pennsylvania Minutemen Erie	Constitution Party Corpus Christi	

ACTIVE ‘PATRIOT’ WEB SITES

IN THE UNITED STATES IN THE YEAR 2002

This list of 152 sites on the World Wide Web includes pages linked to the so-called “Patriot” movement, which generally defines itself as opposed to the “New World Order” or advocates or adheres to extreme antigovernment doctrines. Pages were current in 2002, but sites tend to move from server to server or shut down without notice, so they may be hard to locate. Of the sites, 32 were connected to militias or militia ideology; the rest, grouped in the Other Patriot category, included sites associated with “common-law courts,” publishers, ministries and citizens’ groups. Listing here does not imply that the individuals or groups with Web sites advocate or engage in violence or other criminal activity or are racist. The 65 sites indicated with an asterisk are linked to actual groups that promote Patriot doctrine beyond the mere publishing of their Internet material. Sites linked to a group’s headquarters are marked with a †.

MILITIA - 32
13th Texas Infantry Regiment*
www.13tir.org/
Bryan, TX

A Well Regulated Militia
www.awrm.org/

California Militia *
geocities.com/CapitolHill/Congress/
2608/welcome.html
Brea, CA

Central Ohio Unorganized Militia*
www.pandar.com/coum/
Columbus, OH

**Indiana Citizens Volunteer Militia
1st Brigade***
www.smokepoles.com/icvm/
Lake County, IN

**Indiana Citizens Volunteer Militia
2nd Brigade***
www.elkharticvm.homestead.com/
Allen County, IN

**Indiana Citizens Volunteer Militia
3rd Brigade***
www.tippecanoeicvm.homestead.com/
Tippecanoe County, IN

Indiana Militia Corps*
www.IndianaMilitia.homestead.com/
Pendleton, IN

Kentucky State Militia*
www.kysm.org/
Central Kentucky, KY

www.KentuckyStateMilitia.cc/
Nicholasville, KY

Kentucky State Militia 911*
www.kentuckystatemilitia.com/
Murray, KY

Marietta Pennsylvania Militia
www.marietapa.com/marietta_ militia.html

Michigan Militia*
www.michiganmilitia.com/
www.geocities.com/havoc223/
Detroit, MI

Michigan Militia Corps, Wolverines*
www.mmcw.homestead.com/
Kalamazoo, MI

Militia of East Tennessee*
www.freedomsite.net/met/
www.geocities.com/met3rdbrigade/
Knox County, TN

Militia of Georgia*
www.militiaofgeorgia.com/
Lawrenceville, GA

Militia of Montana*
www.militiaofmontana.com/
Noxon, MT

Militia of Washington County*
www.angelfire.com/ar2/militia/
Fayetteville, AR

Missouri 51st Militia*
www.mo51st.org/
Grain Valley, MO

New Jersey Militia*
www.njmilitia.org/
Trenton, NJ

**Ohio Unorganized Militia Assistance
and Advisory Committee***
www.oumaac.com/
Westerville, OH

Phelps County Militia*
members.tripod.com/
phelpscountymilitia/index.htm
Rolla, MO

Ranch Rescue*
www.ranchrescue.com/
Abilene, TX

Southern California High Desert Militia*
www.hdmsc.org/
Oceanside, CA

Southern Illinois Patriots League*
sipl.addr.com/
Benton, IL

Southern Michigan Regional Militia*
www.michiganmilitia.org/
Capac, MI

Southern Sons of Liberty*
ssol.cjb.net/
Maryland

**Unorganized Militia
of Champaign County**
champaigncounty.tripod.com/

Unorganized Militias
www.city-net.com/~davekle/
idxmil.html

Virginia Citizens Militia*
vcm.freesevers.com/
Roanoke, VA

OTHER PATRIOT - 120
**Alabama Committee to Get US Out of
the United Nations***
themustardseed.home.mindspring.com/
Birmingham, AL

American Free Press*
www.americanfreepress.net/
Washington, DC

American Freedom Network*
www.amerifree.com/
www.americanewsnet.com/
www.americanfreedomnetwork.com/
Johnstown, CO

American Nationalist Union*
www.anu.org/
Allison Park, PA

American Opinion Book Services*
www.aobs-store.com/
Appleton, WI

American Patriot Friends Network*
www.apfn.org/apfn/main.htm
Glendale, AZ

American Patriot Network
www.civil-liberties.com/

AssaultWeb.Net
www.Assaultweb.net/

AWARE Group*
www.theawaregroup.com/
Greenville, SC

Barefoot’s World
www.barefootsworld.net/

Buffalo Creek Press*
www.buffalo-creek-press.com/
Cleburne, TX

Captain Nemo’s Freedom Lovers Site
www.vaix.net/~captainnemo/

Center for Action*
www.bogritz.com/
Sandy Valley, NV

**Church of God Evangelistic Association
(Newswatch Magazine)***
www.newswatchmagazine.org/
Waxahachie, TX

Citizens for Better Government*
www.afn.org/~govern/
Gainesville, FL

**Committees of Protection,
Correspondence and Safety**
www.committee.org/cos1400.htm

Common Man
www.thecommonman.com/

Connecticut Survivalist Alliance
www.iirg.org/csa.html

Connecticut Survivalist Alliance
www.geocities.com/ctsurvivalist/

Constitution Party*
www.cparkansas.org/
North Little Rock, AR

familyresources.net/cpfl/index.html
Jupiter, FL

www.gaconstitutionparty.org/index.html
Woodstock, GA

constitutionpartyidaho.com/
Boise, ID

www.illinoisconstitutionparty.com/
Springfield, IL

www.inconstitution.org/constitution/
partyofindiana/
Shoals, IN

www.sensiblepc.com/
constitutionpartyofindiana
Shoals, IN

ks.constitutionparty.com/index2.html
Wichita, KS

mrclint.freeyellow.com/cpky.html
Louisville, KY

www.cpky.com/
Nicholasville, KY

www.marylandconstitutionparty.com/
Taneytown, MD

www.cpmn.org/
St. Paul, MN

www.digisys.net/users/jko/cpmt/
Elmo, MT

members.truepath.com/cpnc/
Rocky Point, NC

www.constitutionpartynd.com/
Casselton, ND

committed.to/cpny
Central Square, NY

www.constitutionpartyoregon.org/
Scappoose, OR

www.constitutionparty.com/
www.ustaxpayers.org/
www.constitutionpartypa.com/
Lancaster, PA †

www.dsindex.com/cp/
Greenville, SC

www.cpot.org/
Germantown, TN

www.cptexas.org/
Brenham, TX

www.cptexas.org/index.shtml
Conroe, TX

www.cpow.org/
Watertown, WI

Constitution Society*
www.constitution.org/
Austin, TX

Council on Domestic Relations
www.sweetliberty.org/

David Wynn Miller
www.dwmlc.com/

Dixieland Law Journal
fly.hiwaay.net/~becraft/

E Pluribus Unum*
www.epuohio.org/
Grove City, OH

Embassy of Heaven*
www.EmbassyOfHeaven.com
Stayton, OR

**Emissary Publications
Midnight Messenger***
www.midnight-emissary.com/
Clackamas, OR

Eric’s Patriot Page
www.freedomybyfaith.com/PATRIOT/
PATRIOT.HTML

**Eternal Grace Baptist Church of New
Maysville**
www.link2000.net/~preacher/

Free Enterprise Society*
www.freeenterprisesociety.com/
Fresno, CA

Free Kentucky*
www.willowtown.com/freekentucky/
Lebanon, KY

Free Republic
www.freerepublic.com

Freedom Bound International*
www.americansovereign.com/
freedombound.htm
Klamath Falls, OR

Freedom County
exordia.net/freedomcounty/

Freedom Domain
www.freedomdomain.com/

Freedom Law School*
www.livefreenow.org/
Phelan, CA

Freedom Site
www.freedomsite.net/

**Freedomgardener’s Christian
Remnant**
www.angelfire.com/in2/truebelievers/
index.html

**Frugal Squirrel’s Homepage for
Patriots, Survivalists, and
Gun Owners**
www.frugalsquirrels.com/

Genesis Communication Network
www.gcnlive.com/

Get US Out of the United Nations
www.getusout.org/index.htm

Gulag Amerika
www.gulagamerika.homestead.com/

Iahushua
www.iahushua.com/

Idaho Observer
www.proliberty.com/observer/

Indianapolis Baptist Temple*
www.indianapolisbaptisttemple.com/
Indianapolis, IN

Infowars.com
www.infowars.com/

iResist.com
www.iresist.com/

IRS Decoder
www.irsdecoder.com/

Jeff Davis Show
www.jdshow.com/

Jefferson Party*
www.jusbelli.com/
Anchorage, AK

John Birch Society*
www.jbsirvine.com/
Irvine, CA

www.jbs.org/
Appleton, WI †

Keystone Report
www.keystonereport.com/

Land of Liberty
user.aol.com/rmckin6412/liberty/
index.htm

Law Research & Registry
www.lawresearch-registry.org/

Lawful Path*
land.netonecom.net/tlp/
Tustin, MI

Liberty League
www.libertyleague.org/

Liberty Tree Radio
www.libertytreeradio.4mg.com/
index.html

Living Truth Ministries*
www.texemarrs.com/
Austin, TX

LizMichael.com
www.lizmichael.com/

M2KTalk
www.m2ktalk.com/intelrpt.htm

Media Bypass
www.mediabypass.com/

Minutemen of America*
www.minutemenofamerica.com/
Highview, WV

Nation in Distress
www.involved.com/ewolfe/distress/
www.norfed.org/
www.LibertyDollar.org/
Evansville, IN

New Jersey Committee of Safety*
www.committee.org/NJcos/Default.htm
Shamong, NJ

**NORFED — National
Organization for the Repeal
of the Federal Reserve Act***
www.norfed.org/
www.LibertyDollar.org/
Evansville, IN

Patrick Henry On-Line
www.mo-net.com/~mlindste/
Patriot Broadcasting Network*
www.pbn.4mg.com/
Dexter, MI

Patriot Network
robertclarkson.bizhosting.com/

Police Against the New World Order*
www.police-and-military-against-the-
new-world-order.org/about/support_ us.htm
Kamiah, ID

Radio Liberty
www.radioliberty.com/

Ralph Epperson’s Conspiracy History
syninfo.com/Epperson/

Republic of Texas*
www.republic-of-texas.net/
White Oak, TX

Republic of Texas*
www.republic-of-texas.org/
www.texasrepublic.com/
Fort Worth, TX

**Save A Patriot
Fellowship***
www.save-a-patriot.org/
Westminster, MD

**Second Amendment Committee
Home Page***
www.libertygunrights.com/
Hanford, CA

Sons of Liberty*
www.sonsofliberty.org/
Boise, ID

**State Citizens Service Center
Research Headquarters***
www.state-citizen.org
Canoga Park, CA

Take Back Kentucky*
www.takebackkentucky.org/
Clarkson, KY

Take Back Tennessee*
www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/Lobby/
4218/
Maynardville, TN

Taking Back America
www.wealth4freedom.com/

Team Law
www.teamlaw.org/

The New American
www.thenewamerican.com/

The Sierra Times
www.sierratimes.com/

**Trimonline: Lower Taxes Through
Less Government**
www.trimonline.org/

Truth in Taxation*
www.taxfreeusa.org/
Studio City, CA

Truth Radio Network*
www.truthradio.com/
Delano, CA

U.S.A Patriotic/Militia/Anti-NWO Links
www.theofficenet.com/~redorman/
pagepm.htm

U.S. National Militia Directory
www.constitution.org/mil/mil_us.htm

United America Patriot Alliance
www.intrex.net/unitedamericaalliance/

Watcher’s Conspiracy Links
www.mt.net/~watcher/conspir.html

We the People
www.givemeliberty.org ▲



A humiliated David Duke tries to look upbeat for the press after pleading guilty to mail fraud and tax charges on Dec. 18.

AP/WIDEWORLD PHOTO



INSATIABLE

☆☆☆ The guilty plea of white supremacist David Duke for corruption is only the latest episode in the life of a voracious con man ☆ ☆ ☆ BY MARTIN A. LEE

David Duke knew exactly what he wanted when he strolled into the Washington, D.C., area office of the neo-Nazi National Alliance in the mid-1970s. It was his first meeting with William Pierce, the Alliance's founder and Duke's senior by nearly 20 years, but the rising star of the Ku Klux Klan wasn't shy about what he was there for: Would the former physics professor share his membership list?

The answer, of course, was no. Pierce had promised to keep his supporters' names confidential. And anyway,

mailing lists are the stock-in-trade for hate group leaders, critically important to building a movement and especially to raising money. Virtually no white supremacist is ready to give away his financial lifeline.

But Duke was not to be deterred, according to an associate of the Alliance leader. As soon as Pierce left for lunch, the handsome young Klansman talked Pierce's secretary into making him a copy of the list. When Pierce returned, he was furious. Pierce, who died last July, would never fully trust Duke again.

There was a time when David Ernest Duke was headed for superstardom as America's leading extremist, a neo-Nazi-cum-Klansman-cum-radical-populist who astonished the political world by winning 670,000 votes — almost 55% of the state's white ballots — in a 1991 bid to become governor of Louisiana. He was described as “the most effective spokesman for disaffected whites since Alabama Gov. George Wallace,” a white supremacist who had the potential to win major elective office, the man who had moved the Klan from white sheets to dark suits and ties. Just last fall, a close associate lionized Duke as a key “rallying figure” for racists.

Those kinds of accolades were once quite true. But today, thanks to his habit of ripping off even his ideological comrades, Duke's world has collapsed.

On Dec. 14, after more than two years of avoiding prosecution by living in Russia and a series of other European countries, David Duke returned to the land of his birth. Four days after paying a visit to his ailing father in New Jersey, he slunk into a federal courthouse in New Orleans and pleaded guilty to tax evasion and mail fraud — ripping off hundreds of thousands of dollars from earnest white supremacist donors who thought they were helping Duke to save the white race. Instead, as the one-time globe-trotting jetsetter would admit sheepishly in court, he had cynically raised money by using a series of lies — and then blown it at casino craps tables.

It was only the latest episode in the life of a man who has never really worked for a living. “David Duke has been a professional racist for his entire adult life,” said Tyler Bridges, author of *The Rise of David Duke*, the definitive biography of Duke's early years. “He deeply believes his anti-Semitic political philosophy, but it has also been a way for him to get money from his followers. It is how he makes a living.”

As it turns out, Duke, 52, has spent virtually his entire career living off the kindness of strangers — people who mistakenly thought he was championing their cause for no other reason than a desire to help whites. He sold and resold supposedly secret mailing lists, raised money under false pretenses, and lived off the proceeds of fund-raising for at least 10 different political campaigns. He womanized shamelessly and spent thousands on cosmetic surgery for himself. From his formative years as a university neo-Nazi right up to the present, David Duke's foremost concern always has been David Duke. For 30 years now, America's best-known white supremacist has engaged in a striking pattern of financial chicanery and self-serving rip-offs.

“He is a consummate confidence man,” a law enforcement official involved in building the latest case against Duke told the *Intelligence Report*. “He gets people to believe that he's doing their work with their money. And he's not, period.”

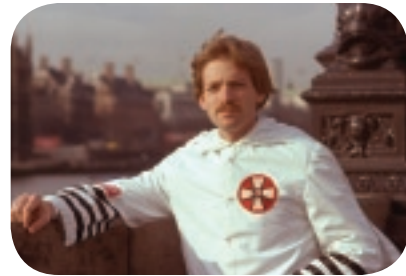
Money, Sex and Celebrity

David Duke first got caught with his hand in the till in 1972, shortly after he temporarily dropped out of Louisiana State University to devote himself to full-time neo-Nazi

Martin A. Lee, author of *The Beast Reawakens*, is a contributing writer for the San Francisco *Bay Guardian*

activism, according to Bridges' book. Police arrested Duke and three others for allegedly raising \$500 for George Wallace's presidential campaign and pocketing the money. The charges were dropped after an influential Duke mentor convinced Wallace campaign officials to change their story, the book said.

By 1974, Duke had founded the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and it wasn't long before he became the media's favorite Klan leader.



Vowing to modernize the Klan, he urged his acolytes to “get out of the cow pasture and into hotel meeting rooms.” After appearing on Tom Snyder's “Tomorrow” talk show, he was able to use his newfound celebrity to recruit

Louis Beam, Don Black and Tom Metzger, who each went on to play key roles in America's racist underground.

During this same period, starting with a failed 1975 bid for the Louisiana state senate, Duke began a series of political campaigns. It appears certain they were at least partly funded with money taken from his Klan group's coffers.

Before long, several of Duke's most intimate allies would grow weary of his self-serving personality. Pierce, who Duke had begun corresponding with when the Louisianan was still a teenager, admonished Duke to quit taking credit for an important Pierce pamphlet, “Who Runs the Media?” Others in the racist movement angrily responded to what would soon become Duke's notorious womanizing.

“I idolized Duke when I was younger. I looked up to him,” the Rev. Johnny Lee Clary, who served as Duke's bodyguard in the late 1970s but later became an anti-racist activist, said in an interview. “He would get up and wave the Bible around and talk about Christian values. But when I got to know him on a personal level, I saw what he was really like, and it disgusted me. ... I traveled alongside Duke and I watched him at work. I saw him take a Klansman's wife to his hotel room.”

Duke, then a married man with two children, pursued female sex partners so avidly and so openly that it embarrassed many of his closest colleagues. Metzger, then Duke's state leader in southern California, became livid when Duke showed up for a 1977 Klan anti-immigrant “border watch” stunt and immediately started hitting on women. “We used to tell people, ‘When Duke comes to town make sure your wife is safely locked up and don't let him near your daughters,’” Metzger recalled.

Duke did have his limits, however, generally confining himself to “Aryan” types. One legislative aide told John Maginnis, author of the Duke profile *Cross to Bear*, how she learned of Duke's amatory preferences during a bizarre date in Baton Rouge. The two were having lunch, she said, “when he started explaining to me

that blond, blue-eyed Scandinavian-looking people were God's chosen people, that they were made in his image. He said that God didn't want to dilute this perfection, so we should only mate with others of our kind. He then asked me if I wanted to mate with him. It was the weirdest come-on line I've ever heard.”

Duke would also develop a life-long weakness for gambling. Maginnis quotes a Las Vegas regular who once spotted Duke on a Mississippi gambling cruise boat. “There was David Duke,” the man told Maginnis. “But he looked like Edwin [Edwards, the corrupt Louisiana governor who would later go to prison]. He had a babe on each arm and he was shooting craps and betting pretty heavy.”

Duke tried to cash in on his alleged expertise beneath the

David Duke, seen here during a 1999 run for Congress, never seemed happier — or better fed — than during his many campaigns for political office.



sheets by writing *Finders-Keepers*, a sex manual for women (“You must love sex for its own sake,” he wrote). Published in 1976 under a pseudonym, this tawdry guide advocated one-night stands, adultery, and anal and oral sex. A bestseller it was not, but the Knights' imperial wizard had other fundraising scams up his robed sleeve.

Ripping Off the Klan

As the 1970s drew to a close, with growing numbers of followers deserting his Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Duke was accused by several Klan officials of stealing his organization's money. “Duke is nothing but a con artist,” Jack Gregory, Duke's

Florida state leader, told the *Clearwater* (Fla.) *Sun* after his boss allegedly refused to turn over proceeds from a series of 1979 Klan rallies to the Knights.

“Our members were pouring in money to the organization, and we never saw any of it. When I asked Duke where our money was going, I was thrown out of the Klan,” Gregory said. “Yeah, he tells everyone he doesn't make anything from the Klan — that he's doing it for the cause. But that's the biggest lie there is.”

Another Klan official under Duke, Jerry Dutton, told reporters that Duke had used Klan funds to purchase and refurbish his home in Metairie, La. Duke later justified the repairs by saying most of his home was used by the Klan.

“Duke was all about money,” Clary said. “This was no secret in the Klan. He barraged us with letters, wanting donations constantly to help finance this or that.”

At one event, Tyler Bridges reported, Duke lost his temper when a follower neglected to bring sign-up sheets to a well-attended anti-busing speech he gave in Boston. “Do you know how much money you cost us?” Duke roared.

In 1979, after his first, abortive run for president (as a Democrat) and a series of highly publicized violent Klan incidents, Duke quietly incorporated the nonprofit National Association for the Advancement of White People (NAAWP) in an attempt to leave the baggage of the Klan behind. But before he made it public, he contacted Bill Wilkinson, a former Duke underling

who now headed a rival Klan group.

Duke invited Wilkinson to a remote Alabama farmhouse where he offered to sell for \$35,000 his secret membership list — a cardinal offense for a Klan leader who had promised to keep his members' names secret at all costs. Wilkinson had feigned interest, but secretly invited two reporters to witness the transaction. Duke and his disciple, Don Black, were caught on video- and audiotape as they handed a brown paper bag filled with index cards with his members' names to Wilkinson.

Three days later, after Duke's sellout had received national publicity, he publicly announced the formation of the NAAWP,

attacking Wilkinson as he did so. He said he was trying to get away from “the Hollywood image” of the Klan.

Nazi With a Nose Job

As he led the NAAWP through the 1980s, Duke was known as a penny-pincher who would ask even complete strangers for money — in restaurants, among other places, to pay for his meal tickets.

But Tyler Bridges, who was then an investigative reporter for *The* (New Orleans) *Times-Picayune* newspaper, revealed in 1989 that Duke secretly owned two companies. The first, Americana Books, sold neo-Nazi books from his legislative office, in the basement of his home. The second, Business Consultant & Enterprises, was set up by Duke in 1978. Tax returns filed by the NAAWP showed that it had paid BC&E \$119,625 from 1983 to 1988 for “mailing list maintenance.”

Duke’s short-lived 1979-1980 campaign for president, Bridges revealed, also had paid BC&E \$19,900 to rent space in Duke’s home. “In sum,” Bridges writes in his book, “BC&E — i.e., Duke — from 1983 to 1988 [when Duke ran for president on the far-right Populist Party ticket] received \$141,000 from the NAAWP and Duke’s [two] presidential campaigns.” The arrangement was apparently legal.

In 1987, Duke and Don Black traveled to Forsyth County, Ga., to take advantage of simmering racial tension between blacks and the Klan. After they were arrested and charged with reckless conduct during a shouting match with a black man, Duke set up a defense fund for himself that had an almost identical name to another fund set up to aid 62 white supremacists who’d been arrested earlier.

After raising at least \$8,000 from backers who mistakenly believed they were helping the 62 men arrested with Duke and Black, Duke ultimately pleaded guilty to a misdemeanor charge, Bridges wrote. He was fined a grand total of \$55.

It was in the late 1980s that Duke began a series of more serious campaigns for political office. He had enough political savvy to understand that parading around with a swastika armband, as he had done during his college days, would be counterproductive. The challenge was how to be a Nazi without being obvious about it. So he toned down the vitriol and avoided the crudest rhetoric. He also dyed his hair blond and visited a plastic surgeon to reduce the size of his nose. A chin implant altered his profile and chemical peels removed bags and wrinkles around his eyes.

Duke’s surgically enhanced image was a metaphor for the ideological face-lift he underwent in these years in an effort to convince people that he had abandoned the fanatical ideas of his youth. His camouflaged racism, which recast prejudice as pluralistic pride, resonated favorably among many disenchanted white voters who could recognize extremism when clothed in Nazi or Klan regalia, but not when it hid behind the slippery vocabulary that mainstream conservatives employed to attack affirmative action, welfare, immigration, and other hot-button issues.

Duke’s 1988 Populist Party presidential campaign was a miserable failure, with him taking just 48,267 votes — 0.05% of the

total. But he was not discouraged. And in 1989, masquerading as a born-again Republican, Duke ran for a seat in the Louisiana state legislature and narrowly beat a complacent incumbent. Up to then, save a few part-time gigs, a nose job was the only job that Duke had ever had.

Campaigns, Fines and Secret Sales

It was the beginning of David Duke’s heyday, the period when he would come to the attention of millions of people worldwide as he ran a series of high-profile political campaigns. In late 1989, just months after winning his state campaign, he announced his candidacy in the Republican primary for the U.S. Senate. Over the course of the next year, he would raise a remarkable \$2.4 million, part of it through a political advertisement that asked supporters to call a fee-charging 900 number.

In the end, he won 607,391 votes, or almost 60% of the white vote, but lost the primary. Duke regrouped almost immediately, running for Louisiana governor against Edwin Edwards in a campaign marked by one of the most remarkable bumper stickers in political history: “Vote for the Crook. It’s Important,” devised by anti-Duke forces urging a vote for Edwards. Running in a crowded field, Duke, came within two percentage points of Edwards, forcing him into a run-off. In

DATING DAVID DUKE

☆☆☆☆ A girlfriend remembers America’s best-known racist as vain, selfish and opinionated — and not too devoted to his cause ☆☆☆

It’s the little things that stick in her mind.

Like the time that she accompanied David Duke to a New Orleans television station where the white supremacist ideologue was to be interviewed. When Duke left the room briefly, a cameraman asked Lori Eden to sit in Duke’s chair so that he could focus the camera. Returning, Duke was furious at his sweetheart.

“He said, ‘Get up! get up!’” remembers Eden, a swimsuit and lingerie model who went out with America’s most famous former Klansman in 1999 and 2000. “He didn’t want me anywhere *near* that camera. The camera was for him.”

Or the time that he told her that zirconium was just as good as diamonds — most people couldn’t tell the difference. “He

the run-off, Duke captured 671,009 votes, but lost to Edwards by 22 percentage points.

During the gubernatorial campaign, Duke held rally after rally, passing large plastic buckets through the crowds to raise cash — a method of fund-raising that is illegal under Louisiana law, which requires that officials issue cash receipts and keep records of donations. After a lengthy investigation, Duke was fined \$1,111.

Next, Duke announced with great fanfare that he would seek the Republican nomination for president of the United States in 1992. But his campaign fizzled as most potential supporters backed right-wing commentator Patrick Buchanan, who espoused many of the same positions as Duke without carrying his baggage. Of course, Duke never stood a chance, but that wasn’t the point — he came out ahead no matter how he fared at the ballot box. According to Bridges’ book, Duke told an assistant that by running for president he hoped to double the size of his computerized mailing list, which by now included 125,000 names. The list would be the source of future income.

Over the years, Duke would run for political office no less than 10 times. After a while, the spectacle of Duke as a peren-

nial candidate — a man who seemed more interested in campaigning, and



was not a generous person in any way, shape or form,” Eden told the *Intelligence Report*. “He was very greedy. He made many cheap-ass comments like that. I own a lingerie business and I walk around in a bathing suit and thong. He didn’t like that. He wanted me to quit.

“But he wouldn’t give me anything to help me out.”

Eden, who was 33 at the time that she and Duke dated exclusively, said Duke’s racism seemed to depend on having an audience. Once, hanging around with his

living off his campaigns, than in actually winning — started to wear thin on voters. But he still wielded considerable influence in Louisiana politics. In some cases, merely dipping his toe into a political campaign gave him leverage and bargaining power with other candidates.

After briefly entering the Louisiana governor’s race in 1995, Duke dropped out and endorsed Mike Foster, a candidate who would go on to win the election. Duke’s endorsement may well have given the edge to Foster, who had cut a back-room deal with the former imperial wizard, ostensibly to rent his mailing list for some \$152,000. One Duke aide, Kenny Knight, told *Talk* magazine that he had met Foster secretly to work out details of the deal. Knight claimed that Foster agreed to Duke’s three conditions: to switch from the Democratic to the Republican Party; to make his first act as governor the abolition of the state affirmative action program; and to never attack Duke. Knight said that Foster agreed to all three conditions. For his part, Foster did switch parties when he announced his candidacy, and then went on to eliminate the affirmative action program shortly after taking office.

Foster, who never used the list during his 1995 campaign, had attempted to hide his payment to Duke, routing it through intermediaries. After it was finally disclosed in 1999, the state Board of Ethics fined Foster \$20,000 for failing to disclose the

“entourage” — “big men who had shot people before, men who would take care of him” — he very publicly yanked her out of a large hotel swimming pool when a black child got in the other end. But another time, at a small ice cream shop with Eden for her son’s birthday, he got into a long and apparently friendly conversation with a black friend of hers. His followers weren’t there that time.

“I think it was all for show, because there were other people there,” Eden says of the pool incident. “If nobody was there, he would have gotten in the damn pool. ... Some of the racist stuff, I think, is just to get publicity. I don’t think he hates black people as much as he says he does. I believe he likes power and attention. He loves the media. He loves to be in the limelight.”

Eden often stayed at Duke’s Mandeville, La., home. She says she will never forget the paranoia that seemed to rule there.

“Any time I was at his house, I mean it was Fort Knox. They locked every window, every deadbolt — when you went to take the garbage out, when the kids went out to play, you had to knock to get back in.

“It was absolutely insane, like something you see on TV.”

Duke, Eden added, was a health nut. “He would swallow like 20 pills a day, all these vitamins,” she said. “He was really into the Atkins diet.”

Eden stayed with Duke until he finally left for Russia in late 2000 — a voyage that would end only two years later, when Duke agreed to return to the United States and plead guilty to two federal felonies (see story, p. 52). But Eden says she’d started to drift away from him earlier, after her three sons began to be taunted at school because of her association with the infamous racist. They fought frequently toward the end, Eden says, though he never hit her. By the time Duke left, it was a casual relationship, with the pair seeing each other just once or twice a week.

They have never spoken or communicated since. Thinking back, Eden says she isn’t sure why she stayed with Duke as long as she did. “I guess you could say I fell in love with him,” she says with a sigh. “It was like a bad habit.”

— Mark Potok

deal. Duke, meanwhile, was confronted by federal agents who asked him why he had failed to pay taxes on the income. Duke claimed his accountant had made a mistake, and hurriedly paid up his long-overdue taxes and penalties.

The Noose Tightens

The high price of the mailing list — newspapers pointed out that it sold for much more than such lists normally do — raised suspicions about what it was that Foster had actually bought. Some critics suggested Duke was being paid off to stay out of the race. In any event, a federal grand jury looking into Duke's finances queried him two times in 1999 about the mailing list he had sold to Foster. Instead of answering, Duke took the Fifth Amendment.

Duke, realizing he was a target, was worried. He confided to Lori Eden, his girlfriend at the time, that he had lost at least \$50,000 at the gaming tables. "I would ask him if he wanted to go to the casino," Eden told the *Intelligence Report*, "and he would say, 'No, I can't, because the FBI may see me, and they're on me.'"

"He knew way ahead of time that he was going to get in trouble. He made a comment to me once, 'I do love you, but I'm going to jail.' He also tried to hint that he wouldn't be around. What he meant was that he was going to Russia," added Eden, who at the time was a 33-year-old swimsuit and lingerie model with her own adult Web site. "He knew they were coming after him. So he made sure to get the hell out of here before they actually picked him up to question him."

Eden, who would break up with Duke when he left for Russia, said that at one point in the relationship she had a pregnancy scare. Duke, a self-described "pro-lifer" who has railed publicly against abortion for whites for years, suggested that they travel to Paris to get her the abortion pill that was then illegal in America. "He said, I know, I've been through this before," she recounted. "He also said that it would kill him politically."

Investigators found a clear pattern in Duke's life. "All the girlfriends who were interviewed," the law enforcement source

THE WANDERING JEW-HATER

☆☆☆ Neo-Nazi David Duke found many new friends — and even more buyers of his books — during his recent years in Europe ☆☆☆

During his high-flying career as a professional white supremacist, David Duke made several trips to Europe in an effort to raise his international profile. Of all the countries he visited, Duke had the highest hopes for Russia, where he preached to the anti-Semitic choir about "the Aryan race's main enemy — world Zionism!"

Russia holds the "key to white survival," he declared while touring Moscow after the Cold War ended. Praising Moscow as the "Whitest" capital city in Europe, he added: "Russia has a greater sense of racial understanding among its population than does any other predominantly White nation." If a "racially aware," patriotic party came to power in Russia, Duke effused, it could cause "a domino effect that would cascade through the whole world."

Duke traveled to Russia for the first time in September 1995. There he met Vladimir Zhirinovsky, the bombastic neofascist leader who played upon the wounded pride and deep despair that engulfed post-Soviet Russia, which was reeling from the whiplash transition from Communism to "savage capitalism." Two years earlier, "Vlad the Mad" had shocked the world when his misnamed Liberal Democratic Party topped all other contestants with 23% of the vote in Russia's parliamentary elections. Zhirinovsky's prescription for Russia was simple: "We must deal with minorities as America did with the Indians and Germany did with the Jews."

Zhirinovsky exchanged views with his American guest and found they had a lot in common. "We're nationalists," Duke

explained later. "And Zhirinovsky is very protective of what you might call the white race." The Russian demagogue commended Duke, calling him his favorite American politician.

With his legal problems mounting at home (see story, p. 52), Duke brought his snake-oil sales pitch back to Russia in August 1999. While in Moscow, he befriended several anti-Semitic leaders, including Gen. Albert Makashov, head of the ultranationalist wing of the Communist Party, who urged his followers to kill Jews: "Round up all the Yids and send them to the next world!"

It may seem odd that Duke, an ardent anti-Communist, should have found a soul-mate in Makashov, a Communist member of the Duma (Russia's parliament) who dreamed of resurrecting the USSR. Yet the two men got along famously when they discussed "the new world order orchestrated by Jews" at the editorial offices of *Zavtra* ("Tomorrow"), Moscow's main ultranationalist newspaper, where a young Russian aide could be seen wearing a David Duke button.

Duke returned to Moscow the following year to promote the Russian edition of his new book, *The Jewish Question through the Eyes of an American*. (Actually, the book was a translation of several chapters of Duke's 1998 autobiography.) The first 5,000 copies sold out quickly and subsequent printings were available at kiosks and book stalls, along with dozens of other anti-Semitic titles, including Hitler's *Mein Kampf* and the notorious Czarist-era forgery, *The Protocols of the Elders of*

Zion. Duke's racist screed was even available in the bookstore of the Duma. "It was a very big hit," Duke said in a December interview. "My book is sold all over Russia. You can buy it anywhere on the streets of Moscow."

Dr. Duke, I Presume?

While in Russia, Duke catered to the deep-rooted anti-Semitism that had long been a potent force in that country's history. At the time, widespread economic and social deprivation had strengthened the hand of neo-Nazi cadres and Skinhead gangs that terrorized ethnic minorities and foreigners in the Russian capital. For the most part, Duke kept a relatively low profile, preferring to meet privately with extremist politicians and small groups of hard-core activists, such as Semyon Tokmakov, the shaven-headed deputy director of the People's National Party, a neo-Nazi youth group. Tokmakov, who typically wore camouflage pants, a black armband, and a knife on his belt, had served time in a Russian jail for severely beating a black Marine guard from the U.S. embassy in 1998.

Duke offered public relations tips to his Russian comrades on how to market hate. But his experience as "a well-known American patriot," as Duke was described on an Internet chat forum for Russian Skinheads, had only limited relevance to the political situation in Russia. After hearing him speak and reading his book, *Zavtra* Editor Alexander Prokhanov, one of the most influential figures on the ultranationalist scene, concluded that Duke's ideas were hardly original. "All things that are said in the book are as old as time," Prokhanov shrugged.

Duke was on his fourth visit to Russia when his house in Louisiana was besieged by federal agents in November 2000. Fearing that he'd be arrested and sent to prison if he returned to the United States, he decided to remain overseas. Russian authorities never granted him a residency permit, but they allowed him to travel freely to other countries. Duke would spend the next two years in unofficial exile, a white nationalist without a nation, crisscrossing Europe, the former Soviet Union, and points beyond.

Wherever he went, Duke tried to pass himself off as a respected American author and politician. He found a gullible audience in Kiev, where Duke received an honorary degree in political science from the National

Academy of Management, a private Ukrainian university with close ties to the Arab world. "They asked me to give a couple of lectures, which I did, and they published my articles in the university magazine," Duke said. "They also reprinted my book in Ukrainian."

Outside the former Soviet Union, Duke's main base of operations was northern Italy, where he lived part time. Through contacts among right-wing extremists in Verona and the Milan area, Duke found a publisher for a forthcoming Italian version of his book. According to Duke, translations of the book will soon be available in several more languages. "I'm certain it will be published in Arabic," he said, "but nothing is settled yet."

Italy and Beyond

From his perch in northern Italy, Duke traveled to Austria, Switzerland, Romania, and other European countries where right-wing extremist parties have been flexing their muscles at the ballot box. He turned up in Germany at a convention hosted by the neo-Nazi National Democratic Party (NPD) on Aug. 3, 2002. Two thousand NPD militants converged in Koenigs-lutter, Lower Saxony, for a day of rabble-rousing speeches, folk music, and various outdoor activities. For Duke, it was an opportunity to renew old ties and forge new contacts with neofascist leaders from Germany and elsewhere.

In France, Duke claims to have a good rapport with Front National leader Jean Marie Le Pen and his top deputy, Bruno Gollnisch, who currently serves in the European Parliament. A photo of Le Pen with his arm around Duke is posted on the website of EURO, Duke's Louisiana-based "white rights" organization. Last summer, EURO announced that in the interests of free speech it was going to host the Web site of Radical Unity, a French hate group recently outlawed by the government after one of its members tried to assassinate French President Jacques Chirac.

Last year, Duke also attended an international "revisionist" conference in Moscow, where a rogue's gallery of Holocaust deniers took aim at the gargantuan Jewish conspiracy that supposedly rules the world. Jürgen Graf, a Swiss fugitive who currently resides in Teheran, chaired this event, which was co-sponsored by the Washington, D.C.-based *Barnes Review*. Duke spoke on "The Zionist Factor in the USA."

Another American author, Michael Collins Piper, claimed that Israeli spies were behind the assassination of President John F. Kennedy. (Piper writes for the anti-Semitic publication *American Free Press*.) Several Russian speakers ruminated on globalization and the Zionist menace. Ahmed Rami, a Moroccan native who now lives in Sweden and runs a major Holocaust denial Web site, thrilled the home crowd when he said that Russia is the only country that can stop the perilous march of globalization.

Inventing an Expert

In the wake of Sept. 11, Duke began touting himself as "one of the leading commentators in the world on the Mideast conflict." He became an avid purveyor of the conspiracy theory that Israel was complicit in the terrorist attacks on the Twin Towers and the Pentagon. Published by the on-line version of the Russian newspaper *Pravda* (the former mouthpiece of the Communist Party), Duke's essay about Israel and 9-11 found a sympathetic audience in Russia and parts of the Muslim world as well.

Most recently, Discover Islam, a group of businessmen and professionals eager to popularize Islamic culture, invited Duke to lecture in Bahrain, a small but wealthy Persian Gulf state, last November. Duke alleged there that "the Zionist-controlled media" was stirring up animosity between Christians and Muslims, who should work together against the Jewish archenemy. He also trumpeted the usual medley of anti-Semitic canards when interviewed on Al-Jazeera, the Arab satellite TV network, during his visit to the Persian Gulf. Duke's appearance on Al-Jazeera prompted a protest by the U.S. State Department.

As 2002 drew to a close, David Duke finally decided he'd had enough of his international travels, returning home to ignominiously plead guilty to two felony charges of tax and mail fraud. But at least some staunch allies quickly leapt to his defense, despite Duke's admission that he had ripped off his supporters, spending their donations on personal investments and at the gaming tables. Duke was prison-bound, according to EURO National Director Vincent Breeding, because the U.S. government wanted to silence him to keep the truth about Sept. 11 under wraps.

— Martin A. Lee

related, “said that Duke would sleep late every day, check the mail, take the money out of the mail, play golf, go to the health club and work out, and then go gambling in the evenings with complimentary limousines from the casino. It’s not bad work, if you can get it.”

It was during the 1990s, specifically between 1993 and 1999, that Duke was engaged in a long-running rip-off of his followers. FBI agents reported that Duke and his colleagues cooked up a series of false excuses for beseeching the faithful for ever more funds. In one letter, for instance, he claimed he was facing financial ruin and the loss of his home. In fact, he sold his Metairie home at a profit shortly after that letter and bought a larger residence in Mandeville, La. His staff “would laugh at the often untruthful excuses Duke concocted,” an FBI affidavit said.

“The mailings were predicated on various lamentations by Mr. Duke that he was in dire straits, when in fact our evidence indicated to the contrary,” U.S. Attorney Jim Letten, who oversaw the Duke case, told the *Intelligence Report*.

Some of the proceeds from these bogus direct mail appeals were deposited in a bank account that was under the name of an ex-girlfriend, but controlled by Duke, who maintained “in excess of 30 credit cards,” according to the FBI. During just one 16-month period, Duke collected \$230,000 in small checks from his supporters.

Duke was simultaneously undergoing something of a political metamorphosis — or, more accurately, a dropping of the mask. Since leaving the Klan, he had worked endlessly to put his Klan and especially his neo-Nazi past behind him. But in 1998, he self-published his autobiography, a tedious, 700-page tome he entitled *My Awakening*. The book, which Duke enthusiastically predicted would “change the course of history,” revealed its author to be an unrepentant neo-Nazi true believer.

This did not preclude Duke from starting in early 2000 the National Organization for European American Rights (NOFEAR), which purported to be a group devoted to pursuing “civil rights” for whites, not to hating anyone. The next year, after a sporting goods company sued Duke over the use of its name, NOFEAR would be renamed the European-American Unity and Rights Organization (EURO).

The Denouement

On Nov. 16, 2000, a dozen federal agents raided Duke’s two-story home in Mandeville and carted away 22 boxes of papers, computer discs, credit card records and other documents. Roy Armstrong, his long-time bodyguard and chauffeur, was there during the search and termed it a mere “fishing expedition.” But Duke wasn’t about to be reeled in — he was in Russia on his fourth visit, and he would not return to the United States until reaching a plea agreement in December 2002.

From a safe distance, Duke insisted on his innocence. “Make no mistake about it,” he would write in a NOFEAR newsletter, “this probe is nothing more than a political assassination on the part of government officials who are seeking to silence my voice on our European heritage and rights.” In the meantime,

he said, he was moving to Moscow “to struggle against people of other colors and Jews.”

It is clear that Duke understood perfectly that he was in trouble back home. That’s why he spent the next two years traveling in Russia and throughout Europe (see story, p. 58), giving speeches and hobnobbing with other extremists. Overall, he sought to give the impression that he was devoted to building a transnational movement. The reality, however, was that Duke spent most of his time selling his books, meeting privately with prominent rightists, and giving talks.

By late 2002, Duke’s attorney was negotiating a plea agreement for his client, who had grown tired of being a nationalist without a nation. When news of the plea became public, Vince Breeding, national director of EURO, said Duke was pleading because he would surely lose in court at the hands of a mostly black jury. EURO communiqués painted the group’s founder as “a living martyr for our cause.”

Letten, the U.S. attorney, scoffed at the notion put out by Breeding and others that Duke was being persecuted for his views. “David Duke was investigated and prosecuted for conduct that he committed in violation of federal law, not as a result of his philosophy, however reprehensible that might be for most of us. The evidence militated towards prosecuting this. It had nothing to do with Duke’s views.”

On Dec. 14, Duke pleaded guilty to one count of mail fraud — raising money under false pretenses that was later spent on personal investments or lost at the craps tables in three states — and another of making false statements on his tax return by vastly understating his 1998 income. Under terms of the plea agreement, signed by Duke, his lawyer and Assistant U.S. Attorney Carter Guice, he is expected to be sentenced to 15 months in federal prison on March 12, 2003. That falls at the low end of the 15-24 months suggested by sentencing guidelines.

Duke may emerge from prison again fairly soon. But he will be disqualified from running for public office in Louisiana for life, blocking off a rich field for future fundraising. At the same time, he is almost certain to be seen in a jaded way by former supporters, even though many now are protesting his innocence.

Through it all, Duke has remained unrepentant. “I guess I’m more an elder statesmen now, rather than a young Turk activist,” Duke said in an interview. “My role has evolved more into a researcher, a writer, a philosopher, an adviser to the movement. I think I can offer a lot of advice to younger people coming up.”

Be that as it may, Duke is still trying to spin events to cast himself in the increasingly unlikely role of savior of the white race. “I was always searching for ways to bring in the large sums of money that our cause needed,” he wrote in one of the more remarkable defenses of his actions, “and although beating the odds at casinos seems unorthodox, even a bit foolish, it seemed to work. I hoped that I could perfect a system and find a way to permanently finance our activities. ... “[W]hat poetic justice I thought it would be to ... turn the money to our cause!” ▲



CASHING IN ON THE CONFEDERACY

A North Carolina legal group calls itself the leading advocate for ‘Confederate Americans.’ Its dismal record suggests otherwise

By Heidi Beirich and Mark Potok

It was a horror story by any account. Ryan Oleichi, just 13, was beaten near his Houston high school by two minority students enraged at the Confederate battle flag on the cover of a library book he was carrying. The April 2001 beating was so severe that doctors believe it contributed to the development of a dangerous pineal brain cyst that Ryan still suffers with. Then, just nine months later, Ryan’s mother was found murdered in her own car, which was being driven by two black women.

Few cases were as publicized among neo-Confederates, who saw Ryan as another victim of bias against Southern whites. The Sons of Confederate Veterans heritage organization came out in support of the boy, as did the League of the South hate group. But no one seemed to back him more than the Southern Legal Resource Center (SLRC), a Black Mountain, N.C., nonprofit group.

In mailings, E-mails and remarks to reporters, the principals of SLRC — “the preeminent advocate for the civil and constitutional rights of Confederate Southern Americans” — told its version of the story, almost invariably finishing with an urgent plea for donations.

Although Ryan’s beating occurred off campus, SLRC Chief Trial Counsel Kirk Lyons pledged to sue the Cypress Fairbanks Independent School District for allowing the incident to happen. He suggested the SLRC needed funds for the trial, an expert witness, and to treat Ryan’s mother’s depression shortly after the assault. He asked for money for a college fund for Ryan after his mother’s death. Time and again, he told backers he was squaring off with Texas’ richest school district.

But Ryan’s family says that despite the SLRC’s fund-raising, Ryan never benefited from the SLRC’s attention. Betty Rice, Ryan’s maternal grandmother and his legal guardian since the death of Ryan’s mother, Melinda Hill, said she

contacted Lyons shortly after the funeral of her daughter, hoping to pursue the case and win some money for Ryan’s medical bills. “He told me Melinda was his client, not me,” Rice told the *Intelligence Report*. Then he asked for some \$5,000 down.

The SLRC and Lyons never filed a case. But that did not prevent them from repeatedly trying to raise funds from Ryan’s suffering. And they seemed to fudge some details of the case to make it more appealing to their constituency. On Jan. 9, 2002 the day that Hill was murdered, the SLRC told its backers that Hill’s car was being driven by “two black females” when it was found with Hill’s body in the back. The SLRC would never mention that it was later established that the car had been given to the two women, who knew nothing of the body, by Hill’s white boyfriend, who quickly confessed to the murder.

On Feb. 1, 2002, around the time Betty Rice says she was turned away by Lyons, the SLRC told backers that Rice “has decided to move forward with Ryan’s case.” Three months later, the SLRC was still raising money off the case. “Please remember Ryan,” it pleaded last April 26, “in your prayers and donations.”

In an E-mail reply sent 34 days after the *Intelligence Report* submitted a series

of queries about its cases, the SLRC said it had not “dropped” Oleichi as a client at all. Betty Rice has not spoken to the SLRC for more than a year.

The Lost Cause

Since its incorporation in 1996 by Kirk Lyons (see biography, “In the Lyons Den,” Summer 2000 edition, *Intelligence Report*) and two other men, the Southern Legal Resource Center has operated out of a nondescript duplex on a quiet street in Black Mountain, a historically liberal town near Asheville. The SLRC replaced an earlier Lyons creation in Texas known as CAUSE, short for Canada, Australia, the United States, South Africa and Europe — the parts of the world where Lyons judged white majorities’ rights under threat because of rising minority populations.

The SLRC was started specifically to battle so-called “heritage violations” against what Lyons calls “Confederate Southern Americans” — principally attacks on the Confederate battle flag and similar symbols. And it insists that it is turning the tide. “Our opponents demonize the SLRC for one reason,” Lyons wrote in the same “update” that carried the pitch for “prayers and donations” for Ryan Oleichi. “We are the most effective and hard-hitting fighters on the Southern Heritage front.”

Maybe so. But the SLRC hardly has a stellar track record.

In the last year, Lyons has been excoriated by a federal judge who accused him publicly of shoddy work. He has been unceremoniously removed from a favorite lawsuit that targeted officials of then-Texas Gov. George W. Bush’s administration for taking down Confederate plaques in Austin. He has filed large numbers of complaints in a variety of forums that have gone nowhere. In mailings and E-mails containing fervent fundraising pitches, Lyons has frequently spoken of cases he intended to file, but never did. He has implied that he represented clients whose families later said he did almost nothing for them. And he has filed suit after suit alleging that “Confederate Southern Americans” are a protected ethnic group under civil rights laws — a theory most legal experts consider absurd.

From the start, the SLRC was the creation of extremists. The core staff

is made up of Lyons and his long-time partner and brother-in-law, Neill Payne, along with the two men’s parents-in-law. Both Lyons and Payne were married on the compound of the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations in Idaho. The pastor presiding over their 1990 double wedding was Aryan boss Richard Butler, and their spouses were both daughters of Betty and Charles Tate, who now work at the SLRC. Betty Tate had been an Aryan Nations secretary, while her husband was a Butler aide; the couple’s son is in prison for terrorist crimes. Louis Beam, a violently racist former Klan leader, was Lyons’ best man at the ceremony.

The SLRC’s board includes Lourie Salley III, who is executive director of the board and also a prominent member of the League of the South, a neo-Confederate hate group. (Salley’s hobby, according to Aiken, S.C., City Attorney Richard

profit status in 1999 has slowly increased its income from \$65,355 in 1999, to \$105,315 in 2000 and \$150,365 in 2001, the latest year for which tax records are available. But the SLRC also has taken on an increasingly desperate tone of late. “Southern Compatriots,” said one April 2002 appeal, “I cannot stress to you HOW BADLY WE NEED YOUR SUPPORT!!! Everywhere we turn, it seems the walls are slowly closing in on us!”

Trouble in Texas

One of the SLRC’s first “heritage violation” cases began in 1998, after the Corps of Cadets at Texas A&M University forced cadet Thomas Chisum Womack to remove a Confederate flag sticker from his foot locker. Womack decided to file suit even though cadet regulations explicitly forbade display of the battle flag.

With great fanfare, the SLRC told its

radar screen. Finally, in a Dec. 1, 1999, SLRC “update,” backers were told that the SLRC had decided not to “re-file” the lawsuit against Texas A&M. That decision, it said, was “due to the tragic bonfire accident at Texas A&M” in which 12 people were killed during the construction of a huge log bonfire. The SLRC said in its statement that it did not want to “appear to be kicking [A&M] when they were down.” But what the SLRC had never before admitted was that it had dropped its case almost eight months before — on April 4, 1999.

Even though the SLRC withdrew the suit — because Womack had dropped out of the corps — it still continues to describe its role in heroic terms. “We pursued the case using other means,” Neill Payne, the SLRC’s executive director, wrote in his March 3 E-mail to the *Intelligence Report*. “The ban on Confederate symbols has been lifted and [Commandant] General [Ted] Hopgood [Jr.] was retired.”

Texas A&M officials beg to differ.

“That’s not true,” Major Joseph Mills, spokesman for the Corps’ Office of the Commandant, told the *Report*. “The ban has not been lifted, and General Hopgood retired on his own volition last May” — three years after the suit was dropped.

Lyons’ most public humiliation stemmed from another case in his native Texas. For decades, the Confederate flag had been used as a symbol by the Hays High School Rebels, a football team in Buda, Texas. But in 2000, after much debate, the flag was eliminated as a school symbol. The following year, the University Interscholastic League, which regulates high school football, passed a rule against all flags and banners in high school stadiums in the district. In the wake of the Sept. 11 attacks, that rule was amended to allow the display of the U.S. flag.

On Oct. 26, 2001, five people — including SLRC director H.K. Edgerton — were stopped at a Hays stadium entrance as they tried to bring in Confederate battle flags. Not long after, the SLRC filed a lawsuit against the Hays County school district and three of its officials in federal court. Lyons contended that his clients had had their First Amendment rights violated. He also argued, based on SLRC’s novel theory



The SLRC operates out of this nondescript building in Black Mountain, N.C.

Pierce, is refitting small planes as “Nazi German observation planes.”) Also on the board are North Carolina attorneys Larry Ellis Norman and Carl Barrington Jr., and, supposedly, H.K. Edgerton, a black activist who has defended slavery as a Christianizing influence and also provided Lyons invaluable cover from accusations of racism.

Throughout its life, a steady drumbeat of fundraising appeals has issued forth from the SLRC, which since gaining non-

supporters that it filed a suit contending that Womack’s rights had been violated on May 15, 1998. It described the case on its Web site and in E-mails to supporters, almost invariably followed by a plea for contributions to support the work of the SLRC. Womack, Lyons told one reporter at the time, shouldn’t have to choose “between his heritage and the cadets.”

Occasional mention was made of the suit in SLRC updates that followed, but then the case seemed to drop off the

SPY VS. SPY

Kirk Lyons, linked by the FBI to a bizarre espionage case, fires off an angry denial and insists he is ‘a loyal American’

Throughout his legal career, Kirk Lyons has often felt the need to defend himself. But his denials have never been as animated and thorough as they were in early February, when Lyons found himself linked to a bizarre espionage case involving top-secret U.S. military documents.

FBI agents testified in January that an old acquaintance of Lyons’, Deborah Davila, sent a box of highly sensitive military information in 1999 to what was described as Lyons’ organization — presumably, the North Carolina-based Southern Legal Resource Center (see story, p. 61). The documents, with classified material that the agent said would “have a huge interest to militia and terrorist organizations,” allegedly had been stolen by Davila’s ex-husband, Rafael, a former military intelligence officer with ties to the radical right. The investigators’ report indicated that Lyons’ organization subsequently mailed \$2,000 in cash to Davila. But though the indictment of the Davilas mentions Lyons, he was not charged in the case.

Denying any connection to espionage, Lyons fired off a lengthy press release accusing authorities of collaborating with his critics in a “ritual tarring and feathering.”

“I am a loyal American who was raised in a military family,” Lyons writes. “It is insulting in the extreme for anyone to associate the Lyons name with treason and betrayal of one’s countrymen.”

Lyons acknowledges that Deborah Davila attended his wedding in 1990 at the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations compound in Idaho, but says she was invited only because his bride had met her through a Scottish dance group. His one other contact with Davila came in 1991, he writes, when she joined some of his associates at the Stone Mountain (Ga.) Highland Games. “I don’t remember if I bought her a coke at the Stone Mountain Games,” Lyons writes, “but if I did, that was the last money she ever got from me.”

“I have not seen or spoken to her since,” Lyons writes. But that hasn’t stopped him from rendering judgment: “Deborah is a nice girl,” he told The Associated Press, “but she doesn’t have the brains to be a spy.”

The FBI apparently disagrees. Davila could face life in prison for allegedly shipping boxes of national secrets — so sensitive they were supposed to have been read only in special debugged huts at highly secured military installations — to antigovernment groups in Texas and Georgia as well. (Neither of these groups was named.) Though FBI agent Leland McEuen testified the documents would be “worth millions on the black market,” Davila reportedly received nothing more than the \$2,000 in cash from North Carolina.

One of the charges against Davila is that she falsely told investigators “she did not recognize Kirk Lyons’ name and was certain she never met Kirk Lyons.” Lyons probably wishes that were true. As it is, he was left to fall back on his lawyerly skills to mount a vigorous self-defense.

“I told the FBI that I was willing to take a polygraph test on this material to clear my name,” he writes in the press release. “I think it is safe to say that if the FBI entertained any serious notions that I received and paid for top secret documents, my office would have already been ransacked and my press conferences would be held behind armored glass in the local Federal ‘hotel.’”

— Bob Moser

that the plaintiffs’ “national origin” was “Confederate Southern American,” that the Hays officials had violated the U.S. Civil Rights Act of 1964.

In January 2002, school officials asked U.S. District Judge Sam Sparks to dismiss the case, arguing that the flag policy was a University Interscholastic League rule and that the league would be a more appropriate defendant. The following month, Sparks agreed, issuing a harshly worded order lambasting Lyons. He zeroed in on the selection of defendants, sloppy misprints in Lyons’ filings, and the fact that Lyons had withdrawn an earlier request for an injunction against the district.

“It would appear,” the judge wrote, “the plaintiffs have filed a complaint requesting a temporary injunction when they did not want one, obtained publicity because of the allegations, sued the wrong parties and in all probability have no cause of action against any party.” Sparks ordered the SLRC to pay defendants’ legal fees, which according to an SLRC newsletter totaled \$9,173.

In his E-mail, Payne insisted that the SLRC’s legal theories in the case “were sound” and that the Center was “by no means through with the flag issue at Hays County.” But speaking to a reporter at the time, Lyons sounded far more pessimistic.

“I’m shocked,” Lyons said. “I don’t know what’s in the court’s mind.”

An Unholy Alliance

For more than two years, Kirk Lyons has been a key player in an attempt to turn the Sons of Confederate Veterans (scv) from its original mission of defending the memory of Southern Civil War combatants to far-right political activism. He helped organize a major pro-Confederate flag rally in South Carolina in 2000, which in turn helped to boost Lyons’ credentials within the 32,000-member scv.

Shortly afterwards, Ron G. Wilson, a South Carolina scv activist who now heads the scv as commander in chief, joined the SLRC board, tax records reveal. (The SLRC Web site, which lists other directors, does not include Wilson’s name.) The following year, Wilson’s daughter, Allison Shaum, joined the SLRC as a “case worker.” In that job, she writes many of the SLRC’s occasional “updates.”



AUGUST (GA) CHRONICLE

Last August, Lyons, who had already won election to a lower scv post, stood for election to head one of the scv’s three geographic divisions. In the run-up to the August scv convention, the SLRC’s close links to the scv became apparent. Fully three hours of SLRC seminars were scheduled as part of the convention. In addition, over the years, thousands of dollars in donations and for various cases have been given by state scv organizations to the SLRC. scv Executive Director Ben Sewell refused to discuss the details of these transactions with the *Intelligence Report*.

By the time the convention got going, however, Lyons and his racist background had become a public issue, with newspapers and national television news depicting his candidacy as a battle for the soul of the organization. scv officials quietly canceled the SLRC seminars. No explanation was ever given.

In the end, Lyons was defeated by a moderate candidate in a 17-vote squeaker. But Wilson, whose links to Lyons and his extremist agenda were unknown at the time, managed to win the scv’s highest office — commander in chief. The election of Wilson and a number of his allies effectively handed the leadership of the scv to an extremist faction (for a full account, see “The War Within,” Winter



VALERIE DOWNES

2002 edition, *Intelligence Report*, and “A House Divided,” Spring 2002 edition).

Wilson did not abandon his alliance with the SLRC. In recent months, he appointed Lyons to sit on the scv’s Long-Range Planning Committee, while Payne landed a seat on the Resolutions Committee. During the same period, Wilson was raising money for the SLRC by selling T-shirts depicting the Confederate battle flag from his office. And early this year, Wilson launched a purge of most of those scv members who had publicly opposed him and Lyons (see story, p. 2).

Lyons vs. Bush

The close relationship between Lyons’ SLRC and the ruling faction in the badly divided scv might have been expected to produce dividends for the legal center. Indeed, Lyons recently wrote that 80% of the SLRC’s support comes from within the

scv. But that has not guaranteed Lyons a role in key legal actions.

In June 2000, while George W. Bush was campaigning for the presidency, officials of his gubernatorial administration ordered the removal of several plaques

Lyons filed the case. In the months that followed, Lyons and the SLRC would refer to the case repeatedly. It was clear that this was a favorite Lyons cause.

But to this day, Lyons hasn’t told his backers a crucial fact: He has been booted off the case. Last Sept. 21, the Texas division’s executive council decided to turn the case over to Dallas attorney Bill Kuhn. Texas scv official Jerry Nelson wrote that the council also

“was satisfied with our pioneering work on the case.”

There is no indication of any of this on the SLRC Web site.

A Theory That Won’t Die

A consistent theme in the SLRC’s cases is the idea that so-called Confederate Americans are being discriminated against as a group. A consistent tactic has been to file complaints with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) in a bid to get this view validated. And the consistent result has been failure.

In 1998, U.S. Department of Labor employee Don Curtis Terrell was turned

down by his bosses after he asked to participate in the department’s Diversity Day celebration as a Confederate American. Lyons’ complaint to the EEOC, alleging civil rights violations, was unsuccessful. Lyons’ appeal to federal court ended in a similar dismissal. His appeal to the 4th Circuit Court of Appeals also was turned down. In a last ditch effort, the SLRC last summer asked the U.S. Supreme Court to



rejected keeping Lyons on as co-counsel because “such an appointment was not in the division’s best interest.” Marshall Davis, public information officer for the Texas scv, clarified that

review the Terrell case. The high court declined to do so last October.

As near as can be determined from the SLRC’s Web site and E-mails to its supporters, the SLRC has been involved in at least 20 EEOC claims of workplace discrimination against Confederate Americans, virtually all of them stemming from employer bans on Confederate symbols. In each case discussed by the SLRC, the EEOC has rejected the claims, and in some, reviewing courts have agreed.

“They just don’t get it,” Lyons complained.

That’s hardly the way experts in American civil rights law see it. They say the idea of such ethnic “groups” as “Confederate Americans” or “Confederate Southern Americans” clearly has no meaning under federal, state or regulatory law.



JENNIFER WARBURG

The SLRC board includes Lourie Sally III (upper left), H.K. Edgerton (lower left), and Ron Wilson (above), and its chief trial counsel is Kirk Lyons (right). Although Lyons has described Edgerton as a board member for years, he is not listed like other members in 2000 and 2001 tax returns. Edgerton’s name was added to a directors list on the SLRC Web site only this February.

commemorating the Confederacy from the Texas Supreme Court building. The plaques included a quote from Robert E. Lee and an image of the battle flag.

The Texas division of the scv was furious, and engaged the SLRC and Lyons to bring a suit against four Bush officials, including two who are now in the White House. Arguing that the removal violated a 1954 provision of the Texas constitution,

statement: “The best I can say is the division was not pleased with his progress as we were proceeding on this case. I think the division officers felt that it was not moving quickly enough for them.”

Payne offered a rather different version of events in his E-mail to the *Report*, saying the SLRC was “happy to withdraw” when the scv found local counsel. “The Texas Division,” he said,

“I’ve been studying civil rights laws and their applications for 28 years, and I’ve litigated issues of how one defines national origin groups and racial groups,” Al Kauffman of Harvard University’s Civil Rights Project told the *Intelligence Report*. “And a group of ‘Confederate Southerners’ does not fit any racial or ethnic origin group I’ve ever seen under any federal or state law. I cannot imagine that any court or administrative agency anywhere would recognize Southern Americans as a racial or ethnic group. I don’t think they’d recognize Yankee Northerners either.”

But defeat has not bowed Lyons or the SLRC. “[W]e are prepared to bring this issue again and again in a variety of venues,” Payne told the *Intelligence Report*, “until we find the one judge who will at least let us put on evidence that Confederate Southern Americans deserve the same protections as other Americans.”

On May 17, 2000, the SLRC announced in a press release that it was filing similar claims on behalf of nine students suspended from the Grady County, Ga., school system for defying a ban on Confed-

Wooten told the *Intelligence Report*. But almost two years after Lyons vowed to file suit, Wooten revealed what Lyons has not: “Nothing was ever filed against us.”

‘Cases Pending’

This January, the SLRC Web site detailed two disputes under a headline that read “Cases Pending,” implying that the SLRC represented the parties involved. In both cases, the plaintiff’s families say Lyons actually did very little for them.

In early 1997, Concord High School freshman Katie Knight came to school in Concord, N.C., with a patch on her book bag that depicted a checkered racing flag crossed with a Confederate battle flag. Officials asked Katie to remove the patch, arguing, as many schools have, that the flag could cause school disruptions.

The following fall, with Lyons and Payne at her side, Katie and her mother

No lawsuit was ever filed. “We basically stuck to our guns,” Cabarras County School Board Attorney Mark Enriques told the *Intelligence Report*. “He talked about filing a lawsuit, but nothing was ever filed. In the end, they basically went away.”

In early 1998, after two hearings before the school board with Lyons at her side, Katie moved to Indiana to live with her father, John, and her stepmother, Martha Knight. The case ended there, but that didn’t prevent the SLRC from listing it in its “Cases Pending” section for five more years. The SLRC’s description of the case gave no hint that the SLRC was no longer representing Katie Knight.

The SLRC page described its second “pending” case as that of Michael Blackburn, then a first sergeant at the Special Forces Special Warfare School at Ft. Bragg, N.C. Blackburn, the description said, “alleges defamation” against a superior officer who is said to have launched a criminal investigation against Blackburn and two other officers because they had scv materials and had accessed a League of the South Web site. It reports that Blackburn and the others were exonerated.

It is true that the three men were exonerated. But Connie Blackburn, Michael’s wife, says that although her husband did seek help from the SLRC and a number of other law firms, none of the credit goes to SLRC. “These guys did all the work themselves,” Connie Blackburn said of the three accused. “I don’t recall Kirk doing anything.” Michael Blackburn is now an ROTC instructor in Missouri.

Days after the *Intelligence Report* sent Lyons and the SLRC a list of questions about these cases and others, the entire “Cases Pending” section of the SLRC Web site was removed, and the contents of a “Current Cases” section were changed.

The Castorina Case

Amidst all its failures, the SLRC has one case to point to that could become a significant victory for backers of Confederate symbols in the schoolhouse. But even this case is not the total victory that the SLRC and Lyons have portrayed it as.

On Sept. 17, 1997, Timothy Castorina and Tiffany Dargavell arrived at Madison

High School in Richmond, Ky., wearing matching T-shirts that depicted country music star Hank Williams Jr. on the front and two Confederate battle flags on the back. Citing a school policy against clothing with an “illegal, immoral or racist implication,” the principal gave them a choice of going home to change or turning the shirts inside out for the

the banning of racially divisive symbols and whether or not enforcement of the ban was “viewpoint-neutral,” meaning it applied equally to other potentially divisive symbols (for a full legal analysis of the Castorina case, see story, p. 70).

The lower court ordered both sides into settlement negotiations and, last September, an agreement was reached.

The school board agreed to amend its dress code so as to consider a “student’s purpose” when deciding if clothing is allowed. It also banned “racially or sexually offensive” words and images. But the pact says nothing about the Confederate battle flag, and officials declined to elaborate.

Lyons declared himself thrilled. Earlier, he had written that any settlement “will enshrine the 6th Circuit ruling as law,” which was true, but which neglected the fact that important issues remained to be litigated at trial. The appeals court ruling

clearly did not overturn bans on the Confederate battle flag. Instead, it laid out the factors that must be taken into consideration before imposing such a ban.

But the SLRC and the scv both are attempting to use the Castorina case as a cudgel to try to force other school districts to abandon attempts to ban Confederate symbols. Last December, the SLRC said that it was sending Castorina “packets” to school districts in Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee and Virginia. According to the SLRC, several districts have renegotiated their policies as a result.

Of Ostriches and Flags

The Lawrence County, Ala., schools are not among those that have voluntarily changed their policies. Lyons sued that

district after officials suspended 16 students in October 2001 for defying a Confederate battle flag ban. But this case has a twist: Lyons is representing seven Cherokee students, and he is arguing that the flag ban violates their rights as “Confederate Cherokees.” Trial was set for this summer, but has been postponed because a school official was called up for active duty.

Board attorney Mark S. Boardman says he is unconcerned. He says he beat Lyons in a similar case when he was attorney for the school district in St. Clair County, which like the rest of Alabama is not governed by the 6th Circuit.

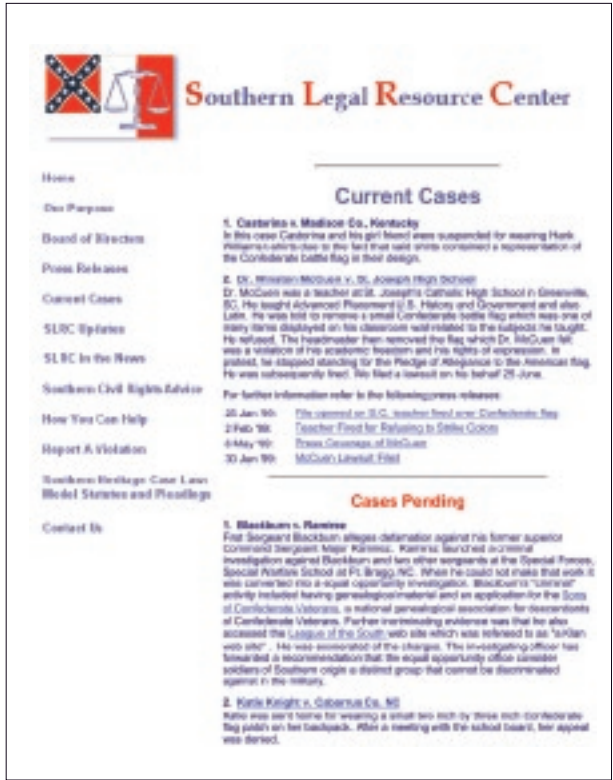
“I got a summary judgment,” Boardman told the *Intelligence Report*. “The only new claim here is the Confederate flag is a symbol for Cherokee Indians. ... I don’t anticipate it is going to hold any more water than the original claim.”

Indeed, a year before the SLRC was incorporated, Lyons and the SLRC suffered quite a drubbing at the hands of Boardman and U.S. District Judge Robert Propst. Propst rejected Lyons’ argument that the students’ First Amendment rights had been violated, and dismissed the case. And the judge ruled that the Confederate flag can, in fact, cause school disruptions.

“Only an ostrich could conclude otherwise,” Propst wrote. “The court concludes that school administrators do not have to wait for an outbreak of such disruptions to forbid such adornments” as the Confederate battle flag on a T-shirt.

Lyons vowed to appeal the 1995 decision. But he never did.

Their many defeats and disappointments notwithstanding, Lyons, Payne and the Southern Legal Resource Center seem determined to soldier on. “Victory in our National Origin claims is the surest path to winning full civil rights for Confederate Southern Americans,” Payne wrote in one of SLRC’s many appeals. “All Americans who value their liberty in a free society have a stake in this fight. To obtain victory, however, we must be committed to the onerous expense of several lawsuits over a period of years. We cannot do it alone. Your pledge today to the work of the SLRC will help us continue this historic bid for our people’s freedom.” ▲



erate-flag clothing. The SLRC said it would allege discrimination based on race and national origin in a complaint to the U.S. Department of Education. Similarly, it would allege religious discrimination in a complaint to the U.S. Department of Justice. Once those claims were adjudicated, the SLRC press release promised, a suit “will be filed in Federal court.”

Lyons did indeed threaten to sue the system, Schools Superintendent Steve

appealed the banning of the symbol to the school board. “Their appeals,” the SLRC wrote, “compounded by Kirk Lyons’ clear exposition of the law, were persuasive enough to induce paving stones to change their positions. Unfortunately, the solons of Cabarras County were unmoved.” The press release that included this description also headlined a promise: “Katie Knight Appeal Denied; Lawsuit to Follow.”

BOOKS ON THE RIGHT

Detailing David Duke

Authors have probed America’s best-known white supremacist and his ideology for more than a decade

Great White Hoax: Responding to David Duke and the Politics of White Nationalism

By Tim Wise
SEATTLE: NORTHWEST COALITION FOR HUMAN DIGNITY, FORTHCOMING IN 2003

The Rise of David Duke

By Tyler Bridges
JACKSON, MISS: UNIVERSITY PRESS OF MISSISSIPPI, 1994, PP. 300, \$15.95

Cross to Bear

By John Maginnis
BATON ROUGE, LA: DARKHORSE PRESS, 1992, PP. 374, \$19.95

David Duke: Evolution of a Klansman

By Michael Zatarain
GRETNA, LA: PELICAN PUBLISHING, 1990, PP. 304, \$25

The Emergence of David Duke and the Politics of Race

Edited by Douglas D. Rose
CHAPEL HILL: UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS, 1992, PP. 269, \$19.95

In the world according to David Ernest Duke, Europeans are more civilized than people of color; blacks are inherently predisposed to crime; lower IQ test scores among blacks are not the result of inferior education or economic status, but inferior genes; whites suffer from widespread “reverse discrimination” in the United States; and the lynching of blacks was almost always punishment for “serious criminal behavior such as rape and murder.”

What’s more, Duke maintains that conniving Jews run the economy and the media; they use blacks as pawns in an ongoing war against white Christians; Communism was a Jewish creation; and the Holocaust either never happened or has been greatly exaggerated. And, by the way, did you know that Jews “declared war” on the Nazis first, which prompted Hitler to strike back in self-defense?

These are among the many canards, lies and distortions that fill the pages of Duke’s 1998 autobiography, *My Awakening*. Fortunately, long-time anti-racist activist Tim Wise has written a detailed rebuttal to Duke’s rancid prose. In his forthcoming book, *Great White Hoax*, Wise methodically dissects and exposes the litany of errors, falsehoods, and outright fabrications that Duke has espoused throughout his career as a professional bigot. The fact that Duke has recently pleaded guilty to two felonies and is headed to federal prison does not make Wise’s book any less relevant or timely. This important new study is a valuable tool for counter-ing the pernicious and hurtful myths promoted not just by Duke but by the

white nationalist movement as a whole. “Old Nazis ... never die,” says Wise. “They just pass on their sickness to a new generation.”

While Wise provides a convincing, point-by-point refutation of Duke’s racist and anti-Semitic propaganda, several other books have examined his career as a white supremacist agitator and political office-seeker. By far, the best of these is *The Rise of David Duke* by former New Orleans *Times-Picayune* staff writer Tyler Bridges.

“On the surface, he is charming, friendly, boyishly handsome. But beneath the mask lurks a twisted fanatic,” writes Bridges, who discusses Duke’s dysfunctional family background and the lonely childhood that preceded his involvement with a series of hate groups. Born in Tulsa, Okla., in 1950, Duke was raised by an alcoholic mother and an aloof father, a former U.S. army major who worked as an engineer for Shell Oil. In this exemplary political biography, Bridges exposes Duke’s use of front companies to siphon funds from his political campaigns for personal use and many other instances of financial chicanery. Bridges also reports that several of Duke’s key allies in the racist movement — including a number of American Nazi Party and Ku Klux Klan veterans — helped to coordinate his campaigns for political office.

Cross to Bear, by political columnist John Maginnis, is a journalistic account of the 1991 Louisiana gubernatorial race (dubbed “the race from hell”), which culminated in a high-profile runoff contest between Duke and Edwin Edwards, the scandal-plagued former governor. Although the book lacks an index, it provides an in-depth look at Louisiana politics at its worst, as voters were forced to choose between the lesser of two evils. “Vote for the crook. It’s important,” became the ironic rallying cry for many who backed Edward’s

successful campaign. It turns out that the two candidates had more in common than most people realized at the time. Both men would later be sentenced to prison for financial improprieties.

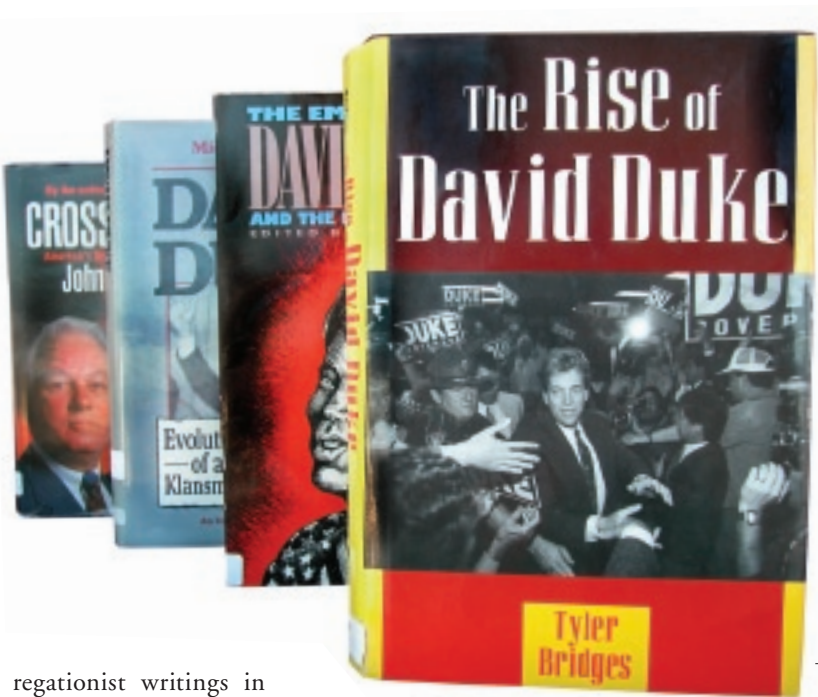
David Duke: Evolution of a Klansman by Michael Zatarain was written before Duke ran for governor. It focuses on his early years as white supremacist — from his initial exposure to seg-

regationist writings in middle school to his electoral breakthrough in 1989, when Duke unexpectedly won a seat in the Louisiana state legislature. As a college student at Louisiana State University, Duke paraded around campus in a swastika armband. Since then, according to Zatarain, “Duke’s positions had not changed, only his method of delivery and the public’s acceptance of him were different.” This largely kid-gloves account, however, steers clear of Duke’s womanizing, gambling, and financial misconduct, which figured prominently in the splits that ensued within the Klan as his erstwhile supporters abandoned Duke in droves.

The Emergence of David Duke and the Politics of Race edited by Douglas D. Rose consists of 11 essays that probe various aspects of the Duke phenomenon. This astute collection includes contributions from sociologists, political scientists, journalists, historians, and anti-racist activists who address essential questions, such as: How did an ex-Klansman proclaiming a thinly disguised racialist message become

found a receptive audience among those hit hard by a Louisiana oil recession. Widespread political alienation was also an important factor that played in his favor. Grassroots anti-racist organizations, meanwhile, were instrumental in thwarting Duke’s reactionary populist power-grab. Particularly significant were the efforts of Lance Hill, executive director of the Louisiana Coalition against Racism and Nazism, who wrote an article for this anthology. “Duke entered the far right movement as an avowed National Socialist,” says Hill. “Since then, like his Nazi forebears, Duke’s politics have been marked by opportunism [as he] searched for a way to popularize his racial views.”

In another noteworthy essay, Elizabeth A. Rickey, a member of the Louisiana Republican State Central Committee, describes her frustration as she tried to get GOP leaders in her state to take a strong stand against Duke. Rickey figured that Duke’s neo-Nazi and Klan associations would embarrass other Republicans and prompt them to repudiate Duke in no uncertain terms. Instead she found herself thrust into a “twilight zone” of dithering, indecisive political elites who did not know what



“On the surface, he is charming, friendly, boyishly handsome. But beneath the mask lurks a twisted fanatic.”

the preferred candidate of hundreds of thousands of Americans? Was his popularity among white voters a Louisiana oddity or a symptom of a nationwide malaise?

Many Duke supporters “feel less racist than victimized,” according to Rose. Duke’s scapegoating message

to do about the challenge presented by Duke. As Rickey put it, “I just did not understand how anyone could look at David Duke, listen to him for any length of time, know of his background, and not want to put garlic around their neck.”

— Martin A. Lee

LEGAL BRIEF

Symbols in School

A New Jersey case complicates school officials' attempts to ban the wearing of symbols like the Confederate flag

The Southern Legal Resource Center (SLRC) claims that *Castorina v. Madison County School Board*, 246 F.3d 536 (6th Cir. 2001), is “first and foremost the ONLY pro-Confederate student free speech case in any of the United States Circuit Courts of appeals.” But given the SLRC’s penchant for exaggeration (see story, p. 61), it should surprise no one that *Castorina* not only is not “the ONLY pro-Confederate” appellate decision, it is not even the most significant one. That distinction belongs to *Sypniewski v. Warren Hills Regional Board of Education*, 307 F.3d 243 (3rd Cir. 2002), a case that originated north of the Mason-Dixon Line and has the potential to give school administrators fits. More than three decades ago, the Supreme Court ruled that students do not shed “their constitutional rights to freedom of speech or expression at the schoolhouse door.” *Tinker v. Des Moines Independent Community School District*, 393 U.S. 503 (1969). To prohibit student expression — be it speech, the wearing of black armbands as a sign of protest, or the wearing of Confederate flag emblems as a sign of regional or ethnic pride — school officials must point to more than an “undifferentiated fear or apprehension of disturbance.” Instead, they must point to evidence that they have reason to anticipate that the expression will “substantially interfere with the work of the school or impinge upon the rights of other students.”

The *Castorina* decision is simply an application of these same principles. The case was filed after two Kentucky students were suspended from school for insisting on wearing T-shirts emblazoned with the Confederate flag and the slogan “Southern Thunder.” Because it was not clear that the school had experienced any racial unrest from past displays of Confederate symbols and because the suspended students claimed that the school had let black students wear clothing with racially divisive messages, the appellate court ruled that the lower court had erred in ruling for the school district without a trial. The school in the *Sypniewski* case, in contrast, had experienced significant racial turmoil. A group of white students known as “the Hicks” had marked what they called “White Power Wednesdays” each week by sporting Confederate flag clothing. After racial tensions escalated into threats and

fight, the school board enacted a policy that prohibited students from wearing “racially divisive” clothing. The policy was even-handed — it referred to both white supremacist and black power fare.

Thomas Sypniewski was one of the students who wore a Confederate flag shirt during the period of racial unrest. His shirt carried the slogan “Not only am I perfect, I’m a Redneck too!” The Confederate battle flag could be seen through the letters in the word “redneck.” Less than ten days after the school board enacted its new policy prohibiting “racially divisive” clothing, Thomas showed up at school wearing a T-shirt that listed the “Top 10 reasons you might be a Redneck Sports Fan” inspired by comedian Jeff Foxworthy. “The thought crossed my mind,” Thomas was quoted in his local newspaper as saying, that the shirt was “going to piss people off.” (Thomas later denied making the remark.) When Thomas refused to remove the shirt, he was suspended. With the backing of the Center for Individual Rights, a conservative law firm best known for bringing challenges to university affirmative action policies, Thomas and his brothers filed suit.



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Thomas Sypniewski

In a split decision, the court of appeals ruled that school officials had probably violated Thomas’ First Amendment rights when they suspended him. In an opinion more notable for its verbal gymnastics than for its realism, the court ruled that the term “redneck” was not sufficiently similar to the expressions and symbols that had caused racial problems at the school despite the fact that Thomas had worn a shirt with the word “redneck” and a Confederate flag on it during the period of racial unrest, despite the racial connotations of the term “redneck,” and despite the in-your-face timing of the incident.

The *Sypniewski* decision has the potential to cause tremendous headaches for school officials. Even if they are justified in prohibiting racially divisive clothing because of a history of racial turmoil at their schools, they will likely face challenges from belligerent, but clever students wearing clothing sufficiently similar to the banned fare to threaten problems, but sufficiently different to make the issue a debatable one. Faced with the prospect of federal judges second-guessing their decisions, prudent school officials will be tempted to adopt broad, but easy-to-administer

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for the Record

Incidents of apparent hate crimes and hate group activities listed in *For The Record* are drawn primarily from media sources. These incidents include only a fraction of the approximately 10,000 hate crimes reported to the FBI each year and an even smaller proportion of the 50,000 reported and unreported hate crimes that are estimated to actually occur annually. This listing carries a selection of incidents from the fourth quarter of 2002 (an unabridged listing may be found on the Southern Poverty Law Center’s Web site, www.splcenter.org).

CALIFORNIA

Adelanto • Oct. 30, 2002

Robert J. Alvarran, 31, was charged with suspicion of violating a person’s civil rights, assault, and burglary for allegedly bursting into his neighbor’s home and attacking him after the man admitted to being homosexual.

Fremont • Sept. 24, 2002

Jesus Lopez, 20, and Jason Primas, 18, were charged with battery and committing a hate crime after allegedly attacking two Afghan teens.

Fremont • Nov. 19, 2002

Jason Cazares, 22, was charged with murder after allegedly killing a 17-year-old cross-dresser.

Lompoc • Sept. 21, 2002

Jayne Sharp, 42, and Charles Matkin, 28, were sentenced to two years in prison for burning a cross in a black man’s yard in July.

Los Angeles • Oct. 4, 2002

Sergio Verdugo, 20, was sentenced to life without parole in prison for murdering a gay man in June 2000.

Los Angeles • Oct. 13, 2002

Ever Wilfredo Rivera and Selvin Orlando Campos, both 19, were charged with two counts each of a hate crime, robbery and assault with a deadly weapon by means likely to produce great bodily injury after they allegedly assaulted two men, in two separate incidents, because of the men’s perceived sexual orientation.

Murrieta • Oct. 19, 2002

An 18-year-old Hispanic youth and two 17-year-old Hispanic teens were

charged with assault with a deadly weapon, participation in a criminal street gang, committing a hate crime and possession of metal knuckles after allegedly attacking a white man.

Newark • Oct. 18, 2002

Jose Merel, 24, Jason Chase Nabors, 19, and Michael Magidson, 25, were charged with murder with a hate crime enhancement after allegedly killing a 17-year-old male cross-dresser.

Redding • Oct. 1, 2002

Erick B. Woods, 23, and a 17-year-old boy were charged with assault, assault with a deadly weapon, and making a hate crime threat for allegedly throwing rocks at two men and attacking them while yelling anti-homosexual slurs.

San Diego • Oct. 4, 2002

Larry Patrick Gutierrez, 21, was sentenced to four years in prison for attacking a cross-dresser while yelling anti-gay epithets.

West Hollywood • Sept. 20, 2002

Daoud M. Mavid, 19, and Mohammed H. Aref, 22, were charged with assault with a deadly weapon and committing a hate crime for allegedly attacking two men while yelling “Kill the Jews!”

West Hollywood • Oct. 25, 2002

Two Hispanic men allegedly attacked a gay man.

COLORADO

Centennial • Oct. 6, 2002

Fliers from the neo-Nazi group the National Alliance were posted on doors and porches in two neighborhoods.

CONNECTICUT

Norwich • Dec. 2, 2002

Anti-Semitic fliers from the neo-Nazi group the National Alliance were distributed in Norwich and two other towns.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Washington • Oct. 2, 2002

A black man allegedly attacked a gay activist.

FLORIDA

Deland • Sept. 20, 2002

A 20-year-old black man, Willie A. Hughes, was charged with two counts of a hate crime, aggravated battery and simple battery for allegedly attacking two white students.

Fort Lauderdale • Nov. 7, 2002

Kenneth Frank Greer, 43, was charged with aggravated battery with a hate crime after allegedly running into a black bicyclist with his girlfriend’s truck because the rider was black.

Gainesville • Nov. 11, 2002

Lennon Waters, 32, was charged with aggravated assault and a hate crime after allegedly wielding an ax and threatening a man dressed as a woman.

HAWAII

Honolulu • Oct. 21, 2002

Anti-Muslim leaflets were left at a mosque.

ILLINOIS

Elgin • Nov. 15, 2002

A racial epithet was written on a black family’s lawn.

IOWA

Ames • Nov. 18, 2002

The words “Die Fag Die Fag” and “Dean of Fags” were scrawled on two buildings at Iowa State University.

KANSAS

Lawrence • Dec. 6, 2002

A 28-year-old gay man was allegedly assaulted because of his perceived sexual orientation.

KENTUCKY

Covington • Nov. 30, 2002

Clarence D. Snedcor, a 37-year-old white man, and a 15-year-old white boy were charged with first-degree assault and first-degree burglary for allegedly beating and stabbing a black man while shouting racial slurs.

LOUISIANA

Lafayette • Nov. 16, 2002

Five alleged members of America’s Invisible Empire Knights of the KKK, Robert Dartez, Berry L. Harris, David Fusilier, Christopher Aaron and Samuel J. Trahan, were charged with interfering with a family’s housing rights, using fire to commit a felony and conspiracy for allegedly burning a cross in a black family’s front yard.

MAINE

Kittery • Oct. 23, 2002

William Livermore, 31, was charged with a hate crime for allegedly attacking a man because of the man’s perceived sexual orientation.

MARYLAND

Annapolis • Nov. 1, 2002

Johnny Lee Mitchell, 20, was charged with four counts of assault and two counts of racial harassment and

reckless endangerment for allegedly assaulting and harassing his Middle Eastern neighbors in October.

Annapolis • Dec. 2, 2002

Ray C. Bailey, 21, David J. Grobani, 19, and Robert J. Canter, 20, were charged with assault and committing a hate crime after allegedly making ethnic slurs and attacking a cab driver of Middle Eastern descent.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston • Nov. 19, 2002

Phea Meas, 24, Jamie Roldan, 23, and another man were charged with a hate crime after allegedly beating a Pakistani convenience store clerk.

Boston • Dec. 11, 2002

Leo Felton, a 32-year-old racist Skinhead, was sentenced to 21 years and 10 months in prison for plotting to blow up black and Jewish landmarks in 1999.

Somerville • Sept. 13, 2002

William Tighe, 17, Matthew Powers, 17, and two juveniles were charged with unarmed robbery and assault and battery with a dangerous weapon for allegedly attacking a man and two women while yelling the words “dykes,” “fags” and “freaks.”

Symbols in School

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 70

policies requiring student uniforms rather than narrow, but difficult-to-enforce policies banning only the kind of clothing that has caused problems. Student self-expression will be sacrificed in the process, but school administrators will avoid lawsuits. *Sypniewski* may be a First Amendment victory for Thomas and his brothers, but it may lead school administrators to stifle the rights of future students.

Perhaps the most ironic thing about the *Sypniewski* case is that it arose in a northern state like New Jersey. The champions of the word “redneck” were not Southerners, but proud Polish-American brothers living less than 100 miles from New York City. They claim that there was nothing racial in their actions. But to us, the case looks like a reflection of the ethnic nationalism that is growing throughout the country. ▲

MINNESOTA

St. Cloud • Dec. 16, 2002

Racist messages were spray-painted on two black businesses.

MISSISSIPPI

Biloxi • Nov. 30, 2002

A dozen members from the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan held a march.

MISSOURI

Fayette • Sept. 21, 2002

Jeff Fick, 31, was charged with third-degree assault motivated by discrimination for allegedly burning a cross near the residence of a biracial couple.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Dover • Oct. 8, 2002

Four middle school students were charged with simple assault and a hate crime enhancement after allegedly assaulting a fellow student while accusing him of being a homosexual.

NEW YORK

Bronx • Nov. 29, 2002

Seven white teenagers allegedly assaulted a black man while shouting racial epithets.

Manhattan • Nov. 21, 2002

A letter containing anti-Semitic remarks was mailed to a Jewish woman.

Queens • Oct. 4, 2002

Two men allegedly attacked a 17-year-old Middle Eastern teenager because of his ethnicity while accusing him of being in the Taliban and blaming him for the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks.

Staten Island • Oct. 10, 2002

Anti-white messages were taped to the doors of several predominantly white churches.

Troy • Sept. 21, 2002

Steven E. Higgins, 27, was charged with second-degree assault and aggravated harassment after he allegedly shouted racial remarks at a black man and hit him in the head with a rock.

Yonkers • Sept. 23, 2002

Thomas Meier, 19, and Michael Serratore, Anthony Paololla and Kevin Armstrong, all 17, were charged with third-degree assault as a hate crime after allegedly attacking an Asian teen.

NORTH CAROLINA

Charlotte • Nov. 20, 2002

Michael Ray Nichols, 32, was sentenced to nine years and two months in prison for intimidating and harassing a black family and a Hispanic man in 1999.

Dunn • Sept. 4, 2002

Ronald Pleasant, 51, was charged with one misdemeanor count of attempting to place a burning cross in a black family's yard.

Niles • Oct. 23, 2002

Robert Earl Wilken, a 39-year-old white man, was charged with a hate crime after allegedly attempting to run down six black children with his pickup truck.

Oxford • Nov. 5, 2002

Two 16-year-olds, a 15-year-old and a 14-year-old were charged with aggravated trespassing and ethnic intimidation by way of criminal damaging after allegedly burning a cross in the yard of a white family with biracial children.

OREGON

Eugene • Oct. 25, 2002

Rocks bearing swastikas were thrown through the window of a synagogue.

Portland • Oct. 29, 2002

Brian Raymond Hauth, 26, was charged with conspiracy to deny civil rights through intimidation and using fire to commit a felony after he allegedly spray-painted racist graffiti at a Korean church and a Jewish cemetery and burned crosses in late 2000 and early 2001.

RHODE ISLAND

Providence • Nov. 15, 2002

Joseph Nixon, 25, was sentenced to two years and nine months in prison for threatening to blow up two synagogues.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Myrtle Beach • Nov. 29, 2002

A swastika and anti-Semitic words and symbols were spray-painted on the front doors of a synagogue.

TENNESSEE

Knoxville • Dec. 11, 2002

Travis L. Kitts, 23, was sentenced to 36 months in prison for a September 2001 attack on a man he believed to be of Middle Eastern descent. Jason B. Kitts, 22, was sentenced to 20 months in prison for his role in the assault.

WASHINGTON

Seattle • Dec. 17, 2002

Patrick Cunningham, 54, was sentenced to six and a half years in prison for shooting at members of a mosque and dousing their cars with gasoline in September 2001.

Racine • Sept. 27, 2002

Joseph W. Hulsey, 22, was charged with attempted first-degree intentional homicide and a hate crime enhancement for allegedly ramming his car into a black man while yelling racial slurs.

THE LAST WORD

‘Full Colon Miller’

A Milwaukee conspiracist says punctuation such as the colon is the key to liberty. Others say David Wynn Miller is full of it

McDONOUGH, Ga. — The King of Hawaii is confused.

He’s a genius, he says, with an IQ of 200. He’s the one who discovered, back in 1998, “the mathematical interface in the truth that certifies all 5,000 languages, frontwards and backwards.” The Constitution is a “bankruptcy trust,” he knows, and old Ben Franklin was a triple agent. Bill Clinton and every member of the Supreme Court are students of his, along with 100 million others, and no surprise either. After all, David Wynn Miller spent 59,000 hours studying such matters and if he can’t give you the answers, no one can.

But the professorial conspiracist — who was coronated in 1996, he reports, after he “turned Hawaii into a verb” and held 25 seminars for the grateful natives — is feeling a bit perplexed. “Oh, I’m on, live?” he mutters after someone at the Homeland Security Expo held here last November yells something about the video camera that’s rolling now. “Okay, er, I’ll do an introduction here.”

And so, setting sail into the linguistic fog, he begins.

“My name is David hyphen Wynn full colon Miller,” the 53-year-old Milwaukeean says, and the brows of his audience of 50 begin to furrow. This crowd of “Patriots” is used to conspiracy theories, but even at an event dominated by antigovernment ideology, Miller is tough going.

“The reason I use a full colon and a hyphen in my name, the first full colon, which is full colon David, it means for the David hyphen Wynn. That’s my given name, and it’s also a noun, because it uses a prepositional phrase. ... Because I use prepositional phrases, through punctuation, which is classified as hieroglyphics, which makes me a life, L-I-F-E. Now, when you don’t punctu-

ate your name ... David is an adjective, Wynn is an adjective, Miller is a pronoun. Two adjectives are a condition of modification, opinion, presumption, which modifies the pronoun, pro means no on noun. So therefore, I’m not a fact. I’m a fiction.”

Aha. Now we’re getting to the heart of the matter. If you don’t punctuate your



:David-Wynn: Miller explains “quantum language” — sort of.

name correctly — and especially if it’s written all in capitals, as devious court officials are wont to do — you’re “dead.” Yes, dead. An illusion.

“Neat concepts,” as Miller points out.

It’s not easy to follow, but Miller makes his way, via his finding that maritime law applies worldwide because “Earth is a vessel in a sea of space,” to the “universal postal union” — the U.S. Postal Service, he seems to mean. Turns out it runs the world. Has since 1873. Ben Franklin was a postmaster. President Grant, too.

Miller makes some other detours, letting the crowd in on how MasterCard took over the U.S. economy at the stroke

of midnight on Sept. 17, 1999. But soon he’s getting to where he really wants to go — the World Trade Center.

When the Sept. 11 attacks occurred, the Center towers collapsed in six seconds, Miller says, not the 12 seconds it would have taken normal matter. Plus, all the concrete turned to dust. Having discovered the “mathematical interface that all steel is plastic” some years back, Miller understands perfectly what “the physics of plastic” is trying to tell him: A magnetic pulse brought down the towers.

What creates a magnetic pulse? C-4 plastic explosive. Who has C-4? The military. Who controls the military? The post office.

And there you have it. Postal authorities sneaked into the towers, replacing all chairs, tables and file cabinets with plastic furniture. Explosive plastic furniture. The steel in the building — well, that was plastic steel, and it was utterly destroyed by the C-4, which is only capable of destroying other plastic “polymers.”

“That’s what gave us certification that it was an inside job,” Miller explains.

At the moment of collapse, \$12 trillion was transferred electronically from the basement of the trade center to Singapore. “The World Trade Center was a bank robbery,” Miller reveals, “very cleverly engineered.”

The man’s red hot now. After an hour and 22 minutes, he’s coming to the nub of the conspiracy. But suddenly, someone’s telling him his time’s up. “They always do this to me,” Miller complains. “They cut me off in the middle of a sentence.”

Not to worry. The King of Hawaii tells his listeners that he’ll finish up in the back, where he’s selling his books and videos. That’s what he did the last time this happened. They sorted it all out that time — in five hours and 15 minutes.

— **Mark Potok**

The Southern Poverty Law Center Programs with Far-Reaching Impact

Promoting Tolerance



Teaching Tolerance is an education program dedicated to helping teachers across the nation foster respect and understanding among their students. Its award-winning *Teaching Tolerance* magazine provides practical ideas for promoting an appreciation of diversity and the values of democracy and is distributed free twice a year to more than 500,000 educators. The program's video-and-text kits and anti-bias handbooks have been distributed free of charge to more than 300,000 schools and community organizations.

Tolerance.org is a Web project that awakens people to the problems of hate and intolerance, prompts them to action and encourages them to dig deeper.

Seeking Justice

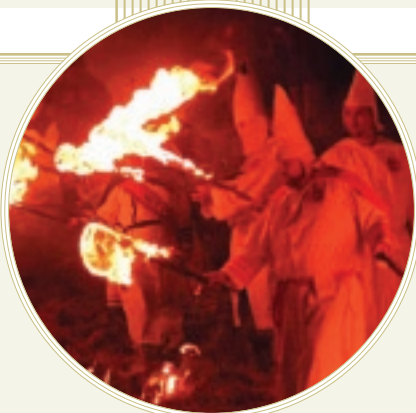


Center attorneys handle innovative cases that few lawyers are willing to take. They fight all forms of discrimination and work to protect society's most vulnerable members. Several of the Center's cases have reached the U. S. Supreme Court, and many have resulted in landmark rulings.

The Center uses novel legal strategies to combat hate groups by suing them for the violent actions of their members. Its victories against several notorious Klan and neo-Nazi groups effectively shut down their operations.

The Center never accepts money from those it helps, and it receives no government funding. Its work is supported by thousands of committed individuals.

Monitoring Hate



The Intelligence Project monitors more than 700 hate groups and tracks extremist activity throughout the United States. It provides comprehensive updates to law enforcement, the media and the general public through its quarterly magazine, *Intelligence Report*. Staff members regularly conduct training for police, schools, and civil rights and community groups.

The Center, in partnership with a major university and the Federal Law Enforcement Training Center, offers an Internet hate crime training course for law enforcement officers throughout the nation.

Visit us on the Web @ www.tolerance.org * www.splcenter.org * www.teachingtolerance.org



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