

THE NATIONAL ALLIANCE: UP AGAINST THE WALL

THE SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER'S

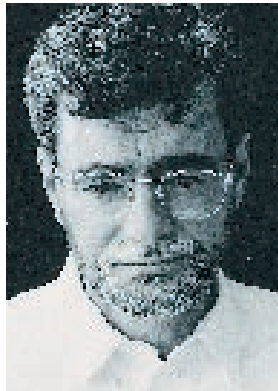
Intelligence Report

FALL 2003 • ISSUE III

FACES OF THE FUTURE

FLESHING OUT THE RADICAL RIGHT
IN A PERIOD OF UPHEAVAL





EDITORIAL

Looking Forward

BY MARK POTOK, EDITOR

The National Alliance, for decades the nation’s leading neo-Nazi group, is losing money and members – an average of about one a day — and seems bound for still more serious trouble, perhaps even dissolution. The World Church of the Creator, the second most important neo-Nazi organization, has virtually evaporated since its leader was jailed last January on charges of having solicited the murder of a federal judge. The closest thing the movement has to a celebrity, former Klan leader David Duke, is serving a prison sentence that won’t end until next year.

Is the American radical right collapsing?

It would be easy to conclude that these facts, coupled with a remarkable number of other arrests and additional internal movement problems, are symptoms of the crack-up of the extreme right. But it would also be wrong.

The fact is, the radical right seems to be here to stay. Even as some sectors of the movement founder, other areas — anti-immigrant groups, neo-Confederates, the more genteel “academic racists” and others — are expanding. The increasing hegemony of multicultural ideology, the political and economic effects of advancing globalization, and a host of other factors have fostered an angry backlash that is helping the movement to grow. In fact, what we are witnessing is the realignment of the radical right — a reshuffling of groups, leaders and causes.

The movement may have taken a hit, but it is not going away.

Making the Point With Violence

This September, the grotesque story of the so-called 311 Boyz, a white gang composed of middle- and upper-class suburban Las Vegas teenagers, helped to emphasize that point. Nine members of the group — whose name is shorthand for KKK (K being the 11th letter of the alphabet) — were charged with attempted murder after allegedly smashing in another teenage boy’s face with rocks. Gang members also chronicled a series of other assaults and fights on a homemade video.

A month earlier, in Derby, Conn., federal agents arrested Raymond DelVecchio after the 54-year-old man allegedly tried to trade guns to an undercover agent from the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms in return for burning down a house DelVecchio feared would be rented to a black family. Prosecutors have a tape of DelVecchio saying he wanted to hang minorities.

A grand jury indicted him on 16 counts of being a felon in possession of firearms and ammunition.

Also in August, three white youths from suburban Long Island, N.Y. — two 16-year-olds and a 17-year-old — were indicted on charges of reckless endangerment and arson. The boys, who could face up to 15 years in prison, allegedly set fire to a home containing a sleeping Mexican family. When they were arrested, one boy had photos of Klan members and anti-Hispanic literature in his pocket. The home they allegedly firebombed was next to one from where two immigrant day laborers were abducted and beaten nearly to death about three years earlier.

These cases and countless others illustrate the continuing threat posed by right-wing extremism in America. Although those arrested apparently did not belong to larger hate groups, it seems likely that hate propaganda influenced their actions. In the Long Island case, in particular, both local and national anti-immigrant groups with especially venomous leaders had operated in the area for years, working to build hatred toward Mexicans.

Clues to the Future

Although there is no question that the radical right has experienced a very difficult year, there are real indications that the movement may still be growing. This September, a reported 350 racist Skinheads and others made their way to Harrisburg, Pa., to attend Hammerfest 2003 — a white power music concert put on by the hardest-core Skinhead group around. That number is up sharply from the 150 who attended in 2002 and even the 220 who came to 2001’s production.

In this issue, the *Intelligence Report* offers some clues as to the shape that the radical right is likely to take in the coming months. A major story documents the dramatically falling fortunes of the National Alliance. But it is in the profiles of 40 activists and leaders that readers may begin to get a real glimmer of the future. While the list is far from comprehensive, and excludes most of those who are in prison or have been profiled in these pages before, it provides a sense of what is to come.

From Gordon Lee Baum, head of the Council of Conservative Citizens hate group, to Ron Wilson, who is leading an attempted extremist takeover of the Sons of Confederate Veterans heritage group, the people described in this issue are key players on the radical fringes of the American body politic. If we carefully study these men and women, distasteful as that may be, we may all be better equipped to understand and cope with the threat they present to the rest of us. ▲



13 On the Cover With America’s biggest neo-Nazi groups coming apart at the seams and several radical-right stalwarts dead, deported or locked behind bars, what does the future hold for right-wing extremism? In “40 To Watch,” this issue features snapshot portraits of ideologues and activists who appear poised to play important parts in the various manifestations of the radical right — not just neo-Nazis, but neo-Confederates, anti-abortion and anti-immigrant extremists, academic racists, anti-Semitic “Patriots,” black supremacists and white nationalists.



8 Against the Wall A year ago, America’s leading neo-Nazi hate group was in the streets and in the news. Now the National Alliance, plagued by internal battles, plunging membership and external attacks, is struggling for survival.



49 At Death’s Door In 1979, a rookie officer pulled over Harold Ray Redfeairn, future leader of the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations. It looked like a routine traffic stop — but turned into something else entirely. In an interview, the officer tells his story.



52 ‘Our Terrible Swift Sword’ Can America’s most extreme political party take a slice out of George W. Bush and the Republicans in 2004? The Constitution Party convenes in Oregon to map out its plan for “Godly” governance.



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A new book argues that the 1990 civil case against neo-Nazi Tom Metzger was wrong-headed from the start. Reviewer Daniel Levitas begs to differ.

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Davis Wolfgang Hawke was once a young neo-Nazi with dreams of American empire. Now he’s building a whole different empire — on a foundation of spam.

MAINSTREAMING EXTREMISM

Racist Activist Joins, Then Quits, Controversial English-Only Group

In the 20 years since it was founded by anti-immigration activist John Tanton, U.S. English has billed itself as a well-meaning group that “promotes unity and empowers immigrants by encouraging them to learn English.” But the organization, which lobbies to establish English as the official U.S. language, has not been able to steer clear of controversy, especially since one of Tanton’s secret memos was leaked in 1988. “In this society ... will the present majority peaceably hand over its political power to a group that is simply more fertile?” Tanton asked.

Two of the group’s most prominent figures, former CBS anchor Walter Cronkite and Reagan appointee Linda Chavez, quit U.S. English — Cronkite leaving the board and Chavez resigning as executive director — after Tanton’s comments hit the newspapers. But another big-name member of the group’s advisory board, movie action hero Arnold Schwarzenegger, has remained steadfast since reportedly joining the board in 1988.

This August, soon after he launched his campaign for governor of California, Schwarzenegger’s association with U.S. English became controversial after the Southern Poverty Law Center disclosed long-standing ties between a newly hired top official at U.S. English and three prominent hate groups.

James Lubinskas, who came on as director of communications for U.S. English last spring, had been the assistant editor or a contributing editor at *American Renaissance*, a magazine that promotes “scientific” racism, from 1998 until at least last October. He has spoken at least once at a conference of the white supremacist Council of Conservative Citizens and has contributed frequent articles to that group’s newsletter. In 2000, Lubinskas



shared a stage with former Klan leader David Duke at a gathering of another white-supremacist group, the American

Friends of the British National Party — a fact he denied in a letter to *Washington Post* columnist Terry Neal, who summarized the Southern Poverty Law Center’s findings in an Aug. 13 article. At the same event, another fellow speaker was Sam van Rensburg, then a leading official of the neo-Nazi National Alliance.

Shortly after that denial, Lubinskas left U.S. English and his name was deleted from its Web site. Another board member, leftist-turned-archconservative activist David Horowitz, told a reporter that he also had jumped ship because of Lubinskas’ ties to the white supremacist right. Schwarzenegger, already under fire for his support of the Proposition 187 anti-immigration referendum, has declined to comment on his association with U.S. English.

ANTI-IMMIGRANT EXTREMISM

Immigration Activist Shoots Up Woman’s Garage

“We’re not kooks,” Glenn Spencer (see also story, p. 3) assured Southeast Arizona residents last fall after he moved the headquarters of his anti-immigration hate group, American Patrol, from Southern California to the troubled Arizona border county of Cochise. But in early August, Spencer became the third anti-immigration activist on the border to land in legal trouble this year.

After a neighbor reported hearing two shots fired and a weapon cocked outside her home, local officers drove out and found that bullets had been fired into the woman’s garage door. Spencer, claiming that he opened fire after hearing suspicious noises outside, was arrested on three felony counts of disorderly conduct with a weapon, one felony count of endangerment and one count of misdemeanor criminal damage. A few days earlier, following a series of death threats against Spencer, his home headquarters had been burglarized, Spencer claimed. Though it’s been highly controversial in Cochise County, American Border Patrol, the spinoff group Spencer founded, continues its work of “lighting up” the border, videotaping illegal immigrants and broadcasting the images of what Spencer has called a “Mexican invasion” over its Web site.

Meanwhile, Jack Foote, a Texan who leads the paramilitary outfit Ranch Rescue, is battling a lawsuit filed by six migrants who say members of Foote’s group held them at gunpoint and beat one of them with the butt-end of a gun. “These two trespassers were treated with the utmost of kindness and respect,” Foote has insisted.

Chris Simcox, the rabble-rousing newspaper publisher who organized the Civil Homeland Defense militia last fall in Arizona, pleaded not guilty on Aug. 21 to three misdemeanor weapons charges. Simcox, whose trial date has not been set, was nabbed while carrying a firearm on National Park Service land, and he also is charged with lying to a ranger about the gun. Simcox, who issues calls to arms in his tiny local paper, the *Tombstone Tumbleweed*, said he had innocently stumbled into an area of the park that was not marked as federal land.

RADICAL RELIGION

Extremist Leaders Join Ten Commandments Protests

After a federal judge ordered a Ten Commandments monument removed from the rotunda of the Alabama State Judicial Building in August, Christian Right activists from around the country came to Montgomery, Ala., for two weeks of protests. They were joined by a gallery of radical right extremists, who used the occasion to promote their own causes.

On Aug. 16, as an estimated 2,000 supporters of the monument rallied on the steps of the Alabama State Capitol, anti-abortion zealot Neal Horsley, known for his Nuremberg Files Web site calling for trials of “abortion doctors,” distributed the latest issue of his *Abortion Abolitionist* newsletter. The lead story, “Let Them Be Shown Bullets,” suggested that government officials like Florida Gov. Jeb Bush might be killed in retaliation for the impending execution of Paul Hill, who murdered a gynecologist and his escort in 1994.



Along with Christian Right stalwarts Alan Keyes and Jerry Falwell, perennial Constitution Party presidential candidate Howard Phillips (see related story, p. 52) spoke at the rally, calling on President Bush to nominate Alabama Chief Justice Roy Moore, who installed the Ten Commandments monument without the knowledge of other justices in the middle of the night, for the next U.S. Supreme Court opening. Phillips, who has advocated Christian Reconstructionism — which would institute Old Testament law in the United States — proclaimed that the federal courts have “no authority

to restrict the establishment of Biblical religion in the State of Alabama.”

The neo-Confederate movement was also well represented, with scores of rebel flags on T-shirts and in pamphlets handed out on the Capitol grounds during the big rally. The white supremacist League of the South, which called the Ten Commandments ruling “the essence of federal judiciary tyranny,” promoted state’s rights at its own rally on Aug. 20. Though the League recently claimed 15,000 members, only 45 showed up in Montgomery, including president Michael Hill and Mississippi’s John Thomas Cripps, who also heads the Free South group. The League called on Alabamians “to unmercifully hound” the “craven public officials” responsible for removing Moore’s monument. Olaf Childress, a neo-Confederate activist from Mobile, handed out his tabloid, *The First Freedom*, which praises former Klan leader David Duke and decries the “Jew World Order.”

HATE CRIME

Violence Follows Immigrant-Bashing Rhetoric

In the early-morning hours of July 5, five teenagers in suburban Farmingville, N.Y., used firecrackers to torch the home of a family of five Mexican immigrants. The family escaped death by minutes as the fire quickly melted the house’s aluminum siding and kept spreading, scorching the trees outside. “One would think one could go to sleep in peace because one has done nothing wrong,” said a stunned Sergio Perez-Garcia, whose wife and two children survived the blaze along with another relative.

To the teenagers, four of whom were quickly arrested and charged with arson, reckless endangerment and hate crimes, apparently the family *had* done something wrong: They’d settled in Farmingville. After speaking with the teenagers, the local district attorney reported that they showed no remorse over burning down the house, for the simple reason that “Mexicans live there.”

The teenagers are not alone in their sentiments. Anti-immigrant fervor has spread through the Long Island town of 15,000 since Latin-American immigrants began to move there in the 1990s. In

September 2000, two local white men posed as contractors and lured two Mexican day laborers — from a house next door to the one that burned this July — to a warehouse where they stabbed and beaten nearly to death.

Two weeks after that attack, Glenn Spencer (see also story, p. 2) of the nativist American Patrol hate group gave a fiery speech to a hard-line new anti-immigration organization in Farmingville, Sachem Quality of Life. A few days later, a member of Sachem — a group whose Web site blames a rise in local instances of “rape, sexual assault and manslaughter” on men “who hail from Central and South America” — was arrested for threatening a local Hispanic family.

No direct connection between either anti-immigrant group and the violent backlash in Farmingville has been established. But as the Rev. Allan Ramirez, a friend of the Perez-Garcia family, told *Newsday*, “What we are seeing is what happens when you plant the seeds of hate.”

ANTI-ABORTION EXTREMISM

Florida Abortion Foe Charged in Molestation

For nearly two decades, former Ku Klux Klansman John Burt earned a reputation as one of America’s fiercest Christian warriors. An organizer of countless protests at reproductive clinics around Pensacola, Fla., Burt had close ties to two men who took his extreme anti-abortion views even further: Michael Griffin, who shot and killed a gynecologist in 1993, and Paul Hill, who was executed on Sept. 3 for another doctor’s murder in 1994. Burt has also done jail time for carrying his clinic protests too far, and he’s shocked many with antics like brandishing an aborted fetus in front of a TV camera during a live interview. But Burt convinced many others that he was a good man honoring his religious beliefs. It didn’t hurt that he and his wife had long run Our Father’s House, a shelter for troubled junior high and high school girls.

Burt’s faithful were left in disbelief early in June, when the 65-year-old was charged with molesting a 15-year-old resident of Our Father’s House. Before he could be arrested, Burt fled the Pensacola area in a van mounted with the state’s special “Choose Life” license plate. The 65-year-old was arrested five days later at a rest stop some 150 miles from Pensacola. Barefoot and weakened by a botched suicide attempt, Burt faced a familiar phalanx of cameras as he was led into the Santa Rosa County Jail, but he would answer only one question. Did he molest the girl? “No,” Burt declared.

In July, Burt pleaded not guilty to five counts of criminal conduct: four lewd or lascivious molestation counts, and another for slipping the 15-year-old a salacious handwritten invitation to have sex with him. Jury selection for Burt’s trial was scheduled to begin Sept. 22. Local authorities said that other residents of Our Father’s House have come forward since Burt’s arrest with similar stories of sexual abuse, and more charges may follow.



Burt’s fellow crusaders — along with his wife — insisted that his arrest was a police frame-up designed to suppress his clinic protests. “This is, plain and simple, an effort to control his activities,” longtime associate Mark Farmer told the *Pensacola News Journal*.

TAX PROTESTERS

U.S. Moves Against Radical Tax Cheats

For three decades, Irwin Schiff has been running a high-stakes game out of his home office in Las Vegas, publishing books, advertising lectures and pushing Web sites advising his fellow Americans to stiff the federal government by paying no taxes. Like many tax protesters, Schiff claims that for all the federal tax law on the books, it nowhere specifies that citizens are required to pay up. Schiff, touting his consulting services on a militia Web site in July, claimed that he hadn’t paid a penny in “over 15 years” and that “the government has done nothing about it.”

Like many of Schiff’s claims, that one’s a bit dicey. Imprisoned twice on tax charges since 1978, Schiff had just been slapped down again in June, when federal Judge Lloyd D. George banned him from peddling his latest book, *The Federal Mafia: How It Illegally Imposes and Unlawfully Collects Income Taxes*. Schiff was also ordered to stop promoting his “zero tax return,” which he says lets anybody legally list no income and pay no taxes. The IRS says at least 5,100 zero returns have been filed in recent years, costing the government \$51 million.

Schiff, who won an temporary stay in September preventing the injunction from going into effect, plans to keep pursuing appeals. “The government has just thrown the First Amendment out the window,” he told The Associated Press, “and if anybody can’t see that, they should be declared legally blind.”

While Schiff has cards left to play, the game is up for some of his co-religionists. In July, a federal jury in Denver sent James Cleaver to prison for taking his tax protest a bit further than usual — setting fire to an IRS office as part of an antigovernment plot. In September, multiple tax-evasion charges were filed against George “Nick” Jesson, a former California gubernatorial candidate and founding member of the We the People Foundation for Constitutional Education. And in West Palm Beach, Fla., well-known golf course designer Ted McAnlis was sentenced to 10 years for evading more than \$1.3 million in federal taxes. McAnlis, who echoed Schiff in arguing that Americans do not have to pay taxes, used every trick in the book to keep the IRS away from his money: “common-law” trusts, a sham church, false Social Security numbers and a Bahamian bank account. Representing himself at trial, McAnlis informed the court that Social Security numbers are the mark of the devil.

REMAKING THE RIGHT

Key Racist Leaders Remembered Fondly

Everybody knows that obituaries lie — or at the very least tend to gloss over any ugly truths in the recently deceased’s life. But the treatment accorded retired Lt. Col. Jack Mohr, who died July 17 in North Little Rock, Ark., may have set a whole new standard for respecting the dead.

Compiled by legacy.com, a death-notice news service owned by the Tribune Co., Mohr’s obit noted that the 87-year-old had been “one of the top ten most decorated men in the Korean War.” True enough. True, too, that Mohr “attended Moody Bible Institute in Chicago” and was a “lay evangelist for the last 40 years.” But a few things got politely omitted — like the fact that for most of those last 40 years, Mohr was one of the fieriest anti-Semites in America, a man with views so extreme that he was once booted off a John Birch Society speaking tour.

Mohr’s brand of evangelical religion was Christian Identity, an anti-Semitic theology practiced by the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations and numerous Klan groups. Along with Ku Klux Klan leader Louis Beam, Mohr once taught an urban guerilla warfare class at the Aryan World Congress. Later that night, a never-explained series of seven major arson fires broke out in nearby Spokane, Wash., causing \$5 million in damage. Investigators suspected the arsonist had attended the class taught by Beam and Mohr earlier in the day.

Mohr spent much of his military retirement churning out self-published pamphlets (“Seed of Satan,” “Are You a Brainwashed Christian?” “Firearms and Freedom!”) and books (*This Time Bomb Called Zionism*). While he railed against gun control, sodomy and communists, Mohr always returned to his favorite

subject, Jews. “I believe they are the special children of Satan,” he wrote in one of the pamphlets.

Another Korean War veteran-turned-extremist got slightly fuller treatment from newspapers when he died the day after Mohr. Though he had been forced to resign as sheriff of Polk County, Fla., in 1987 due to a host of alleged improprieties, white-supremacist leader Dan Daniels was honored with a law-enforcement funeral, complete with 21-gun salute. After leaving office, Daniels published a monthly tabloid, *The Eagle*, which excoriated politicians, Jews, blacks, homosexuals and the news media. In the 1990s, as the Lakeland *Ledger* duly noted, he became regional coordinator of the National Association for the Advancement of White People, a racist group founded by David Duke. The NAAWP, which denied connections to the Ku Klux Klan, fell apart after a 1997 report on ABC’s “Prime Time Live” showed Klan members communing with NAAWP followers at Daniels’ Florida ranch.

Daniels’ son, Steven, asked that his father be remembered “as a giving family man who was devoted to his career in law enforcement and loved animals.”

‘PATRIOT’ CRIMES

Shootouts Leave Michigan Deputy, Extremist Dead

When accused Olympics bomber Eric Rudolph was finally nabbed after five years in the woods last May, the radical right no longer had its favorite fugitive to root for. But for a few days in July, it looked like an obscure antigovernment zealot from Michigan was going to fill the bill.

The latest saga began when police and sheriff’s deputies in western Michigan tried to serve Scott Woodring, a former member of the Michigan Militia, with a warrant for soliciting sex from a teenage girl. The 40-year-old Woodring, reportedly a devotee of the anti-Semitic Christian Identity theology, barricaded himself inside his home and warned the officers he had a gun — which he used on Day Two of the standoff, after officers fired tear gas and tried to storm the house. Woodring, who received 10% of the vote in a run for Dayton Township supervisor in 1996, fatally shot one Michigan state trooper and wounded another. Police eventually responded by firing a concussion grenade into Woodring’s house, igniting a fire that burned it to the ground. But when they sifted through the rubble, there was no sign of Woodring’s remains. Somehow, he had managed to flee.

But if Woodring’s comrades were cheering his escape act as they watched it unfold on Fox News, it didn’t last long. Woodring’s survival skills were ultimately no match for Rudolph’s; four days after he slipped away, Woodring, found in an abandoned car not far down the road, was killed by police after allegedly starting a shootout.

No matter: Woodring’s fellow “Patriots” wasted no time in turning his tale into a fable of governmental oppression and going into a rage. After Woodring killed the state trooper, Michigan Militia member George Matousek told the local *Bay City Times*, “There’s going to be a lot more of that. They keep picking on us and playing games and it’s going to cost them their lives.”





MONKEY BUSINESS

A leading neo-Nazi rejects the 'wholesome' polkas and waltzes of his bosses for entertainment of an entirely different kind

BY HEIDI BEIRICH AND BOB MOSER

Among the many sins neo-Nazis like to ascribe to their mortal enemies, “the Jews,” few inspire more righteous invective than pornography and sexual depravity. David Duke, the former Klan leader currently imprisoned for gambling away his followers’ donations, has even blamed Jews for inspiring “obscene poets.” “The Talmud’s full of things like sex with boys and girls,” he claimed in a 1985 interview.

William Pierce, the National Alliance founder who died last summer, could not get enough of the subject. “The Jews have always had a proclivity for ... prostitution, the White slave trade, pornography, and the like,” Pierce asserted in a 2001 essay in the National Alliance magazine, *Free Speech*. Displaying a certain savvy about the porn industry, Piece added, “In the booming new business of Internet pornography, the biggest operator, the so-called ‘Bill Gates of e-porn,’ is a nice, Jewish boy named Seth Warshavsky, who owns clublove.com and many other of the largest pornography sites.”

The success of big-time porn operators like Warshavsky has inspired more than pious denunciations from the nation’s most virulent anti-Semites. It has also apparently encouraged at least one of America’s most prominent neo-Nazis to set up as an aspiring porn magnate.

Since last November, 35-year-old Bruce Alan Breeding (see also profile, p. 17) — an important figure in the National Alliance and Duke’s longtime right-hand man — has been running a New Orleans-based porn site, xsitenola.com, while producing a companion adult magazine, *Xsite*. The smut Breeding peddles would make a *Playboy* reader blush. Far from “soft,” airbrushed porn, Breeding trades in mother-daughter sex, bisexuality, anal sex, dungeon rentals and “slave girls for voyeurs.”

To say the least, Breeding’s porn projects represent a dramatic deviation from the professedly straight-arrow world of organized white supremacy. National Alliance membership is supposedly reserved for “White persons of good character,” with bisexuality and homosexuality high

on the list of disqualifiers. The Alliance claims that one of its goals is to offer “a moral compass, so that people once again know instinctively what is wholesome and natural and what is degenerate and alien.” Members are advised to get their kicks with “polkas or waltzes, reels or jigs,” and never, but never, to “undulate or jerk to negroid jazz or rock rhythms.”

Breeding did not disavow this Wonder-Bread world when he set up shop as an aspiring porn king — quite the contrary, in fact. Breeding still belongs to the Alliance, the largest neo-Nazi group in America. More significantly, he serves as national director of Duke’s white-rights outfit, the European-American Unity and Rights Organization (EURO). Now, while Duke whiles away his 15-month prison sentence in Texas, Breeding lives at least part-time in Duke’s Mandeville, La., home, building his porn empire while running EURO in order to rescue the white race from the depravity of the Jews.

Breeding’s efforts to hide his foray into the flesh trade from his co-religionists seem poorly thought out at best. *Xsite*

magazine’s masthead lists the co-editor and sales department staffer as “Vince Evans” — not too far removed from one of Breeding’s other pseudonyms, “Vincent Edwards.” The incorporation papers for Xsite Entertainment L.L.C., filed last September, are less evasive. They list Breeding and a man named Michael B. Vaughn as the company’s officers.

Breeding certainly made no secret of his magazine’s official launch, a bash held last All Hallows Eve in the Twi Ro Pa Mills, an old New Orleans warehouse that xsitenola.com calls a “Party Palace.” After getting down at the former mill, Breeding and some of the magazine’s “Xsite girls” carried their party to the Gold Club, an up-market strip joint. Pictures of the festivities, splashed on xsitenola.com, show Breeding sipping champagne in a limousine, arms flung around the busty models; other photos from the evening feature the “Xsite girls” *in flagrante*.

Becoming ‘the Munkay’

This all might seem a tad bit trashy for a man who, like his close comrade David Duke, has always styled himself as a sophisticate, well-versed in fine wines, fine clothing and fine living. But Bruce Breeding has long had a reputation for living a rather sordid double life, something that Duke and William Pierce knew but apparently chose to ignore. Breeding’s sketchy reputation was based partly on his job in the 1990s in a strip club in Tampa, Fla., where he also was an official of the National Alliance’s local unit. Breeding enhanced his bad-boy rep by playing guitar on five CDs by a Satanic black-metal band called Acheron. And then there was his reputed appropriation, in 1999, of the mailing list of the National Alliance’s Resistance Records white power music enterprise, which permanently distanced Breeding from Pierce (see related story, p. 8)

None of his personal peccadillos held Breeding back from advancing to the highest levels of the neo-Nazi movement — but in many ways, they pale in comparison with the sleazy porn persona Breeding has now adopted. On his Web site, Breeding portrays himself as a pimp-like character nicknamed

“Vince the Munkay.” The site describes how Breeding “became the Munkay” for the launch party at Twi Ro Pa Mills, donning a furry, floor-length coat and sporting cheesy sunglasses. “You WILL learn to respect the dark powers of the Munkay,” reads a caption under one of the photos. Xsite vows this party will not be the last, promising that future events will descend into “good natured mayhem and debauchery!”

A quick flip through *Xsite* magazine offers convincing evidence that Breeding is not exaggerating his gift for debauchery. Printed on grainy newsprint with a glossy cover, *Xsite* is a decidedly low-rent affair, filled mostly with half-nude advertisements for “escorts” (“Make All Your Fantasies Come True: Peek A Boobs Escorts”), porn shops (“Straight, Gay, & Every Color Under the Sun!”) and dating services (“No Commitment ... just hot adult fun!”). The magazine trolls for future centerfolds with an ad asking “hot chicks who love to flaunt it” to submit photos to “our ever objective and eternally diligent panel of judges.”

Breeding’s companion Web site is no slouch in the sleaze department, either. Xsitenola.com is packed with semi-nude photos of “Xsite girls,” most looking as though they were taken in the models’ own bedrooms, stuffed animals and all. The home page carries links and ads for adult bookstores, escort services and an online “nude girl casino.” Another link sends visitors to precisely the kind of site that Duke, Pierce and other neo-Nazi honchos have always blamed on “the Jews”: “Met-Art,” which advertises “the largest, freshest, classiest collection of teen nude art.”

Hypocrisy Unlimited

Still one of America’s most powerful neo-Nazi leaders, Vince Breeding operates in a world drastically removed from the imaginary land of Caucasian polkas and waltzes. In fact, Breeding’s porn trades on all manner of images that are official anathema to the white-supremacist movement. While other neo-Nazi stalwarts have advocated a paleolithic view of women — “Men bring home the bacon, and they guard the

den,” William Pierce once said, while “women nourish the children and tend the hearth” — the women Breeding advertises hardly resemble happy Aryan homemakers. Certainly, Lauren and Kelsey, who advertise a mother-daughter sex act that xsitenola.com calls the “ultimate fantasy,” appear unlikely to spend a great deal of time tending the hearth.

Breeding might defend his porn biz as one way to make a dent in what Duke calls the “Zionist control of the American media.” But it’s highly doubtful that Duke, or other neo-Nazi leaders, would ever approve — at least publicly — Breeding’s pornographic deviations from neo-Nazi ideology. Not only do *Xsite* and xsitenola.com sprinkle in the occasional woman of color (“Ebony Escorts, Beautiful Women of Color, 24/7”), they also print enthusiastic ads for gay, lesbian and bisexual dating services (“don’t think about it ... Just Do It!!!”).

Breeding’s double life as a neo-Nazi stalwart and aspiring porn mogul bears an eerie resemblance, in fact, to one of Pierce’s more lurid descriptions of “the nature of the Jews.” “The truth,” Pierce opined on a National Alliance radio program in 2000, “is that the Jews as a whole are myth



makers, illusion builders — or to put it less politely, they are tricksters. Their whole existence among us is based on deception and illusion and misdirection.

“Some of them are very clever,” Pierce continued. “Some of them are creative. But they are quite alien in their nature. It is almost as if they had landed here from another planet. They disguise their alienness with a remarkable talent for deception. We are like a bunch of rubes at the circus, at a carnival, and they are the carnies.” ▲



JENNIFER WARBURG

AGAINST THE WALL

Beset by internal battles, plunging revenues and membership, and attacks from without, America's leading hate group is in serious trouble

BY MARK POTOK

he most important hate group in America is sinking. The National Alliance, the neo-Nazi organization that has produced and influenced more violent criminals in the last three decades than any other, may soon be facing irrelevancy.

In the last year, membership has plunged from around 1,400 to fewer than 800 who still pay their dues. The staff, once the largest of any hate group in decades, has been cut by nearly half. Income from selling white power music and paraphernalia, which with dues was said to be bringing in more than \$1 million last year, has dropped to the point where the Alliance spends more than it takes in. Alliance chapters in Boston, Dallas, Georgia, Maryland, Memphis,

Phoenix and Southern California are falling apart or have been reduced to a few staunch holdouts. And a pitched battle for control of the National Alliance and its 423-acre West Virginia compound is under way.

"[T]he National Alliance appears to be well on its way to dissolution," wrote Wayne Sims, who was a key editor at the Alliance's National Vanguard Books until running afoul of the Alliance's current leadership this summer. "[G]rand as it was until July 2002, [the Alliance] has been stripped of its spirit and will, I think, soon lose its solvency. I recommend that its members find or create another group."

The group's fortunes have fallen fast. When Alliance founder and long-time leader William Pierce died on July 23, 2002, the organization was doing better than at any time since its founding in 1974. It had developed a successful business model, and was regularly adding staff to Resistance Records and National Vanguard Books, the chief income-earners for the group. Its prestige, maintained by Pierce's essays, commentaries on current events and broadcasts over the Internet and shortwave radio, reached all the way to the European radical right. The Alliance was in the streets and in

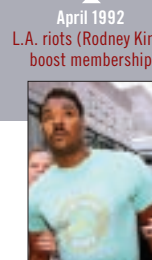
the news, and its members were never more optimistic.

Today, all of that seems little more than a distant memory. Since former boxer Erich Gliebe (see profile, p. 24) was named chairman six days after Pierce's death, the Alliance has been plagued by vicious internal battles and almost daily attacks from outside right-wing radicals. It now seems possible the Alliance could completely founder.

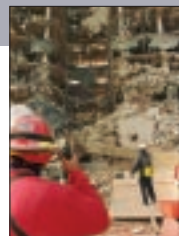
The Descent Into Darkness

The trouble began with Gliebe. Although he had earned Pierce's respect, bringing Resistance Records to profitability in a couple of years and making his Cleveland unit the most active in the country, Gliebe was no Pierce. Where Pierce was a former university physics professor and an intellectual capable of bringing in recruits through his writings, Gliebe was a one-time tool-and-die maker who was hard-edged, humorless and remarkably clumsy in his dealings with other members.

Three months before Pierce's death, on April 20, 2002, both men spoke at the "leadership conference" Pierce held for some 80 leadership candidates. In speeches that were meant to remain private, both men pilloried members



April 1992
L.A. riots (Rodney King)
boost membership



April 19, 1995
Oklahoma City bombing
brings publicity

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS



Spring 1999
Sam van Rensburg appointed
N.A. membership coordinator



July 23, 2002
William Pierce dies;
the troubles begin

of other hate groups, with Pierce calling them “freaks and weaklings” and Gliebe parroting his words.

In September, the *Intelligence Report* revealed details of those speeches, setting off a storm among racist Skinheads and others who had been attacked by the Alliance leaders. The brouhaha had serious consequences, as it was these Skinheads who were the chief customers of the Alliance’s Resistance Records operation. Soon, many white supremacists were boycotting the label, even as more and more Alliance members went public with criticisms of the “elite” nature of their organization.

At the same time, Gliebe fired the group’s deputy membership coordinator, Billy Roper (see profile, p. 37), largely because Roper favored alliances with Skinheads and others, and in fact had worked hard to build those bridges. The firing signaled that Gliebe was taking a hard-line position and would brook no opposition to his policies. Soon, a number

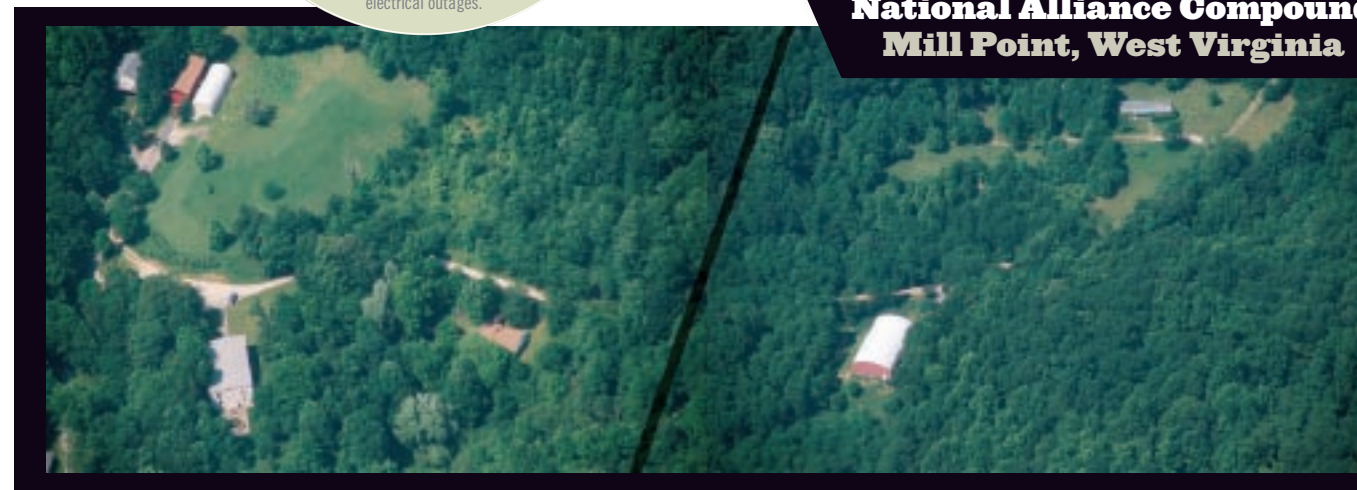
of other key activists and leaders began to trickle out of the group.

It didn’t help when Gliebe went on the offensive, bitterly attacking Roper and the others who had left and then completely denying the *Report’s* account of the leadership speeches as a “disinformation effort.” Although some may have believed him, 80 leading members of the Alliance had heard the speeches in question. It soon became widely known that Gliebe was perfectly willing to lie to his members.

The Alliance was already doing less well than was commonly believed. National Vanguard Books, which in 2000 had been grossing some \$20,000 a month, was only making half that at the time of Pierce’s death — almost entirely a result of the same books being sold more cheaply through online bookstores. At the same time, the Alliance was having to recruit more and more energetically, and with less selectivity, just to replace the members who were leaving every week.

By December 2002, a net membership decline had begun that has only picked up speed since. Even today, Alliance officials do not know the full extent of their losses. That’s because hundreds of members who simply stopped paying their dues have been left on the membership rolls in the hope that they will return. This fall, the Alliance finally sent out letters asking members why they had stopped paying.

Gliebe faced a hard road. He had to reinvigorate the group, renew his followers’ loyalty to the Alliance and its new leaders, and bring back Resistance and National



**National Alliance Compound
Mill Point, West Virginia**

Vanguard Books as profit centers. Instead, as the next months played out, the Alliance chairman made a number of mistakes in judgment, alienating many inside the group just as a remarkable series of events threatened to destroy him.

Money, Loyalty and Criticism

Shortly after firing Roper, Erich Gliebe traveled to Georgia to solidify the shaky support of Chester Doles, the state unit leader. He stuck a gold pin of a “life rune” — the symbol of the Alliance — into Doles’ lapel, and a few days later named Doles as one of a handful of

designated Alliance spokesmen. But the flattery failed. By January 2003, Doles was publicly saying that he would no longer host meetings of the Alliance, which he characterized as replete with informants and enemies.

Two months later, on March 7, Doles was arrested after some 70 members of the Joint Terrorism Task Force raided his Dahlonaga home, finding 13 firearms and charging Doles with being a felon in possession of guns. (After beating a black man driving with a white woman, Doles, a former Klansman with a swastika tattooed on one hand, had been sentenced to seven years. He served almost four.)

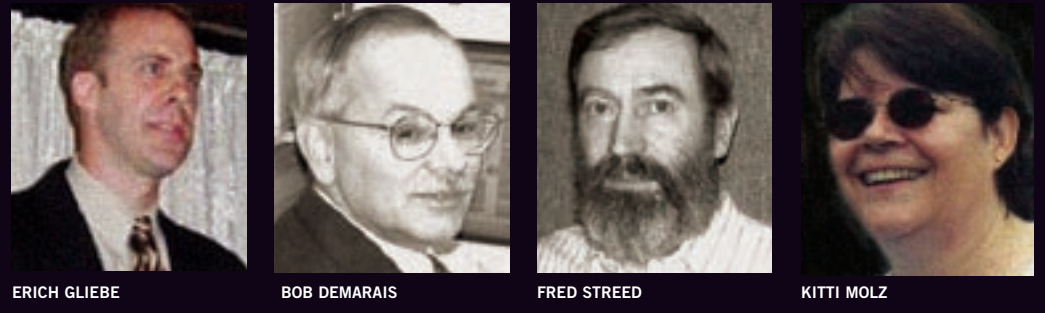
Gliebe showed little interest in helping the man who had apparently already decided to desert him. But many others in the group felt strongly about Doles, who was a very popular leader and had built a large and tightly knit Georgia unit. The fact that Doles was jailed and left 11 children with no income behind him — as well as questions about the validity of the charges — brought Doles great sympathy.

By summer, a maverick Alliance member, Alex Linder (see profile, p. 30), was writing about Doles on his personal Web site, Vanguard News Network (VNN), which had acquired great popularity on the white supremacist scene. It wasn’t long before Linder announced

that an anonymous donor had offered to match \$25,000 in donations to a Doles defense fund. Linder dubbed this anonymous donor “Jimmy Teuton, Goy Genius” — after the cartoon character “Jimmy Neutron, Boy Genius” — and plugged his offer repeatedly. Soon, donations were flowing into VNN.

46), Overthrow published reams of negative information about Gliebe and those around him — some true, some false, but all of it well read. White published letters from anonymous Alliance members, leaders and former members that added up to a chorus of attacks on Gliebe for failing to help Doles. By the time that Linder made

NATIONAL ALLIANCE BOARD MEMBERS BEFORE JUNE 2003



ERICH GLIEBE

BOB DEMARAIS

FRED STREED

KITTI MOLZ

Meanwhile, financial trouble was becoming obvious inside the Alliance’s compound near Mill Point, W. Va. Increasingly, members of the board that oversees the Alliance — made up of Gliebe, Fred Streed, Kitti Molz and Bob DeMarais — were aware of serious problems. Gliebe was spending more than the Alliance was taking in, and DeMarais, a former college business professor, was making little headway in convincing Gliebe that changes had to be made. In early June, a frustrated DeMarais resigned from the board, although that fact was kept secret for another two months.

On July 4, Linder made a startling announcement. Donors had sent him \$48,726, which meant that with the \$25,000 matching offer, the Doles family could hire Bob Barr, a former Republican congressman, as its high-powered attorney. The same day, Linder launched his VNN Forum, an uncensored Internet chat group that would become a key venue for internal and external criticism of Gliebe and his regime. Not long after, Linder gave Doles’ wife nearly \$80,000, and she did hire Barr.

Linder had pulled it off. And Gliebe was not looking good.

Another Web site, overthrow.com, also played an important role in airing criticism of Gliebe. Operated by a former anarchist named Bill White (see profile, p.

his announcement, large numbers of Alliance members already despised Gliebe.

Gliebe loyalists went to bat. In particular, Kevin Alfred Strom — host of the Alliance’s radio program “American Dissident Voices” and a particular target of Bill White’s vitriolic scorn — cut a deal with Don Black, the proprietor of another popular white supremacist Web site called Stormfront. Black agreed to censor any negative comments about Gliebe and the Alliance from his site’s very popular forum.

The battle lines were drawn. The war had begun in earnest.

In New Jersey, a Sideshow

On July 10, six days after Linder’s announcement, a story appeared in the local paper in Hopewell Borough, N.J. A reporter, writing a profile of Marc Moran, named a week earlier to replace a departing city council member, ran a Net search and discovered that Moran was a member of the National Alliance and had written for VNN and other venues. Within two days, Moran had quit the council.

Although the Moran story provoked a flurry of local media coverage and Moran’s promise to quit the Alliance, it was only later that some key facts came out. It turned out that Moran was the anonymous “Jimmy Teuton” and had provided key funding for Linder’s VNN



Billy Roper (left), the Alliance membership official who was booted out of the group in September 2002, recently shook hands with Fred Streed, the Alliance board member who resigned this August. Others who have recently left the Alliance include Marc Moran (below), who had been featured in an interview with the Alliance’s *Resistance* magazine.

and VNN Forum. He also had reportedly paid Bill White, who is a computer consultant, to run the technical side of Linder’s Web operation.

These revelations added to the storm.

Now, Gliebe and his faction

began to portray Linder, his internal critic, as in the thrall of White, who was pictured as a former Communist with extremely suspect motives. Questions were raised about White, whose rabid attacks on the Alliance did often seem difficult to explain, given that White described himself as a born-again white nationalist and anti-Semite.

At the same time, the financial situation at Alliance headquarters seemed to be worsening. Resistance Records, which had grossed almost \$50,000 in its peak month of March 2002 (four months before Pierce’s death), brought in less than \$7,000 this July. Almost all Alliance periodicals were far behind schedule and Alliance customers were growing furious at the poor service, if any, that

they received after sending money in for music, publications and other merchandise. Gliebe had begun a round of staff firings that would continue through August as he sought to get rid of anyone who had criticized his stewardship of the organization. Privately, many were deeply worried about these problems. Then, suddenly, it all went public.

On Aug. 3, Fred Streed — a board member who was widely seen as steady, hard-working and deeply loyal to the Pierce legacy — publicly resigned. Principally, he was angered that Gliebe refused to act on repeated warnings about the financial situation. But he also flogged Gliebe for refusing to listen to any criticism and for attacking Linder and White rather than making use of their forums to reply. He described some of the group’s financial problems, and he revealed that DeMarais had quit. “Erich seems to be almost constitutionally incapable of making hard decisions,” he wrote. “His reaction to repeated warnings that the NA is overextending financially is just to ignore it and keep spending money as if no problem exists.”



“Erich Gliebe,” Streed concluded, “must resign.”

The Counterattack Begins

Now it was all out in the open. Two of the Alliance’s four board members had quit — foolishly, from their point of view, because they had the power as a board to fire Gliebe from his post as Alliance chairman. Only Gliebe and Kitti Molz, a Streed sympathizer, were left. But there were no longer enough votes to remove Gliebe.

Gliebe’s counterattack wasn’t long in coming. On Aug. 5, Strom attacked Streed in a public posting. On Aug. 6, it was the turn of David Pringle, membership coordinator, who described Streed’s resignation as “basically a coup attempt,” said that all was well with the Alliance, and claimed membership was rising. By Aug. 12, when Pringle posted another denunciation, his tone had grown almost desperate.

“Jews aren’t our greatest enemy,” he said. “Traitors inside the gates are.”

Then he launched into a bitter attack on Molz, who three days earlier had told nine senior unit coordinators in a teleconference of her dissatisfaction with Gliebe, and even repeated an allegation that Gliebe had secretly bootlegged some 700 CDs of a band with the Resistance label. Molz also had tried to stop Gliebe and his faction from drawing checks from Alliance bank accounts, but ultimately failed.

Molz, Pringle wrote, was “waging a campaign of backstabbing and betrayal,” a “Brutus style assassination attempt on our Chairman.” He demanded that she resign, and asked others to write her, too. But Molz declined to quit.

Reaction to the loyalists was not good. One Alliance member, identifying himself as Jack Newport in an E-mail to Linder’s VNN, said he was planning

to leave if Gliebe did not soon make changes. “I’m a middle-class, proud Aryan with a wife and kid who lives in a neighborhood that is chock full of the type of people the NA says it’s trying to recruit,” he wrote in remarks that had to be troubling. “Problem is, I have serious reservations about the very foundation and future of the organization. It definitely isn’t the program or ideology, it’s the people running the show.”

Then, on Aug. 16, Gliebe issued what purported to be a legal document firing the directors of the National Alliance and National Vanguard Books (they included Streed, Molz, DeMarais and Sims). The trouble was, Gliebe had no such power — it is the board that can fire him — and so his document was simply ignored.

Late in the month, Shaun Walker, a prominent Alliance member from Salt Lake City, wrote another defense of Gliebe. But it was filled with lies and half-truths about the power of the board (he said Gliebe had power over the board, not vice versa) and a large number of other matters. As a result, the letter’s main effect was to galvanize still more anger and opposition to the Gliebe cabal.

On Aug. 29, it was announced that Walker — one of a rapidly diminishing number of well-known members supporting Gliebe — had been named the Alliance’s “chief operating officer.” “We are stronger than ever,” Pringle wrote in making the announcement. But then he said Walker would need to devise a new business plan.

Finally, on Sept. 3, Gliebe issued a conciliatory letter defending his firings, wishing members of other hate groups “the best of luck,” conceding that “mistakes have been made,” and insisting that his administration was open to “constructive criticism.” On the same day, Pringle posted an ad for

“dependable people” with a minimum of one year as Alliance members to join the headquarters staff.

Whither the National Alliance?

A remarkable series of events seems to have coalesced that may ultimately wreck what has for years been the most important hate group in America. The unexpected death of William Pierce; the naming of a man to replace him who had none of Pierce’s intellectual qualities and few people skills; financial woes almost certainly due to poor management; the appearance of several Internet sites that aired all kinds of movement criticism of the Alliance; and the failure of Gliebe to raise money for a member in trouble — have all contributed to the present situation.

Hundreds of members have left the Alliance and key units are coming close to collapse. Although Gliebe claims to have added new chapters since Pierce’s death, the reality is that these units are generally far smaller than the six-member minimum that Pierce insisted on, and they often consist of people who are brand new.

At press time, Gliebe had actually managed to fire or alienate everyone on staff who understood how to access the Alliance’s membership database, which is protected by a sophisticated system of passwords at various levels. Presumably, he will regain access to the database, but even the temporary loss is telling.

Many former and present Alliance members think that various units of the organization will spin off and become independent groups. There has even been talk of “growing a new head” — that is, spinning off a new national group from units of the present Alliance and then choosing an entirely new leadership to head it.

Gliebe may yet pull the Alliance back from the brink. But with the huge amount of animosity he has created, with many of his former key activists now in leading roles of other groups, and with his own finances flagging, it seems almost impossible that the Alliance can regain the influence it once wielded. Today, what seems more likely is that the struggle over the Alliance will eventually devolve into a simple battle over the substantial commercial assets the group still controls. ▲

40 TO WATCH

What does the radical right look like after a year of reverses? The future may lie in the personalities still peopling the fringe



BY HEIDI BEIRICH AND MARK POTOK

It’s been a miserable year for the American radical right. Since the death in July 2002 of William Pierce, founder of the neo-Nazi National Alliance, leading activists have been arrested, sent to prison, deported and even killed. The Alliance, which just a year ago was thriving, has lost hundreds of members, seen key players on its board resign in protest against its new leader, and suffered a precipitous drop in both income and prestige. The second most important neo-Nazi group, the World Church of the Creator, has no active leader and has practically ceased to exist as its long-time chieftain awaits trial for alleged solicitation of murder. At the same time, other activists and groups have risen as part of a general realignment of the radical right. What follows are snapshots of some of these ideologues and activists from various sectors of the movement — some of them longstanding and well-known leaders, but also a significant number whose importance and roles have clearly changed in recent months. While this list is far from comprehensive, it offers a window onto the shape that the radical right is likely to take as new groups form and others disappear. Organizations listed by the Southern Poverty Law Center as hate groups that were active during 2002 are indicated by an asterisk.

Michelle Bramblett and Nia Hightower contributed to this story.



Councilor of Hate

Gordon Lee Baum, 62 **Bridgeton, Mo.**

After the underlying white supremacy of Gordon Baum's Council of Conservative Citizens* was exposed in late 1998 and early 1999, the group that had once boasted 34 members in the Mississippi legislature essentially abandoned its longstanding attempts to portray itself as a mainstream conservative organization. Baum, who as late as 2001 was telling reporters that the council was "not anti-black" or "anti-anything," now presides over an organization that does not hesitate to call blacks "a retrograde species of humanity" or to post pictures on its Web site of alleged black terrorists over a headline reading, "Is the face of DEATH *black* after all?"

Initially, after the *Intelligence Report* detailed the racism of the council in late 1998, Baum seemed to react calmly, defending himself and the council as best he could. But as politicians and the press turned against him, he showed an angry and petulant side, and did not help his cause when he went on national media outlets and talked about black men raping white women and similar racially charged matters. He also became visibly angry when then-Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott (R-Miss.), who had long been close to the group, first claimed virtually no knowledge of it and then, albeit in weak terms, distanced himself from it. While he did not attack Lott directly, Baum made snide remarks suggesting that he thought the senator had developed a memory problem.

The Bomber Reverend

Rev. Michael D. Bray, 51 **Bowie, Md.**

When alleged abortion clinic bomber and cop-killer Eric Rudolph was arrested this summer after five years on the lam, many Americans were pleased. Not Michael Bray, the handsome but humorless Reformation Lutheran Church pastor who long has been America's leading advocate of murdering physicians and others associated with abortion. An early signer of an infamous public letter endorsing such violence, Bray spoke of his "sadness" for Rudolph, a hard-line anti-Semite also accused of the fatal 1996 Atlanta Olympics bombing. Raised partly in Germany and reportedly a one-time Naval Academy cadet, Bray was a housepainter and laborer until the early 1980s, when he plunged into the extreme anti-abortion movement.

By 1984, Bray and two friends had formed a three-man cell that bombed seven abortion clinics and the Capitol Hill offices of the American Civil Liberties Union (where a secretary was working at the time), frequently signing their attacks "Army of God." Upon his arrest, Bray claimed he had been framed, but it wasn't long before he was boasting about the attacks for which he ultimately served 46 months. During that time, Bray's wife Jayne was active in Operation Rescue, a tie that would ultimately result in the couple's 2001 bankruptcy because of a civil suit aimed at clearing clinic entrances of protesters. In 1994, Bray wrote *A Time to Kill*, an influential book that uses the Bible to justify the murder of abortionists, who Bray believes should be stoned

A personal injury lawyer specializing in auto accidents and workmen's compensation claims in St. Louis, Baum formed the organization in 1985 based on the mailing lists of the segregationist White Citizens Councils for whom he had been the Midwest field organizer. It grew to include some 15,000 members, mostly in the deep South, and to have genuine political power — power that could be glimpsed when the group's links to Lott and then-U.S. Rep. Bob Barr (R-Ga.) were exposed. That power was strongest in the South, especially Mississippi, where then-Gov. Kirk Fordice defended the council even as the Republican National Committee asked all Republicans associated with the racist group to resign their memberships. Today, the council has taken on new life as it turns its attention from traditional issues like busing and affirmative action to strident attacks on non-white immigration — a shift that is reflected clearly in its tabloid newspaper, *Citizens Informer*. The *Informer* is now edited by former *Washington Times* columnist Sam Francis (see below) and, despite its racism, has drawn to its editorial advisory board such people as Virginia Abernethy, a professor emeritus at Vanderbilt University.

to death in Old Testament fashion. The same year, he told *The Village Voice* that he'd acquired an Army sniper manual because "the very presence of sniper-minded people serves to instill fear" in abortionists. An advocate of militias and militia-like ideas, Bray also has recently advocated death for homosexuals. Since 1996, he has sponsored annual "White Rose Banquets" to honor those who carry out anti-abortion violence, although he canceled the 2003 event to rally instead for doctor-killer James Kopp.



Housepainter-turned-clinic bomber MICHAEL BRAY (center) mourns the execution this fall of Paul Hill, who assassinated a doctor and clinic escort in Florida.

The X-Rated Nazi

Bruce Alan Breeding, 35 **Mandeville, La.**

Like many on the racist right, Bruce Breeding — who more commonly goes by his alias, Vincent Breeding, and sometimes calls himself Vincent Edwards — emerged from the hard-edged fringes of the "black metal" music scene. From 1992 to 1995, Breeding was a studio guitarist for the black metal band Acheron, which, according to a review on deathmetal.com, embodied "the very essence of Satanism." For part of this period, Breeding worked at a Tampa-area strip club and, in 1994, he joined the neo-Nazi National Alliance* and helped to build its Tampa unit into one of most active in the country.

As an official of the Tampa unit, Breeding put on events featuring Holocaust denier David Irving and, in May 1997, former Klansman David Duke, with whom Breeding developed a close relationship. At the same time, Breeding was sharing an apartment with Todd Vanbiber, another musician and Alliance member. On April 23 of that year, Vanbiber was badly injured when the pipe bombs he was building in a storage unit — allegedly for use in a bank robbery plot — blew up in his face. (Vanbiber was sentenced to six years in prison on weapons charges.) Breeding also set up a "cyber-cell" specializing in pushing Alliance ideas on the Internet.

In 1999, after a falling-out with Alliance leader William Pierce, Breeding moved to Louisiana to run Duke's office. In 2000, using many of Breeding's ideas, Duke inaugurated the National Organization for European American Rights, later renamed the European-American Unity and Rights Organization (EURO)*. Breeding was clearly subservient to Duke — even carrying his miniature pet poodle around for him during one 2000 event — and Duke named him to head up EURO. Since 1998, Breeding has used his computer skills to run the White Nationalist News Agency, and also is behind martinlutherking.org, a Web site which pillories the civil rights leader, and NoWarforIsrael.com. Remarkably, he now also uses those skills to run a porn site and magazine (see story, p. 6).



(Re)writing History

Boyd D. Cathey, 54 *Wendell, N.C.*

For close to three decades, Boyd Cathey has been a superficially presentable but radical political activist — a man with tight connections to Holocaust denial, far-right Catholicism and racially tinged neo-Confederate causes who nevertheless has helped lead major political campaigns. In the 1970s, while still in his 20s, Cathey studied in Spain, Switzerland and Argentina at institutions run by the Society of Pius x, a far-right “traditionalist” Catholic sect that rejects modern theological reforms, and Opus Dei, a Catholic organization that long supported Spanish dictator Francisco Franco. In 1979, according to the society’s newsletter, Cathey was ordained and went on to teach at the society’s seminary in Ridgefield, Conn. Two years later, he landed a job at the North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, where he still works today as an archivist in the Special Collections



JENNIFER WAREBURG

Branch. Cathey also worked as an assistant to the late Russell Kirk, a leading neo-Confederate thinker, and Andrew Lytle, one of a group that defended the South in the 1930 compilation *I’ll Take My Stand*.

By 1984, Cathey had taken a public plunge into far-right, neo-Confederate politics, joining *Southern Partisan* magazine as a contributor, editor and senior adviser until 1999. In 1988, Cathey was named North Carolina co-chair for gay-bashing televangelist Pat Robertson’s presidential run. Four years later, he became state campaign manager for far-right commentator Pat Buchanan’s presidential campaign — and was exposed during that campaign



as an editorial adviser, since 1989, to the journal of the Holocaust-denying Institute for Historical Review (IHR)*. (The IHR puts on conferences featuring people like neo-Nazi David Duke and the son of Hitler’s deputy, Rudolf Hess.) Cathey claimed in 1996 that he had quit his IHR position, but its leader, Mark Weber, said last year that Cathey was still in the post. Cathey is still listed on the group’s Web page today.

Cathey recently also has become a key player in the attempted extremist takeover of the Sons of Confederate Veterans led by Ron Wilson (see below), the heritage group’s commander in chief since August 2002. Following his election, Wilson ejected the scv’s North Carolina public information officer as part of a major purge of those who criticized racism within the group, and replaced him with Cathey, whom he had already named to the scv’s executive council. This June, Cathey wrote an E-mail to scv members calling for increased activism and bemoaning how, over the last 20 years, “immense numbers of ‘Yankees’ and ‘Latinos’” had moved to the South and “change[d] our society.” The scv’s recent formation of a political action committee (see related story, p. 57) shows that Cathey’s influence is likely being felt.



BRYANT CECCHINI, better known by his alias of Byron Calvert, is friendly with key movement activists like former Klan leader David Duke.

2008x for a test drive in Virginia and didn’t stop until he reached Texas, serving six months as a result.

In 1999, Cecchini (pictured above left with his two children) traveled to the Muldrow, Okla., compound of Elohim City, a radical right-wing community founded by the late Robert Millar. He spent a year there, working for an Arkansas construction company and marrying Emily Lorraine Millar, one of Millar’s teenage daughters. At the same time, he met Billy Roper (see below), an Arkansas teacher who in May 2000 was hired by neo-Nazi leader William Pierce as a key staffer in Pierce’s National Alliance*. Cecchini and his wife moved to the Alliance’s West Virginia compound shortly afterward, with Cecchini assigned to manage the warehouse of Resistance Records, the Alliance’s lucrative white power music operation.

Cecchini was a talented manager, starting an effective E-list for customers and streamlining operations, but clashed with Pierce and Erich Glibe (see below), Resistance’s manager. Within months, Cecchini, his wife and two children were thrown off the compound and returned to his parents’ home town of Fort Lee, Va., where he set up his own Web site, tightrope.cc. The site sold music and racist paraphernalia and frequently carried articles critical of Resistance and the National Alliance. It also carried racist cartoons by Leo Felton, who in 2002 would be convicted in a plot to blow up Jewish and black targets. In January 2003, not long after Cecchini testified for Felton, federal agents raided Cecchini’s home — seizing large amounts of materials, including his computer — based on the allegation that he had infringed on Nike’s copyright by printing T-shirts with a Nike “swoosh” symbol and the word “Nazi.” After the raid, which resulted in no charges, Cecchini returned to Minnesota to manage customer relations for Panzerfaust Records*, a racist label run by Anthony Pierpont (see below) that competes directly with Resistance.

Music, Mercenaries and Minnesota

Bryant Calvert Cecchini, 32 *St. Paul, Minn.*

Bryant Cecchini, far better known by his alias of Byron Calvert, is one of the most respected racist Skinheads on the neo-Nazi music scene — and one of several key players who recently left powerhouse Resistance Records* for a competing racist label. With roots in the Minnesota Skinhead world, the fit and muscular Cecchini (pictured above right with David Duke) accumulated a lengthy criminal record, including a 1989 felony conviction (at age 18) for stabbing two people, which put him in a state prison for 43 months. While there, Cecchini also was cited for participating in an apparently racially motivated prison disturbance, disobeying an order, unlawful assembly, and assaulting and harming a prison staffer with a weapon. Emerging in 1992, Cecchini reportedly was a mercenary in Bosnia and traveled to South Africa during the early 1990s; he also says he briefly joined the French Foreign Legion in 1995. Later that year, Cecchini took a new Nissan



‘Of the Weasel Kind’

John Thomas Cripps, 46 **Lumberton, Miss.**

A native Mississippian, ordained minister and accountant, John Cripps has become a major neo-Confederate activist, starting or working in an array of organizations with racist tinges. Even before he became a public figure, Cripps was pastor of the so-called Confederate Presbyterian Church in Lumberton. The church is not part of any recognized denomination and teaches antebellum Presbyterian doctrine, relying in part on racist sources like 19th-century theologian Robert Louis Dabney. By 2000, Cripps had become the Mississippi state leader of the League of the South*, a relatively intellectual neo-Confederate group. Later that year, he dropped his group’s formal affiliation with the league, renaming it Free Mississippi*. Also in 2000, he opened and operated the Confederate States Research Center, a bookstore operating out of a run-down storefront in Wiggins, Miss.

As head of Free Mississippi (and architect of its Web page), Cripps fought hard to retain the Mississippi state flag — which incorporates a small reproduction of the Confederate battle flag — that was then being considered for replacement by a less



to keep the old flag.) In a 2000 Web posting, Cripps referred to thousands of black spring breakers in Mississippi — a tiny minority of whom had committed some crimes — as “a group of animals.” In an E-mail, he also called NAACP members “animal[s] of the weasel kind.” Cripps’ Free Mississippi disappeared in 2002, but was replaced this year by Free South, run out of Cripps’ Wiggins research center. The group also owns the Rebel Yell store in Florence, selling Confederate paraphernalia. Cripps is now running for governor of the state on the ticket of the far-right Constitution Party (see related story, p. 52).

divisive symbol. Cripps collected signatures for a proposed amendment to the state constitution that would have made the flag permanent. The amendment never came to a vote, but Cripps also helped rally whites to vote in the 2001 referendum that finally decided the matter. (The voting broke down along racial lines, with whites overwhelmingly opting

Playing Straight

Ronald G. Doggett, 41 **Richmond, Va.**

Ron Doggett joined the Klan at 17 and has been a key racist organizer in Virginia — even testifying to the state Senate and badly embarrassing one governor — ever since. The lifelong Richmond resident signed up with the Klan after reading a newspaper published by former Klan leader David Duke, moving on to the White Patriot Party (a kind of paramilitary Klan group) in the 1980s and, in the early 1990s, the neo-Nazi National Alliance*. For most of the latter decade, Doggett also hosted a public access cable television show called “Race and Reality,” making himself infamous in the Richmond area. In 1999, he invited Duke, who had by then left the Klan, to visit Richmond to support the return of a portrait of Confederate hero Robert E. Lee to a local history exhibit. More than 200 people attended a meeting hosted by Duke and Doggett. The following year, Doggett signed on as Virginia chapter leader with a group, newly formed by Duke, which would ultimately come to be called the European-American Unity and Rights Organization (EURO)*. Though EURO today seems to exist largely on paper, Doggett claimed in 2001 to have 150 members in Virginia — not inconceivable, given his organizing skills.

In February of 2001, Doggett testified to the Virginia Senate Rules Committee in favor of maintaining the state’s unconstitutional law against interracial marriage. He pulled off an even more remarkable coup a month later, when he convinced then-Gov. Jim Gilmore, who was also then heading up the Republican National Committee, to declare May “European American Heritage and History Month” — an astounding feat given Doggett’s local notoriety. Two months later, a red-faced Gilmore rescinded his proclamation. Today, Ron Doggett remains an Alliance member and the Virginia state EURO leader. He insists that Duke is innocent of the mail fraud charges he recently pleaded guilty to.



Soap for Sale

Clayton R. Douglas, 57 **Bingham, N.M.**

For nine years, Clay Douglas has been editing and publishing a militia-friendly magazine called *Free American* — a compendium of conspiracy theories about hot topics from the “New World Order” to the Oklahoma City bombing, weird notions about health and sickness, survivalist paranoia and, especially in recent years, wildly anti-Semitic rants and ideology. Douglas, who is now also the mayor of the tiny hamlet of Bingham, N.M., didn’t start out on the radical right. He was a biker with a pen, writing bad poetry and getting articles published in almost a dozen magazines with titles like *Easyriders* and *Motorcycle News*. He also published at least one biker magazine, ran a marine repair shop and a floating restaurant in South Florida in the late 1980s, and even wrote self-published “adventure novels” with titles like *One Bloody Alabaster Eye*. Douglas, who today suggests that drugs are part of a government plot, also was sentenced in 1972 to seven years in a Texas prison after being arrested for possession of marijuana by a female undercover agent (the topic of a particularly awful poem).

In August 1994, Douglas began publishing the *Free American* and, the same year, became information officer for the New Mexico Militia. In the following years, he traveled the country, going to antigovernment militia and “Patriot” events and selling magazines and books; broadcast a daily shortwave radio program; put on survivalist expos, and made and sold videos about “top-secret phenomena” like those revealed in “Chemtrails: the Video.” Typical of many in the militias, Douglas worried that the United Nations was involved in a world takeover — and, as mayor, got an ordinance passed that made Bingham a “U.N.-free zone.”

Although Douglas says that he first endorsed the anti-Semitic forgery *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* in the early 1990s, it is in recent years that he, like many in the Patriot movement, has adopted wholesale hatred of Jews. Since helping in 2001 to set up the radical-right American Media Association, which includes several anti-Semitic publications, Douglas’ *Free American* has run stories like “Are the Jews Behind the Destruction of America?” (his answer,



needless to say, is yes) and he has reproduced the *Protocols* on his Web page. He sold tracts of the anti-Semitic Christian Identity theology at his November 2002 expo in Georgia and, this May, blamed Jews for the Sept. 11, 2001, terrorist attacks while attending a conference put on by *Media Bypass*, another anti-Semitic magazine. In addition, Douglas spends a great deal of energy attacking former allies in the Patriot movement like James “Bo” Gritz, and selling the always lucrative Miracle II soap.

White Noise

Ronald W. Edwards, 43 Dawson Springs, Ky.

On Edwards, who today improbably claims to lead the largest Klan faction in the United States, got his start in the Klan in the early 1990s, when he was the head of a Kentucky klavern (or local unit) in the Arkansas-based Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*. That group, originally started by David Duke but since led by Thom Robb, tried to portray itself as a kinder, gentler Klan, seeking to adopt high-ways and follow other strategies meant to improve its image. But the group split in July 1994, when nine chapters departed to form the Federation of Klans over an accusation that Robb had absconded with funds raised through a telephone hotline and also a \$20,000 gift that was allegedly meant for the group. Edwards was briefly with the federation, led by former Robb follower Ed Novak, but the group collapsed around 1995.

By 1998, Edwards had created his own group, the Imperial Klans of America*, which he says is the largest of some 30 competing Klan groups — a claim weakened when Edwards told a reporter in 1999 that he had only 50 followers. In April of that year, federal agents raided Edwards’ home as part of an investigation into an alleged plot to blow up a federal building. Investigators

eventually dropped Edwards as a target, but an adherent of the anti-Semitic Christian Identity theology, Kale Kelly, was sent to prison on weapons charges. Edwards’ Imperial Klans avoids public rallies, instead holding private “cross-lightings” and other events at Edwards’ former compound in Powderly, Ky.

Starting in 2000, Edwards used his land to host NordicFest, an annual Memorial Day two-day concert featuring racist “hatecore” bands — a strategy that helped connect Edwards to younger, more vital parts of the American revolutionary right. In 2001, more than 300 people attended the event. But the next year, Edwards had a falling out with the two major backers of the concert, racist music distributors Panzerfaust* and Resistance Records*. Resistance manager Erich Gliebe (see below) spoke for both distributors when he attacked Edwards’ “personal conduct,” the “treatment of our bands,” and “threats” and violence at the previous year’s event. The pullout hit Edwards hard, and by 2003, with NordicFest now held at Edwards’ new and smaller property in Dawson Springs, just 60 people came. (Many complaints about the cost of the event and charges for setting up sales tables were heard from those who went.) Today, it is unclear if Edwards will be able to resuscitate the annual event.

‘The Stupid Party’

Samuel T. Francis, 56 Lanham, Md.



An intellectual and key white nationalist thinker, Sam Francis has been referred to by analyst Leonard Zeskind as the “philosopher king” of the radical right — a title that seems well justified by the ubiquitous presence of his columns in racist forums and his influence over the general direction of right-wing extremism. A prize-winning writer, Francis served in the late 1980s and early 1990s as an editor and columnist at

the right-wing *Washington Times*, where he was well known as a leading paleoconservative (the term refers to an anti-federal, isolationist sector of the American right that typically opposes non-white immigration vigorously). The 1990s saw Francis radicalized to the point where he is today the chief editor for a leading white supremacist hate group, the Council of Conservative Citizens (CCC)*. That tie was initiated in 1993, when Francis published his first column in the CCC’s tabloid, *Citizens Informer*, complaining that the media ignored whites murdered by blacks while police brutality victim Rodney King, characterized as a black criminal, was celebrated. The next year, Francis made his first appearance at a conference of *American Renaissance**, a magazine devoted to eugenics (the

“science” of breeding better human beings) and allegedly race-based characteristics (such as IQ levels, sexual aggressiveness and propensity to criminality). In June 1994, Francis praised the CCC in a *Times* column for “planting seeds that may eventually bear greater fruit” than the Republican Party (the “Stupid Party,” in Francis’ phrase).

Ultimately, Francis was fired from the *Times* in 1995 after conservative author Dinesh D’Souza quoted Francis’ 1994 speech at the *American Renaissance* conference and described him as embodying the “new spirit of white bigotry.” Since then, Francis has appeared at every bi-annual *American Renaissance* conference and written for the magazine. In 1999, Francis joined the CCC’s *Citizens Informer* as co-editor with Chris Temple, an adherent of the anti-Semitic Christian Identity theology who has since left the job. In that post, he has stacked the publication with immigrant-bashers and refocused the increasingly strident CCC on opposition to non-white immigration. In 2000, Francis helped his good friend Patrick Buchanan, the nation’s best-known paleoconservative and white nationalist, run for president on the Reform Party ticket and also helped to edit his recent book, *Death of the West*. Today, Francis, who markets his columns through the Creators Syndicate, also helps edit *The Occidental Quarterly*, a journal similar to *American Renaissance* that is bankrolled by William H. Regnery II, the reclusive far-right Chicago millionaire who is an heir to a publishing fortune.

The Tattle-Tale

Victor J. Gerhard, 39 Wilmington, N.C.

A corporate attorney from Albany, N.Y., Victor Gerhard plunged into the radical right in early 1999, when he joined the neo-Nazi National Alliance* after a period of studying the group’s literature. Intelligent, tough and sometimes very amusing, Gerhard left what he calls “a high-paying job” and bought an A-frame cabin just outside the group’s rural West Virginia compound in early 2000. He was named general counsel and chief of staff, and in fact did help some members and supporters with legal problems. (He also wrote a sarcastic song at the time, “On the Cover of the *Intelligence Report*,” sung to the tune of Dr. Hook’s “On the Cover of the *Rolling Stone*,” asking what he needed to do to get his picture featured in this magazine.) But when he tried to sort out a number of the National Alliance’s internal problems, he clashed with the late Alliance boss William Pierce and his soon-to-be successor, Erich Gliebe (see below), and was fired in May 2001 for insubordination.



Remaining in the area, Gerhard contained his anger until the day after Pierce’s death on July 23, 2002, when he got into a fistfight with Alliance member Dr. Charles Ellis, resulting in his arrest for battery. (He later pleaded no contest and was fined \$100.) During this period, Gliebe was orchestrating a whisper campaign against Gerhard, accusing him of being mentally unstable. Days after Pierce’s death, Gerhard sent an E-mail to friends viciously attacking Pierce and the Alliance, which he described as “two badly run businesses [the Alliance’s Resistance Records* and National Vanguard Books operations] and a membership con-game.” He accused Pierce of lies, “siphoning off all the cash into his pocket,” surrounding himself with “toadies, lickspittles and ass-kissers,” covering up for rapists, and being “a sexual pervert” who relentlessly pursued female staffers and Internet porn despite being married.

Not long after these events, Gerhard moved to Wilmington, N.C., where he incorporated Condor Legion

Ordinance Inc., “a new, growing, pro-White corporation” that has several Web sites (most notably, whitepowerrecords.com) and started selling racist T-shirts, music and pins from a warehouse in Wilmington. Later in 2002, Gerhard joined forces with the neo-Nazi White Revolution*, a group formed by key former Alliance staffer Billy Roper (see below) after Roper was ejected by Gliebe. Today, all Condor Legion stock is held by White Revolution members. Early this year, Gerhard added two E-Bay “stores” and 14 Word Press* to the Condor Legion family of firms. (14 Words Press is a publisher of racist neo-Pagan materials that was founded by the legendary David Lane [see below], now serving a 190-year sentence in connection with a 1984 murder by the terrorist group The Order.) In July, Gerhard began producing a nightly Web-based “news” program.



Führer of the Titanic

Erich J. Gliebe, 40 Cleveland, Ohio

Six days after the July 2002 death of National Alliance* founder and leader William Pierce, the Alliance board named Erich Gliebe to head what up to that point had been the best organized and most effective neo-Nazi group in America — a title the Alliance can hardly lay claim to a year later, as it struggles to survive a series of splits and other problems under Gliebe (see related story, p. 8). That Gliebe was selected was not much of a surprise. Pierce had regarded the long-time Cleveland unit leader as a son, and Gliebe had earned great respect by making the Alliance’s racist music operation, Resistance Records*, profitable and by pioneering the use of “European American cultural festivals” to recruit ethnic whites. Gliebe was also close to racist bands, and was a good enough organizer to be able to bring as many as 500 people to their concerts.

In the event, however, Gliebe, a former tool-and-die maker and boxer who fought as “The Aryan Barbarian,”

was no Pierce, a man who once taught physics at an Oregon university. He almost immediately ran into trouble when the *Intelligence Report* published details of a secret speech he made three months before Pierce’s death, attacking members of other hate groups as “morons” and “hobbyists” who belonged to “the make-believe world otherwise known as ‘the movement.’” Angry white supremacists responded by attacking the Alliance and, in many cases, refusing to purchase its Resistance Record products. Gliebe reacted poorly, attempting to shut down criticism by censoring Internet postings both on Alliance sites and others that he could influence. The main result was that the criticism heated up, but was posted anonymously on sites the Alliance could not control. Gliebe even shut down the Alliance’s main private E-group, but was forced to revive it in July when it became clear that members were drifting away due to a loss of contact.

Today, the Alliance has lost members and staffers, including several key players who have joined competing racist music operations. Twisting the words of praise offered by one admirer, many Alliance members and others on the radical right now mock “the highly intelligent Erich Gliebe” as a matter of course.



The Moody Aryan

Morris L. Gulett, 48 Dayton, Ohio

Vietnam veteran Mo Gulett has been associated with the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations* for many years, almost all of them as a lieutenant of Ray Redfeairn (see below), the long-time Ohio state leader who became famous in the movement for shooting a police officer repeatedly but failing to kill him (see interview, p. 49). Gulett had his own violent run-in with police on March 2, 1997, when officers spotted him heading his van the wrong way down a one-way street. In a 12-mile chase that finally ended in the Dayton suburb of Beavercreek, Gulett crashed his vehicle into a police cruiser, tried to run one officer off the road and attempted to run down another officer. In the end, he crashed and his van landed in a creek. Later, Gulett would say he fled because he didn’t have a driver’s license and, anyway, he “was just in one of those moods.” He pleaded guilty to aggravated assault on a police officer. Once imprisoned, Gulett found himself on the receiving end of a severe beating by black prisoners that left him with a broken nose, ruptured eardrum and busted lip. After threatening a lawsuit against Montgomery County officials, he settled out of court for \$30,000.

Gulett was out of prison by 2000, when the Aryan Nations was forced to sell off its compound after a successful lawsuit brought by the Southern Poverty Law Center. In 2001, the aging Aryan leader Richard Butler named Gulett’s patron Redfeairn as his designated successor, with August Kreis of Pennsylvania as minister of information. But he rescinded the offer when Redfeairn and Kreis attempted a coup, kicking Butler out of the group he had founded a quarter-century earlier. Butler responded by saying it was Redfeairn and Kreis who had been ejected. In turn, Kreis named himself Aryan Nations national director and created a ruling council composed of Gulett, Joshua Sutter and Charles Juba (see below). In May 2002, Redfeairn backed away from Kreis, saying Butler was the real Aryan leader and took Gulett with him. The two men then founded the Church of the Sons of Yhvh, which explicitly supports “white racial supremacy” and the creation of a class of violent “warriors for God.” Not long after, Redfeairn and Gulett returned to Butler’s fold, but it is unclear if Gulett has remained. He missed a key Aryan event in June, and his name has disappeared from Butler’s Web site.

Writing the Right

Paul Hall Jr. Mariposa, Calif.

Throughout the 1990s and right up to the present, Paul Hall Jr., has been a key editor on the radical right, bringing together some of the hardest-line anti-Semites and white supremacists in America and providing a forum for their ideas. And it has been a family affair. In 1988, Hall's father, Paul Hall Sr., founded *The Jubilee*, a tabloid based in Midpines, Calif., because, as his son wrote recently, he wanted to create “a fast-paced publication that would not only inform readers of blacked out news but go that ‘step farther’ in educating folks as to ‘how’ and ‘why’ we are in the mess we’re in.” The Halls’ answer, it turns out, lay in Christian Identity, a violently anti-Semitic theology that describes whites as the real Hebrews of the Bible and Jews as cursed, race-mixing imposters.

With the younger Hall as managing editor, the newspaper has defended Nazi Germany, denied the Holocaust, glorified the Klan, and attacked Jews at every turn. Its reporters have included Louis Beam, a leading Klansman and neo-Nazi who once topped the FBI's Ten Most Wanted List; Chris Temple, author of a stream of anti-Semitic articles; Ronald David Cole, who later went to federal prison on weapons charges; and Roger Roots, who also served time on weapons charges. *The Jubilee* has published articles by militia leaders, racist killers



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and even, in 1995, sympathetically republished letters sent by Tim McVeigh and his sister Jennifer to other newspapers. It runs a prison ministry for “incarcerated saints in tribulation.” For years, it hosted a radio show, “News Light,” hosted by Hall and featuring men like Identity minister Pete Peters (whose remarks, attacking “spear-chucking, big, sun-worshipping heathens,” among others, Hall endorsed). It operated “Politically Incorrect Cruises” that attracted the usual racists and

anti-Semites along with politicians like then-U.S. Rep. Linda Smith (R-Wash.). And, through much of the 1990s, *The Jubilee* hosted annual “Jubilation” events that drew together some of the most frightening extremists in America. (Hall responded to bad publicity about the yearly event by vowing he would not “bow to homosexual or Zionist pressure.”)

In 1994, Hall and Beam, the former chief Klan leader in Texas, bought (under their wives’ names) property near Sandpoint, Idaho, that they still own. In January 2002, Hall teamed up with Chris Temple to buy *Media Bypass*, a magazine formerly devoted to militia-like ideas but now expounding anti-Semitic and Identity themes and publishing stories by the likes of neo-Nazi leader Kevin Alfred Strom. Hall's father, who had written a religious column about Identity for years, died last Sept. 6, but it is now clear that his son will continue the older Hall's extremist mission.

Hate, Not Heritage

J. Michael Hill, 51 Killen, Ala.

The man who has done more than any other to create a new, racially tinged Southern secession movement wears a white beard that gives him the unmistakable look of a Confederate Army officer — and taught during an academic career lasting decades at historically black Stillman College in Tuscaloosa, Ala. Michael Hill was always on oddity at the school, roaming the campus wearing a Confederate flag pin and waxing nostalgic to his mostly black students about the so-called “War Between the States.” He began to develop his ideas in the 1970s, while studying under neo-Confederate ideologue Grady McWhiney at the University of Alabama at Tuscaloosa. Expanding on his old professor's controversial view that the South was different from the North because its population was “Celtic,” Hill published two books on Celtic history in the early 1990s. Finally, in 1994, he went public, creating the Southern League (the name was a takeoff on the separatist Northern League of Italy, but had to be changed after a baseball league of the same name threatened to sue).

Started with 40 people, what would be renamed the League of the South* included four men with Ph.D.s on its board, along with Jack Kershaw, who was once active in the segregationist White Citizens Council in Nashville and who remains on the board



today. Hill's league started out complaining about the media treatment of white Southerners, but quickly developed into a racist group calling for secession, attacking egalitarianism, calling antebellum slavery “God-ordained,” opposing racial intermarriage, and defending segregation as a policy designed to protect the integrity of both races. An early sign of the league's racism came in 1995, when Hill set up a student chapter at his alma mater. Within months, its members began to verbally attack gays and its president, Thomas Stedman, wrote to the student newspaper to say “blacks did not invent ... anything of note anywhere in the world” — a sentiment often offered up by the Klan. In 1998, Hill finally left Stillman, which had been badly embarrassed by his efforts. Still, the league grew quickly,

as racist white Southerners sought the respectability of a group led by a professor, and today claims 15,000 members.

Hill has praised anti-Semitic extremists like the immigrant-bashing Jean Marie Le Pen of France, calling for “others like Le Pen to arise.” The “ravages of multiculturalism and so-called diversity” are anathema to him. Last year, Hill described the Pledge of Allegiance as “nationalist propaganda [meant] to indoctrinate” children with socialist ideas about government. In 2003, he led an attempt to resuscitate the Southern Party, another neo-Confederate organization. And he attacked the Supreme Court after its ruling this July striking down anti-gay sodomy laws, saying the court was helping to advance what he called the “sodomite and civil rights agendas.”

Of Aryans and Area Codes

Charles J. Juba, 31 Oklahoma City, Okla.

Charles Juba started out his white supremacist career as a teenager in the Invisible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*, where he had the attention-getting title of “Great Titan of the 717 Area Code of Pennsylvania.” The Lancaster factory worker (pictured in black robe) abandoned that unusual appellation in order to run an entire Pennsylvania group at the tender age of 21, becoming the grand dragon of the International Keystone Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*. Juba always had a way with vicious invective, running a racist telephone hotline as early as 1992 that threatened blacks with “a swinging necktie party” and urged them to “swim back to Africa with a Jew under each arm.” He also had a penchant for shifting allegiances, moving in 1994 to head up a small group called the Revolutionary Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Later in the decade, he jumped ship again, joining the Idaho-based, neo-Nazi Aryan Nations* as a local chapter leader.



In early 2002, after Aryan Nations had lost its compound as the result of a 2000 suit brought by the Southern Poverty Law Center, Juba signed on with the group’s heir apparent, August Kreis of Ulysses, Pa., who had been named along with Ray Redfearn (see below) of Ohio to replace the aging Richard Butler. Ultimately, Kreis quarreled with Butler, declaring that his Pennsylvania faction was the *real* Aryan Nations and naming Juba, Joshua Sutter and Mo Gullett (see above) to a ruling council under him. After Redfearn quit, Kreis named Juba to head the Pennsylvania Aryan Nations faction, which he does to this day. (Juba’s introductory essay on this faction’s Web site is entitled “Fire Up the Ovens!”)

Considered attractive by many in the racist movement, Juba had a number of girlfriends but was embarrassed when one of them posted information on the Web about her interest in “caning” and other sadomasochistic practices. Juba is also known for his own personal Web site, called gasajewforjesus.com and meant to provide “our Aryan Youth with as many helpful hints as possible in artistic ways of gassing Jews.” During the summer of 2002, Juba moved to Oklahoma City to move in with a new girlfriend attending college there, and apparently lives there still.

Preaching from Prison

David Lane, 65 Florence, Colo.



On the night of June 18, 1984, David Lane, driving a getaway car for the terrorist group The Order, secured his place in the pantheon of Aryan heroes when his three-man cell murdered Alan Berg with a MAC 10 pistol as the acerbic Jewish talk show host emerged from his car at home in Denver. Lane was captured the next year and sentenced to 190 years, which he is serving out in the federal “Supermax” prison in Colorado, the secur-est facility in America. Remarkably, Lane has only added to his fame on the radical right since then, both by penning the famous “14 Words” — “We must secure the existence of our people and a future for White children” — and by his continued production of propaganda from his prison cell.

In his younger years, Lane went from the relatively tame John Birch Society to the Klan and, by the late 1970s, the Idaho-based Aryan Nations*, which practices Christian Identity, a theology that describes Jews as the biological descendants of Satan. (His sister, Jane, worked at the Aryan Nations compound in the early 1980s, marrying the Pennsylvania state leader in 1982.) Eventually, Lane found racist Odinism, a bastardized form of a pre-Christian Nordic religion, and joined the secret Order group, which robbed \$4.1 million in armored car heists, murdered two people, set off bombs, and carried out a number of other crimes. In prison, Lane studied history, philosophy and religion, and also picked up quirky numerological ideas. (“America was formed,” he writes, “with a 222 year Jewish Cabalistic timetable to destroy every Race, Nation and Culture on earth in support of the Jew World Order.”) In 1994, he married Katja Lane, a tough-minded and multilingual racist who helped him launch 14 Word Press*, a publishing operation that produced a monthly newsletter called *Focus Fourteen* and other Lane screeds. Lane envisions a kind of pre-modern tribal society ruled by wise philosophers, but only after a period of “leaderless resistance” and then full-scale revolutionary war.

In 1995, the Lanes and Ron McVan, a fellow Odinist, formed Wotansvolk, a racist pagan group and Web site run out of St. Maries, Idaho, complete with a headquarters that scholar Mattias Gardell describes in fawning terms as replete with “magnificent sculptured wolves, dragons and ravens.” In 2000, Gardell writes, the group was legally recognized as a church, The Temple of Wotan. Katja Lane, busy as a church board member, in September 2001 transferred 14 Word Press to Steve Weigand (see below) in Maple Shade, N.J. From there, it was taken over by John Post, a Napa, Calif., Odinist who later decided to abandon racist Odinism and transfer it again, this time to Victor Gerhard (see above) in December 2002. Today, it is unclear what’s become of the tightly knit trio of the Lanes and McVan. McVan has left, Katja Lane is in St. Maries, and David Lane has 172 years left to serve.



Designing Women

Melody Mackey LaRue, 28 Lynnwood, Wash.

In the male-dominated world of neo-Nazism, Melody LaRue is one of the few women to make a name for herself outside the traditional roles of mother, wife or girlfriend. Not that she is a feminist. Although she was long an ordained minister in the pseudo-religion of the neo-Nazi World Church of the Creator* (wcotc, now known as The Creativity Movement), she never aspired to be top leader, a position she agrees only a man is capable of holding down. LaRue and her 30-year-old husband Jason, who served time for a 1995 assault on a black man and an Asian man in Bellingham, Wash., worked effectively together for years, promoting the creed of Creativity through public access cable television, talk radio, fliers and propaganda they inserted into white power music tapes. When wcotc leader Matt Hale’s favorite follower, Ben Smith, went on a 1999 rampage that left two non-white people dead and nine others wounded, Melody LaRue could scarcely contain herself. “White Men like him are hard to come by,” she gushed. “Now we all need to work together to pick up where he left off, and win this Racial Holy War!” The following year, both LaRues were named Creators of the Year, the same honor Hale had bestowed upon Smith shortly before his murder spree.

Around that time, Melody LaRue opted to start her own project. The so-called Women’s Frontier was already the wcotc’s women’s branch, so the former Seattle office manager created the Sisterhood of the wcotc, publishing a monthly newsletter of the same name that explored the role of neo-Nazi women — home-making, home-schooling, supporting (male) “political prisoners” and so on. In mid-2000, LaRue started Hypatia Publishing* to put out her *Sisterhood* magazine. The name came from the first woman to make a significant contribution to mathematics — ironically, an Egyptian who any good Creator would consider a member of the



“mud races.” Although the LaRues were loyal soldiers, at one point even considering moving to East Peoria, Ill., to be near Hale, both the couple and the coordinator of the Women’s Frontier quit WCORC in 2001 under fairly mysterious circumstances. LaRue still considers herself a Creator but publishes *Sisterhood* on her own.

Potty Humor and the Revolution

Alex R. Linder, 37 Kirksville, Mo.

Alex Linder, a foul-mouthed but nattily dressed neo-Nazi, is the operator of a gutturally racist Web site that is close to breaking into the big time by becoming one of the 10,000 most-visited pages on the Net. And he wants more. Earlier this year, Linder told *National Vanguard*, a magazine published by the neo-Nazi National Alliance*, that he hoped to turn his site, Vanguard News Network (VNN), into a “White Viacom” composed of “an integrated global media and services company getting out the White message and serving the White market in a thousand forms.”

VNN was created in 2000 by Linder and an associate identified as Regina Belser (who apparently is no longer with the operation), and today claims 22 writers. The site is remarkably vulgar, offending even many of the most extreme racists and anti-Semites with Linder’s potty humor, untrammelled misogyny (Linder says women should “make everything happy and smooth running by providing offspring and sex and cookies and iced tea”) and swaggering self-importance. Its motto is “No Jews. Just Right,” and it includes an archive of more than 250 juvenile racist and anti-Semitic cartoons, along with a forum, personals section and still-developing “ShopWhite” marketing service. In his *National Vanguard* interview, Linder says he grew up in a middle-class suburb, earned a bachelor’s degree from Pomona College in Claremont, Calif., and then worked for two leading conservative media outlets in Washington, D.C., where

he despaired because “racist satire of Jews and minorities” could not be published. He ran a trade publication in Germantown, Md., from 1993 until 1997 when he moved to Missouri to fulfill his “true interest, writing satire to hasten White revolution.”

Linder joined the National Alliance in the late 1990s, once even considering a move to its West Virginia compound to edit *National Vanguard*, and has remained a member, at least up to late August. But after federal agents arrested Georgia Alliance leader Chester Doles on weapons charges this March, Linder grew disgusted with the Alliance’s reluctance to fund Doles’ legal defense. To the embarrassment of Alliance leaders, and using an anonymous donor’s offer to match up to \$25,000, Linder managed to raise \$79,464 that Doles’ wife used this July to hire former U.S. Rep. Bob Barr (R-Ga.) as a defense attorney. (The same month, it emerged that the anonymous donor was Marc Moran, a man who was briefly appointed to the Hopewell, N.J., borough council until his Alliance membership became public. A Linder friend, Web site operator and raging anti-Semite Bill White [see below], said that Moran had also been a silent business partner



in VNN. White added that when Moran resigned his council seat, he turned over his part of VNN to White.) As a result of his fundraising campaign and his open criticism of the Alliance, Linder (who coincidentally finalized a personal bankruptcy proceeding on July 12) is now deeply disliked by some of his colleagues and most leaders of the National Alliance.

Aliens, AIDS and White Supremacy

Wayne C. Lutton, 54 Petoskey, Mich.

Wayne Lutton doesn’t like immigrants. Since earning a Ph.D. in modern history at Southern Illinois University in 1983, he has written countless articles, monographs and books about the evils of immigration, specifically non-white immigration. In the early 1980s, Lutton (pictured above, at left) worked at far-right Summit Ministries in Manitou, Colo., which produces a vast array of materials attacking homosexuality, secular humanism and any number of other things seen to be destroying American society. While there, Lutton authored *AIDS*, a gay-bashing book, with Summit president David Noebel and Paul Cameron. The book proposes to “suppress” homosexuality by making gay sex illegal; prohibiting gays from having custody of children, including their own; “quarantining” HIV-positive gays who engage in sex; and denying all AIDS patients admittance to regular hospitals. It also suggests that it may be necessary to “exile” all active homosexuals from America.

In 1985, Lutton co-authored another book, this one denouncing immigrants, *The Immigration Time Bomb*. Featuring lurid chapter headings like “The Alien Crime Wave,” “The Alien Health Threat” and “Aliens Raid the Welfare System,” the book was published by the American Immigration Control Foundation*, which distributes racist videotapes attacking Hispanic immigrants in sensational terms. The book also offers up special thanks to Sam Francis



JENNIFER WAREBURG

‘Hate Cradles You’

Thomas J. Martin, 20 Charleston, W.Va.

Tom Martin was just 14 when he joined the racist Skinhead movement while living in Orlando, Fla., where he worked for the next four years in a family-owned moving company. At age 18, after having joined a far more sophisticated organization, the neo-Nazi National Alliance*, Martin was hired as an Alliance staffer. He moved to the group’s West Virginia compound in October 2001 and was assigned to work in its shipping department, where he filled orders from buyers of racist literature, music and other items. The next spring, while still at the compound, Martin was arrested for attempted burglary and in May accepted a deal where he pleaded guilty to trespassing, paid a \$100 fine and was given a suspended six-month jail sentence. He left the Alliance, which has made its disdain for Skinheads and petty criminals plain, soon after that. Moving to Charleston, W.Va., he organized a crew called the West Virginia Skinheads and put up a Web site for them.

During this same period in 2002, the Alliance suffered the death of its founder William Pierce and the revelation that both Pierce and his successor had viciously attacked Skinheads in secret speeches. That caused a split in the group, and key officer Billy Roper (see below) was booted out last fall as a result. Roper quickly formed another group, far more sympathetic to racist Skinheads, and last December, like more than 30 former Alliance members, Martin joined it. His job at Roper’s White Revolution* was youth coordinator, responsible for giving those under 18 years old “educational guidance and ideological training.” Introducing himself on the group’s Web site, Martin acknowledged that he’d had “a bit of legal trouble” but said things had improved since he met his new fiancée, Amanda.

Martin’s organizing skills are reflected on his old Skinhead Web site, where new ties with the Potomac Highland Skins and the Keystone State Skinheads* were noted in March, and also in his self-described work with a local Klan group. In July, Martin, who is now Roper’s Webmaster, added an online catalog for White Revolution, and he is planning a new Web-based forum, streaming radio and a closed E-group for members only. One thing Martin is not, however, is literate. In a bizarre review of the movie “White Oleander,” Martin can hardly be understood as he writes about women. “Love humiliates you,” he somehow concludes. “Hate cradles you.”

(see above), a key white nationalist ideologue. In the early 1990s, Lutton went to work for John Tanton, a Michigan ophthalmologist who built much of the modern anti-immigration movement and with whom he shares an office to this day. Lutton edits *The Social Contract*, a journal that is published by U.S. Inc., the anti-immigration umbrella group created and chaired by Tanton, and has published a number of prominent white supremacists. In 1994, Lutton and Tanton co-authored *The Immigration Invasion*, another lurid attack on immigrants.

By 1996, Lutton was addressing the annual conference of the Council of Conservative Citizens (CCC)*, a group that today regularly attacks black people and gays in the crudest terms. Third Worlders, Lutton told his audience, “have declared demographic war against us. ... Why are their populations exploding? Because ... our people have exported medical technology and we feed them. Had we left them alone, many of them would be going extinct today.” The next year, Lutton joined the board of the New Century Foundation*, which publishes the racist *American Renaissance** magazine and hosts biannual conferences. In 2000, Lutton expanded his influence further, joining the editorial advisory board of the CCC’s racist tabloid, *Citizens Informer*. And last year he signed up as an editorial adviser to *The Occidental Quarterly**, a pseudo-academic journal similar to *American Renaissance*. In a recent book review in the quarterly, Lutton sounded his familiar, shrill theme: “Far from being a virtue, ‘tolerance’ of the wrong variety can lead to cultural suicide and risks the very extinction of peoples,” he wrote. “Men and women of character will not let this occur without a fight.”

Cultivating Violence

Thomas L. Metzger, 65 Fallbrook, Calif.

Tom Metzger is one of the grand old men of organized hate. In a career spanning four decades, the Southern California television repairman has become famous for the crudity of his propaganda and the violence he has embraced — but also for his innovative political ideology that rejects traditional distinctions of right and left in favor of the “third position.” A rarity on the radical right, Metzger has celebrated labor, attacked the U.S. role in Central America and praised the Soviet Union as a white workers’

state, among other things. Metzger started his odyssey on the extreme right by joining the John Birch Society in the early 1960s, but left because it rejected anti-Semitism. In 1975, he was recruited by David Duke to join Duke’s Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*, rising to California state leader — and becoming involved in several violent episodes — at the same time that neo-Nazi James Warner was teaching him to be a minister of the anti-Semitic Christian Identity theology.



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO



In 1980, Metzger broke with Duke, who he saw as a womanizing egotist, and turned his chapter into an independent Klan group. That fall, he won a Democratic primary for Congress, losing in the general election but winning some 35,000 votes. He then left the Klan, forming the White American Political Association and making an unsuccessful Democratic primary run for the Senate in 1982 (he received more than 75,000 votes statewide). In 1983, he changed his group’s name to White Aryan Resistance* (WAR), and the following year he pioneered the radical right’s move into local access cable television with a show titled “Race and

Reason.” (By 1992, the show was airing in 62 cities in 21 states, although it then fell off as the Internet became a far more popular venue.) At around the same time, Metzger and his son John reached out early to racist Skinheads who were just appearing, organizing them as the “shock troops” of the coming revolution. In 1985, Metzger became one of the first white supremacists to initiate contacts with the black supremacist Nation of Islam* and, later, other black groups.

On Nov. 12, 1988, Skinheads in Portland, Ore., who had been influenced by a WAR operative, beat an Ethiopian student to death. The murderers, Metzger said later, had done their “civic duty.” In addition to criminal convictions, the killing brought a civil lawsuit by the Southern Poverty Law Center and the Anti-Defamation League that resulted in a \$12.5 million verdict against the Metzgers, their organization and two of the killers. Metzger lost his house, truck and tools, and still pays about \$800 a month to the estate of the victim. A furious Metzger promised to put “blood on the streets like you’ve never seen.” Since the suit, WAR has never returned to being a true membership organization, and Metzger now advocates “lone wolf” attacks on the system. He speaks occasionally, traveling as far away as Japan, and still puts out his WAR tabloid, which is unrivalled in its crude racism. If no longer a genuine leader, Metzger is still a real movement hero — even inspiring a character in the movie “American History X” — and recently started up a new radio show.

The Well-Tanned Skinhead

Anthony A. Pierpont, 36 South St. Paul, Minn.

It's not often that a racist Skinhead turns out to be a highly capable businessman, but Anthony Pierpont is a case in point. Pierpont (pictured with his sister) is the prime mover behind Panzerfaust Records*, a white power music distributor known for having signed the better “hatecore” bands and a major competitor of one-time powerhouse label Resistance Records*. Pierpont founded Panzerfaust in September 1998 with Eric Davidson, who had earlier worked at Resistance, which is operated by the neo-Nazi National Alliance*. The name of the label comes from a hand-held anti-tank weapon developed by Nazi Germany, translating literally as “armored fist,” which fits in with Pierpont's idea of white power music as “the audio ordnance [for] today's struggle.” Today, Davidson has left and Pierpont runs the company with another former Alliance staffer, Bryant Cecchini (alias Byron Calvert, see above).

From the start, Pierpont also ran a Web site called United Skins to promote the label and in it, according to a laudatory review on skinheadz.com, he “made a name for himself by taking those to task who claimed to be ‘Skinheads,’ but who dabbled in drugs, Satanism and the hippy lifestyle.” Pierpont speaks from experience, having, by his own account, served prison time in California on a drug charge.

Anthony Pierpont is probably the most competent promoter in the white power music business, and he has earned the respect of most members of the extremely violent Hammerskins*, in part by supporting Skinhead “prisoners of war” in the nation's prisons. In fact, his reports on the hatecore scene were the main feature of the now defunct *Hammerskin Press*. But he has a serious problem — his relatively dark skin and vaguely Hispanic looks. As early as 1995, when he attended the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations* Youth Fest, he was accused behind his back of being Mexican, and the same kinds of attacks were



White Revolution* group. White Revolution is run and largely peopled by those who have recently left the troubled Alliance (see story, p. 8).

being repeated just this July. His sister, until recently an employee of the Porn Star Clothing firm, has also raised eyebrows because the clothing is supposedly targeted to young white girls. Pierpont was reportedly approached in 1998 about purchasing Resistance and refused, leaving it to the National Alliance to pay the \$250,000 price. Today, he and Cecchini are running what may be the primary competitor of Resistance, and they have grown close to the neo-Nazi



A Monument for McVeigh

David Martin Pringle, 34 Anchorage, Alaska

An unemployed diesel mechanic who stays at home and brews beer while his wife works, David Pringle is hardly the person you'd expect to be the membership coordinator and chief spokesman for the neo-Nazi National Alliance*, which for decades has sought to project a professional image. Yet Pringle for a year now has held the second most important post in the Alliance, after chairman Erich Gliebe (see above), and in fact is a more visible activist than the reclusive former boxer.

Pringle, the long-time Alaska unit leader for the Alliance, was elevated to his current job on Sept. 17, 2002, a day after Gliebe fired Billy Roper (see below) as deputy membership coordinator during an internal power struggle. Roper had assiduously courted both mainstream and movement media, and during his two years acting as an Alliance spokesman was quoted in more than 600 newspaper stories. Pringle, who also has been an authorized spokesman for about two years, has



DAVID PRINGLE with National Alliance loyalists (from left) Erich Gliebe, Dr. Charles Ellis and Shaun Walker.

tallied fewer than 20. That, and Pringle's failure to communicate effectively within the group, has hurt his standing among Alliance members and others on the radical right, one of whom recently described Pringle in a Web posting as “one of the most pretentious and least substantial characters currently active in Nationalist politics.”

Although Pringle's father holds a Stanford Ph.D. and reportedly worked in weapons research for the Department of Defense, Pringle never went to college and instead joined the Army in 1988, at the age of 19. He says his visceral hatred of Jews developed when, on a mission in the Middle East, his unit brought a severely burned Bedouin boy to an Israeli hospital that refused to treat him. In the years since then, Pringle has disowned his “race traitor” sister, who has a mixed-race child, but does occasionally see his parents, Mormons who live in New Mexico and do not agree with his views. And his views are remarkable. In one E-mail, Pringle said that mass murderer Tim McVeigh “should have a monument erected in his honor.” He went on: “I don't feel any sympathy for the families of the 168, not the children, not the secretaries and definitely not the federal pigs.”

Pringle, who favors untucked flannel shirts and rumpled blue jeans, has committed several gaffes that have drawn notice in the movement. In May, he gave an interview to a New York television station on the subject of “White Law,” a video game where players take the role of police officers and kill minorities to gain points. “We're basically prying the door open, getting in little Johnny and little Janie's minds,” he said. As long-time Alliance member Joseph Bishop (alias Keith Fulton) wrote later, that statement “makes the NA look like a bunch of conspiratorial child molesters.” The same month, Pringle posted a public warning to other hate groups to avoid contact with producers of “The John Walsh Show,” who were depicted as out to do in white nationalists. A week later, it emerged that Alliance staffer Shaun Walker would be a guest, despite Pringle's pronouncement. Members of other hate groups saw Pringle's maneuver as a cheap trick to keep publicity away from them. Today, Pringle, who brags of being an expert gunfighter who carries a concealed weapon, continues to run the revolution from a spare bedroom covered with Nazi World War II posters.



Revolting in Arkansas

Billy Joe Roper II, 31 Russellville, Ark.

Gregarious and hard-working, Billy Roper was for almost two years the most visible member of the neo-Nazi National Alliance*, giving interviews, building coalitions with other hate groups and, as deputy membership coordinator, interacting closely with the Alliance's far-flung units. But after he was ejected from the group in late 2002, he formed another neo-Nazi group, White Revolution*, and has since given the Alliance a run for its money. Roper grew up in Arkansas, by his account as the son of a Klan member, and became a high school history teacher after college. Roper says that he



was active in college Republican groups and “local Republican politics up to the state level,” but dropped out when he “realized” that Jews were the primary evil in the world.

Roper joined the racist Council of Conservative Citizens* in the late 1990s, at a time when he was already acting as a spokesman and organizer for the Alliance. (He became Arkansas unit leader in 1999.) In 2000, he spoke to the council's central Arkansas chapter about the Kennewick man, an ancient skeleton that has some Caucasoid features and has been taken by white supremacists to prove that whites were in prehistoric America far earlier than once believed. That same year, he moved to the Alliance's West Virginia compound to take up work as deputy membership coordinator, a job he excelled in. Roper worked 14-hour days and was successful in drumming up publicity for the Alliance. But he also worked to build bridges with other sectors of the revolutionary right, especially racist Skinheads, a move that was evident in the anti-Israel rallies he organized in Washington. This set him on a collision course with Alliance founder William Pierce, who had long derided members of other hate groups, and when Pierce died in July 2002, his successor Erich Gliebe fired Roper.

Roper returned to Arkansas late last year and set to work building up White Revolution, which has now attracted about 30 Alliance members and seems to be on the upswing while the Alliance flounders (see story, p. 8). On Jan. 25 of this year, Roper brought more than 65 people from around the country to rally in front of the Southern Poverty Law Center, an accomplishment of some note. Although membership costs \$10 a month, White Revolution acts as an umbrella group, allowing members to also be members of other groups (something that is not true of a large number of hate groups). The group was recently beefed up with the addition of former Alliance attorney Victor Gerhard (see above), who brought along his new business, Condor Legion Ordnance. The firm sells racist paraphernalia in direct competition with the Alliance's Resistance Records*.

The Cop-Shooter

Harold Ray Redfeairn, 51 New Vienna, Ohio

If any proof were needed that a history of rampant criminal violence and madness is no disqualification for leadership in America's neo-Nazi movement, Ray Redfeairn would be Exhibit No. 1. Long before he was a movement heavy with high posts in the Idaho-based Aryan Nations*, Redfeairn was a scary character who racked up an extensive criminal record. In 1979, after holding up a car dealership and a motel, Redfeairn shot 22-year-old Dayton, Ohio, police officer Dave Koenig (see interview, p. 49) three times after Koenig stopped him. According to Koenig, Redfeairn then knelt over Koenig and held the gun to his head, saying at one point, “You fucking pig, you think you're so bad now, eh?” Koenig was hit in the neck, shoulder and liver, surviving thanks to the bulletproof vest he was wearing. In court, Redfeairn was described as a paranoid schizophrenic and sent to a mental institution for more than a year before being deemed fit to stand trial. In 1981, Redfeairn was convicted of attempted aggravated murder and three counts of aggravated robbery. Sentenced to four consecutive seven-to-25-year sentences, Redfeairn was nonetheless paroled in 1991. Just one month later, he pleaded guilty to a disorderly conduct charge.

Redfeairn became the Ohio state leader for the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations in 1992, serving until 1998, but that did not blunt his criminal propensities. During those years, he served more time for separate convictions for

aggravated menacing, carrying a concealed weapon and drunken driving, and he even showed up at the house of the man who'd reported his erratic driving and threatened to kill him. In 1996, Redfeairn's mother accused her son of threatening to kill her, too, but later withdrew the charge. (Testimony in his 1985 trial revealed that he also had once held a butcher knife to her throat.) Redfeairn left Aryan Nations in 1998, but testified for Aryan leader Richard Butler in 2000, when the Southern Poverty Law Center was suing the group and several members in connection with an attack on a woman and her son. Redfeairn told the court he had quit the group because Butler advocated non-violence — testimony that was undermined when the plaintiffs played a video showing Redfeairn in Butler's pulpit, with Butler standing nearby, saying that “to grab an AK-47 or an M16 and run and plug some nigger in the head” was an act of “conscience” that he “won't condemn.”

The next year, an undercover tape recording caught Redfeairn, in the home of Aryan Nations member David William Kinkaid (now in prison on weapons charges), speaking about recent racial disturbances in Cincinnati. “You can legally kill this nigger,” he said, apparently referring to blacks in general. “I said, ‘Shoot it in the head.’” In late 2001, Butler named Redfeairn as his successor. Although Redfeairn attempted a coup against Butler (for details, see Morris Gulett and Charles Juba, above) and was kicked out, he returned in 2002. Butler, who is seriously ill with heart trouble, has since reinstated Redfeairn as his chosen successor, and now lists him as an Aryan “reverend” on his Web site.



JENNIFER WARBURG

‘Science’ at the Mall

Jean-Philippe Rushton, 50 London, Ontario, Canada

Jean-Philippe Rushton is a long-time university professor, the author of five books and 200 articles, a fellow of the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, the American Association for the Advancement of Science and the American, British and Canadian psychological associations — and probably the most important race scientist at work today. Since last year, he has also been the president of the infamous Pioneer Fund*, which has for decades funded dubious studies linking race to characteristics like criminality, sexuality and intelligence



The Third Positionist

Kenneth J. Schmidt, 43 Upper Montclair, N.J.

Ken Schmidt may be the principal American proponent of the so-called “Third Position” — an ideology, systematized by British neofascists in the 1980s, that rejects both communism and capitalism, strongly supports environmentalism and animal rights, sides with labor against capital, and proposes to separate the races into their own ethnically pure countries, where they will live close to the land and govern themselves at the most local level possible. Schmidt has run a tiny hate group, the American Third Position* (ATP),



out of his New Jersey condominium since 2001, when an Arvada, Colo., associate left. (The group was then called the American Coalition of Third Positionists, but Schmidt shortened the name.)

Recently retired from an 18-year career as a senior probation officer for Passaic County, Schmidt distributes the British third position magazine, *Final Conflict*, and his own *Nationalist Dawn*, and runs a Web site. The ATP is a formal affiliate of the International Third Position (ITP), a Britain-based neofascist group with several European chapters that has run paramilitary training camps in France, Poland and Spain. The ITP was founded in 1989 by a breakaway faction of the English party National Front and Italian fascists including Roberto Fiore (who fled to England and was convicted in absentia of terrorist association in connection with the 1980 bombing of a Bologna, Italy, train station that left some 80 people dead). The ITP has long been associated with clerical fascism, with many members also belonging to the schismatic Catholic sect, the Society of Pius x. This religious aspect caused many Europeans to leave ITP in the early 1990s.

For his part, Schmidt, despite the frankly revolutionary nature of his ideology, is an officer of the New York chapter of the Council of Conservative Citizens* — a remarkable fact, given the council’s longstanding efforts to portray itself as mainstream. In February 2000, Schmidt told a council meeting in Washington, D.C., that members “must serve, to use a Marxist phrase, as a revolutionary vanguard for the white masses. . . . Our aim must be to establish the preconditions for National Revolution on behalf of European-Americans. We must take our country back and if sometime in the distant future we have to bloody a few noses to do so, then so be it.” Schmidt, who until 2000 was also an officer of the Mississippi-based Nationalist Movement*, travels abroad frequently for third position events — a talk to the neofascist England First last February being the latest example. In recent years, Schmidt has also spoken at conferences of the Holocaust-denying *Barnes Review**, the now defunct American Friends of the British National Party, and the American Nationalist Union. Typical of third position ideologues, Schmidt frequently attacks both “Zionists” and major corporations.

Leading Little Hitlers

Jeffrey S. Schoep, 29 Litchfield, Minn.

Jeffrey Schoep’s National Socialist Movement*, composed in large part of youths who look like they’re barely out of middle school, is one of the fastest growing neo-Nazi groups in America — and the one that more than any other displays a fetishistic love of Nazi uniforms and paraphernalia. Schoep claims he began reading Hitler in fourth grade, and knew immediately that the führer’s ideas were “definitely right.” Involved in neo-Nazi organizations from the age of 19, Schoep joined the National Socialist American Workers Freedom Movement of South St. Paul early on, rising to second in command by 1993. In the years since then, he has traveled frequently to white suprem-



acist events, including the 1994 Aryan Nations* World Congress in Idaho, where he spoke alongside such movement heavyweights as former Klansman Louis Beam, neo-segregationist J.B. Stoner and neo-Nazi Neumann Britton.

In 1998, Allen Vincent, a man whose roots in the neo-Nazi scene stretched back decades, handed the Freedom Movement over to Schoep, declaring the 24-year-old the future leader of the white race and the man who would finally achieve “white revolution.” At the same time, the group’s unwieldy name was shortened to



the National Socialist Movement (NSM). The NSM under Schoep has held a rising number of rallies and its leader has continued to speak at events put on by other hate groups, including this year's diminished Aryan World Congress. In particular, Schoep has worked closely over the recent months with White Revolution*, a

new neo-Nazi group run by Billy Roper (see above). Despite the mockery that members' brown shirts, black armbands and tall leather boots draw from many others on the racist right, Schoep's group has grown to 43 urban chapters, totaling an estimated 100 or so members.

'America Should Be Glad'

Malik Zulu Shabazz, 36 Washington, D.C.

Born Paris Lewis, Malik Shabazz has been involved in increasingly radical Black Muslim politics since the early 1990s and now leads the violently anti-Semitic New Black Panther Party*. A graduate of Howard University and its law school, Shabazz early on went to work as a campaign aide and then spokesman for Marion Barry, the three-term Washington, D.C., mayor implicated in a cocaine sting in 1990. (At around the same time, in 1989, Shabazz was part of the Defiant Giants rap group, where he called himself Zulu King Paris and helped cut an album called "Rise, Black Man, Rise.") Shabazz then signed up with the black supremacist Nation of Islam* and played a key role organizing and promoting that group's 1995 Million Man March, telling one group of high school students that "America should be glad that every black man is not on a killing spree."

Another Nation official, Khalid Abdul Muhammad, who had been a key deputy of Nation leader Louis Farrakhan, moved away from the Nation during this period and began associating with the New Black Panther Party, which was formed from small groups in Milwaukee and Dallas that began operating around 1990. By about 1997, Shabazz had followed his mentor Muhammad — who by now was famous for vicious tirades against whites, Jews, Catholics and homosexuals — into the New Panthers, rising to become the party's chief spokesman. "We will never bow down to the white, Jewish, Zionist onslaught," Shabazz said around this time. Muhammad, Shabazz added with evident delight, was the man "who gives the white man nightmares ... who makes the Jews pee in their pants at night." Remarkably, in 1998, Shabazz was named "Young Lawyer of the Year" by the National Bar Association, the leading black lawyers' association. The same year, he ran unsuccessfully for the Washington, D.C., city council. Also in 1998, Shabazz co-organized a Panther takeoff on the Nation's marches, leading a much smaller Million Youth March in Harlem, N.Y., that ended in clashes with police.

When Muhammad died unexpectedly in February 2001, Shabazz took over the New Panthers and moved its headquarters from New York to Washington. He began to build the group up by traveling around the country — to Cincinnati, Louisville, Ky., and Decatur, Ala., among other places — to protest police brutality. And while not as incendiary as Muhammad had been, he made similarly strident remarks. In 2001, for instance, he told Fox News' "Hannity & Colmes" show that he was not anti-Semitic. He had many Hebrew friends, he said, but they "happen to be black." (He was referring to the belief of some black nationalists that they, not the Jews, are the real Hebrews of the Bible.)

The next year, Shabazz traveled to Georgia to show his support for Jamil Abdullah Al-Amin, the former H. Rap Brown, who was ultimately convicted of murdering



a black sheriff's deputy in Georgia. In early 2003, Shabazz organized another activist group, Black Lawyers for Justice, and also came out with another rap album, featuring parts of his speeches and entitled "Amerikkka's Most Hated," that harshly attacked the Bush administration. On Sept. 6, Shabazz's Panthers organized a Second Million Youth March — this time in Brooklyn, N.Y. Though the Panthers said they expected to draw 20,000, fewer than 1,000 marchers actually turned out.



Fighting Whitey

Yusuf Shabazz, 41 Savannah, Ga.

Long before he began calling himself Yusuf Shabazz, Lorenzo Jackson was taking in some of the tenets of early black nationalism from his family. His grandfather was a follower of Marcus Garvey and his mother took the young Jackson to lectures and rallies of the black supremacist Nation of Islam*. While still in high school, Shabazz told the *Savannah Morning News*, he started a fight that evolved into a campus riot after a white student wouldn't move his feet from Shabazz's chair. Later, while at the Savannah State College studying civil engineering, he joined the Nation of Islam and changed his name.

At 22, Yusuf Shabazz entered politics with an unsuccessful run for a local county commission seat and, in 1990, he opened the Shabazz Fish Restaurant in his home town. He also started publishing two newspapers, *Freedom's Journal* and the *Statesboro Sun*. Shabazz would try again for the county commission in 1995, when he made it to a runoff but failed to win the seat. Shabazz got to know Khalid Abdul Muhammad, then the fiery second in command of the Nation of Islam, inviting him to Savannah for several lectures. When Muhammad left the Nation to take over

the reins of the anti-white, anti-Semitic New Black Panther Party* around 1997, Shabazz followed him. By 2001, shortly after the death of Muhammad, he had organized a major chapter of the Panthers in Savannah, and he was soon the Georgia state coordinator for the group as well.

Yusuf Shabazz travels frequently in his organizing work. In October 2002, for instance, he came to Montgomery, Ala., to protest police brutality and set a local chapter in motion (although this chapter never materialized). "If they take our lives, we begin to take their lives. A life for a life," Shabazz told the crowd. Although he has claimed not to be anti-white but merely pro-black, his words gave the lie to that. "There are no good crackers," he said. Back in Savannah, Shabazz was a central figure in a controversy over a monument to African-American history. Angry that the artist selected was white, Shabazz and his Panther chapter funded a "Black Holocaust Monument" that was erected in an abandoned lot in a tough part of town. Depicting a shackled black man, the memorial finished last December was made of papier-mâché and toppled in July. Police said the memorial may have been brought down by rain, but the Panthers suspected otherwise.

Coming Out

Edgar J. Steele, 58 Sagle, Idaho

Edgar Steele was a little-known lawyer with some unconventional ideas in the northern reaches of Idaho until he took the case that would make him something of a celebrity on the radical right — defending the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations* and its leader against a 2000 lawsuit brought by the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC). After he lost the case — which he described as an attack on free speech — Steele abandoned any effort to appear mainstream, now publicly singling out “the Jews” as being behind all that ails America.

Steele graduated from college in 1967 and then served four years in the Coast Guard, rising to command a radio-navigation station in

the East China Sea. Shortly afterward, he earned a master’s degree in business at the University of California at Berkeley, and worked at several corporations. But Steele soon decided to change professions and graduated from UCLA with a law degree in 1982, going to work for two years at a San Francisco firm but then setting up shop as a sole practitioner.

Today, Edgar Steele describes a Jewish lawyer who once worked for him and supposedly tried to steal his clients as a principal “trigger” for his realization that Jews are “predatory.” But that attitude was not public when he took the Aryan Nations case, which the SPLC had filed on behalf of a woman and her son terrorized by Aryan security guards. At around that time, Steele began writing essays suggesting, among other things, that the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing involved a government conspiracy. In late 2000, he told the neo-Nazi *Resistance* magazine that the FBI and the judge in the Aryan case had manipulated the evidence, and that was why he lost. Still, as late as September 2001, he was writing on his conspiracypenpal.com Web site that “the vast majority of American Jews are fine people,” some of whom were his “friends.” But an Oct. 7, 2002, essay, “It’s the Jews, Stupid!!!” put an end to any question about his virulent anti-Semitism.

In 2002, Steele filed an amicus brief for the anti-black hate group Council of Conservative Citizens* in a case that sought to invalidate a Virginia law outlawing cross burning. More

The Real ‘Feminazi’

Elisha H. Strom, 28 Earlysville, Va.

Elisha Strom is about as close to a feminist as you can get on the American radical right. She has engaged in running battles with some leading neo-Nazis and others over their use of salacious images of women, and has managed to enrage many male members of the group her husband helps lead, the neo-Nazi National Alliance*. Strom apparently joined the revolutionary right early this millennium, when she became the second wife of Kevin Alfred Strom, who was a key deputy to Alliance founder and leader William Pierce. Though the couple did not live on the Alliance’s compound in West Virginia, they visited often from their Earlysville, Va., home, and Pierce is known to have developed a dislike for Elisha Strom’s assertive ways. Up until their marriage, Kevin Strom’s personal Web site had carried a gallery of alluring photos on his Web site of young girls, many of them scantily dressed, and running to shots of a teenage Brooke Shields atop a horse. That changed after the wedding, and today his site carries a gallery of far less alluring classical art, although it includes many nude paintings.

After Pierce died in July 2002, Kevin Strom was named to replace him as host of the Alliance’s short-wave “American Dissident Voices” broadcast. In that post, he has been attacked by many racists as effeminate and weak (see story, p. 8). But neither those attacks nor the criticisms leveled at her personally have caused Elisha Strom to desist. Today, she has her own Web site (elishastrom.com) that celebrates Renaissance art and classical European composers along with the raising of “elite white children” and her “favorite man of all,” Kevin Strom. She is allied with several movement women, including Alliance member Kelly Cowan, who runs her own angrywhitefemale.com Web site. And she has engaged in running battles with two key Internet racists, Bill White (see below) of overthrow.com

and Alex Linder (see above) of Vanguard News Network (VNN). When Linder, an Alliance member known for his misogyny, attacked her recently, Elisha Strom responded coolly: “Very much looking forward to meeting you again, Linder. My really awesome ‘Fuck VNN’ T-shirt is already packed.”

recently, he gave a June 2003 speech to a conference of the Holocaust-denying magazine *The Barnes Review**. And on July 12, taking on one more enemy, he posted the latest of scores of essays on his Web site — the first of a multi-part series, “In Defense of Racism,” that attacks blacks for their alleged intellectual inferiority.

The Race-Rater

Samuel Jared Taylor, 51 Oakton, Va.

In his personal bearing and tone, Jared Taylor projects himself as a courtly presenter of ideas that most would describe as crudely white supremacist — a kind of modern-day version of the refined but racist colonialist of old. And indeed, that is the stock-in-trade preferred by Taylor, who carefully avoids epithets, writes in language that approximates that of



academia, and generally seeks to put a rational and well-argued face on anti-black racism. Taylor is a Yale graduate who worked for 17 years in Japan, is fluent in that language, and greatly admires his former hosts. The reason for that admiration is instructive — the Japanese, Taylor told British journalist Nick Ryan, “think with their blood, not their passport.”

Taylor entered the active racist scene in 1990, when he began publishing *American Renaissance**, a magazine that focuses on alleged links between race and intelligence, and on eugenics, the now discredited “science” of breeding



better humans. “Never in the history of the world has a dominant people thrown open the gates to strangers, and poured its wealth out to aliens,” Taylor wrote in his magazine, under the pseudonym Thomas Jackson, in 1991. “All healthy people prefer the company of their own kind.” Blacks, Taylor writes, are “crime-prone,” “dissipated,” “pathological” and “deviant.” Taylor, whose 1992 *Paved With Good Intentions: The Failure of Race Relations in Contemporary America* makes similar points in a book format, went one further in 1993, speaking at a conference of the racist Council of Conservative Citizens*. (Today, Taylor’s New Century Foundation*, which publishes *American Renaissance*, is intimately related to the council through “common membership, governing bodies, trustees and officers,” according to the foundation’s tax forms.) In the late 1990s, he came out with *The Color of Crime*, a booklet that tries to use crime statistics so as to “prove” that blacks are far more criminally prone than whites. That racist booklet is now a staple of white supremacists like former Klansman David Duke.

One thing that separates Taylor from much of the radical right, however, is his lack of anti-Semitism; he told MSNBC-TV interviewer Phil Donahue in 2003 that Jews “are fine by me” and “look white to me.” That view may be related to his wife, who some in the movement have said is Jewish. Evelyn Rich became well known because of her 1985 and 1986 interviews of Duke, conducted as part of her dissertation research, and was perceived by many as an anti-racist. (The recorded interviews, in Tulane University’s archives, were used by anti-Duke forces to make radio ads attacking Duke during his run for Louisiana governor in 1991.) As a result, Taylor’s marriage to Rich has shocked many of those who know about it. Today, Jared Taylor’s conferences are well-attended, suit-and-tie affairs that reflect his international reach. In 2002, speakers included Nick Griffin, leader of the neofascist British National Party, and Bruno Gollnisch, who was then second in command of Jean Marie Le Pen’s immigrant-bashing National Front in France.



The Host of Hate

Harold C. Turner, 41 North Bergen, N.J.

Just when some thought that the modern white supremacist movement had adopted the calmer language of scientific racism, along came Hal Turner. A belligerent, foul-mouthed talk show host, Turner is the maestro of radio hate — a man who rants about a “Portable Nigger Lyncher” machine, “faggots,” “savage Negro beasts,” “bull-dyke lesbians” and “lazy-ass Latinos ... slithering across the border.” And that is just the beginning.

According to a profile in his local newspaper, *The* (Bergen County, N.J.) *Record*, Turner was born in Jersey City and raised in Ridgely Park. He served a 10-month stint in the Marines, was honorably discharged, and went to work as a driver and sales manager for a moving company. Later, he sold commercial property. Turner got involved in politics as well, serving as a Republican committeeman in Hudson County, the North Jersey coordinator for white nationalist Pat Buchanan’s 1992 presidential campaign, and manager of the 1997 gubernatorial campaign of Libertarian Murray Sabrin. As early as 1994, he was defending racism, holding a rally for New York radio talk show host Bob

Grant, who had been fired from his show for making racist comments about blacks. In the late 1990s, Turner often called in to local radio shows as “Hal from North Bergen,” telling their hosts things like, “The problem with police brutality is that cops don’t use it enough.” In 2000, Turner sought the local Republican nomination for Congress, and was enraged when GOP leaders instead supported Theresa de Leon, a dark-skinned Hispanic who was the chief financial officer for New York’s Legal Aid Society and the mother of 10 children. It was at this moment that Turner had a reported “epiphany,” deciding the system was rigged against white men and abandoning all ties to the mainstream. Not long after, he started up “The Hal Turner Show,” renting time on shortwave radio maverick Allan Weiner’s WBCQ, located in Monticello, Maine.

Building up a substantial audience and paying for the five-nights-a-week, two-hour show with advertising and donations, he became a favorite of many on the radical right, including several in the neo-Nazi National Alliance*. After neo-Nazi World Church of the Creator* leader Matt Hale was arrested in late 2002 for allegedly soliciting the murder of a federal judge, Turner openly supported Hale. “I don’t think killing a federal judge in these circumstances would be wrong,” he said, referring to the judge’s ruling against Hale’s group in a copyright dispute over its name. “It may be illegal, but it wouldn’t be wrong.”

Early in 2003, Turner told *The Record*, federal agents from the Secret Service and the U.S. Marshals Service questioned him about statements made on the air. Also in early 2003, Turner joined a neo-Nazi rally held in front of the Southern Poverty Law Center. In June, he was at the Aryan Nations* World Congress in Idaho, where rainy weather prevented his planned outdoor on-site broadcasts. In recent months, however, Turner has repeatedly told his listeners he was gravely ill and begged for donations to pay his creditors. But he has never said what his disease was, and his many skeptics have noted that his “illness” seems to worsen when bills come due at month’s end.



MARK WEBER (highlighted) joins other extremists to protest Canadian deportation procedures against neo-Nazi Ernst Zundel. Zundel, a German citizen, was earlier deported from Tennessee, where his American wife lives, and sent to Canada, where he had lived for decades.

Architect of Lies

Mark E. Weber, 51 Costa Mesa, Calif.

Born in Portland, Ore., and equipped with a master’s degree in history from Indiana University, Mark Weber first appeared on the radical right in 1978, when he became news editor of *National Vanguard*, a neo-Nazi publication of the National Alliance*, the most important hate group in America. But while he remained connected to the Alliance for years, Weber (third from right in group picture) was by 1979 already writing articles for *The Spotlight*, an anti-Semitic tabloid started by Willis Carto, and other Carto publications. (Carto is the main



architect of American Holocaust denial. In 1978, Carto founded the Liberty Lobby, publisher of *Spotlight*, and, in 1979, the Institute for Historical Review*, or IHR. IHR has long published the *Journal of Historical Review*, a Holocaust denial journal.)

In these articles, Weber referred to the Holocaust’s Jewish “mythmakers,” attacked the credibility of Anne Frank’s diary, claimed that the Allies used torture to extract false stories about extermination camps, and suggested that the testimony of victims of the Holocaust was unreliable at best. “The Holocaust hoax is a religion,” he wrote in 1989, according to the Anti-Defamation League. “[T]he rise of religions such as this generally coincides with the decline and fall of nations which tolerate them.” The same year, he said he didn’t believe it possible for blacks to assimilate into American society.

In the mid-1980s, Weber remained a part of the Alliance and was listed as the treasurer of its Cosmotheist Church, which was an attempt by the basically atheistic group to win tax-exempt status. This is surprising because Carto and Alliance leader William Pierce had been bitter enemies since 1970, when they split as they worked to reconfigure the old Youth for Wallace group as the National Youth Alliance (which Pierce would turn into the National Alliance four years later). Nevertheless, it was in this same period, the mid-1980s, when Weber began taking a leading role at Carto’s IHR. In 1984, Weber began leading the group’s annual conferences. These gatherings typically were highlighted by a “mystery guest,” who in 1987 was Maj. Gen. Otto Ernst Remer, the unrepentant Nazi who helped crush a 1944 bomb plot against Hitler. In 1985, Weber joined the IHR’s editorial advisory committee,

Fade to White

Steven J. Wiegand, 30 **Maple Shade, N.J.**

Steve Weigand entered the thriving world of Internet hate in 1996, when he started the White Pride Network with a site called whitepride.com. His devotion to racist Skinheads and their white power music was evident in the pseudonym he used when registering the site — Ian Stuart, after the late founder of the seminal British “hatecore” band Skrewdriver, one of the first to use explicitly racist lyrics. By 1998, Weigand had changed the name of his site to micetrap.net, and it had become a major seller of racist music and paraphernalia. His mission, he said, was to “build the largest and best selection of quality pro-White items at the most affordable prices possible.”

In an interview with the online Fade to Black Comedy Magazine, Weigand traced his racist roots to “growing up two miles from one of the worst ghettos in the state” and said that the world’s troubles were due mainly to Jews. Blacks, he added, are merely “the Jews’ puppets.” Weigand says on his site that he was involved in the Skinhead scene for many years, but now realizes that it has turned into “a trendy fad full of hypocritical drug-users, race traitors and ‘gangstas.’”

Weigand has had his share of conflicts with Skinhead bands, according to the *Spokesman-Review* newspaper, over bootlegged music and videos. But he has attributed the many negative Web postings about him to efforts to hurt his music label and help his competition. Weigand joined the neo-Nazi National Alliance* briefly in 1999, but pulled out the following year and quit carrying music from the Alliance’s Resistance Records* catalog. In October 2001, he took over the white supremacist 14 Words Press* from imprisoned terrorist David Lane and Lane’s wife, Katja, who described Weigand to a newspaper reporter as “a personal friend and supporter for many years.” But Weigand quickly resold the business, telling Swedish scholar Mattias Gardell that “heat from local press, police and residents” had made him reconsider. Today, Micetrap remains one of the leading purveyors of hate music, competing with Resistance and Panzerfaust Records*.



White got interested in politics early, becoming a “utopian anarchist” in junior high school, reading Freud and Marx at age 13, and putting out his first issue of the *Utopian Anarchist Party* (its symbol was a black fist on a red background) newsletter the next year. Among other things, he railed against juvenile psychiatry, writing later that he had been subjected to a series of psychiatric tests as a youth in which he routinely scored high for paranoia and aggressiveness.

Bill White has an extensive juvenile record, including, by his own account, some 22 arrests between ages 15 and 19 for “assault, weapons, explosives, property destruction, graffiti and use of false identification.” He also says he served several months after attacking police officers when he was 19. By 1995, White had begun building sites on the Internet and become a Web developer. He ran openly as an anarchist for the local Montgomery County school board in 1998 and 2000 but lost both times. Midway through his first campaign, he put up Overthrow, the Web site that he still runs today. Then, however, it featured links to the Green Panthers, an Ohio pro-marijuana group agitating for a “stoner homeland”; Anti-Racist Action, a group that likes to physically confront neo-Nazis; the Revolutionary Workers Party, a Trotskyist organization; and the so-called Lesbian Avengers. The site also included recipes for a broad array of synthetic drugs and bombs.

In 1999 and 2000, White says, he became an official of white nationalist Pat Buchanan’s Reform Party presidential campaign and that of a local candidate for the right-wing Constitution

Party. His Web site began to reflect the wild swing in White’s politics. For six months starting in late 2001, he was a correspondent for *Pravda*, the old Soviet publication that by then had taken on a strong right-wing flavor. He began to rail endlessly about “the Jews” and also to write extensively about the internal politics of many American neo-Nazi groups, eventually establishing himself as the chief gossip-monger of the movement.

White is energetic, extremely prolific, and not afraid to go with a totally unproven story — a trait that has gotten him in trouble many times. Recently, for instance, as he endlessly spread rumors of a split within the neo-Nazi National Alliance*, he made a fool of himself by publishing a letter that seemed to praise him lavishly. In fact, the first letters of each paragraph spelled out this sentence: “BILL WHITE’S A FAG.” White thinks a great deal of himself, recently boasting that he and just two friends had done “immeasurably more” for the movement in the prior nine months than any other person or group. When one of those two friends, Marc Moran, was outed as an Alliance member after being appointed to a New Jersey town council, White showed another side of himself — the punk kid who used to get in so much trouble. Seconds after posting a note asking his readers to call in to Moran’s “kike loving” colleagues to “tell them what you think,” White did so himself, anonymously leaving messages filled with anti-Semitic and racist slurs. Despite White’s much-vaunted intelligence, he called on his own cell phone, and his number was duly recorded by Caller ID.

The Furious Führer

James P. Wickstrom, 60 **Madisonville, Tenn.**

Jim Wickstrom is the kind of neo-Nazi white supremacist who appears in bad novels and movies — a red-faced, spit-firing, soaked-in-sweat speaker who looks as if



he’s about to have a coronary every time he gets to attacking “the Jews.” Wickstrom talks about the pleasures of seeing his enemies’ “heads on the fence posts” and longs for the day when “Aryans” will “fill our shoes with the blood of our enemies and walk in them.” He wants to “go hunting,” to “kill” the Jews, to “exterminate” race-mixers and a whole host of other enemies.

and in 1992 he took over IHR’s *Journal of Historical Review*, a post he still holds today.

In 1993, with Weber’s support, the IHR board ousted Carto as its leader, accusing him of interfering in editorial decisions. The next May, Carto and his wife tried to retake IHR by occupying its California offices, a situation that led to fistfights and Carto’s arrest. At around the same time, another dispute between IHR and Carto broke out, with IHR leaders accusing Carto of diverting some \$10 million that was allegedly left to IHR’s parent company. During the decade of litigation that followed, Carto’s *Spotlight* characterized Weber as a “rat,” “cockroach” and “devil,” but in the end Weber’s side basically won. *The Spotlight* was shut down, although it was rapidly replaced with the lookalike *American Free Press*. Carto also created *The Barnes Review**, a new Holocaust denial journal that competed directly with IHR. Today, Carto’s operation seems healthier than the IHR, which is limited to Weber and a few cronies. But that may change, in part thanks to Weber’s energetic personality.



The Gossip

William A. White, 26 **Silver Spring, Md.**

Not many on the American radical right started out on the American radical left, but that is precisely what Bill White did. As recently as 1998, the man who is today the Matt Drudge of the extreme right — an ebullient Internet gossip who is sometimes right, sometimes wrong, but always self-important — was an anarchist who promoted drugs, homosexuality, bombs and violent anti-racism. Today, he runs the overthrow.com Web site and its “Libertarian Socialist News” service, which is the second most popular racist site on the Internet after Stormfront (and is violently opposed to homosexuals and Jews, among others).

And it is precisely these dubious qualities that make Wickstrom a continuing draw on the American radical right, especially among violent Skinheads and Armageddon-minded neo-Nazis.

The man often known as “Wick” first came to the movement in the early 1970s, when he joined the Mission of Jesus the Christ Church in Humansville, Mo., which promoted the Christian Identity theology espoused by the late William Potter Gale. (Gale’s theology described Jews as biologically Satanic and whites as the real chosen people of the Bible.) In 1980, he ran unsuccessfully for the U.S. Senate on the ticket of the far-right Constitution Party. By the following year, he was calling himself “national director of counter-insurgency” for the violently anti-Semitic Posse Comitatus that was founded mainly by Gale.

Wickstrom ran for governor of Wisconsin in 1982, but failed miserably. In 1983, he was arrested after forming an illegal township, christened “Tigerton Dells,” which was a collection of about 30 trailers and a bar. He was sentenced to 18 months for impersonating a town clerk and judge, but fled to Oklahoma while the case was on appeal and was only arrested and sent to prison seven months later. In the end, he served just 13 months, moving to Pennsylvania upon release.

By 1987, Wickstrom, a practicing Identity preacher, began attending annual congresses of the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations*, and it was at that group’s Idaho compound, authorities alleged, that he schemed to pass \$100,000 in counterfeit bills to finance extremist paramilitary groups. That 1988 case ended in a mistrial, but Wickstrom was convicted in a second trial in 1990 and sentenced to serve 38 months in a federal prison. While in prison, he turned over his Pennsylvania operation to Mark Thomas, a neo-Nazi now in prison for his role in a conspiracy to rob 22 banks. In 1995, after leaving prison, he moved to Munising, Mich., setting up an Identity ministry and collaborating with neo-Nazi August Kreis of Pennsylvania in running the anti-Semitic possecomitatus.com Web site. The same year, Wickstrom started a business, Information Consulting Corp., to sell survival gear, outdoor apparel and videotapes about militias.

In the late 1990s, Wickstrom preached regularly to an Identity congregation in Dayton Township, allegedly including Scott A. Woodring (see story, p. 5), who was killed by police in July 2003 after murdering a police officer who came to serve a warrant for alleged solicitation of a teenage girl. Later, he moved his ministry to an old furniture store in Hampton Township, where a recent visitor was James Nichols, brother of the Oklahoma City conspirator. This June, Wickstrom told friends he was moving to Tennessee, where he would be living and holding services on the property of John Roberts, former head of the Militia of East Tennessee.

Hijacking Heritage

Ron G. Wilson, 56 *Easley, S.C.*

When Ronnie Wilson was elected commander in chief of the Sons of Confederate Veterans (scv) in August 2002, his politics were largely unknown both inside and outside the 32,000-member heritage group. Within months, however, it was clear that Wilson was an extremist. Working closely with white supremacist ally (and failed scv leadership candidate) Kirk Lyons, Wilson has appointed racists and anti-Semites to key posts, purged some 300 scv members and leaders who opposed racism, and worked to turn the scv into an actively

neo-Confederate organization. But it turns out there is more to Wilson’s history than the last year has revealed. He is the author of five essays about the evils of communism (one praising the legacy of disgraced Sen. Joseph McCarthy) published in the tabloid of the racist Council of Conservative Citizens* (ccc). He spoke at a 1997 ccc meeting that also featured long-time white nationalist Sam Francis (see above). He hosted a late 1990s right-wing talk show, “Hour of Courage,” on WWCR, a shortwave station. In the same period, he led the South Carolina Heritage Coalition, a group whose vice chairman was

Jerry Creech, state director for the CCC (an outfit that has more recently called blacks “a retrograde species of humanity”).

At the same time, Wilson runs a business called Atlantic Bullion and Coin Inc. But that’s not all. Until he pulled down its Web site last year, he also operated from his Easley home a firm he called International Commerce Corp., “specializing in books & videos for the family & home schoolers.” One book his company sold, *Barbarians Inside the Gates* by 1960s Defense Department official Donn de Grand Pré, is a viciously anti-Semitic tome that approvingly quotes *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, the infamous Czarist forgery that purports to reveal a Jewish plot to take over the world. The squib advertising the book on Wilson’s Web site included these words: “The author reveals concealed codes and goals that might be extracted from the *Protocols of Zion*. Once again our publisher asks ‘can you handle the truth??’ ... I thought long and hard about handling this book. [But] I will not back away from the truth in this book. You MUST READ THIS BOOK for yourself.”

With a political lineage like that, it’s no surprise that Wilson grew close to Lyons, a long-time racist attorney, in the late 1990s. Today, Wilson is on the board of Lyons’ non-profit law firm, the Southern Legal Resource Center, while his daughter, Alison Shaum, works there. Among many similar actions inside the scv, Wilson recently named Allen Sullivant, who created the racist orderofwhitetrash.com Web site, the group’s “chief of heritage defense.” Now, although he was temporarily stymied in votes taken at the scv’s national conference in late July (see story, p. 57), Wilson is working hard to solidify the extremist takeover of the scv. ▲



Dayton Police Officer David Koenig, in a photo taken one year after his near-fatal shooting by Harold Ray Redfeairn.

INTELLIGENCE REPORT: What made you decide to become a police officer?

DAVID KOENIG: Oh, gosh, it’s just what I always wanted to do. Nobody in my family was in law enforcement, but my dad was best friends with a Cincinnati cop. I went straight from high school to the [police] cadet program they had at the time in Cincinnati. I got laid off there, and that’s how I ended up in Dayton.

IR: What had your police career been like up until your encounter with Ray Redfeairn?

KOENIG: Actually, I was only out of the academy three months. I was a patrol officer, city of Dayton.

IR: Do you remember what happened on March 1, 1979?

KOENIG: I pulled him [Redfeairn] over on a traffic stop for no license plates on the vehicle. It was around 3 in the morning, a cool night, snow melting on the ground. It had started drizzling when I went up to him. He didn’t have any identification or anything. There was a woman in the car, and he gave me a song and dance that this was his best friend’s wife

AT DEATH’S DOOR

TWENTY-FOUR YEARS AGO, A YOUNG POLICE OFFICER MET THE FUTURE HEIR APPARENT OF THE ARYAN NATIONS. IT ALMOST COST HIM HIS LIFE

On Feb. 28, 1979, Harold Ray Redfeairn (see profile, p. 36), who has since become one of America’s most infamous hate group leaders, set off on a crime spree that landed him in mental institutions and prison until 1991. Then 26, the Chicago native had already seen — and caused — plenty of trouble. According to later court testimony, Redfeairn was discharged from the U.S. Army after going AWOL, then struggled to make ends meet while living with his mother and stepfather in Dayton, Ohio. They testified that Redfeairn tried to kill both himself and his mother during this time. His brushes with the law included jail time for a robbery. But that was small change compared to what happened — and almost happened — beginning at 3 o’clock on a chilly February afternoon in Dayton, when Redfeairn robbed a Howard Johnson’s hotel at gunpoint. Three hours later, Redfeairn — who now preaches the violent, anti-Semitic “gospel” of Christian Identity — arrived at Pete’s Auto Sales, where he flashed his newfound wad of cash and convinced a reluctant salesman to take him on a test drive. During the drive, Redfeairn stuck a gun in the salesman’s chest and said, “Well, pal, this is the end for you.” At Redfeairn’s 1981 trial, Paul Bruns Jr. testified that he pleaded for his life in terror. “I kept begging and pleading and finally he just said, ‘Turn around and start walking down the road.’ He said, ‘You look back, you are a dead son of a bitch.’” Bruns felt lucky to survive. But several hours before dawn the next morning, Redfeairn was pulled over by a 22-year-old Dayton police officer for having no license plates on the stolen car. Ever since he testified in court about his violent encounter with the future neo-Nazi leader, the officer, David Koenig, has been reluctant to tell his story publicly. But Koenig, who has since left law enforcement, recently spoke with the Intelligence Report about his chilling experience and the lessons he has learned since then about the threat posed by America’s neo-Nazis. With Redfeairn poised to take command of the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations upon the demise of its ailing founder, Richard Butler, Koenig’s tale now seems more important — and cautionary — than ever.

with him, and geez, how long is this going to take? He was right away nervous, but I think I was too young and dumb to suspect anything.

I took down the VIN [Vehicle Identification Number] number on the vehicle because there were no plates. Went back to my cruiser, and it ended up I didn’t have any backup because the burglar alarm had gone off at a Brink’s store and everybody else was out there. I called [the] Records [Department] to check information about the car and him and got put

on standby. He’d given me a false name, Harvey Lee Jones. While I was waiting, there were two times that he got out of the car, so I got out, and he kept going, “Jesus, this is my buddy’s wife, how long is this gonna take,” saying he didn’t want to get caught with her, yaddy, yaddy, yaddy.

IR: And what happened then?

KOENIG: He came back a third time, but I didn’t know it. I was still on standby, but I was starting to think, “OK, this guy’s getting a ticket even though I can’t find out anything from Records.” So I was turned to open my briefcase on the passenger seat to get my ticket book out and didn’t see him come back. He opened up the driver’s door, started firing. Evidently, he fired five shots. It was a .25-caliber semi-automatic. I had a [bulletproof] vest on, but because I had my left hand holding up the briefcase top, my side was exposed and it went through the gap between the panels. The pain started right above my beltline, and as he was firing he worked his way up. Three of the bullets actually hit me, and two lodged inside. The first one hit above my belt, one hit the front panel [of the vest], then my shoulder, then my neck, then the last one hit the headrest.

The force of it knocked me across the front seat. He climbed in the car on top of me and was holding his gun at my head. I went to reach for my weapon and he was yelling at me not to do that. I reached over and keyed the radio mike in the car, cause he was yelling all kinds of stuff at me as he’s sitting on top of me. When he realized I was holding the mike and told me to let go of that, I started fighting with him. He dropped his gun, got off of me, got out of the car. I got out behind him, switched channels to put out my assistance call. I remember I had sighted him [in Koenig’s gun] when I blacked out. He was climbing into his car.

IR: What was Redfeairn saying when he was on top of you in the cruiser?

KOENIG: Oh, the normal: “You fucking pig, you think you’re so bad now, eh?” That line sticks with me. Everything else I don’t know.

IR: What happened after you blacked out and he sped away?

KOENIG: He proceeded to wreck the car. He was half a block to a block up the street and hit a tree. He got out and hid in a cemetery. The woman [who testified that she had only met Redfeairn shortly before the incident] stayed around. The other crews responded, but they never found him through the search. The woman gave somebody else’s name at first, blamed it on somebody else. She later recanted and told them the true name.

I don’t know what time it was in the morning, but they were about to call off the search. An officer was taking some equipment back to the safety building, and he noticed this car in front of him with a guy in the passenger seat who kept turning around looking at the police cruiser. He felt that something just wasn’t right about it. He pulled the car over, got the driver in the back and said, “Something seems strange here. Who’s that with you?” And the guy says, “Oh, that’s just my stepson, Harold Ray Redfeairn.” By this time they had his name, so the officer knew he had to call for assistance and they got him arrested.

IR: We left you lying by the cruiser. What was the next thing you remember after that?

KOENIG: When I came to, I got on the radio and started putting out a description. Turns out they couldn’t find me at first, either, because when I collapsed, I ended up kind of halfway under the cruiser and the responding crews couldn’t see me. They saw my cruiser with the door open and the lights on, so they figured I was out there somewhere getting my ass beat. They went all throughout the neighborhood, looking for Redfeairn and me. When I came to and started putting out a description, the dispatcher asked me where I was and then they found me at the cruiser. I don’t know how long that took.

IR: Sounds like you had a remarkable presence of mind, despite what was going on.

KOENIG: They say you always go back to your training.

IR: And your training was pretty fresh in your mind at that point.

KOENIG: Yes, exactly.

IR: What kind of recovery process did you go through?

KOENIG: I was in the hospital for about a month. Because the first bullet went in the side, went all the way across and tore up everything, they basically had to rebuild my stomach.

IR: How did your family deal with all this?

KOENIG: I wasn’t married then. It was my parents and sisters. My mom still doesn’t talk about it, my dad doesn’t say much, but I know they went through a lot. They were at the hospital every day. And for the first couple of days, they weren’t even sure I was going to make it. But they knew if I got out [of the hospital] that I was going to go back. I was off work for about two months before I went back.

IR: You went back on patrol?

KOENIG: I did. They put me on the 3-to-11 shift rather than the midnight shift, though, and they put me with a partner. I can remember the first day we were out, I told him, “I’ve got to make a traffic stop and I’ve got to do it by myself.” So my partner stayed in the car. Had to get back on that horse.

IR: And after that?

KOENIG: Spent eight and a half more years on the force.

IR: Making a lot of traffic stops, no doubt.

KOENIG: Yeah. But none like that one.

IR: Had you ever heard of Redfeairn, the Aryan Nations or the neo-Nazi movement before this happened?

KOENIG: No. Actually, I don’t think it even came up until he actually went to prison. It never came out in the trial or the proceedings.

IR: Redfeairn was not tried for your attempted murder, or for the robberies, until 1981, more than two years after the shooting. Why did it take so long?

KOENIG: Because he was found incompetent to stand trial initially. They blamed it on his upbringing, the religious fervor of the aunt who raised him. He heard voices and all that. *[Editor’s note: In court, psychologists also testified to Redfeairn’s lifelong pattern of mental illness. Redfeairn, they said, was a paranoid schizophrenic with frequent hallucinations and persistent delusions, including a belief that he was chosen by God to engage in violent battle with the Devil “at the time of Armageddon.” These fantasies had been helped along, they said, by Redfeairn’s Pentecostal*

upbringing. In adulthood, the psychologists testified, Redfeairn continued to have imaginary companions who spoke with him frequently, and he believed he was “in constant touch” with the Archangel Michael. According to his psychologists, when he committed the robberies and attempted murder, Redfeairn “was experiencing an acute psychotic episode,” and therefore should not be held responsible for his actions. His imaginary companions “had a whole lot to do with what happened in that car,” Redfeairn’s defense attorney argued. One psychologist added that Redfeairn, who did not testify in his own defense, believed “police were agents of the devil.”]

After he was found incompetent, he was placed on a “civil commitment” to a state institution, which is what they do in Ohio.



PHOTO COURTESY OHIO DEPARTMENT OF REHABILITATION AND CORRECTION

Ray Redfeairn

“You fucking pig, you think you’re so bad now, eh?”

He ended up at Dayton State Hospital, probably a quarter-mile from where he shot me.

We started a process to re-indict him [when Redfeairn was about to be released from Dayton State Hospital in the fall of 1980]. He had “regained competency” and could stand trial now. We’d had the grand jury hearing, but they hadn’t issued an indictment yet. And then, as coincidence would have it, I was home on an off day, and a buddy of mine who was a detective stopped by. He was working, so he had his radio, and over the radio we heard someone asking downtown to pull a photo of Harold Redfeairn. Well, that caught both of our ears, so we made some calls and found out that he’d been on a work release program as part of his civil commitment, and had not returned. That helped prod along the issuing of indictments.

IR: At his trial in 1981, Redfeairn’s attorney argued that he was not guilty by reason of insanity, right?

KOENIG: Yes. But that was rejected. The jury found him guilty on all counts. As I recall, he got four consecutive seven-to-25-year sentences. *[Editor’s note: Redfeairn was originally sentenced to seven to 25 years on each of three counts of aggravated robbery and one count of attempted aggravated murder. One robbery conviction was thrown out during a series of appeals that didn’t end until 1985, and the two others were reduced to four-to-25-year sentences, meaning that Redfeairn’s maximum prison time amounted to 75 years.]*

IR: Redfeairn had not even served his entire minimum sentence when he was paroled in 1991. How did you feel when he was released?

KOENIG: Not happy. Since I was still a policeman at the time, I kind of knew that the system does what it does, and doesn’t really care whether you’re happy or not. I had written

letters for each of his parole hearings, and forwarded them to the prosecutor’s office, but they did what they did.

IR: Redfeairn has had numerous run-ins with the law since his release. Have you and your family felt threatened at all?

KOENIG: My wife does now, but she didn’t know me when I was a policeman. The way I figure it, to a lot of these guys, it’s a game. They know the rules of the game and know if they screw with either a police officer or the complainant [who filed criminal charges against them], it just means they’re going to do more and worse time, so they’ll think, “OK, I got caught, did my time, and I’ll go on to my next venture.” Of course, that could be incorrect. Maybe it’s just my way of dealing with it.

IR: Have you ever worried about Redfeairn’s neo-Nazi comrades wanting to finish the job?

KOENIG: Not a whole lot, but I won’t say it’s never crossed my mind. I ended up leaving the Dayton P.D. and going to a police department

near Cincinnati. I left there and relocated to work for a private employer. If you wanted to find me, you could, but it would take a little work to track me down.

IR: Redfeairn has said at least once that he regrets shooting you. Do you have any reason to believe he’s sincere?

KOENIG: I have no idea. Prior to sentencing, the judge contacted me and said that Harold and his family wanted to meet with me. I saw no reason to do that. If he said he was sorry, it would have meant nothing to me, quite honestly.

IR: You must have learned a lot about the Aryan Nations and the larger neo-Nazi movement through the years. What do you know now that others could learn from?

KOENIG: That they don’t respect law-enforcement officers. Other people do, to a certain degree. With them [the neo-Nazis], you’re even a lower step than the common citizen because you’re a cop. They have nothing holding them back, basically. And they don’t want to get caught. My shooting was that situation; they don’t want to get caught.

IR: Should it tell us something about Aryan Nations and other neo-Nazi groups that a person like Redfeairn is poised to become their leader?

KOENIG: That they’ll be all the more dangerous, toward everybody. There are some groups that espouse violence and never follow through. These neo-Nazi groups espouse violence, and they do follow through.

IR: In the twisted worldview that prevails in neo-Nazi circles, do you think that Redfeairn has an enhanced measure of credibility because he shot you?

KOENIG: I’m sure he does. It’s like industry: When you rise to be president of something, they look to see what your background was. He’s rising to the head of an organization that measures its accomplishments by measures that nobody else would even think would be credible. But it’s in line with their beliefs and thought processes. ▲

'OUR TERRIBLE SWIFT SWORD'

Can the Constitution Party take politics to the extreme in 2004?

BY BOB MOSER

CLACKAMAS, Ore. — They've journeyed west from as far as Pennsylvania and Maryland, this band of true believers, 100 strong. Some of them decked out in their Sunday finest, others casual in plaid work shirts and jeans, they have huddled together on a rainy April Saturday in a low-lit hotel conference room in this blue-collar Portland suburb that gave the world Tanya Harding, figure skater gone bad. Under a stark white plastic banner routing "Life, Liberty, Limited Government," they have come to extol the goodness of God, traditional families and automatic machine guns. They have come to inveigh against taxes, immigrants, abortion, the United Nations, the homosexual agenda and President George W. Bush. But maybe more than anything, they have come to absorb the wisdom of the roly-poly man with bushy gray eyebrows who is making his way, through a heartfelt standing ovation, to the podium beneath the banner.

Howard Phillips does not disappoint the faithful. "We've got to be ready," he proclaims in his booming voice, pausing to savor a roomful of amens and yeses. "We've got to be ready for when God chooses to let us restore our once-great Republic."

Since the early 1990s, when he founded what is now the Constitution Party, Phillips has been the self-appointed prophet of far-right American politics. A one-time aide to Richard Nixon who resigned in protest of that president's "liberal" policies, Phillips pulled together a coalition of extremist third parties before the 1992 elections, forming the U.S. Taxpayers Party (the name was changed to Constitution Party in 1999). At first, the goal was to use the party as a vehicle for Pat Buchanan, should

the conservative commentator decide to bolt the GOP in a run for the White House. Buchanan reportedly toyed with the idea, most seriously in 2000, but the nabob of American nativism ultimately chose to seize control of the Reform

Party, which could offer him millions in matching campaign funds generated by Ross Perot's showing in 1996.

Unable to lure a marquee candidate, Phillips has ended up carrying his party's banner in each of the last

three elections. Every time around, the party has won ballot access in an increasing number of states — up to a solid 41 in 2000. Even so, Phillips has never collected more than 0.2% of the presidential vote.

As 2004 approaches, the 62-year-old Phillips, who gets around with the aid of a cane, seems determined to sit out

the campaign. But as he addresses the Constitution Party's national committee members in Clackamas, he waxes optimistic about the prospects for another nominee next November. "I think it's likely we'll have a greater opportunity in 2004 than ever before," he declares.

Why such confidence? Simple: for the first time in the party's history, as Phillips reminds his true believers, there will be "no Ross Perot, no Pat Buchanan, no Alan Keyes, no Gary Bauer" to siphon away the votes of fundamentalist right-wingers. The time just might be nigh, Phillips says, for the most extreme organized political

party in America to "wield our terrible swift sword."

Third Parties on the March

However far-fetched Phillips' prophecy might sound, he does have a point. Third parties in the U.S., largely moribund since the heyday of George Wallace, have steadily picked up steam since Perot's first run for president in 1992. Four million voters rebuffed the Democrats and Republicans in 2000, double the number of third-party voters just four years before. The average third-party vote has climbed to 4%, according to the nation's leading authority on the subject, *Ballot Access News* publisher Richard Winger. And with four of every 10 young voters now avoiding the major parties and registering as independents, third-party voting is highly likely to continue its ascent.

So far, most of the third-party energy has come from the center right (Perot's Reformers) and from the left (the Green Party, most notably). When Pat Buchanan's hostile takeover blew the Reform Party to bits, the most promising far-right alternative vanished. The latest project of the "Buchanan Brigade," the America First Party, made a promising start in 2002 with an anti-immigration, anti-tax, religious-right message virtually identical to the Constitution Party's. But the America Firsters broke apart earlier this year, when a squabble erupted over a scheduled speech at the party's national convention by James "Bo" Gritz, former Green Beret and self-appointed guru of the antigovernment militia movement. Though the party is working to patch up the differences — and keep Gritz and his comrades at arm's length — its national convention was canceled, and its plans to field a presidential candidate next year were reportedly scrapped.

As a result, the Constitution Party looks like the only viable option in 2004 for far-right purists who find themselves just as disgusted with President Bush as their counterparts on the left. But that begs a question: How viable can this party be? Some of the news in Clackamas was encouraging: the party now lays claim to being "the nation's third largest political party in terms of



Rising partly from the remnants of George Wallace's American Independent Party, Howard Phillips' Constitution Party is the most serious third-party effort from the far right in years.

actual voter registration.” As of April, there were dues-paying party members in 49 states — including some Reform Party refugees, most notably Ezola Foster, the African-American fundamentalist and former head of the California chapter of the far-right John Birch Society who was Buchanan’s surprising choice for vice president in 2000. But while the party has slowly built a national foundation, no Constitution Party candidate has yet broken through with a significant victory, unless you count the pair of Oregonians who recently won seats on local planning commissions.

Racism, Religion and Resentment

The most vexing challenge for Phillips’ true believers is finding a way to attract as many supporters as their rigid platform is guaranteed to repulse. How many potential voters, after all, will punch their ballots for a party that calls for outlawing abortion even in cases of rape or incest, withdrawing from the United Nations, overturning every Constitutional amendment passed since 1913 (which would include the amendments authorizing the federal income tax and the right of women to vote), halting all immigration, abolishing the income tax and re-legalizing assault weapons?

Those planks only begin to tell the story. In its brief history, the Constitution Party has flirted egregiously with some of the most extreme elements of the anti-government militia movement and of Christian Reconstruction, a radical theology that calls for imposing Old Testament laws — stoning to death adulterers and homosexuals, to name just two. Among the party’s current roster of local candidates is a Salt Lake City man, Jack Gray, who has no qualms about presenting himself as a member of David Duke’s white supremacist hate group, the European American Unity and Rights Organization (EURO). The party’s official “key race” for 2003 is a gubernatorial bid by Mississippi’s most virulent Confederate flag defender, John Thomas Cripps, a long-time member of the white-supremacist hate group, League of the South.

Even on what is probably its most popular issue — staunch opposition

to abortion — the Constitution Party has been able to gain little traction. “As long as the Republican Party is officially pro-life,” says Micah Sifry, author of *Spoiling for a Fight: Third-Party Politics in America*, “the Constitution Party is going to have trouble convincing people to join what is essentially a fundamentalist political party.”

So far, Sifry says Phillips’ party has functioned mostly as a “doctrinal” organization, more committed to “bearing witness against a corrupt and seemingly impenetrable political system” than to actually winning large numbers of votes. To make a real dent at the polls, as Sifry writes in his book, a party has to be willing to “engage in dialogue with real voters, not just true believers, no matter how hard that might be.”

Outgunning the NRA

Judging from the rhetoric in Clackamas, engaging with real voters might be a thorny task indeed. Until their spiritual leader took center stage, the Constitution Party stalwarts reserved their loudest amen chorus for a balls-to-the-wall speech by Jim Ludwick, chair of Oregonians for Immigration Reform. Ludwick roused the congregation with an enthusiastic endorsement of the *Reconquista* conspiracy theory — the notion, espoused by anti-immigration extremists, that Mexico, in league with Mexican Americans, is “invading” the United States, bent on “reconquering” the Southwest territory it lost in the mid-19th century.

“President Vicente Fox has made it a priority to gain control of parts of the United States,” Ludwick asserted. His tone grew even harder toward the end of his address, when Ludwick launched into a litany of cautionary tales about illegal immigrants who have committed heinous crimes, including accused serial sniper Lee Malvo and the infamous “railroad killer,” Angel Reyes Resendez.

While many voters would surely be turned off by such blatant bigotry, others might get queasy listening to Kevin Starrett, white-bearded head of the Oregon Firearms Federation. Starrett won enthusiastic applause by grimly denouncing the nation’s most powerful pro-gun



AP WIDE WORLD

Anti-gay crusader Lon Mabon, a possible presidential nominee, spent 42 days in jail last year.

organization. “The NRA won’t stand up for gun owners,” Starrett declared. He then announced that the Constitution Party had joined a more extreme gun-owners’ coalition, Keep and Bear Arms, which recently started a campaign to end the federal ban on many assault weapons.

Into the ‘Official Crackpot Zone’

And then there’s Lon Mabon, whose name has been bandied about in party circles as a potential presidential candidate in 2004. A diminutive 56-year-old with a wiry mustache and a soft, tentative speaking voice that belies his ferocious convictions, Mabon made a name for himself in the 1980s and ’90s with his Oregon Citizens Alliance (OCA), which championed a series of state ballot initiatives to curtail gay rights and abortion rights. With the successive failure of each initiative, Mabon’s stock fell among conservative Oregonians, and his Constitution Party run for U.S. Senate last year garnered only 2% of the vote. It didn’t help that Mabon had spent 42 days in jail earlier in 2002, cited for contempt of court after refusing to show up for a debtor’s hearing. His Citizens Alliance had been ordered to pay \$31,500 after a jury hearing a civil lawsuit against

his group found that an employee used excessive force in kicking a gay-rights advocate out of a meeting.

When Mabon failed to show up for the hearing to determine whether he could pay, claiming that the presiding judge had no jurisdiction because he hadn’t taken a proper oath of office, the state’s largest newspaper, *The Oregonian*, editorialized that Mabon had “crossed over into the official crackpot zone.” But his Constitution Party kindred in Clackamas listened approvingly to Mabon’s ram-

bling speech about Biblical governance — probably because they largely agree with his political philosophy, which leans heavily toward the theocratic. “I hear the voice of God saying that the [government] must surrender to the requirements of His Holiness,” Mabon has written. “This means that the Governor, U.S. Senators, Representatives and all elected officials should be allowed into office only after they have proved to the Citizens ... that they are indeed obedient to the Will and Holiness of God.”

Can such a blend of God, guns and xenophobia lure a sizable number of right-wingers into the fold? Doubtful, thinks Micah Sifry, but not entirely out of the question — especially if the Constitution Party decides to loosen its insistence that candidates fully agree with its all-too-specific platform. Such rigidity virtually rules out what any third party needs most. “You need a breakaway politician, or a celebrity, or a wealthy person to make this thing fly,” says Sifry. “If you have someone with charisma, or someone with enough bucks to buy charisma” — a fundamentalist Ross Perot, in other words — “you can draw a crowd.”

Howard Phillips’ party has tried valiantly to place a crowd-pleaser on its national ticket. After Buchanan went Reform in 2000, the Constitution Party won a flurry of national publicity when former New Hampshire Sen. Bob Smith said he wanted the nomination. Two weeks later, Smith backed away — and like other right-wing luminaries who’ve flirted with the party, he was nowhere to be seen in Clackamas.

In the absence of heavy-hitters, party leaders attempted to flatter a Maryland attorney named Michael Peroutka into declaring his candidacy for 2004. Peroutka’s rising-star status in the party appears to stem from his personal wealth and his founding of the Institute for the Constitution, which conducts courses and seminars on the “Biblical view of law and government.” The 51-year-old Peroutka, an ardent pro-gun and anti-abortion activist, brought his family along to the national committee meeting. They watched as his low-key speech on Friday afternoon, contrasting the “Biblical” with the “Pagan view of law and government,”

**quotes from the
CONSTITUTION PARTY platform**

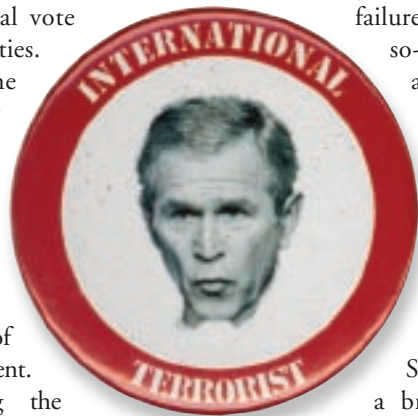
- ▶ U.S. Constitution established a Republic under God, rather than a democracy
- ▶ It is the nature of government to usurp the liberty of its citizens
- ▶ Roe v Wade is illegitimate
- ▶ As to matters of rape and incest, it is unconscionable to take the life of an innocent child for the crimes of his father.
- ▶ Abolish Congressional pensions. Abolish federal pay for members of Congress
- ▶ We call for the abolition of the Civil Service system
- ▶ We reject the policies and practices that permit women to train for or participate in combat.
- ▶ Restoration of ‘well regulated militia[s]’ at the state and/or community levels.
- ▶ Education ... cannot be separated from religious faith.
- ▶ United States Department of Education should be abolished; all federal legislation related to education should be repealed
- ▶ We are commanded to be fruitful and multiply
- ▶ The law of our Creator defines marriage as the union between one man and one woman.
- ▶ We say ‘No!’ to any so-called New World Order or to any one-world government.
- ▶ Withdraw from the United Nations and require the U.N. to move out of the United States
- ▶ Withdraw from all international monetary and financial institutions and agencies, e.g., the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank, WTO, NAFTA, GATT
- ▶ Terminate all programs of foreign aid
- ▶ Stand against all laws which would require the registration of guns or ammunition
- ▶ Elimination of the federal Food and Drug Administration
- ▶ We favor a moratorium on immigration to the United States
- ▶ Abolish the Internal Revenue Service
- ▶ Welfare ... is not a Constitutional responsibility of the federal government. ... Such redistribution is contrary to the Biblical command against theft
- ▶ We speak for Americans

inspired a raucous standing ovation and a resolution — unanimously carried — to draft him as the party’s choice for president. Overcome by the display, the ruddy-faced Peroutka fought back tears as he staved off his compatriots’ plans, insisting that he needed more time to consider mounting a campaign.

Raising an Army

Whatever the ultimate fate of Howard Phillips’ far-fetched prophecy, the Constitution Party is well positioned in 2004 to fill at least one time-honored role for American third parties. “While most of the concerns raised by third parties have been progressive,” notes Micah Sifry, “they have sometimes also been repositories of resentment.” The Know-Nothings, arguably the most influential third party in American history, provided just such a repository, challenging the dominant Democrats and Whigs in the 1850s by riding a wave of xenophobic resentment toward immigrants in general and Roman Catholics in particular. In the 1940s and ’60s, segregationists Strom Thurmond and George Wallace won chunks of the electoral vote for their own third parties. (Wallace’s vehicle, the American Independent Party, came under the Constitution Party tent in 1992.)

The Constitution Party is doing its damndest to take advantage of today’s fresh forms of right-wing disgruntlement. Immediately following the Supreme Court’s decision this June in *Lawrence vs. Texas*, the landmark case overturning Texas’ sodomy statute, the party dispatched a press release emphasizing that it was “the first national political party to denounce” the ruling. But that wasn’t all. “[T]he Constitution Party has also called for Congress to draw up articles of impeachment against Justices Kennedy, O’Conner [sic], Breyer, Souter, Ginsberg, and Stevens, the six justices who refused to uphold the Texas law.” (With no sense of irony, the press release went on to advertise the Constitution Party’s “strong advocacy of less government.”)



Not only is the Constitution Party robustly anti-gay and anti-immigrant, it is equally anti-Bush. The claque in Clackamas was chockablock with denunciations of the president’s “unconstitutional” wars, his theft of civil liberties through the Patriot Act, and his failure to ban RU-486, the so-called “morning-after pill.” (“Isn’t it great to have a pro-life president?” Phillips sneered.) Meanwhile, at the back of the conference room, Live Free or Die Campaign Supplies was doing a brisk business with buttons proclaiming Bush an “International Terrorist,” and with similar buttons calling out Vice President Dick Cheney, Secretary of State Colin Powell, Attorney General John Ashcroft (“Domestic Terrorist”) and Homeland Security Secretary Tom Ridge (ditto). By the end of the weekend, vendor Tim Farness had completely sold out of buttons bearing the hated images of Bush, Powell and Ridge.

Souvenirs aside, the clear highlight of the weekend remained Phillips’ Saturday sermon, which ended with an

anecdote that encapsulated the curious combination of Bibles and belligerence that characterizes the Constitution Party. Leaning familiarly forward on the podium, Phillips told his congregation one of those too-good-to-be-true stories that preachers love to tell. His grandchildren were headed somewhere on a plane, it seems, and a flight attendant complimented one of the kids on their exemplary behavior.

“That’s how we’re taught,” Phillips’ grandson replied.

“We?” asked the flight attendant.

“Yes, there are six of us.”

“Your poor mother,” the flight attendant sighed.

“Yes,” agreed the polite young Phillips. “She wishes she could have 12, but she’s only got six.”

“What, is she trying to raise a whole football team?” the flight attendant joked.

“No,” answered the devout young man. “We’re raising an army.”

Grandpa Phillips was almost too choked up to deliver the punch line. But he managed, like any good preacher, to reign in his emotions and turn the anecdote into a handy analogy. The Constitution Party is doing the very same thing, you see. “We are raising up an army,” Phillips proclaimed, “and we *shall* take back this nation!” ▲



Phillips took his call for “Godly governance” to Alabama in August, speaking at a rally supporting the Ten Commandments monument in the Alabama State Judicial Building.



UNFINISHED BUSINESS

The battle over the future of the Sons of Confederate Veterans remains unresolved after the group’s annual convention

BY HEIDI BEIRICH AND MARK POTOK
ILLUSTRATION BY ROB BARBER

Efforts to complete an extremist takeover of the Sons of Confederate Veterans (scv) were beaten back by moderates within the heritage group this summer, but by such a narrow margin that a climactic final battle is now expected in mid-2004.

At the scv’s annual convention this July in Asheville, N.C., Commander-in-Chief Ron Wilson led the extremist faction’s efforts to strip his opponents of voting power on the group’s general executive council with a “reform” package consisting of 24 constitutional amendments. In a series of votes, Wilson’s faction easily won simple majorities, but lost because such changes require a two-thirds majority.

The battle is now expected to move to next summer’s scv convention.

The scv has been undergoing an internal civil war since August 2002, when Wilson — who is allied with a number of white supremacists and members of hate groups like the

League of the South — won election to the 32,000-member group’s top post. Since then, he has suspended some 300 opponents, unilaterally removed a leading enemy from the executive council, and worked to turn the scv from a group interested in history into a political organization of activist neo-Confederates.

Although Wilson’s faction is extensive and may even represent a majority of scv members’ thinking, he had recently suffered some unexpected reverses. After a series of exposés in the *Intelligence Report*, a group called Save the scv formed to battle Wilson and his allies — men like white supremacist attorney Kirk Lyons, racist Web site operator Allen Sullivant and *Southern Partisan* editor Chris Sullivan. Save the scv is explicitly fighting to rid the scv of racist attitudes and members.

Last year, Wilson ratcheted up his attempts to consolidate power, suspending hundreds of opponents because, he claimed, they had ignored a controversial rule that forbids members from criticizing the scv in public. He also suspended Charles Hawks as commander of the Army of Northern Virginia, one of the scv’s three geographical divisions. In the 2002 elections

that brought Wilson to power, Hawks, running on a platform explicitly opposed to racism, had squeaked past Wilson ally Kirk Lyons in a bitterly contested election.

Then, this March, a meeting of the scv’s executive council was held at the group’s headquarters in Elm Springs, Tenn., where appeals of the suspensions were to be heard. Much to the surprise of Wilson, who assumed he controlled a majority of votes on the executive council, several former commanders-in-chief — all of whom are *ex officio* members of the board — arrived unexpectedly and voted against him.

Wilson did not take the repudiation of his policies well. In fact, scarcely had the executive council broken up when Wilson again unilaterally suspended Hawks.

Revenge and Reaction

The package of constitutional amendments proposed by Wilson this July was, in effect, meant as Wilson’s revenge. One measure would have stripped past scv commanders-in-chief of their right to vote on the executive council. Another would have put the group’s chief of heritage defense, another Wilson ally, on the council. A third would have removed from the council the commander of the Military Order of Stars and

just 51 votes less than the two-thirds majority required for amending the scv constitution.

Nothing was done to address appeals by members suspended earlier. And an election to replace the once-again-suspended Hawks, which had been promised in the June issue of the official *SCV Gray Line* newsletter, was simply not held.

“The overall results of Saturday’s business meeting was a general waste of time, as the grannies [the extremist faction’s term for moderates] and their lawyers filibustered and delayed any real constructive business from being done,” wrote James M. McManus of the “John Wilkes Booth camp,” an unofficial grouping of some of the hardest-line Wilson supporters within the organization. “So while our enemies are advancing ... we leave many important actions on the table.”

On the Horizon

Although his reform attempts failed in Asheville, Wilson and his allies did manage to successfully launch one project in July. The first issue of *The Southern Mercury*, a magazine subtitled “Unpardoned, Unrepentant, Unreconstructed” and described by Wilson as “the latest weapon in the war for our Southern heritage,” was published under the rubric of the newly created

Foundation for the Preservation of American Culture, a nonprofit arm of the scv. The magazine’s board is stacked with Wilson allies, including James Ronald Kennedy of the League of the South and Boyd Cathey (see profile, p. 18), an edi-

torial advisor for years for the publication of the Institute for Historical Review, a leading Holocaust denial organization.

The magazine is part of Wilson’s effort to radicalize the scv and to take on its perceived enemies. (One major story attacks the Southern Poverty Law Center, which publishes the *Intelligence Report*). It is edited by Frank Powell, an executive board member who also now edits the scv’s *Confederate Veteran* magazine.

The Southern Mercury is thick with nostalgia for the antebellum South, and features revisionist takes on slavery. In one article, author Frank Conner argues that the scv should fight to protect the “unique belief-system of the Old South” and goes on to describe desegregation efforts as an attack on that system. “Beginning in the late 1950s, under the guise of providing the Southern blacks with civil rights, the Northern liberals sent the federal government to invade the South and systematically destroy the Old South and crush and suppress its belief system,” Conner writes.

With efforts like *The Southern Mercury* now under way, Wilson is working hard to extend his influence within the scv. Though he and his allies lost the battle of Asheville, they seem confident that they are steadily gaining power. That will come to a final test in July 2004, when the scv holds its next full convention and a whole new slate of officers will be voted in. If Wilson and his allies can consolidate their position, the scv could be headed for status as a full-fledged hate group. ▲

BOOKS ON THE RIGHT

Re-examining the Portland Trial

An Oregon writer exhumes the 1990 civil case against neo-Nazi Tom Metzger, arguing that it was wrong-headed from the start

A Hundred Little Hitlers: The Death of a Black Man, the Trial of a White Racist, and the Rise of the Neo-Nazi Movement in America

By Elinor Langer

NEW YORK: METROPOLITAN BOOKS, 2003, 386 pp., \$26

It has been 15 years since Mulugeta Seraw was bludgeoned to death by racist Skinheads on a darkened street in Portland, Ore. Seraw, a hard-working Ethiopian immigrant, and two companions were brutally beaten in the early morning hours of Nov. 13, 1988, by three members of East Side White Pride: Kyle Brewster, Kenneth Mieske and Steve Strasser. “Kill him! Kill him!” shouted one or more of the assailants’ Skinhead girlfriends as Brewster pounded Seraw moments before Meiske smashed his skull with a baseball bat. Then, as Seraw tried to crawl away, Strasser stomped him viciously and Mieske delivered the fatal blow.

The crime sparked national headlines and local revulsion as well as a vigorous police investigation that led

to a series of guilty pleas and stiff prison sentences. Mieske, 23, the death-obsessed lead singer of a heavy metal rock band, pleaded guilty to first-degree murder and received 30 years to life. Kyle Brewster, 19, a former high school homecoming king, pleaded guilty to first-degree manslaughter and assault and received 20 years with a 10-year minimum. And Steve Strasser, 20, pleaded guilty to similar charges and was given a 20-year sentence with a nine-year minimum. Seraw’s murder also led to one of the largest civil judgments of its kind in U.S. history when lawyers for the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) and the Anti-Defamation League persuaded a Portland jury to levy a \$12.5 million verdict against White Aryan Resistance (WAR), its founder Tom Metzger and his son John. In that case, the jury found the Metzgers liable for basically inciting

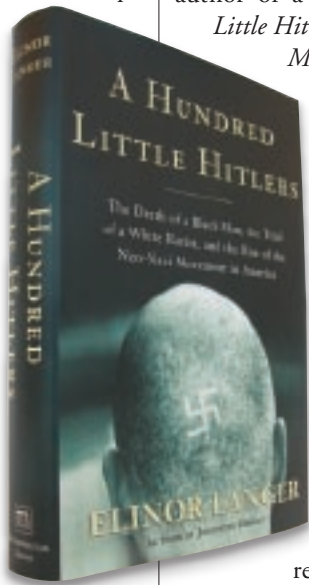
the Portland Skinheads through the actions of Dave Mazzella, a violence-prone Skinhead who was the vice president of WAR’s youth wing, the White Student Union/Aryan Youth Movement.

Most observers of the police investigation and the civil trial that followed, including those with close knowledge of the facts, readily concluded that the punishment fit the crime: After all, a gang of Skinheads with a history of racist violence launched an unprovoked attack on three black men, leaving one of them crumpled on the pavement, dying in his own blood and vomit. The Skinheads then fled the scene, burned the evidence and lied to police until persistent homicide detectives tracked down those willing to name names.

“Not so!” says Elinor Langer, author of a new book, *A Hundred Little Hitlers: The Death of a Black Man, the Trial of a White*

Racist, and the Rise of the Neo-Nazi Movement in America, which purports to offer readers a different set of facts and argues that the Skinheads’ guilty pleas — and the successful civil prosecution of the Metzgers that followed — resulted from a “moral panic” which led to a terrible miscarriage of justice.

In Langer’s twisted retelling of the case, race could not have been a motivating factor in Seraw’s death because when the Skinheads first encountered the Ethiopians sitting in their darkened car, they supposedly had no idea that Seraw and his companions were black. She is eager to inform us that one of the Ethiopians was drunk and sees the killing of Seraw as the result of a “confrontation,” tracing its origins to mutual insults that were exchanged as both cars passed slowly down the street. But



Editor’s note: Because *A Hundred Little Hitlers* is in very large part a pointed critique of the Southern Poverty Law Center and its co-founder, Morris Dees, the *Intelligence Report* asked an outside expert to review the book without regard to any views the Center’s staff may have. The editing of this piece, therefore, has been limited to minor stylistic points. Levitas is the author of the 2002 book *The Terrorist Next Door: The Militia Movement and the Radical Right* and a long-time commentator on the radical right. He also has written for the *Intelligence Report* before.

since when is an upraised middle finger in response to a racial epithet justification for murder? Even more preposterous is Langer’s attempt to convince readers that Seraw’s death was *accidental*, despite the fact that Mieske — whose bedroom was a shrine to Nazism and who hoped to name his son after sadistic concentration camp doctor Joseph Mengele — shouted racial slurs before purposefully grabbing the bat, leaping from the car and wielding it with deadly force. Langer’s analysis of the crime, like many other arguments in her book, underscores her skewed perceptions of events. All too often, her own facts undermine the conclusion she seeks to present.

Langer’s distortions continue when she likens the community effort to track down Seraw’s killers to the sentiments of a lynch mob and she condemns the summoning of a grand jury as a dastardly “political intrusion” into the case. She is indignant because Portland, like most of America, has a history of racism and so denunciations of Seraw’s death sound hypocritical to her. But Langer utterly fails to convince the reader that a more muted response was warranted, especially in light of the community-wide violence committed by racist Skinheads that she herself documents in the book. Langer is frustrated that Mieske, Brewster and Strasser pleaded guilty without a trial and considers their sentences too severe, yet she readily acknowledges that they committed — and confessed to — the crime. And while she is deeply dubious about the evidence showing how Dave Mazzella led members of East Side White Pride to commit violence, she seems all

too ready to believe the self-serving statements of other Skinheads. In addition to criticizing the Law Center for filing the civil suit, she chides SPLC Chief Trial Counsel Morris Dees for “demonizing” Metzger and describing him as “evil” to the jury and the press.

Langer’s tone is not strident, but her book is a suppressed tirade nonetheless. She is no fan of Skinheads — in fact, she is a self-described liberal whose previous journalistic work includes a lengthy and critical exposé of the neo-Nazi movement published in the *Nation* — but Portland is her home and she is far too close to the story and sympathetic to her interview subjects to give readers a fair-minded assessment of the case.



Through lengthy interviews with the voluble Metzger, she chronicles his 30-year journey through the ranks of the radical right, from his support of the conspiracy-obsessed John Birch Society and the 1968 candidacy of George Wallace to his embrace of Holocaust denial, right-wing tax rebellion, anti-immigrant vigilantism and the hate-filled theology of Christian Identity. Langer recounts Metzger’s rise to leadership in David Duke’s Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and his founding in the early 1980s (with the help of his teenage son John) of the White Student Union, the Aryan Youth Movement and WAR.

Langer’s biography of Metzger is thorough and does contain new information. However, it is in her self-described “moral accounting” of Metzger, as well as her affectionate tone, that Langer’s portrait of him unravels. Though clearly

critical of Metzger’s racism, she appears smitten by his loyalty to his wife of 25 years, as well as his supposed devotion to his six children. But Langer fails to note the obvious: countless members of the Waffen SS and modern neo-Nazi groups may also have been doting husbands and fathers, but a positive domestic temperament hardly mitigates their essentially reprehensible character. When Langer is sympathetic to Metzger in this vein, but ignores her own reporting that he regards dragging his children to Klan cross burnings as “good, wholesome family fun,” the reader is only further convinced that Langer’s own facts offer some of the best evidence against her arguments.

A Hundred Little Hitlers purports to tell the story behind “the emergence of a new strain of American racism that openly associates itself with Nazism,” but beyond Langer’s political sketch of Metzger, the book is historically thin and offers readers no new analysis. This isn’t surprising. Langer is so consumed with the Seraw case that she sees neither the forest nor the trees. Instead, readers are left with a book whose central thesis turns reality on its head: the victims become more like perpetrators, and the men responsible for a homicidal hate crime are offered partial absolution through Langer’s pen. Here we have racists whose characters are sketched with pathos and nuance and whose troubled upbringings and challenged parents practically lend them an air of innocence, despite their violent criminality and despicable beliefs. Meanwhile, the outrage expressed by the community of Portland is dismissed as hypocritical, and the jury’s verdict which bankrupted the Metzgers and WAR is portrayed as vindictive and unfair. Langer claims to have unearthed important evidence surrounding the tragedy of Seraw’s death, but the fact remains that his killing was a deliberate hate crime partly inspired by the Metzgers’ racist words and deeds and the actions of their agent, Dave Mazzella. ▲

— By Daniel Levitas

LEGAL BRIEF

Radical Religion in Prison

How are prison officials to balance security interests and the right of racial supremacists to pursue religion? The jury’s still out

BY BRIAN LEVIN

Although Intelligent Tarref Allah’s bumpy path to finding faith has been unconventional, he is by no means alone. “Intel” Allah’s case is one of many that prison officials around America are contending with as they try to balance the rights of prisoners to pursue religion with the need to keep the prisons safe.

Allah’s journey started in New York in August 1994 after he was arrested for killing a man who testified against him in a previous murder case — ironically, one in which he was acquitted. During the time he was incarcerated awaiting trial on New York’s Rikers Island, Intel, then known as Rashaad Marria, changed his name and joined a group called the Nations of Gods and Earths, also known as Five Percent Nation or simply the Five Percenters. After being convicted of murdering the witness and while serving a 19 years-to-life term for that murder, Allah became embroiled in a six-year battle with state prison officials over his right to possess literature and congregate with other Five Percenters. In a controversial ruling this July, a New York federal district court judge found that Intel’s beliefs were protected from suppression by prison officials under the First Amendment and federal law because they were sincere and religious in nature.

Ironically, Five Percenters do not contend that they adhere to a religion at all, but rather to a way of life. Followers believe that 5% of the world consists of righteous teachers who strive for freedom and justice. The other 95%, they maintain, consists of a ruling class of 10% who enslave the remaining 85% with false teachings of an illusory God. Members follow dietary rules, fast on holy days and study from *The Book of Wisdom*.

To many prison officials across the country, the Five Percenters group is simply a violence-prone black suprema-

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cist prison gang. Five Percent Nation is an offshoot of the black supremacist Nation of Islam (NOI), which in turn is an offshoot of mainstream Islam. NOI adherents believe that God appeared through NOI’s founder, Fard Muhammed, while Five Percenters maintain that each black man is God, and should take the name Allah. Unlike traditional Islam, which regards the Five Percenters and NOI as heretical, these offshoot movements maintain that white people are devils created through a separate breeding process, known as “grafting.”

The Right to Religion

Intel’s recent court victory is the latest case where convicts have resorted to litigation to protect their exercise of non-traditional supremacist beliefs. Most cases challenge restrictions relating to association, access to reading materials, hygiene and dietary practices. In 1987, the United States Supreme Court held that prison walls “do not form a barrier separating prison inmates from the protections of the Constitution.” (*Turner v. Safley*, 482 U.S. 78, 84). The high court further held that prison regulations impinging on constitutional rights must be “reasonably related to legitimate penological interests.” Still, the Court granted deference to prison officials by instructing judges to exercise a “policy of judicial restraint” in cases of constitutional claims by prisoners.

On Sept. 22, 2000, President Clinton signed the Religious Land Use and Institutionalized Persons Act (RLUIPA), which enhances the religious rights of prisoners. The law reads in relevant part: “No government shall impose a substantial burden on the religious exercise of a person residing in or confined to an institution ... even if the burden results from a rule of general applicability, unless [it] ... (1) is in furtherance of a compelling governmental interest; and (2) is the least restrictive means of furthering that compelling governmental interest.” (42 U.S.C. § 2000cc-1 (a) (2002).)

Although RLUIPA protects religion, it still leaves it to the courts to define what beliefs actually constitute a religion. The decisions in this area are often in conflict. Because Intel’s case only covers New York, prisons there are required to treat Five Percenters with deference. (New York officials had previously settled with NOI and agreed to treat that group as a religious entity.) (*Muhammad v. Coughlin*, 1995 U.S. Dist. LEXIS 5398, No. 91 Civ. 6333 (S.D.N.Y. 1995).) Across the river in New Jersey, federal courts have upheld restrictions on Five Percenters on the basis of their designation as a “security threat group,” rather than as a religion. (*Fraise v. Terhune*, 283 F.3d 506 (3d Cir. 2002).) In South Carolina, prison officials also prevailed against Five Percenter inmates

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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 second quarter of 2003 (an unabridged listing may be found on the Intelligence Project's Web site, www.intelligenceproject.org).

ALABAMA

Decatur • May 28, 2003

Lee Wayne Bray, 19, was sentenced to six years in federal prison for a racially motivated cross burning in the yard of white woman who has black friends.

Huntsville • June 9, 2003

Benjamin M. Sloan, 20, was sentenced to 11 1/2 years in prison for burning a cross in the yard of a white woman whose black friends visited her at the residence. Michael A. White, 21, was sentenced to 8 1/2 years in connection with the incident.

Mobile • May 17, 2003

Literature from the Aryan Knights of the Confederacy Ku Klux Klan was distributed in a neighborhood.

ARIZONA

Phoenix • May 20, 2003

At least two white men allegedly shot and seriously wounded a Sikh wearing a turban.

CALIFORNIA

Anaheim • April 23, 2003

A group of teenagers allegedly attacked an 18-year-old Lebanese-American teen.

Fremont • June 6, 2003

An Asian teenager was hit in the head with a baseball bat during a fight where he was called racial slurs.

Hesperia • June 7, 2003

Racist literature from the neo-Nazi White Aryan Resistance was distributed in a neighborhood.

Novato • May 3, 2003

Several white men allegedly yelled racial epithets and threatened a 21-year-old black man.

Riverside • May 27, 2003

Jesus A. Gomez, 20, a suspected gang member, was charged with murder and two counts of attempted murder after he allegedly targeted and killed a 13-year-old boy because he was black.

Riverside • June 12, 2003

Matthew Beaudin, 21, was arrested on suspicion of battery, making criminal threats and committing a hate crime after he allegedly shoved a transgendered woman to the ground.

San Diego • June 4, 2003

Hundreds of copies of a publication portraying Muslim women as sexual objects and ridiculing Jews, Jesus and Palestinians were distributed at the University of California - San Diego.

San Francisco • April 15, 2003

Dominique England, 23, Jeanne Soja, 29, and Daymon Schrock, 20, were charged with murder, conspiracy, kidnap, torture and a hate crime after allegedly killing a bisexual man.

San Francisco • June 6, 2003

Five Chinese-American youths allegedly were attacked by as many as 20 white teens who shouted racial epithets.

San Jose • June 21, 2003

Edward Crutchfield, 47, was arrested on suspicion of a hate crime and making criminal threats, along with other charges, for allegedly yelling racial slurs at his neighbors.

Twentynine Palms • May 13, 2003

Frank Burum, 41, was arrested for committing a hate crime after allegedly blasting hate music at another residence and threatening to kill the occupants.

Visalia • May 9, 2003

Swastikas and anti-Semitic graffiti were painted on a synagogue.

COLORADO

Greeley • April 15, 2003

A racial slur was written on an interracial couple's apartment door.

CONNECTICUT

Stratford • May 21, 2003

Matthew V. Zrallack, 18, was charged with third-degree assault, breach of peace and intimidation based on bigotry or bias after he and a group of white supremacists allegedly disrupted a gay-rights meeting.

Vernon • May 28, 2003

Jeffrey C. McEwen Jr., 33, and a 13-year-old youth, both white, were arrested for allegedly shouting racial slurs at a black man and assaulting him.

Waterbury • April 21, 2003

Copies of the racist newspaper *The Truth At Last* were distributed throughout a neighborhood.

FLORIDA

Jacksonville • May 3, 2003

Racist graffiti was spray-painted on the campaign headquarters of a man who is seeking to become the city's first black mayor.

Naples • June 27, 2003

John G. Brentlinger, 33, was sentenced to five years in prison for attacking a black teenager two years ago.

Sunrise • May 28, 2003

Christopher Owen Coward, 27, was charged with one count of aggravated battery with a deadly weapon after he allegedly called a co-worker at a gas station "an Iraqi terrorist" and ambushed him with a pocketknife.

Tallahassee • May 19, 2003

Charles Franklin, 41, was sentenced to more than two years in federal prison for driving his pickup truck into a mosque and yelling anti-Muslim threats in March 2002.

Tavernier • May 1, 2003

Swastikas were spray-painted on a sign at a Jewish community center.

West Palm Beach • June 19, 2003

Jeffrey Schlosberg, a 35-year-old mentally ill white man, was sentenced to four months in jail and placed on 20 years of probation with mandatory counseling for using his car to run down a black man because of the man's race.

GEORGIA

Ashburn • May 24, 2003

Racist graffiti was scrawled on a black family's torched home.

ILLINOIS

Chicago • April 24, 2003

Racial slurs and obscenities were spray-painted on a black man's home.

Tinley Park • June 14, 2003

Racial epithets were scratched on the side of a black family's van.

Wood Dale • April 24, 2003

Racist and obscene words were spray-painted on a black man's residence.

INDIANA

Ladoga • June 3, 2003

Three crosses were burned in the yard of a mixed-race family.

KENTUCKY

Hardinsburg • June 27, 2003

Josh Cottrell, 22, was charged with murder, robbery, tampering with physical evidence and being a persistent felon after allegedly murdering a gay man.

LOUISIANA

Lake Charles • April 16, 2003

Holly Dartez, 28, was sentenced to a year and a day in prison for her role in a September 2002 cross burning.

MAINE

Portland • April 13, 2003

Fliers from the neo-Nazi World Church of the Creator were distributed in two neighborhoods.

MARYLAND

Baltimore • May 4, 2003

Mazin Assi was given the maximum sentence of five to 15 years in prison for his role in an October 2000 attempted firebombing of a New York synagogue on the eve of Yom Kippur.

Frederick • April 14, 2003

A 10-year-old Muslim girl was allegedly harassed at school because of her religion.

Frederick • June 15, 2003

Cards from the neo-Nazi National Alliance were placed on cars parked near the residence of an openly homosexual civil rights activist.

Glen Burnie • April 26, 2003

Garth Lewis Swimm III, 18, and three 17-year-olds were charged with harassment, which police labeled a hate crime, and disrupting school activities for allegedly spray-painting racist slurs and posting racist fliers at a high school.

MASSACHUSETTS

Bellingham • May 3, 2003

Ian C. Clark, 22; Michael P. Medeiros, 24; and Jeffrey Broadbent, 40, were charged with defacing property, littering from a motor vehicle, being disorderly and disturbing the peace after allegedly throwing anti-Semitic propaganda from the neo-Nazi National Alliance on yards.

Boston • May 29, 2003

Josiah A. Spaulding III, 23, was charged with a civil rights offense for allegedly making anti-Semitic threats on a female high school student's answering machine.

Boston • June 22, 2003

Three men were arrested for allegedly hog-tying, beating and stabbing a pizza deliveryman because they mistakenly believed he was Muslim.

MICHIGAN

Grand Rapids • May 12, 2003

Arkadiusz Szuba was sentenced to five months in jail for ethnic intimidation after he yelled racial slurs, bared his behind and punched two women who rejected his advances outside a bar.

Grand Rapids • June 6, 2003

Ronald Lee Planck, 33, was charged with two counts of felonious assault and two counts of ethnic intimidation for allegedly using racial epithets against neighborhood youths and trying to run them down.

St. Joseph • April 7, 2003

Robert E. Wilken, 40, who tried to hit four black children with a pickup truck in October 2002, was sentenced to a

year in jail, with credit for 169 days served, and placed on three years' probation.

Traverse City • May 11, 2003

Four men allegedly beat a 27-year-old man because of his sexual orientation.

MINNESOTA

Anoka • June 12, 2003

Racial epithets and obscenities were spray-painted on the garage of an interracial couple's home. A 16-year-old boy and a 14-year-old girl were taken into custody.

MISSOURI

Kirkwood • June 19, 2003

Ronald L. Murray was charged with attempted murder and aggravated assault for allegedly beating a homosexual man.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Laconia • May 27, 2003

Andrew Trudell, 19, was sentenced to up to five years in prison for brandishing a knife at a 13-year-old black boy in a racially motivated incident.

NEW JERSEY

Deptford • June 27, 2003

Racist and anti-Semitic graffiti was spray-painted in an area near a playground.

Readington Township • April 25, 2003

Swastikas and anti-Semitic slogans were carved on the front doors of a synagogue.

NEW YORK

Apple Valley • May 26, 2003

Racist messages were scrawled throughout a church.

Binghamton • May 10, 2003

Neo-Nazi fliers were distributed throughout a neighborhood.

Brooklyn • April 22, 2003

Max Abrahamowitz, 29, allegedly assaulted a Muslim woman while yelling racial slurs.

Brooklyn • May 27, 2003

A white man allegedly yelled racial slurs and attacked a Hispanic man.

Brownsville • May 17, 2003

Shawn Martin, 20, and a 15-year-old boy, both white, were arrested for an alleged racial attack on a couple.

Holtsville • June 6, 2003

John J. Fielding Jr., 38; Joseph R. Grohs, 25; and Louis A. Bieler, 23, were charged with third-degree assault as a hate crime after they allegedly used ethnic slurs and attacked three Hispanic teens in a restaurant.

Lawrence • May 2, 2003

A swastika and an anti-Semitic slur were scrawled on a railing at a newly opened rabbinical college.

Long Island • May 13, 2003

Michael J. Perso, 19, was charged with second-degree robbery as a hate crime and second-degree attempted robbery as a hate crime after allegedly targeting people he believed were Mexicans.

Manhattan • April 5, 2003

Daniel Jamile and Nkrumah Ajoma-jberin, both 17, were arrested after allegedly shouting anti-gay slurs at a 24-year-old man.

Manhattan • April 17, 2003

A group of teenagers yelled anti-gay slurs at a 27-year-old man.

Manhattan • April 22, 2003

Hate-filled E-mails targeting blacks, Arabs and Muslims flooded the inboxes of undergraduate students during a recent hacking spree at NYU's Stern School of Business.

Radical Religion

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in a pre-RLUIPA suit. (*Inmates Designated as Five Percenters, 14 F3d 464 (4th Cir. 1999).*)

The Limits of Faith

Black supremacist convicts are hardly alone in their legal tangles with corrections officials. For years, imprisoned adherents of the virulently anti-Semitic and white supremacist World Church of the Creator’s (formerly Church of the Creator) “Creativity” ideology have faced an uphill battle of their own. Creativity was formed in the 1970s by the late racist Ben Klassen and, like Five Percenters, its adherents consider traditional religions as a ruse to deny racial empowerment. “Creators” have sometimes followed the movement’s calls for RAHOWA — or “racial holy war” — by committing violent hate crimes. Creativity “reverend” George Loeb was convicted of the racially motivated murder of a black sailor in Mayport, Fla., in 1991, and follower Ben Smith was the triggerman in a July 1999 Midwest shooting spree that left two people dead and nine others wounded.

Federal courts in California and Wisconsin have upheld the denial of Creativity newspapers to state prison inmates. In 2001, a Connecticut state judge ruled that while Creativity may be a religion, prison officials could not be forced to provide inmate Michael Scatena with food free of kosher symbols on its labels. Scatena maintained that eating foods labeled kosher, like Corn Flakes, would conflict with his religious practice of boycotting Jewish influence. The judge reminded Scatena that water is kosher, but the inmate remained unconvinced.

Most recently, in June 2003, Robert Ian Trainer lost his court bid to play a greater role in the group after his release from federal prison. While behind bars for his role in a hate crime, Trainer joined the Creativity movement and had access to written material, but was denied chapel time. Upon his release on parole, he challenged various restrictions on his liberty to attend group meetings and recruit others to the movement. A federal district court in Maryland ruled that even if Creativity were a religion, Trainer’s crime justified restrictive conditions on how he practiced his faith as long as they were “reasonably related to the goals of supervision.” Although Trainer could possess literature, he was denied the right to participate in Creativity “outreach” programs or meet with more than one person at a time to discuss his Creativity beliefs. (*United States v. Trainer, 265 F. Supp. 2d 589 (2003).*)

All courts agree that convicts have the right to pursue their religion, but they also acknowledge the government’s responsibility to supervise convicts. What remains to be seen is what practical standard emerges that meets both interests from the hodgepodge of decisions. ▲

Maybrook • April 26, 2003

Hate messages were spray-painted on the residences, vehicles and mail-boxes of minority families.

Oneonta • April 22, 2003

Ralph S. May, 49, was charged with second-degree menacing for allegedly threatening a black man with a baseball bat.

Queens • May 29, 2003

George Fortunato, 60, and his wife, Jacqueline, 58, were sentenced to anger management and ethnic sensitivity training after they pleaded guilty to assaulting an Asian woman in January.

Yonkers • May 1, 2003

Mazin Assi, 23, was sentenced to a maximum of 15 years in prison for the attempted firebombing of a Bronx synagogue.

NORTH CAROLINA

Dunn • June 19, 2003

Charles Robert “Junior” Barefoot, leader of the Nation’s Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, was sentenced to 27 months in prison for federal firearms violations.

Fayetteville • April 14, 2003

Fliers from the neo-Nazi Creativity Movement were dropped on yards in a subdivision.

OHIO

Cleveland • May 1, 2003

Eighteen black and Hispanic youths allegedly beat, kicked and choked a 13-year-old white girl.

OREGON

Portland • May 24, 2003

A swastika was spray-painted over Malcolm X’s face in a mural.

Salem • June 23, 2003

A 12-year-old boy allegedly called an Arab youngster a terrorist and punched him in the face.

PENNSYLVANIA

Bensalem • May 12, 2003

Three boys, two white 13-year-olds and a 12-year-old, attacked an 8-year-old child of Middle Eastern descent.

Carroll Township • June 2, 2003

Racial slurs and the letters “KKK” were painted on a black woman’s residence.

McKeesport • May 31, 2003

A 3-foot-high wooden cross was planted outside a black couple’s home and two bricks were thrown through windows.

TEXAS

Piano • June 5, 2003

Anti-Semitic phrases were painted on a Jewish woman’s car.

VERMONT

Winooski • June 10, 2003

A black restaurateur received threatening phone calls and found hateful graffiti on the windows and signs of his restaurant. A swastika was also scratched on a wooden sign on the side of the building.

VIRGINIA

Merrifield • June 4, 2003

A 14-year-old girl allegedly received a series of calls from a man who yelled racial slurs and threatened her.

WASHINGTON

Vancouver • June 24, 2003

Kevin Lee Haynie, 22, and Dennis James Barker, 24, were arrested on suspicion of malicious harassment after allegedly beating a homeless man and calling him anti-gay epithets.

Spokane • April 19, 2003

Racist graffiti and a swastika were spray-painted at a Sikh temple. ▲

THE LAST WORD

Return of the ‘Kosher Nazi’

Four years ago, he was organizing a Washington D.C., ‘mass rally’ of four. Now, the former Andy Greenbaum is selling something new

Last time the world noticed Davis Wolfgang Hawke, he was a 20-year-old college student sporting a push broom mustache and nurturing Hitleresque fantasies of taking over the United States. That was 1999, the year Hawke became semi-famous as the “Commander” of a neo-Nazi outfit he’d founded in high school. Using sophisticated Web skills to promote his views on Aryan supremacy — and inform Net-surfers of his destiny as the American Hitler — the former chess prodigy claimed he’d attracted 1,000 members. The actual number was closer to 100, but that was little more than a nagging detail for Hawke, who announced that summer on Fox News, “I plan to make the Final Solution a reality.”

By then, Hawke’s road to supremacy had already hit some serious bumps. Earlier in 1999, the Southern Poverty Law Center’s Intelligence Project had revealed the highly inconvenient fact that Hawke was born with a decidedly un-Hitleresque name: Andrew Britt Greenbaum. The führer-in-waiting, who had legally changed his name shortly after his 18th birthday, had a Jewish father.

As embarrassing newspaper stories appeared and white nationalists began heaping scorn on “the kosher Nazi,” Hawke hastily renamed his group the American Nationalist Party (ANP) and tried in vain to explain away his Jewish heritage. But even after he told *Rolling Stone* magazine that “sterilization is a must” for every Jew, Hawke’s neo-Nazi credentials were shot. At a heavily publicized ANP march on Washington, only four of Hawke’s followers showed up.



The humiliated commander tucked tail and drove home without delivering the big speech designed to catapult him to power. Davis Wolfgang Hawke briefly retreated to the life of a double major in German and history at sleepy Wofford College.

But he didn’t let his Web skills rust. This summer, writer Brian McWilliams revealed on salon.com that Hawke is the mastermind behind two shadowy online operations called Quicksilver Enterprises and Amazing Internet Products. The “amazing products” in question? Penis-enlargement pills. Finally, the millions who have wondered, “Who’s the jerk sending me penis spam?” have an answer. Some of the time, at least, that jerk is none other than the once-infamous kosher Nazi.

A typical pitch hawked by Hawke, who now uses a multitude of domain-name pseudonyms designed to throw off Internet fraud investigators and anti-spam activists, is for Pinnacle pills, described as a “MASSIVE scientific breakthrough” that is “100% GUARANTEED” to add

“up to” three inches. (The U.S. Food and Drug Administration says one of Pinnacle’s ingredients, yohimbe, also can cause kidney failure or kill people with heart problems.)

But surely no one falls for such a transparent ruse, right? Wrong. McWilliams found an order log left exposed at one of Amazing Internet Products’ Web sites, revealing that in just a four-week stretch this summer, some 6,000 people placed orders for Pinnacle pills, most asking for two bottles at \$50 a pop.

Tracked down by McWilliams, Hawke said he didn’t recognize the term “spam” and claimed he managed a McDonald’s. Contacted again, Hawke changed his tune, telling the reporter he would agree to an interview — for \$20,000. “My time is very expensive,” said the purported fast-food manager. According to a former associate, Hawke — who until recently lived with his girlfriend in a rented house in Northeast Vermont — now brags about earning “six figures” and delights in stuffing his pockets with wads of hundred-dollar bills.

Will Hawke use his rolls of Benjamin Franklins to fund another neo-Nazi takeover attempt? Not if his former comrades have anything to say about it. This February, someone calling himself “Wolfgang Mozart” tried to stir up interest in the American Nationalist Party on stormfront.org, a neo-Nazi site. Soon enough, Stormfront’s chat room was flashing excerpts from 1999 stories revealing the identity of the man behind the ANP. “Decker/Greenbaum/Hawke is a fruitloop,” concluded the site’s moderator, “also a Jew.” ▲

— Bob Moser

SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER: Promoting Tolerance, Monitoring Hate, Seeking Justice.



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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. More than 300,000 of the program's video-and-text kits and anti-bias handbooks have been distributed free of charge to schools and community groups across the country.

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.



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.



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The Center never accepts money from those it helps, and it receives no government funding. Its work is supported by thousands of committed individuals.

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