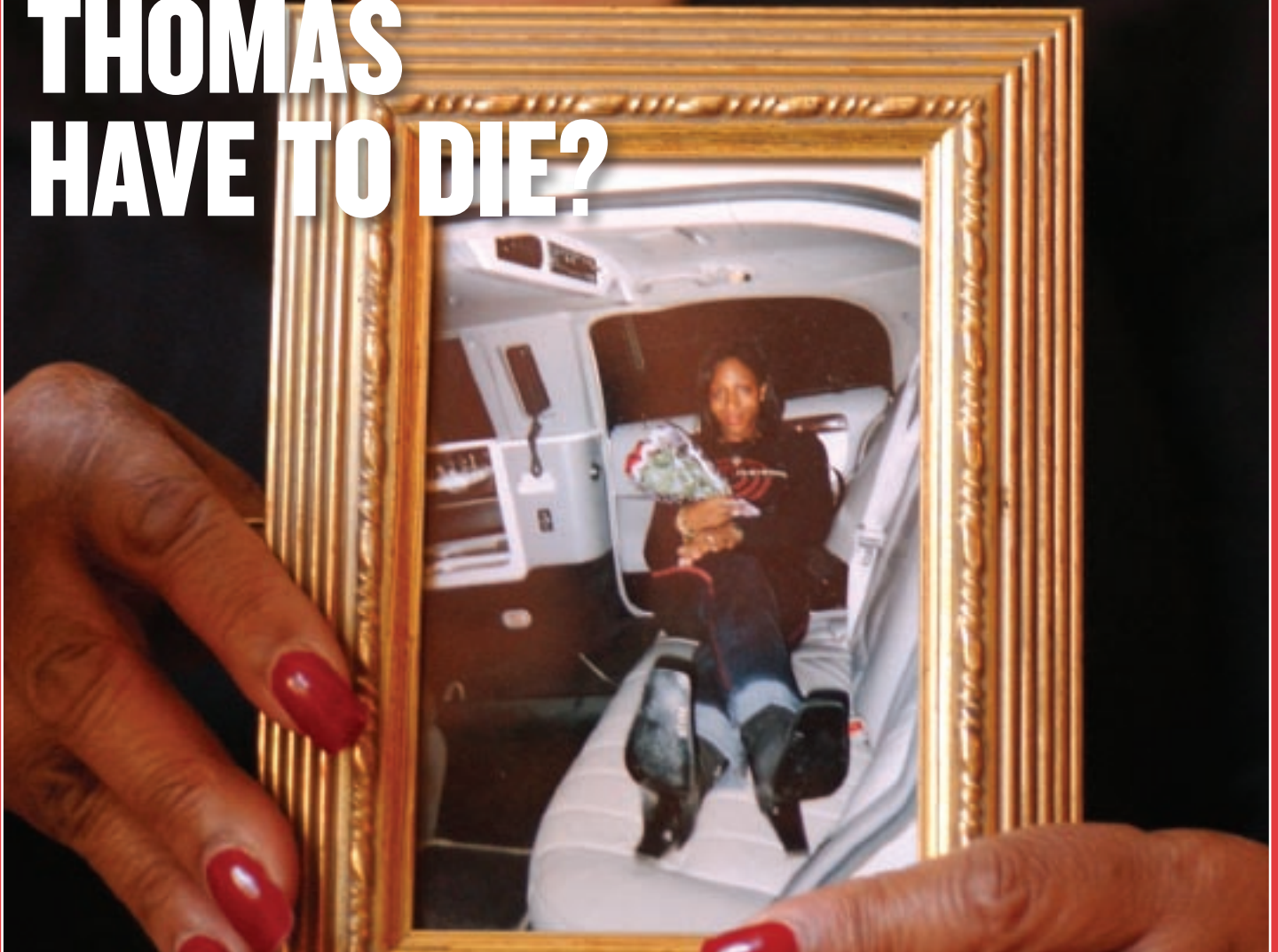


THE SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER'S

Intelligence Report

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**WHY DID
STEPHANIE
THOMAS
HAVE TO DIE?**





EDITORIAL

Rage on the Right

BY MARK POTOK, EDITOR

A rage is growing on the right. Before it is done, untold numbers of men and women may have to die, casualties in America’s ongoing culture wars.

It began with Vermont’s passage of a law allowing “civil unions” for homosexuals. Then, earlier this year, Canada legalized same-sex marriage. In June, the U.S. Supreme Court struck down sodomy laws in *Lawrence vs. Texas*, a decision that invalidated anti-gay laws in 13 states. Wal-Mart became the latest major company to expand its anti-discrimination policy to include homosexuals. And, in November, the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court found that it violated the state constitution to ban gay marriages. The court gave the state legislature six months to rewrite the state’s marriage laws for the benefit of gay couples.

Many legal experts expect that the eventual outcome of these decisions — and others like them that are pending both in the courts and in corporate boardrooms — could be the legalization of same-sex civil unions, or even marriages, nationwide. In the end, the constitutional question may be settled so that states are forbidden to discriminate against gays, lesbians and other sexual minorities.

And this prospect has set off a firestorm.

Decrying ‘Perverts’

The neo-Confederate League of the South denounced the *Lawrence* decision as a “perversity,” and renewed its call for Southerners to secede from “the Empire and its godless ideas and actions.” Neo-Nazis and Klansmen said it proved that their enemies were shredding the moral fabric of the nation. But it was among more mainstream, Christian Right conservatives, that the fury burned hottest.

Ken Connor, president of the Family Research Council, said the high court’s ruling “opens the door

to bigamy, adult incest, polygamy and prostitution.” Television evangelist Jerry Falwell said it was “a capitulation to the gay and lesbian agenda” that would lead to legalizing bestiality and narcotics. “Six lawyers robed in black have magically discovered a right of privacy that includes sexual perversion,” said Jan LaRue, chief counsel for Concerned Women for America.

None of these people called for violence against sexual minorities. But there is little doubt that the tone of their statements, likening homosexuality to incest and bestiality and characterizing gays with words like “pervert,” has given virulent haters, particularly among the young, a justification for violence.

And the violence has been dramatic. As the *Intelligence Report* showed six years ago, gay men and women are at least twice as likely to be physically attacked in hate crimes as blacks, the next most targeted category of victims. Some studies have suggested that huge percentages of homosexuals are victimized.

The Hated

But none are so victimized as the transgender community. These men and women — from cross-dressers to those who have undergone sex change operations — may be the most despised people in America.

In this issue, the *Intelligence Report* takes a look at the world of transgendered people in Washington, D.C., and elsewhere — and the incredible wave of violence that seems to be overtaking them. As writer Bob Moser shows, it is a world that is marked by constant fear. And with good reason. In just 2002 and the first nine months of 2003, at least 27 transgendered people have been murdered in what were very likely hate-motivated crimes.

The transgendered are surely among the most misunderstood and victimized people in the world. And, historically, police officers have been chief among their tormenters. But a remarkable program in Washington, D.C., may be the most comprehensive police effort yet to work with transgendered people and members of other embattled sexual minorities. As the officer who runs the district’s Gay and Lesbian Liaison Unit explains in this issue, one result has been one of the nation’s highest clearance rates for violent crimes against such victims.

Crimes against the politically weak — encouraged by religious zealots who employ the language of hate in their rants against gays and other sexual minorities — harm all of us as a society. Until we are all safe from hate-motivated violence, America is something less than the nation it could be. ▲

CLARIFICATION A profile of Edgar Steele in the Fall 2003 issue of the *Intelligence Report* included the following sentence: “In late 2000, [Steele] told the neo-Nazi *Resistance* magazine that the FBI and the judge in the Aryan [Nations] case had manipulated the evidence, and that was why he lost.” That section of the article should have read: “In a late 2000 interview published in *Resistance*, a neo-Nazi magazine, Steele suggested that the FBI stacked the deck against the Aryan Nations by purposely failing to find an important witness. In an essay entitled ‘The Conspiracy Grows Ever Larger’ published two years later, Steele accused the judge in the Aryan Nations case of unfairly refusing to allow him to present evidence, suggesting that it was an example of how ‘[j]udges and lawyers actively use existing rules and laws, or simply make it up as they go along, in furthering the leftist agenda, particularly when it comes to keeping the spotlight off things they don’t want you to know.’”



10 On the Cover When Queen Washington’s teenage transgendered daughter Stephanie Thomas was brutally murdered in Washington, D.C., last summer, it was anything but an isolated incident. The anti-transgender violence in the nation’s capitol has continued to swell — as it has in the rest of the U.S., with at least 27 people murdered since the beginning of 2002. What’s behind this outbreak of hatred — and who are the “scientists” lending credibility to yet another form of prejudice?



6 Dirty Tricks A top official of the Sons of Confederate Veterans decided to get even with a writer he didn’t like — but then he began to boast. The resulting scandal has tainted the entire leadership of America’s largest Southern heritage group.



25 ‘The Sage of Spooner’ It seemed remarkable enough that a man who is highly visible in neo-Nazi circles would become an oft-quoted expert in several of the nation’s leading financial publications. That was before Chris Temple ran into real trouble.



34 Rough Ride Anti-immigration activists confronted Immigrant Worker Freedom Riders at more than 20 rallies around the country — joined in several places by members of every major white-supremacist hate group in America.

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In Washington, D.C., an unusual police unit reaches out to the transgendered. A street-savvy sergeant explains why.

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While black artists’ pop music played next door, “paleoconservatives” gathered in New Orleans to denounce the perils of non-white immigration.

44 Reviving Paganism

A Swedish scholar takes a serious look at the rise of racist neo-Paganism on the American radical right. But his book has serious flaws.

49 The Company He Keeps

From his political running mates to a recent traveling companion, neo-Nazi leader Richard Butler has made some unusual — and embarrassing — friends.



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HATING HOMOSEXUALS

Gay-Bashing Preacher Driving Off Ten Commandments

The Rev. Fred Phelps, America’s most rabid and vicious hater of homosexuals, has turned his 12-year campaign of gay-bashing vitriol up a notch. The irony is that the self-described Baptist preacher may end up ridding the country of many of its public displays of the Ten Commandments as a result.



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

This fall, Phelps asked the City Council of Casper, Wyo., if it would accept a display he proposed to erect in a city park that already had a Ten Commandments monument. The text on the plaque of Phelps’ proposed display referred to Matthew Shepard, a gay University of Wyoming student who was savagely murdered five years ago because of his sexual orientation: “Matthew Shepard entered hell October 12, 1998, at age 21 in defiance of God’s warning: ‘Thou shalt not lie with mankind as with womankind; it is abomination.’ Leviticus 18:22.”

Because the city already had allowed a private group to display the Ten Commandments in the publicly owned park, it would have to, under a series of Supreme Court decisions, allow other expressions of religious opinion there, too. Government may allow religious statements on public land, but only if it is neutral on the statements’ content.

Casper officials flatly rejected Phelps, a disbarred lawyer who leads the Westboro Baptist Church in Topeka, Kan. In late October, they decided instead to move the Ten Commandments monument to a plaza that will contain a variety of “historic” documents. Courts have found that the government may sponsor displays of the Ten Commandments as part of larger, historic displays.

Days later, Phelps asked officials in tiny Rupert, Idaho, if he could buy a few square feet of the courthouse lawn to put up his monument. He got the idea after a pro-Ten Commandments group suggested that it buy a small part of the lawn in order to avoid the courts’ prohibition against religious displays on public land.

Phelps also vowed to take his monument campaign around the nation, worrying officials in many towns with public Ten Commandments displays. In Cheyenne, Wyo., for instance,

officials took steps in early November to move a Decalogue monument from a city park to a small plot of public land, to be renamed the “Cornerstones of Law and Liberty Square,” that already contained monuments to the Bill of Rights and the preamble to the Constitution.

Even as conservatives attempt to place more Ten Commandments monuments around the country, Phelps told a reporter in Rupert that it didn’t bother him that his own campaign could undercut those efforts. “My message is infinitely more important than the Ten Commandments,” he said.

BLACK SUPREMACISTS

Nuwaubians Arrested in Common-Law Scam

Three alleged members of the United Nuwaubian Nation of Moors, a black supremacist cult in rural Georgia, have been arrested in another case that illustrates how “common law” ideology has infected many black nationalist groups.

The men — William Carroll, Robert Dukes and Darius Sampson — were taken into custody in early October after allegedly filing a bogus \$283 million lien against U.S. Postal Service bank accounts and property. Police say the three then created fake checks — they called them “certified tender of payment certificates” and “state-ments of assignment in accounts” — and tried to use them to buy two luxury houses in Decatur.

Officials say the men, two of whom worked for the postal service, intended to sell the homes they bought and use the cash to purchase land in Bibb County to establish a new home for the cult. They face theft and identity fraud charges.

The Nuwaubians began operating as a Black Muslim group in New York in the 1970s, moving to Georgia’s Putnam County in 1993. Once there, leader Dwight York and his followers launched a campaign against “white devils” and “house niggers” that targeted almost everyone around who was not a Nuwaubian. But this January, York pleaded guilty to a federal charge of transporting children across state lines for sexual purposes. He also pleaded guilty to 74 state counts related to child molestation, but that plea was thrown out after the judge in the case recused himself after making an improper sentencing suggestion. A state trial is now scheduled for Jan. 5.

The “common law” techniques allegedly used by the three Nuwaubians originated, ironically, in white supremacist groups of the 1970s and 1980s. The Nuwaubians’ interest in these methods goes back years. In 1999, a white common-law practitioner, Everett Leon Stout, filed both “arrest warrants” and multimillion-dollar lawsuits naming several Putnam County officials in the name of the Nuwaubians. But Stout — who was wanted for passing a bogus \$1 million check in Tennessee — disappeared almost immediately after his paperwork was submitted.

ECO-VIOLENCE

Fringe Eco-Radicals Growing More Violent

The far fringe of the animal rights and environmental movements, already marked by rising violence, has ratcheted up its terror to new heights. In the last few months, eco-radicals have bombed several buildings, torched a \$50 million housing complex and several other major targets, opened up a whole new urban theater of war, and even threatened to bomb their enemies’ homes and vehicles.

On Aug. 1, an unfinished 206-unit condominium complex in San Diego County was burned, causing more damage than any eco-attack yet recorded in the United States. The Earth Liberation Front (ELF) claimed credit for the attack.

In the weeks that followed, a whole new level of violent attacks seemed to begin. Large Hummer and SUV dealerships were torched in California and New Mexico. A biology lab at Louisiana State University was wrecked. A man was arrested for allegedly loosening the bolts

on eight electrical transmission towers in four West Coast states. But most dramatically, a previously unheard of group, the Revolutionary Cells, claimed credit for bombing the San Francisco Bay area offices of Chiron Corp., the nation’s third largest biotechnology firm, and the nearby offices of Shaklee Corp., a cosmetics firm.

Four days after the late September attack on Shaklee, a communiqué from the Revolutionary Cells issued the first direct death threat against humans from one of the eco-radical groups. “You never know when your house, your car even, might go boom,” the message said. It added that companies that do business with Huntington Life Sciences, an animal-testing firm linked to Chiron and Shaklee, were legitimate targets, as were their employees. And it promised to double the size of all future bombs “until your buildings are nothing but rubble.”

“No more will all of the killing be done by the oppressors, now the oppressed will strike back,” it continued. “We will be nonviolent when ... these people are nonviolent to the animal nations.”

FBI officials say that the eco-attacks, which once were centered in remote and highly rural areas, are now more focused on urban areas. They also are increasingly targeting “capitalism and the mind-set that allows it to exist,” in the words of the ELF, rather than their more specific environmental goals. At the same time, the rhetoric from even aboveground radical environmental and animal rights groups has grown significantly more violent.

All of this has put real pressure on mainstream environmental groups to distance themselves from the escalating violence. “The ELF are not environmentalists,” Carl Pope, executive director of the Sierra Club, told The Associated Press. “They are arsonists.”



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

‘SOUTHERN STRATEGY’

In Mississippi, Race and Flag Color Gubernatorial Campaign



In the end, Haley Barbour managed to beat his Democratic competitor in the Mississippi gubernatorial race this fall. But for a time, it looked like the former Republican National Party chairman and master lobbyist might be permanently tarnished by the appearance of being linked to a white supremacist group.

Weeks before Barbour’s Nov. 4 election victory, media reports swirled linking Barbour to the racist and anti-Semitic Council of Conservative Citizens (ccc)

— the same group that landed fellow fraternity brother and GOP politician Sen. Trent Lott (Miss.) in hot water after several Lott speeches at ccc meetings became public in 1999. The ccc is the reincarnation of the White Citizens Councils that worked to quash the civil rights movement in the 1950s and ‘60s.

Barbour was widely criticized by Democrats and many community leaders after a photo of him and a top ccc leader at a ccc-sponsored July barbecue, held to raise money for private academy school buses, appeared on the ccc Web site. The photo appeared alongside a squib calling for the release of neo-Nazi Ernest Zundel, co-author of *The Hitler We Loved and Why*, from a Canadian jail. Also on the site were articles attacking Martin Luther King Jr., denying the Holocaust, and calling women the “weakest link” in society and Latinos “two-legged coca roaches.”

But Barbour declined to ask the ccc to remove the photo, saying he wouldn’t try to control who used his picture. “Once you start down the slippery slope of saying, ‘That person can’t be for me,’ then where do you stop?” he asked. He did say that some of the ccc’s views were “indefensible.”

Many commentators accused Barbour of pandering to racists, also pointing out how Barbour emphasized his support for Mississippi’s state flag, which includes a small reproduction of the Confederate battle flag. And a *New York Times Magazine* article suggested that Barbour was playing the race card by repeatedly linking his Democratic opponent, incumbent Gov. Ronnie Musgrove, to Barbara Blackmon, the Democrats’



African-American candidate for lieutenant governor. Although Barbour referred to a “Musgrove-Blackmon ticket,” the two did not run as a ticket.

Barbour’s strategy won him a 52% victory in what had been seen as a very tight race. He even managed to pull in about 10% of the state’s minority vote.

Two incumbent Southern governors had already been severely punished for their stands against the Confederate battle flag: Republican David Beasley, who was ousted in 1998 by Democrat Jim Hodges, and Democrat Roy Barnes, who lost unexpectedly to Republican Sonny Perdue in 2002. Musgrove, who had supported changing his state’s flag, may have been the third to suffer.

But in the end, the ccc, which publicly took credit for Beasley’s political demise, still wasn’t happy with Barbour, who it said gave only “lip service” to the state flag. And, anyway, the ccc complained, “As background for his victory speech broadcast, Barbour surrounded himself with smiling blacks.”

TERRORISM

Hale Trial Postponed as New Charges Are Added

A federal judge has postponed until April the murder solicitation trial of Matt Hale, the leader of the neo-Nazi group long known as the World Church of the Creator. The judge also approved several new charges against Hale.

Hale, 32, was to have been tried Nov. 3 for allegedly asking his chief of security, Tony Evola, to kill U.S. District Judge Joan Humphrey Lefkow. Lefkow was presiding over a civil copyright trial in which Hale’s group lost the right to use its name because an unrelated church had copyrighted it years before. Hale was furious at the judge, whom he called a “probable Jew,” for ruling against him.

Evola turned out to be an FBI informant who was placed in the group shortly after an intimate of Hale’s, Benjamin Smith, went on a rampage in July 1999, killing two minorities and wounding nine others before committing suicide. Authorities have long suspected that Hale had advance knowledge of Smith’s plans.

Some have seen the solicitation charge against Hale as weak, because Hale is somewhat ambiguous in his tape-recorded conversations with Evola. But prosecutors seem to have considerably strengthened their case against Hale recently:

- In late October, officials added a second murder solicitation charge against Hale, saying he also had asked a key follower, Jon

NEO-CONFEDERATES

Flap Over Alabama Historian’s Essay Roils City

A Mobile, Ala., museum director and historian ran into a hornet’s nest of criticism — from his city bosses and from hard-line neo-Confederates — after writing an essay that criticized a recent film for “whitewashing the Confederacy.” But then the entire matter exploded in the city’s face.

George Ewert, director of the Museum of Mobile and a city employee, wrote a review of the Civil War film “Gods and Generals” for the Summer 2003 issue of the *Intelligence Report*. In it, Ewert suggested that the movie was “part of a growing movement that seeks to rewrite the history of the American South, downplaying

slavery and the economic system that it sustained.”

The review enraged neo-Confederate activists who have been pressuring Mobile officials to promote their views of the Civil War for years. Led by local veterinarian Ben George, the activists launched an E-mail campaign demanding that Mayor Mike Dow and the city council fire Ewert for being a “cultural bigot.” Dow had earlier bowed to neo-Confederate activists’ demands that Ewert’s museum displays — which are widely lauded by Southern historians — be reviewed for their content. (Ironically, that followed attacks on Dow by George, a former

regional leader of the white supremacist Council of Conservative Citizens who once distributed cards depicting Dow as the child of Fidel Castro.)

The matter went public on Oct. 7 when City Council President Reggie Copeland demanded that the mayor force Ewert to apologize, adding that he would accept “nothing less than a public apology” and that he was “very displeased” with Ewert. Copeland later admitted that he had not yet read Ewert’s review.

Dow called Ewert in that same day, at first suggesting that he could be fired if he continued to write similar pieces. Dow asked Ewert to write a letter of apology and, several days later, also asked him to submit any future essays to him and the head of the museum board before publication.

But by then, historians around the country had heard about the flap. In the next days, more than 125 e-mails were sent to Dow and the council, most of them supporting Ewert and defending his take on the movie as very much within the scholarly mainstream. The capper came when Jim Petty, a Mississippi collector who said he had earlier decided to locate a major slavery artifacts museum in Mobile at Ewert’s urging, told Dow that the whole affair, along with what he considered other slights from Mobile officials, had caused him to change his mind.

Ewert was called back in to the mayor’s office. This time, however, Mayor Dow asked him to help officials come up with a proposal that might convince Jim Petty to change his mind.



To you, Sons of Confederate Veterans ...
will be given the defense of the
Confederate soldier's good name, the
guardianship of his history, the
emulation of his virtues."

CSA LT. GEN. STEPHEN DILL LEE, 1906



John Walker Adams

DIRTY TRICKS

**A TOP OFFICIAL
OF A SOUTHERN
HERITAGE GROUP
DECIDED TO GET
EVEN WITH
A WRITER HE
DIDN'T LIKE.
BUT THEN HE
BEGAN TO BOAST**

BY MARK POTOK

From the very beginning, a core mission of the Sons of Confederate Veterans (scv) heritage group has been to defend what are seen as the intrinsic values of Southern culture, and especially Southern manhood. Former Confederate Lt. Gen. Stephen Dill Lee, setting out the goals of the scv, directly invoked the chivalric virtues so loved by the South. Even the preamble to the scv's 1896 constitution celebrates the South's "glorious heritage of valor, chivalry and honor."

Today, that much-vaunted Southern chivalry is taking a beating.

Engaged in a vicious internal war with scv moderates who say their organization is becoming a home for racists, the extremist scv leadership headed by Commander-in-

tives of the group's commander in chief. Adams, who runs the scv's Web site and oversaw the official *SCV Dispatch* E-newsletter until it was shut down this September, was appointed to his position, which includes executive board membership, by Wilson. A resident of Deltona, Fla., Adams is also the commander of the Florida scv division.

Adams, 47, forwarded the message to Sewell, along with a note calling Beirich a "twit" because she had the wrong address for Sewell. Adams also sent copies of his forward to all other members of the scv executive council.

On Oct. 23, 2002, Beirich sent another E-mail to the executive council and members of the scv's Heritage Defense and Media/Public Relations committees, including Adams. She asked for comment about a series of racist statements that had appeared in the prior year on the unofficial *SCV Echo* E-newsletter run by Allen Sullivant. Sullivant is the scv's chief of heritage defense, appointed by Wilson.

The next day, Beirich arrived at the Montgomery, Ala., offices of the Southern Poverty Law Center, which publishes the *Intelligence Report*, to find her E-mail flooded with some of the most extreme

examples of hard-core pornography extant, including scenes of bestiality. In the days that followed, she received illustrated offers of subscriptions to such services as BlackXXXMag, Strap-On Teens, Latina Cherry, Kinky Porn, Cybererotica, Hustler Mail and many others. "It was really quite incredible," Beirich said. "I had never seen anything like most of it." *Report* staffers had their suspicions about where the pornography had come from. But nothing was said publicly about the episode. There was no proof.

Chief Ron Wilson has been accused by the moderates of a series of disreputable moves. Opponents say Wilson has attempted several end runs around the scv constitution as he seeks to crush the power of the moderates. Some 300 Wilson enemies have been suspended, and one key leader was suspended a second time after Wilson was repudiated in a tied executive council vote. Racist jokes and appellations like "faggot" have flown fast and furious. Many in the extremist faction have done what they could to tarnish the reputations of their enemies.

But one particularly unpleasant attack may come to symbolize the unsavory depths that this internal civil war is now plumbing. It involves an *Intelligence Report* writer, a top scv official, and the entire scv General Executive Council.

And its contents would make a sailor blush.

Researching the SCV

On Sept. 28, 2002, *Report* writer Heidi Beirich, who has done most of the reporting for a series of articles on the civil war within the scv, wrote an E-mail meant for scv Executive Director Ben Sewell. The E-mail mentioned the refusal of several scv chapters and officials to recite the Pledge of Allegiance to the U.S. flag (as opposed to the Confederate battle flag), and asked for Sewell's comment.

Beirich's E-mail was misaddressed and went to John Walker Adams, the scv's adjutant-in-chief, whose duties included running its Tennessee headquarters, maintaining all its records, and issuing orders to carry out direc-

Examples of hard-core pornography extant, including scenes of bestiality. In the days that followed, she received illustrated offers of subscriptions to such services as BlackXXXMag, Strap-On Teens, Latina Cherry, Kinky Porn, Cybererotica, Hustler Mail and many others. "It was really quite incredible," Beirich said. "I had never seen anything like most of it." *Report* staffers had their suspicions about where the pornography had come from. But nothing was said publicly about the episode. There was no proof.

A Loud and Unwise Boast

That was where the matter lay until this fall, when Beirich was working on a story about the results of the scv's July convention in Asheville, N.C. Beirich had learned that Allen Trapp, head of a major scv geographical division and a member of the executive council, had opposed several measures that Wilson pushed. On Aug. 22, she wrote Trapp an E-mail. "Would you be willing to talk to me about why you led your Army of Tennessee in voting against Wilson's amendments at the Asheville convention?" she asked. "I thought you might have something to add."

Forty-four minutes later, Trapp forwarded Beirich's message to John Adams, starting an exchange about leaks on Adams' *SCV Dispatch* (the leaks were the reason the newsletter would be shut down in September). That evening, Trapp wrote to Adams that he was still debating whether or not to answer Beirich. In his note, he

Some time back you wrote regarding the Son of Man and your insistence on the internet sites who

While you and I are on opposite sides of the aisle, I pray that you and the business you work for mean to do harm to the SCV, I am not sure. I pray that how my actions in this matter have offended your sense of honor and respect. Dr. Beirich, I am very sorry for the way I treated you. I pray that you will accept this explanation and apology for my offensive behavior, and not hold the SCV responsible for my personal failings. Additionally, I would ask that you accept my apology for my unprofessional "characterizations" of you in various emails that I sent out. I obviously have a way to go before I measure up to the Christian character and noble example set by my Confederate ancestors.

Gentlemen,

Over a year ago, I received repeated requests from Dr. Beirich of the SPLC for confidential, internal information about the Florida Division. These requests were sent to me informally, via e-mail. Dr. Beirich was asking me to stop her contact of me. She did not comply with those requests.

Beirich, I clicked on about a dozen or so "adult" e-mail addresses, pasted her email address into the "To" field, and hit "send." I then deleted the e-mail, and she would "get the message and go away", and I would not be "boastful, and it received a couple of responses to my e-mail." I did not comment on my actions at all. No one else saw or read it.

SEC member) of my 9/2002 email detailing the
against me sent by OK Division Commander
have copied some non-SCV

Had the GEC responded when the email was sent out, in September 2002, with a reprimand, censure, or other disciplinary action, the SPLC would never have known the source of Dr. Beirich's "inbox full of solicitations for adult websites", and the whole matter would have never been made public.

it to.

I accept full responsibility for doing something that was very unprofessional, and just plain stupid. As a corporate officer, I should have known better. I have never tried to deny what I did, nor have I tried to weasel out of responsibility for what I did. I offered my resignation as Adjutant-in-Chief to the CIC, and he refused it. I have delivered formal apologies to the GEC and to Dr. Beirich. I have fully cooperated with the Inspector-in-Chief's investigation into this matter.

While I offer no defense for my actions and admit that I used extremely poor judgment, I will state that at least my actions were directed towards a known enemy, and not towards the SCV. Of late, it seems that many attacks have been inwardly directed, rather than outwardly against those who wish us no good. I never failed to know who the enemy was, I simply underestimated the length to which some people would go to be rid of me.

Then he went further, claiming he had actually notified the executive council about his attack on Beirich in fall 2002, not just this last August. “They knew about the incident for over a year, and some of them even expressed ‘satisfaction’ with what I had done,” he wrote. “Not one of them objected to it. I notified 19 National GEC

“Southern gentlemen aren’t what they used to be, and you can quote me on that.”



“Southern gentlemen aren’t what they used to be, and you can quote me on that,” Reed said. “The fellows I know in the scv would never have countenanced that. But they’ve already bailed out, or they’re thinking about it.” ▲

'Dis posable People'

A wave of violence engulfs the transgendered, whose murder rate may outpace that of all other hate killings

BY BOB MOSER

WASHINGTON, D.C.—In a city with no shortage of desolate neighborhoods, you'd be hard-pressed to find a bleaker spot than the corner of 50th and C streets. On one side there's a decaying school, its playground barren as a prison yard. Extending up a couple of blocks is a string of deserted apartment buildings with boards and burned-out holes where windows used to be. Just across the way, folks still live in a set of matching brick buildings. It's a tough place to grow up, especially when you're different. Especially when you're convinced that you're a girl with a boy's anatomy. Especially when the other kids taunt you and throw bricks at you and you have to quit school because you can't stand it anymore. Especially when you're determined to live openly as a transgendered woman, considered by many the lowest of the low.

Stephanie Thomas could have told you all about it. Until last Aug. 12.

Around 11:30 p.m. the night of the 11th, 19-year-old Thomas and her best pal, 18-year-old Ukea Davis, reportedly told friends they were going to a nearby gas station for cigarettes. Nobody can say for sure where they actually went. But just about everybody in the city knows that a little after 3 a.m., the friends were



STEPHANIE THOMAS



UKEA DAVIS

sitting in Thomas' Camry at a stop sign on the corner of 50th and C. Almost home. Then a car came up beside them, and the two were pelted with fire from a semiautomatic weapon. According to an eyewitness report, another car approached after the shooting. A man got out to see what had happened. Davis was already dead. When the man nudged Thomas' shoulder to see if she was still alive, she moaned in confirmation. But her helper fled as the first car returned. The gunman got out and fired more shots, making sure Thomas was dead. By the time rescue workers reached the bloody car, she was. Like her friend's, Thomas' body had been pumped full of bullets — at least 10 apiece.

A block up 50th, Thomas' mother, Queen Washington, got the news at 5:30 a.m. She'd been well aware that it was dangerous to be transgender in

D.C. — or anywhere else in America, for that matter. But she hadn't seen this coming.

"If he'd known somebody was after him, I'd have known," says Washington, a feisty administrative assistant at the federal Bureau of Land Management who never got used to calling Stephanie "she." "We were tight. He'd come by just that afternoon with his girlfriends, before he went to get his nails done. We kept it real, him and I. He knew I'd always protect him as much as I could."

Washington knew early on that protecting her youngest kid, whose name was Wilbur when she adopted him at three months, wouldn't be easy. "He was a beautiful child, always very dainty, always very feminine. In first grade, a teacher — a teacher, mind you! — called him gay. I had to immediately go up to the school and get her straight. He came home that day and my neighbor told him gay meant happy. We looked it up in the dictionary. 'See?' I said. 'It's true!'"

It would have been tough enough to grow up gay on 50th Street, even when you could run home to the lavishly decorated apartment where Washington has lived for 35 years. But Wilbur wasn't gay. By the time he was 8 or 9, his mother "knew for sure that he wanted to be a girl." At 14, he began to live that way, borrowing the name Stephanie from a cousin he admired. He joined a local support group called SMYAL (Sexual Minority Youth Assistance League), where he met Davis. The two became inseparable friends, helping each other "transition" into living as females. Washington, who has stubbornly refused to abandon her neighborhood because "kids here need someone to love them, need to see people who are trying to be about something with their lives," became a kind of surrogate mom to Davis, whose own folks were not so accepting. But it wasn't easy for her, either.

"It's hard for a mother," Washington says, thumbing through a scrapbook she's assembled in memory of her son-turned-daughter. The pictures show Wilbur on the beach during family vacations; Wilbur clowning with his cousins; Wilbur in his early teens, grim-faced and downcast. "That's the last picture of him as a boy," his mother says, "before he became who he was." By contrast, she flips to a photo



Queen Washington flips through her scrapbook, with photographs of Wilbur (pictured above left) becoming Stephanie (pictured above right). Behind her is a tree hung with Stephanie's favorite things. Washington bought her daughter and best friend a double headstone.



If this wave of crimes could somehow be tied together — if there were a serial perpetrator, or some kind of "trigger" event — the city's transgender population might be resting a little easier. But the assaults and murders appeared to be isolated cases of hatred. And though the sequence of events was extraordinary, the violence was not.

In 2000, Xavier had conducted the first study of transgendered people in the District. At the time, the results had seemed plenty disturbing. Of the 4,000 transgendered residents Xavier identified, a whopping 17% said they had been assaulted with a weapon because of their gender identity. Four years later, the violence appeared to be spiraling out of control even more — despite the fact that D.C.'s Metropolitan Police in 2000 had launched an innovative Gay and Lesbian Liaison Unit (GLLU) designed to tamp down the violence (see interview, p. 21).

"We're scared," says Mara Kiesling, executive director of the Washington-based National Center for Transgender Equality. "This spree of violence made us feel more vulnerable than we deserve to feel. I'm sure it's increased the hopelessness

Four nights later, shortly after a vigil was held for Evangelista, police found the dead body of Emonie Kiera Spaulding. The 25-year-old transgendered woman had been brutally beaten, shot, and dumped nude in a stand of scraggly, trash-strewn woods bordering Malcolm X Avenue. Her clothes were found a day later in a nearby Dumpster. Another 22-year-old, Antwan D. Lewis, was arrested a few days later and charged with second-degree murder — but not, so far, with a hate crime.

The same night Spaulding's body was found, another transgendered woman, Dee Andre, survived a shooting near the U.S. Capitol. Alarmed transgender activists convened a series of community meetings, hoping to calm nerves and band together against the violence. Instead, the meetings only added to the sense that D.C.'s transgender community was in a state of emergency: "We heard of at least 14 other assaults happening that same week," says Jessica Xavier, a local activist and volunteer coordinator.

of Stephanie at 18, bear-hugging her mom. "Look at that smile!" she says. "He was a happy person — after he came out. You see? He didn't have those sad eyes no more."

The only thing that would have been worse than the brutal murders, Washington says, would have been never seeing that smile. "At least he had a chance to be who he was," she says. "I told him, God don't make no mistakes. I know you didn't make yourself. Who would make up a life like this? Who would be something the world hates?"

Vigils and Violence

Even in a city with the nation's highest murder rate, the execution-style slayings of two transgendered teenagers was bound to cause a stir. Mayor Anthony Williams spoke at an emotional vigil for Davis and Thomas. D.C.'s congressional delegate, Eleanor Holmes Norton, forcefully urged police to investigate the double homicide as a hate crime. The best friends' joint funeral was packed. *The Washington Post* devoted a 3,500-word feature to the two lost lives.

Local transgender activists redoubled their efforts to forestall another tragedy. Police vowed to do the same.

This Aug. 12, on the first anniversary of their deaths, there was another vigil for Davis and Thomas. By now the sadness had hardened into bitterness — over the lack of an arrest in the case, over police officials' reluctance to classify the murder as a hate crime, and over the continued violence that had claimed another transgendered victim, Kim Mimi Young, in April. The mayor came again, along with the chief of police. Frustrations were vented. Promises were made.

And then all hell broke loose.

Early on the morning of Aug. 16, four days after the vigil, one of the District's best-known transgender nightclub performers, 25-year-old Latina immigrant Bella Evangelista, was shot and killed by a man who had paid her for sex. Police arrested 22-year-old Antoine D. Jacobs as he pedaled away from the scene on a bicycle, charging him with first-degree murder and later with a hate crime.

for a lot of people. When you start hearing about 18 events in a week, you don't know what to do."

But if they aren't sure what to do, folks in Washington's transgender community certainly know what to think. "What we're seeing is a war against transgendered women," says Xavier. "And it's not only here — it's happening everywhere in this country."

21 Months, 27 Murders

With its abundance of support groups and readily available hormone and steroid treatments, Washington has long been a destination of choice for transgendered people on the East Coast. Now, with the past year's spree of killings and the constant drumbeat of assaults that has accompanied it, the city has also become a microcosm of what life — and death — is often like for transgendered people in cities across the U.S. While the past year's murders and assaults are "unrelated" in the law-enforcement sense of the term, most of the incidents do have at least one thing in common: "transphobia," which Jessica Xavier calls "the most powerful hatred on the planet."

"We are regarded by most as disposable people," she says.

Though the government compiles no statistics on anti-transgender hate crimes or murders, the unofficial numbers appear to back up her assertion. While the FBI reported a total of 11 U.S. murders motivated by racial, religious, or sexual-orientation bias in 2002, the *Intelligence Report* has documented 14 murders of transgendered people in the U.S. in that one year (see chart, p. 16). By the end of September 2003, according to news and police reports, at least 13 more transgendered people had been slain.

In some cases, the details remain too murky to say for certain whether these murders were hate-motivated. But all 27 have at least one of the telltale signs of a hate crime — especially the sort of extreme brutality, or "overkill," that was all too evident in the bullet-torn bodies of Stephanie Thomas and Ukea Davis.

"The overkill is certainly an indicator that hate was present," says Jack Levin, a criminologist at Northeastern University who has written several books about



Emonie Kiera Spaulding's nude body was dumped in a weedy stretch of woods off Malcolm X Avenue (above). Bella Evangelista was fatally shot in a well-lit part of downtown D.C. (opposite).

hate crimes and murder. “When you see excessively brutal crimes, and you know the victim is gay or black or Latino or transgender, you have to suspect that hate was a motive. There’s a sense of outrage in these crimes that someone different is breathing or existing.”

One reason it’s so tough to prove that anti-transgender murders are hate crimes is that so few are ever solved. Of the 27 murders in 2002 and the first nine months of 2003, arrests had been made in only 7 — fewer than one-third — at press time. The general “clearance rate” for murders is almost twice as high, around 60%. “The police are very slow in solving murders committed against marginalized Americans, whether they’re black, Latino, gay, prostitutes or transgender,” Levin says. “When more than one of those characteristics is present in a victim” — usually the case in anti-transgender murders — “they *really* don’t act quickly. They’re much more likely to form a task force and offer a reward when the victim is a straight, middle-class college student.”

When it comes to hate crimes that stop short of murder — assaults, harass-

ment — it’s virtually impossible to gauge the extent of the problem.

The reason is simple: the victims of anti-transgender hate crimes almost never report them. One national group that keeps statistics on anti-transgender hate crimes, the National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs, reports a consistent rise of reported incidents since 1999. In 2002, the NCAVP found that an average of 20 transgendered people were victimized by a hate crime every month. Some find that number far too conservative. “I get 10 to 15 calls about assaults every month just here in D.C.,” says Earline Budd, who runs a grassroots group called Transgender Health Empowerment.

Out and At-Risk

What has made transgendered people such popular targets? “It’s partly because we’re coming out into the daylight,” says Toni Collins, who works with Earline Budd at Transgender Health Empowerment.

Jack Levin, the criminologist, agrees. “There are more transgendered people

who are coming out, willing to expose themselves to the possibility of victimization,” he says. “It reminds me of the period beginning in the ’80s when gay and lesbian Americans began to come out in larger numbers. They exposed themselves to the risk of being victims of homophobic offenders. The same thing is happening with transgendered people now. They are encountering much the same violence, for much the same reasons.”

In the case of transgendered victims, the violence often has a pattern. “So many of these crimes are discovery crimes: ‘We thought you were x, but you were actually x, so we killed you,’” says Lisa Mottet of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force’s Transgender Civil Rights Project. In the notorious cases of Gwen Araujo, the 17-year-old beaten and strangled last year in California, and Brandon Teena, whose brutal murder inspired the movie *Boys Don’t Cry*, the “discovery” was made by friends. More often, it’s a sex partner.



“For someone who is confused about his sexual identity, or kind of shaky in the sex department,” Levin says, “it may seem like a personal attack on his virility, on his sense of machismo, to find himself with a transgendered woman.”

Budd, like many transgender activists, believes the “discovery crime” motivation is often bogus. Most transgendered people are up front with potential sex partners about their identities and anatomies, she says — and even in cases where they’re not, “how can you say that’s an excuse for killing somebody or beating them up?”

Bella Evangelista’s murderer, Antoine Jacobs, is reportedly considering a “panic defense” when he goes to court. According to Sgt. Brett Parson, head of Washington’s GLU police unit, Jacobs told police he and Evangelista “were engaging in sex for hire, he liked it, the act was completed, they parted ways, and some of his friends said, ‘Hey, man, that’s a dude,’ and he returned and shot her.” Budd suspects that Jacobs

simply got embarrassed when his friends found out he’d been with Evangelista, who was well known as a transgendered woman in the neighborhood where Jacobs lived. “This was all to show off for the guys,” she says. “He came back and confronted her, and when she turned around to walk away, he pulled out a gun and shot her and just continued to shoot her. In the back. And that’s a panic defense? Come on now.”

Beyond fear and machismo, activists point to two bigger factors that help stoke the violence. One is the dearth of anti-discrimination and hate-crime laws that mention gender identity (as opposed to sexual orientation, a category that does not apply to transgendered people). Though four states and nine municipalities have added transgendered people to their statutes so far in 2003, only 24% of the U.S. population is currently covered.

Then there’s the forgotten factor. “Look at the victims,” says Mottet. “Because they are transgendered, they *have* to be

in places that are extremely dangerous to begin with. Even if they’re assaulted or killed for reasons other than hate, they still wouldn’t have been targeted if they weren’t transgendered, because they’d be able to stay in school, have family support, and hold down jobs. Society pushes people into the streets in order to survive, and they’re not allowed to survive there. That’s a societal hate crime.”

Media accounts of murders like Bella Evangelista’s or Emonie Spaulding’s often link the crimes to street prostitution. That infuriates transgender activists, who say it’s a form of blaming the victim. “The implication is that it’s your fault for being beaten or killed,” says Jessica Xavier. “But a lack of privilege means you *don’t* have a choice.” Or as Mottet puts it, “Sure, they have a choice: They can freeze and starve, or they can try to make a living.”

“The classic profile,” says Mara Kiesling, “is a 13-year-old who’s thrown out of the house when she decides to transition.

The Mounting Toll

UNSOLVED MURDERS

BIBI BARAJAS Houston, TX	shot Jan. 26, 2002
AMY SOOS Phoenix, AZ	blunt trauma Feb. 16, 2002
ALEJANDRO RAY LUCERO Phoenix, AZ	strangled March 3, 2002
ARETHA “RERE” SCOTT Charlotte, NC	shot June 7, 2002
PAOLA MATOS Brooklyn, NY	strangled July 22, 2002
DEASHA ANDREWS Jacksonville, FL	shot Aug. 8, 2002
STEPHANIE THOMAS Washington, DC	shot Aug. 12, 2002
UKEA DAVIS Washington, DC	shot Aug. 12, 2002
FLORA BLANCA Delano, CA	blunt trauma Aug. 20, 2002
TAMYRA MICHAELS Highland Park, MI	shot Dec. 14, 2002
ROBERTA NIZAH MORRIS Philadelphia, PA	blunt trauma Dec. 22, 2002
CINNAMON BROADUS Ft. Lauderdale, FL	shot Jan. 8, 2003
NIKKI NICHOLAS Green Oak Township, MI	shot Feb. 21, 2003
DANISHA VICTORIA PRINCIPAL WILLIAMS Bradenton, FL	beaten Feb. 28, 2003
JESSICA MERCADO New Haven, CT	stabbed · burned May 9, 2003
TANESHA STARR Birmingham, AL	stabbed May 22, 2003
MICHAEL CHARLES HURD Houston, TX	shot June 18, 2003
CINNAMON PERRY Houston, TX	shot July 20, 2003
SELENA ALVAREZ-HERNANDEZ Council Bluffs, IA	stabbed July 31, 2003
SINDY CUARDA San Pablo, CA	shot Sept. 30, 2003

How many transgender people are killed by hate? Unfortunately, there’s no way to know for sure — and that’s one big reason why this form of violence continues to be overlooked and underestimated. Though the FBI compiles hate crime statistics in several categories, anti-transgender bias is not one of them. Only seven states and the District of Columbia have hate-crime laws that are “trans-inclusive” (marked in red). Based on news accounts, police reports and research from the gender.org Web site, the *Intelligence Report* compiled this list of 27 transgender victims of apparent hate murders in 2002 and the first nine months of 2003 (victims’ chosen names, when known, are used instead of birth names). In some cases, the details are too fuzzy to say conclusively if the murders were hate-motivated — and most will likely remain

SOLVED MURDERS

ARLENE DIAZ El Paso, TX	shot April 10, 2002
DANIELLE REDDING Daytona Beach, FL	shot Sept. 7, 2002
GWEN ARAUJO Newark, CA	beaten · strangled Oct. 3, 2002
KIM MIMI YOUNG Washington, DC	stabbed April 9, 2003
NIREAH JOHNSON Indianapolis, IN	shot · burned July 22, 2003
BELLA EVANGELISTA Washington, DC	shot Aug. 16, 2003
EMONIE KIERA SPAULDING Washington, DC	shot Aug. 20, 2003

that way, since anti-transgender murders are solved at a far lower rate than others. But they all exhibit at least one of the red flags investigators use to identify a hate crime — excessive violence, in particular. In the words of activist Jessica Xavier, “These murders almost always involve some kind of overkill, trying to wipe away the traces of any human existence.”



AMY SOOS never made it home to Arizona’s Salt River Pima Indian Reservation on Feb. 16, 2002. Her body was found in a roadway in Phoenix, dead of blunt force trauma caused by having been beaten repeatedly.



JESSICA MERCADO, a 24-year-old Puerto Rican immigrant in New Haven, Conn., was stabbed in the face and neck multiple times before her apartment was set on fire.



17-year-old GWEN ARAUJO was brutally beaten and strangled by three acquaintances at a party in Newark, Calif., then dumped in a shallow grave. Her alleged killers face trial in early 2004.



Mexican immigrant SINDY CUARDA was killed by several gunshots, reportedly to the upper torso and genitals, in San Pablo, Calif.

She’s kicked out of school for wearing girls’ clothes. She can’t get a job because her ID says ‘Andre’ but she looks like a girl. What’s going to happen? Most likely, she’ll end up in a situation that makes her especially vulnerable — living in shelters and low-income neighborhoods, doing sex work as a matter of survival.”

On the Streets

Earline Budd and Toni Collins can tell you all about matters of transgender survival. The co-founders of D.C.’s Transgender Health Empowerment both landed on the streets in their teens. Both ultimately struggled their way to better lives, partly because they got their diplomas. But with their activism, they maintain a tight bond with the “girls” in the streets today. Collins, a tall elegant woman who’s about to mark her 20th anniversary as an information-systems manager for a D.C. firm, recently spoke to transgendered teenagers in SMYAL, the support group Stephanie Thomas and Ukea Davis belonged to. “Out of the 20 in the group, all between 15 and 18 years old, only two were currently in school. One had a job. That left 17 of those 20 with no intention of going back to school. They dropped out because they were harassed.”

Sooner or later, most of these teens will wind up on 5th and K. This triangle-shaped, open-air downtown corner, a few blocks from the city’s silvery new convention center, has in recent years become Washington’s best-known transgender “stroll” — a place to advertise their wares for potential

clients. “A lot of the girls who frequent 5th and K are homeless,” says Budd. “That’s one of the reasons they prostitute — along with substance abuse. But it’s always a matter of survival. The fact that they’re estranged from their families is the starting point.”

Prostitution is dangerous enough when you’re several blocks down K Street, in the separate area where straight hookers find clients. But 5th and K tends to attract the sketchiest kinds of customers. “The straight female prostitutes are turning dates for \$100 a whop,” says Collins. “Guys know they can go over to 5th and K and get a transgender to give them what they want for little if anything. These girls are desperate, and they don’t have pimps to keep them from getting beaten and make sure they get paid OK — or even get paid at all. Sometimes they’ll give you \$20, get what they want, then beat you and take the \$20 back.”

Budd and Collins have no end of horror stories from their time on the streets. Budd has especially vivid memories of a gang in the 1980s whose idea of fun was “to catch you, beat you, snatch your wig and knock you out.” Now, she says, it’s even worse. “5th and K is just rampant for assaults. I think guys feel like, ‘Man, I’m going to go out and beat me up a faggot tonight, one of them ones dressed in women’s clothes.’” As in most major urban areas, such hate criminals know exactly where to find their victims.

Budd believes the Washington police’s GLU, recently given an award by Transgender Health Empowerment, may have begun to make a dent in the violence. “They make a lot of drive-throughs in that area, and it’s probably decreased the amount of crimes that happen right there.” But not necessarily the crimes that happen when “girls” are picked up and driven away.

Even with the GLU putting a kinder face on the police force, activists and cops agree that almost none of the violence that happens to transgendered women on the stroll — or elsewhere — is ever reported. Why? The main reason is that Washington — like San Francisco, Houston, Philadelphia, New York and every other big city with a large transgender population — has a history of police abuse that everybody in its transgender community can recite, chapter and verse.

“Cops?” Collins says. “You don’t even want to get me started on that.”

‘Her Life Didn’t Count’

Washington’s seminal bad-cop moment happened almost exactly seven years before the double murders of Stephanie Thomas and Ukea Davis — on the very same street corner



D.C.’s transgender activists know how it feels to be targets of hate. Toni Collins and Earline Budd (pictured above) work with their young African-American counterparts on the streets; Ruby Bracamonte has become a human hotline for transgendered Latinas.



where the teenagers met their deaths.

On the morning of Aug. 7, 1995, a car accident left 24-year-old passenger Tyra Hunter bleeding profusely on the corner of 50th and C. Hunter, who had been on her way to work as a hairdresser, was pulled out of the car by bystanders before firefighters and Emergency Medical Service workers arrived at the scene. Eyewitness Catherine Poole told investigators that Hunter was



The corner of 50th and C, where Tyra Hunter lay bleeding and scorned by rescue workers in 1995, is a haunting spot for Washington's transgender community.



conscious and “starting to complain of pain” when the rescuers arrived.

“[T]he ambulance person that was treating [Hunter] said to her that ‘Everything is going to be all right, honey,’” Poole continued. “At that point, she started to urinate on herself. The ambulance person started to cut the pants legs on the jeans. ... [H]e started cutting up the leg and suddenly stopped, and jumped back when he found out that she was a man and said, ‘This bitch ain’t no girl ... it’s a nigger, he’s got a dick.’” Two other witnesses corroborated the slur, and backed Poole’s assertion that the emergency service workers and firefighters stopped treating Hunter for upwards of five minutes while “laughing and telling jokes” about her.

Two hours later, Hunter died of blunt trauma at D.C. General Hospital — after also being denied treatment by a doctor. No firefighters, emergency or hospital personnel were disciplined, and the city refused to take responsibility for the death, saying that Hunter was too seriously injured to survive. But when Hunter’s mother sued the city, a jury found that Hunter’s civil rights had been violated at the accident scene, and that her death had likely been caused by medical negligence. (Experts testified that with proper treatment, she had an 86% chance

of surviving.) After the jury awarded Margie Hunter \$2.9 million in damages, the city further alienated its transgender residents by appealing the decision — ultimately agreeing to a \$1.75 million settlement.

The message of Hunter’s mistreatment was clear, wrote local activist Richard Rosendall: “She was transgender, and her life didn’t count.”

Transgender activists say law enforcement personnel have been sending that message for years. When she was a youngster on the streets, says Toni Collins, “You’d be surprised how many policemen I had sex with. They’d say, ‘You do it with me, or I’m going to arrest you for prostitution.’ Then they’d tell me to go home and I better not tell anybody.”

She did as ordered. “Who would you tell?” she asks.

Sgt. Brett Parson, the GLU chief, acknowledges the “violent history” between transgendered people and law enforcement. But he doesn’t agree that police are more biased against sexual and gender minorities than the average population. Nor does Gary Shapiro, a hate crime expert with New York’s Nassau County Police Department. “More and more, every day, there’s pressure

Queer Science

BY HEIDI BEIRICH & BOB MOSER

On a book tour last spring and summer, Northwestern University psychology professor J. Michael Bailey gave his audiences a sampling of recent scientific thinking about sexual and gender identity. After playing audio recordings of four men’s voices, Bailey asked: Which is gay? The crowds inevitably picked out the voice with exact articulation and lispy “S” sounds. Precisely! Bailey cheered. His point: Determining somebody’s sexual orientation is just that easy, just that obvious.

Needless to say, Bailey’s brand of “queer science” has not met with cheers from GLBT (gay/lesbian/bisexual/transgender) activists — nor from many fellow scholars, who see his studies as attempts to lend scientific credence to age-old stereotypes. But Bailey does have company. Many of those who praised his recent book, *The Man Who Would Be Queen: The Science of Gender-Bending and Transsexualism*, belong to a private cyber-discussion group of a neo-eugenics outfit, the Human Biodiversity Institute (HBI). This exclusive group of academics, race scientists and right-wing journalists — along with a reported handful of liberals — exchanges thoughts about “differences in race, sex and sexual orientation” for a chilling purpose: promoting and studying “artificial [genetic] selection.”

The Man Who Would Be Queen is only the latest in a series of controversial studies and articles by HBI members,

An ‘elite’ cadre of scientists and journalists tries to turn back the clock on sex, gender and race

many of whom are bent on overturning the most widely held psychological and scientific views of gender, sexual identity and race. But Bailey’s book has brought negative publicity to this “anti-PC” movement, both because of Bailey’s controversial conclusions and because most of the transgendered women profiled in his book say they never knew they were going to be written about. In November, Northwestern launched a full-scale investigation of Bailey, who chairs the prestigious university’s psychology department, to probe his handling of transgendered women he was supposed to be counseling — but was allegedly using as unwitting research subjects.

Anjelica Kieltyka, a Chicago artist whose personal history is a prominent part of *The Man Who Would Be Queen*, filed the first complaint with the university last spring. Like other subjects in the book, she says she was never informed that Bailey was going to write about her. In fact, she sent several others of the book’s subjects to Bailey — friends who needed his help in obtaining mandatory approval for sex-reassignment surgery. Kieltyka likens Bailey’s “science” to the infamous syphilis experiments performed on unwitting black men

at the Tuskegee Institute. “At the beginning of the last century, blacks were expendable human beings to be experimented on without their knowledge,” she says. “For Bailey and his allies, we transsexuals are just their guinea pigs.”

Equally disturbing, to Kieltyka and others, are the conclusions Bailey reached. Based on his allegedly unauthorized interviews and on discussions with a few other people he met in bars,

Bailey determined that transsexuals (the term for transgendered people who surgically change their gender) are “especially motivated” to shoplift, “especially well-suited to prostitution,” and “not very successful at finding men willing to commit to them.”

The transgender community is especially galled by Bailey’s diagnosis of their “condition.” The American Psychiatric Association and the vast majority of scholars agree on “gender identity disorder,” a medical term for people convinced they were born the wrong gender. Bailey signs on with his reported fellow HBI member, sex researcher Ray Blanchard, who contends that transgendered people are actually either homosexual or autogynephilic, a term for men aroused by the idea of themselves as women. Bailey says autogynephilics suffer from paraphilia, a set of

“unusual sexual preferences” that includes necrophilia, pedophilia and bestiality.

The upshot, says University of Michigan professor emeritus Lynn Conway, is clear: “Bailey has stereotyped us and portrayed us as alien creatures, just as racist scientists did to blacks in earlier eras.”

Among some of Bailey’s reported HBI cohorts, that racist science of old is still just as alive and well as their current sex research. The Institute’s main activity appears to be an “invitation-only” online discussion list for “a small, elite and eclectic mix of experts.” According to a list posted on HBI’s Web site until last summer, this “elite” includes Jean-Phillippe Rush-ton, a prominent researcher on black genetic inferiority who is president of a pro-eugenics hate group, the Pioneer Fund; Charles Murray, co-author of *The Bell Curve*, which purported to show black and Latino intellectual inferiority; Kevin MacDonald, a professor at California State University at Long Beach who has written several books about supposed Jewish strategies to subvert “Euro-American” culture; and Gregory Cochran, a physicist who has suggested the existence of a genetic “gay germ.”

These ideas about race and sex have not been limited to the world of academia. The HBI also includes several right-wing journalists who

help popularize their theories — and promote their books.

The most prominent cheerleader for Bailey and the other HBI researchers is the man who started the HBI: Steve Sailer, a United Press International reporter and frequent contributor to the anti-immigration Web site, VDARE.com.

Like Bailey, Sailer refused to respond to questions, telling the *Intelligence Report* “tough noogies.” Also like Bailey, he has pushed the idea that there’s a genetic basis for homosexuality — making it a “disease” that could eventually be eradicated. “It’s radically unfashionable to call homosexuality a disease,” Sailer noted this August on VDARE.com (see related story, p. 31). But that doesn’t stop Sailer, who fashions himself a bold thinker willing to confront taboo subjects.

The personal Web site maintained by the man behind the Human Biodiversity Institute, www.isteve.com, provides a different window into Sailer’s way of thinking. The site is dominated by crude racial and gender stereotypes as Sailer mocks professional golfer Annika Sorenstam for her muscles, claims that Asian men have a hard time finding dates because they look “less masculine” than other men, and invokes the spirit of his friend Bailey when he claims to have found the real reason Al Gore lost the 2000 presidential election. Sailer chalks it all up to a lisp that makes the former vice president “sound prim, even homosexual.”



on officers to be knowledgeable and sensitive — to racial differences, language differences, sexual differences,” Shapiro says. Still, he acknowledges that the transgender community’s perception of cops as enemies is “understandable. Especially in that area, we’ve still got a long way to go.”

Parson knows it’s a long haul. His unit has won the trust of Washington’s transgender activists, but it’s a tougher challenge on 5th and K. “I talked to a transgender girl last night and she says, ‘By the way, where were you last week when I got beat up?’ I said, ‘I don’t know — but why didn’t you call me?’ She said, ‘Why would I call you guys? You’re not going to do anything.’ I haven’t gotten through to her yet that we *will* do something. Then a lot of times when someone gets killed, we’ll find out they’ve been assaulted a lot.”

It’s always possible that the killers were among those who’d been committing assaults. But as long as the assaults go unreported — as long as transgendered women feel like they can’t trust the cops — there’s no way of knowing whether lives like Emonie Spaulding’s or Bella Evangelista’s might have been spared.

Dreams and Nightmares

These days, most people understand that hate crimes are message crimes. Most people know that when a transgendered person is victimized, it doesn’t just affect her friends and family — it terrifies a whole community of people who can’t help feeling they might be next. But most people, luckily, don’t know what it feels like to be on the receiving end of such a message.

Ruby Bracamonte is not so lucky. On a bright cold day in early November, she sits wrapped up in a baby-blue sweatshirt, recalling in a whispery voice how she heard the news that one of her closest friends, Bella Evangelista, had been murdered. In a grim bit of irony, Bracamonte was with her Latina transgender support group at a local community center on Aug. 16. The group was busy with an ongoing project: documenting, in words and images, the lives of transgendered Latinas in the U.S.

“The next thing we know, a police officer walks in. He’s like, ‘I’m sorry, but we have this body we found and we

need somebody to recognize it.’ There was silence. He passed around a picture of what had happened to her. And that’s how we found out. That picture is still in my head.”

Before Evangelista’s killing, transgendered Latinas in Washington had hoped that they might evade the worst of the violence, since the previous murder victims had all been African American. “For a lot of years, a lot of us have been very open,” Bracamonte says. “It seemed OK. We have been mostly accepted in Hispanic neighborhoods. We may be called names, but we don’t get killed. That’s what we thought. Boy, have we learned.”

Bracamonte, who in the early 1990s began transitioning into living as a woman with a group of friends that



On this year’s Transgender Day of Remembrance, mourners gathered in front of the U.S. Capitol, near where a transgendered woman was stabbed in August.

included Evangelista, has learned more than most. For years, Bracamonte, who has a steady job and a nice apartment, had been keeping her door open to down-and-out transgendered friends. When her friend was killed, her private activism went public, as she became

the media’s favorite spokesperson for Washington’s transgendered Latinas. The notoriety transformed her cell phone into an unofficial hotline.

“In the last two weeks, I’ve gotten four calls. One girl called because her roommate had been gone for 10 days. We still don’t know what happened. People just disappear. Then last weekend, my roommate called — her teeth had been knocked out. Another friend of mine left school and went to a party. When she was on her way home, another attack. Another friend of mine was in Adams-Morgan, a very nice neighborhood, and got jumped while waiting in line for a restaurant. They kicked the hell out of him, sent him to the hospital. Why?”

Sometimes, Bracamonte can’t help feeling like she’s found too many friends. “Last week, I broke. It becomes very painful. When you see it every day, when you see it all the time, you think, ‘What do I do? What do I do?’”

To fend off that feeling of helplessness, Bracamonte is making plans. Somehow, someway, she’s determined to open a house for her homeless sisters, complete with a thrift store and a restaurant where they can earn their keep. “They can come and work and pay for their own little room. They can have a shower. That’s my dream.”

But lately it’s mostly been nightmares. “This is a human rights issue,” Bracamonte says. “This is an issue that is affecting humans. It doesn’t matter how people feel about others; they are human beings. But many of our young people are not being treated like humans.

“It doesn’t just take place here,” she says, her voice so soft it’s hard to make out over the insistent chirping of her phone. “It’s everywhere. It’s the whole nation. But nobody wants to hear it.”

Bracamonte has been fighting off tears, but she loses the battle when she thinks about what today’s voicemail messages might say. “What happened to Bella, it’s going to happen again,” she says. “I guess I need to just face it.” ▲

Michelle Bramblett, Tamara Cobb, Angela Freeman, Karmetriya Jackson and Joe Roy contributed to this story.

ON THE STREETS

When Metropolitan Police Sgt. Brett Parson arrives for an interview in a local coffee shop, he’s already been up for 18 hours, since he got a 3 a.m. call informing him of the vicious shooting of a transgendered woman, the latest in a long string of such assaults (see story, p. 10). He won’t be going to bed any time soon, either. First, he has to meet with a young gay dancer from a local club who’s been sexually assaulted but is uncertain if he wants to press charges. This is a fairly typical day for Parson, who heads up the Washington, D.C., department’s acclaimed Gay and Lesbian Liaison Unit (GLLU), which was created in June 2000 and is composed of openly gay and lesbian members of the department and their allies. Members of GLLU assist in criminal investigations, but they also reach out to communities

of sexual minorities. Although much distrust still remains between police officers and gays, lesbians and transgendered people, Parson’s unit has made great strides in improving this often charged relationship. Parson himself is gay. He is also very much a cop’s cop, a man with an infectious sense of humor who says he prefers “kicking doors in” and arresting criminals to singing “Kumbaya.” Still, he points out that in a week, his unit will receive an award from an African-American transgender group. “I don’t know of any other police unit ever getting an award from the transgender community,” he says with a chuckle. “That’s for sure.”

INTELLIGENCE REPORT: There was a notorious incident in 1995 involving a transgendered woman, Tyra Hunter, who’d been in a car accident. Once the responding firefighters realized she was a transgendered person, they stopped treating her. She was also refused treatment by a doctor at the hospital and died. Her mother sued the

In Washington, D.C., police now take crime against sexual minorities seriously. A seasoned street cop explains how and why



city and won in 1999. Was the creation of the GLLU a response to that?

BRETT PARSON: No, it was more a response to two lesbian officers who did some research into hate crimes. The results were staggering and embarrassing. In 1998, Maryland and Virginia reported about 200 hate crimes, total. D.C. reported two. You can see what the problem was! The officers

put together a proposal that said, we think two things are at play here, particularly in the gay community: One, our cops are not trained properly. They don’t know what questions to ask, and then once they get the information, they don’t know what the hell to do with it. Secondly, people in this community don’t trust us or like us. That’s a historical problem because of the violence that’s traditionally occurred between law enforcement and the GLBT [gay/lesbian/bisexual/transgendered] community.

The chief made those two liaisons, but gave them no resources at all. They survived about a year, and were instrumental in solving an anti-gay murder at Gallaudet University because they were able to talk to gay deaf students there. But after that, they were very frustrated, and so they made three recommendations to the chief: “You need a gay boy, you need a gay boy that has some rank, and you need

a gay boy that has rank and doesn't give a damn what people think about him."

IR: And you fit the profile?

PARSON: Well, I didn't volunteer, let's put it that way. I was in charge of the major narcotics strike force at the time, and was very happy there and didn't want to be the gay poster child. But I got a call from the chief's office asking, "How would you feel about it?" I said, "No." And they said, "Well, you were already transferred. We just want to know how you feel about it." I've been here ever since.

IR: How do you feel about it now?

PARSON: This is a really nice job. I work primarily with people who are talented, caring, incredible people in the community. The downside is that I'm not doing the kind of police work that I became an officer to do. That oftentimes frustrates me. I don't really want to be sitting inside Caribou Coffee on Friday night; I want to be responding to calls and chasing people and getting in fights and shoot-outs and things like that.

On the other hand, I have no doubt that the chief did the right thing in keeping us alive. And unfortunately, I don't think I'll be out of a job any time soon. We still have a lot of officers that are not up to par on how to deal with the GLBT community, and the relationship with this community still isn't where it needs to be.

IR: Are there other units like yours in other police departments?

PARSON: I do not believe there is another unit of this kind in the country. There are gay and lesbian liaison units all over the place, but what we do is not just outreach, the huggy-feely, "Kumbaya"

stuff that all liaison units should be doing. We police. We're on the street. We patrol the areas where the GLU community is visible. We attend events where police have never gone before, and there are many of those! And we investigate crimes — by and against the GLBT community.

Many people think, what the hell's



this isn't what goes on elsewhere. What they have is usually one or two people assigned to go to the local pride festival, to show up at community meetings and say, "Hi, we care about you." But we do training, education, outreach *and* law enforcement, 24/7.

IR: So now, two years into the effort, how many hate crimes did the District report in 2002?

PARSON: We just reported 17. It's up well over 600% since 1998. That's good. It's a sign that we're slowly building the

"It's the only job in the world where you can make an immediate difference in people's pain. Doctors can't do it, judges can't do it, but I can do it."

trust that we need to have with this community and that we're educating our officers to the point where they're actually reporting these things.

IR: Transgendered people say that it's more dangerous in Washington for them than even for gays and lesbians. Do you agree?

PARSON: Perception is 90% of everything. If they perceive that it's dangerous, then it's dangerous. Of course, the transgender community is not just one kind of individual. You have everything from transsexuals to trans-

vestites to drag queens to drag kings to commercial street sex workers. Then you have folks who completely assimilate into the community and pass. There's no doubt that members of the transgender community in Washington, D.C., who are people of color are being victimized at a much higher rate than those who are not people of color.

IR: Some would say they're putting themselves at risk — especially those involved in prostitution.

PARSON: I don't know if that's fair. Would we do that with victims of car theft? With victims of burglary? Do we say, "Hey, you shouldn't have moved into that neighborhood?" I don't entertain that. I think it's disrespectful to the victims. The fact is, whether they're engaged in legal or illegal activities, they're being victimized at a higher rate than other people. When we're talking about commercial street sex, I understand why they're doing it, though I can't really empathize, because I'm just

name is important to us, but there are appropriate ways to ask that question. I can say, "Betty, I understand this is the name you want me to use to refer to you. I can't use that on the report. I will certainly put down that that's your preference, but I need your legal name, and I hope you understand." That's not disrespectful, that's not irrelevant, that's not unprofessional. Compare it to, "Listen, buddy, don't give me this shit that your name's Betty, give me your real name."

IR: Are there parts of the GLBT community that are particularly tough to deal with?

a dopey white guy. What do I know from being transgender and kicked out of the house and trying to get medication and hormones and training and education? I've got it great compared to them. When they tell me they're forced to go on the streets, which puts them in a position to be victimized, who am I to question?

Whether you're a prostitute, a bus driver, a retired U.S. Capitol police officer — all of whom I know as transgendered people — you don't deserve to be the victim of a crime. And that's hard to get through to the general population, sometimes even to the GLB part of the community. They don't understand transgendered people a lot of times, either. Once you get out of the GLBT community, there's a *total* lack of understanding toward their plight and the circumstances they're living with.

IR: What are some of the basic challenges of dealing with transgendered people?

PARSON: For one thing, learning to refer to them the way they want to be referred to. You're sitting here across from me, a white male in his late 30s, and if you tell me your name is Betty, why the hell should I care? Now, there are some instances where your legal

PARSON: There are two segments where I'm having to focus my educational efforts. One is the transgender community; the other is youth of color. I've presented at youth conferences and literally been asked to leave, because they did not want police officers there. That was an eye-opening experience because I thought I'd be welcomed with open arms. What I learned was: this is their safe space. If I want to learn from them, it's got to be on their terms. Cops have to learn that.

So often, if the door doesn't open, we kick it in. You can't do that when you're talking about the gay community. That's hard for me. I'm a street cop. I'm a door-kicker. That's my personality. I really have to temper that side and think with my counseling side — believe it or not, I have a degree in counseling — and think, OK, what's going on here? Why am I getting a bad reaction? What do I portray to them? So I dress down. I still have my gun, my badge, and they still recognize me as a police officer. But it's not as hard core. There are times when they have to see me in that hard-core role. But when I'm coming into their safe space, I need to try and be respectful.

IR: What's the hardest thing in helping other police officers learn these things?

PARSON: Police officers are generally very polar people. It's either legal or it's illegal. It's either right or it's wrong. Yes or no. Good guy, bad guy. Man, woman, gay, straight. You're getting arrested or you're not getting arrested.

Trangenderism challenges that polarity, because you can be looking at someone who is clearly exhibiting all the traits of A and they say they're B. And that can't be, right? You can't do that! And then, you throw in the technical and legal issues transgender people present for us: How do you refer to them in paperwork? Where do you house them as prisoners? Who has to search them? Holy shit! You just rocked our world. That's what I deal with: A cop saying, "I don't care. If it looks like a man, I'm calling it him." Or, "If his ID says Bob, his name is Bob. I don't care what he says. He's a man."

IR: How do you broach these subjects with other officers?

PARSON: First, I understand how cops deal with stress. They have to laugh. Either that, or they beat people up, or they smoke, or they drink, or they do other things that are bad for them. I prefer laughter.

So I try and approach these subjects that way. But trust me, it's uncomfortable. I'll stand in front of the biggest, butchest guy in the room, as straight as he can be, and I get in his space. I crowd him, put my groin in his face — he's sitting down, I'm standing up — and say, "Hey, big boy, how does it feel?" We talk about his reaction. We talk about his discomfort. We talk about professionalism. We talk about, "If I were a woman and did that to you in a bar, how would you react? You'd be getting my phone number. Why is it different now? Why does that challenge your being?" We talk about why there's anger. For some, there's sadness, because they have family members dealing with being gay or transgendered. For others, it's an epiphany: "I've never thought about it like that!"

I do this exercise where I go around the room and call people names: You're a "nigger," you're a "spic," you're a "chink," every name I can think of. And people

react. Oh, do people react! And I stop and say, “Okay, what do you feel about me right now? If you as a police officer heard these words directed at a co-worker, or somebody on the street, would you react? Of course, you’d do something. But how many times have you heard the word ‘faggot’ come out of somebody’s mouth and didn’t have the same feeling?” Most people admit, all the time. So I say, “Okay, how’s that word different? Why doesn’t it deserve the same stigma? What’s behind that?” I’ve had some people afterwards say, “Next time my kid says, ‘That’s so gay,’ I’m giving them a hand upside the head. I’d never thought about this before.”

IR: How does your unit aid in investigations of violent crimes?

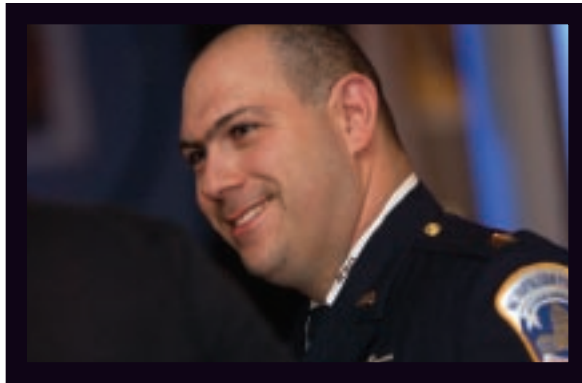
PARSON: We let our violent crime unit do their job. They’re the professionals. But we lend them the kind of expertise in the GLBT community that they often don’t have. Some violent-crime detectives are very comfortable going into gay bars or going out on the stroll where the transgendered girls are to look for witnesses. But others will page me and say, “Hey, Brett, here’s who I’m looking for, somebody named Boo Boo, a he/she/it, whatever you call it,” in classic cop form. “Can you help me here? ‘Cause I understand this person saw what happened.” And I’ll say, “Yeah, absolutely.” I think the partnership works. That’s been proven, because since the GLLU has been around, the closure rate for violent crimes in the GLBT community is in the 90% range. [That figure refers to reported assaults; the majority of assaults are still not reported to police.]

IR: That’s a remarkable statistic.

PARSON: Yeah. I’d love to take credit and say it’s because the GLLU is here. But it’s really because the GLBT community has increasingly stepped forward and said, “We’re not afraid to talk to the police.”

IR: How many of the crimes against transgendered people in the last couple of years have been officially classified as hate crimes?

PARSON: Officially? One. The only one that we’ve actually classified as a hate/bias-motivated crime was the murder of Bella Evangelista [a popular transgender performer]. We caught the guy immediately, and he admitted that he shot Evangelista because someone told him she was a he. They



were engaging in sex for hire, he liked it, the act was completed, they parted ways, the third party said, “Hey, man, that’s a dude,” and he returned and he shot her. In that case, classifying it as a hate crime was easy.

IR: But that’s usually not the case?

PARSON: No. We’re on 14th Street right now, an area that’s transitioning. You get a lot of robberies and assaults here. A lot of the victims are gay. Does that mean they’re hate crimes, because the people who are being victimized are gay? How do I prove that the suspect is choosing victims based on their sexual orientation? It’s 14th Street. Gay people are a dime a dozen here. Do I *suspect* this person has chosen 14th Street as their area of trade because there are fairly well off gay guys who appear to be vulnerable? My personal opinion is, yes. But can I prove it? Not a chance in hell.

IR: You’d have a hard time convincing GLBT activists that the other recent murders in D.C. weren’t hate-motivated like Evangelista’s.

PARSON: And I can see why. I think we’d be hard-pressed to find many people who don’t have a bias against transgendered people. I have a bias, I know that. They’re different. They challenge us. And because of that, they’re less likely to be assimilated into the greater com-

munity. So I think that in part, yes, they were all targeted because they’re part of the transgender community. But you can almost never prove it.

IR: What’s it like dealing with the families of transgendered victims?

PARSON: Last night was an exception. We were able to notify the family right away, they came to the hospital and were very supportive. That’s very unusual. In the majority of cases in the transgender community, just getting their given names is a real challenge. You’re dealing with people living in a very marginalized world, an anonymous world, and a world where their families have often lost touch with them if not pushed them away.

What’s even tougher is cases where these girls are killed, and I have numbers of their families and also numbers of their friends — their adopted families. The blood relatives refer to them in the masculine, by their birth names, and their friends refer to them in the effeminate, with their chosen names. What do you do when you’re addressing that entire group? What I say is, at the very beginning, “I don’t want to offend anyone here. But I know that she preferred to use the name X, and that she preferred to live as a woman. I’m going to refer to her that way, out of respect for her.” Even those people I offend have come up to me afterwards and said, “Thank you for at least putting it out there.”

IR: Given how difficult this work is, do you find it frustrating?

PARSON: What we do can make a huge difference to each individual. That’s how I keep myself sane. I rationalize it this way: I can make a difference for 24 hours at a time. If someone hurts you, I can arrest them and take them off the street and know you’ll be safe for the next 24 hours. After that, all bets are off. You may get hurt again tomorrow. But I can make a difference then, again. It’s the only job in the world I know where you can make an immediate difference in people’s pain. Doctors can’t do it, judges can’t do it, but I can do it. ▲

‘THE SAGE OF SPOONER’

In the last two years, Chris Temple became a star of the financial press, despite his neo-Nazi ties. That was the first surprise

By Heidi Beirich and Mark Potok

Things began looking up for Chris Temple in late 2001. Suddenly, after a November mention in a column on Forbes Newsletter Watch, the investment adviser who operates from a farm in Spooner, Wis., found himself regularly sought out for his prognostications by some of the leading organs of the U.S. financial press.

In the next two years, Temple’s views on gold and other markets were prominently featured in Forbes’ on-line publications. He was quoted by Barron’s Online, CBS Marketwatch, Gold News Weekly and other financial commentators. Forbes.com even

Chris Temple speaks from the pulpit of the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations.

White supremacist associates of Chris Temple include (from left) neofascist Kenneth Schmidt and Gordon Baum, leader of The Council of Conservative Citizens.

published an “Adviser Q&A” entitled “The Sage of Spooner.” But Temple’s crowning glory may have come when his own financial newsletter, *The National Investor*, was added to those tracked by the respected *Hulbert Financial Digest* (HFD). HFD is probably the leading rater of market newsletters in the United States and tracks a selection of the best-rated newsletters’ recommendations.

All of these financial experts apparently had overlooked a key fact: For almost 20 years, Temple, 42, has been a prominent member of the radical right. He has worked for former Klan leader David Duke and Holocaust denier Willis Carto. He has marched alongside neo-Nazis and quoted Hitler approvingly in his writings. He is a close friend of Louis Beam, a former Texas Klan leader who was once on the FBI’s Ten Most Wanted List. He has spoken at several gatherings of the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations and written for or edited anti-Semitic publications. He has even described himself, according to one watchdog group, as “very much a National Socialist.”

That might be reason enough to leave the publications that have spotlighted Temple red-faced. But

there is more. On Sept. 17, a federal grand jury in Wisconsin indicted Christopher L. Temple on 67 counts of mail fraud and money laundering — charges that could bring him a maximum of 1,340 years in prison and perhaps \$20 million in fines. Temple is charged with stealing \$1.6 million from his clients.

From Whiz Kid to Jew-Hater

Raised in Binghamton, N.Y., Chris Temple boasts on his Web page (nationalinvestor.com) that he was recruited by a local financial planning firm shortly after leaving high school. At the age of 18, he was licensed to work in the New York insurance industry; just a few months later, he was licensed to market investment securities through his firm. Within two years, at age 20, Temple became a firm principal and took over its brokerage arm, according to his account.

In the following years, Temple realized that he was “woefully untrained” in truly understanding the markets. But he persevered, he says, until he did. The result, Temple says on his Web page now, is that he is “perhaps the most accurate market commentator

ucts, and a heavy dose of extreme-right economic theories, with their customary emphasis on gold.

In the latter part of the 1980s, Temple took an interest in the Populist Party, a radical-right organization started in 1983 by Willis Carto, who was also the force behind *The Spotlight*. According to a letter he wrote that has been posted on the Internet, Temple was “ballot access coordinator” for New York in 1988, when David Duke ran for president on the party’s ticket, winning fewer than 50,000 votes.

The Identity Connection

Temple was also a radical “Christian” who got into a running battle with local officials in McGraw, N.Y., over home schooling. (Educating children, he says, is “totally outside the jurisdiction of civil authority.”) Although Temple does not detail the battle, he has written that he and his family were “on the run” from local sheriff’s deputies and decided, in 1990, to move away to Montana. At the time, Temple was already producing his first financial newsletter, *Your Money Today*.

He was also buddying up to open neo-Nazis — and adopting tenets of one of the most radical

Chris Temple worked for leading Holocaust denier Willis Carto (left) for years. But the two men split after Temple accused Carto of ripping him off.



What is certain is that as Temple learned the financial ropes, he was also heading down a highly unusual ideological path.

among today’s newsletter writers and investment advisers,” a man who many call “the most knowledgeable analyst on the gold market ANYWHERE.”

That may be. But what is certain is that as Temple learned the financial ropes, he was also heading down a highly unusual ideological path. That seems to have begun innocuously enough, with Temple becoming involved in a mid-1980s battle against low-level radioactive waste dumpsites in upstate New York. After about two years, he started to argue that the federal government had no authority to order the state of New York to accept the dumps — an argument based on the 10th Amendment to the Constitution that has since been adopted by many right-wing theorists.

At the same time, Temple was already reading *The Spotlight*, a poorly produced tabloid that contained a bizarre mix of anti-Semitism, Holocaust denial, conspiracy theories, dubious medical advice and prod-

and anti-Semitic theologies known. In October 1989, Temple was photographed marching with members of the Aryan Nations in Pulaski, Tenn. And by May 1990, he was writing for a newspaper called *The Jubilee*. Both Aryan Nations and *Jubilee* are proponents of Christian Identity, a theology that says whites are the real Hebrews of the Bible, Jews are biologically descended from Satan and blacks are soulless “mud people” created outside of the Garden of Eden.

Living in Montana, not far from a concentration of white supremacists who lived around the Aryan Nations compound in Hayden Lake, Idaho, Temple seemed to plunge into the movement with abandon. He co-founded the United Citizens for Justice, a radical group formed as a result of a standoff between white supremacist Randy Weaver and the federal government. He was a speaker at a



JENNIFER WARBURG



Posing with friends at the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations compound in Idaho, Chris Temple mugs for the camera.

key 1992 meeting of radical-right leaders in Estes Park, Colo., which many believe helped to kick off the modern militia movement. He attended a number of Christian Identity events and gave speeches at a series of the Aryan Nations' annual congresses in Idaho.

And he wrote for *The Spotlight*, becoming the newspaper's financial writer in the mid-1990s. According to Temple, he and Carto formed a partnership where his newsletter — now renamed *The National Investor* — would be half-owned by Carto and would receive promotions in *The Spotlight* in return. That arrangement fell apart after Temple accused Carto of draining \$70,000 from their newsletter operation, but Temple did not definitively break with Carto and *The Spotlight* until 1999.

Dispensing Advice

Temple wrote scores of articles for *The Jubilee* and *The Spotlight* during the late 1980s and the 1990s. A few had plainly political themes, discussing the Randy Weaver case, the standoff in Waco between cultists and the federal government, the Montana Freemen, and various episodes from his own past. In one piece, an explicit attack on universal suffrage and democracy, Temple quotes Hitler for an entire six paragraphs, saying the führer's words were simply "too eloquent to ignore."

But the vast majority of Temple's writing is financial. He wrote on the stock market, gold, interest rates and any number of other financial matters — typically without resorting to conspiracy theories about Jews and other enemies. Even as the pages of *The Spotlight* hyped the alleged threat



Chris Temple has dispensed his advice from the microphones of Col. Oliver North's far-right radio show.

After years of being mentioned in newspaper articles only because of his white supremacist activities, Temple was now appearing as a legitimate financial expert.

from a computer crash at the start of the new millennium, Temple avoided that kind of Y2K fear-mongering, dispensing reasonably sound advice to his readers. He often focused

on gold — with its special appeal to radical rightists who believe that only gold, unlike money, has intrinsic value — but he did not only promote its purchase. Often, he suggested selling.

The pages of his *National Investor* were even more sober and well written. Indeed, Temple quoted from the United Nations, labor union studies, and even Jewish financial officials like Alan Greenspan as a matter of course — an unexpected approach from a man with a dense network of ties to the neo-Nazi right. He did talk about a "conspiracy" in the gold market, and he was critical of globalization, but in terms that appeared quite similar to those used by many other commentators.

But he remained highly active in his political life, too. He began attending meetings of the Council of

Conservative Citizens, a white supremacist hate group, in the late 1990s, and soon became managing editor of its tabloid, *Citizens Informer*. In December 1999, after the break with Carto, Temple became co-editor with white nationalist writer Sam Francis, who would take over as the sole editor in 2000. In 2002, Temple joined with an old colleague and co-religionist, *Jubilee* Managing Editor Paul Hall, to purchase a magazine called *Media Bypass*. *Media Bypass* had been an enthusiastic supporter of the antigovernment militia movement, but almost immediately after its acquisition by Hall and Temple, it began to take on a starkly anti-Semitic tone. In recent months, it has published stories by radicals like neo-Nazi Kevin Alfred Strom, who wrote about how the results of "racial mixing" are "poverty, filth, social conflict and political malaise." Last May, a *Media Bypass* conference hosted by Hall and Temple featured several key anti-Semites.

Behind the Curtain

In early 2001, a trickle of complaints began to come in to Wisconsin state financial authorities. Several of Temple's customers, prosecutors say, told

officials that Temple was refusing to repay them money they had invested in his three firms, Phoenix Financial Services, Phoenix-Millennium Partners I, and New Millennium Partners, which Temple had described as legitimate investment partnerships.

“An investigator goes to talk to him and, surprise, surprise, he lies to them,” John Vaudreuil, the assistant U.S. attorney who is prosecuting Temple, told the *Intelligence Report*. “He says, ‘The money I get, I invest in the stock market. You know, I’m at Morgan Stanley Dean Witter. I make stock trades through an account there.’ When they called him on that because it didn’t appear to be the case, he said, ‘Oh, I moved it to Ameritrade.’ After a couple of interviews, a state of Wisconsin investigator did not think things looked right ... and he brought it to the FBI.”

Ultimately, investigators determined Temple had allegedly swindled \$1.6 million from investors between 1998 and 2003. The investors thought they had invested in funds that, on paper, were bringing in remarkable profits — some 24.9% in the six months ending in July 2003, for instance — despite a generally poor market. Instead of investing that money, the indictment charges, Temple used it to pay for living expenses, publishing, and buying and remodeling his home. He also allegedly used some of it to pay off earlier investors in a classic Ponzi scheme.

The *Report* spoke to six of Temple’s alleged victims. They say Temple sent detailed statements of their supposed accounts with him, and they sounded awfully good. He was also a gifted conversationalist, often dwelling on his wife Sue, their eight children, and the youth hockey games that he especially loved.

F. Hall Machon, a disabled and partially blind former firefighter in Massachusetts, said he first heard about Temple through his *Spotlight* articles. He would spend hours talking to Temple, he says, about their shared love of hockey. “He wrote terrific Christmas letters and talked about his children,” Machon said.

Machon says he tracked Temple’s stock picks for four years while working as a firefighter. The returns were so good that Machon ultimately took \$12,000 from his retirement account to invest. When he asked for it back, Machon alleges, Temple demurred. “He’s smart,” Machon told the *Report*, “but he’s just a crook.”

Temple pleaded not guilty to the charges and was released pending trial on March 8. He was ordered not to contact any of his alleged victims and the

court is now monitoring his financial transactions and business.

Life After Indictment

One of the more remarkable things about the entire Temple affair has been his fairly dramatic ascent in the financial press during virtually the same period that he is accused of having ripped off his investors. After years of being mentioned in newspaper articles only because of his white supremacist activities, Temple was now appearing in a totally different light — as a legitimate financial expert.

What may have been the first mention of Temple in this new role came on Nov. 26, 2001, when *Forbes* writer Peter Brimelow discussed Temple’s thoughts about the gold market. In a Feb. 8, 2002, article, Brimelow (see also story, p. 31) mentioned that over the course of 2001, *The National Investor’s* stock picks had earned 18.4% — as compared to an 11% loss for a major competing index.

After that, the mentions came more and more often, both from Brimelow, who later moved to CBS Marketwatch, and from several other financial commentators.

It’s not publicly known if Brimelow and Temple are friends or even acquaintances. But they do share at least one major connection: Sam Francis, the editor of the white supremacist *Citizens Informer* who co-edited the tabloid with Temple during much of 1999 and 2000. Brimelow, who in addition to his work as a financial commentator is a dedicated anti-immigration activist, features the work of Francis and several other radical ideologues on his V-DARE Web page.

The site’s name is shorthand for Virginia Dare, said to be the first English child born in America. Brimelow argues that America is historically a predominantly white nation and that Americans have a right to demand that it remain that way. His site includes links to such groups as the racist *American Renaissance* hate group and even carries essays by that group’s editor and chief ideologue, Jared Taylor.

Remarkably, Temple’s name did not disappear from several major financial advice columns after his indictment. At press time, CBS Marketwatch had quoted Temple at least three times in the six weeks following his Sept. 17 indictment. Two of those mentions, on Sept. 22 and 26, came in columns by Brimelow.

“You would think everything about [Temple] would make your suspicions go up,” says Vaudreuil, who is chief of his office’s criminal division. “But they didn’t. Not only to the investors, but to a lot of very legitimate publications, too.” ▲



KEEPING AMERICA WHITE

At a meeting of ‘paleoconservatives,’ former *Forbes* editor Peter Brimelow and others sound the alarm on non-white immigration

BY HEIDI BEIRICH & MARK POTOK

NEW ORLEANS — They came from near and far, gathering inside the ritzy St. Louis Hotel for their 14th annual meeting. There was Srdja Trifkovic, who says he is a “Byzantine man,” not a Renaissance man, and who thinks that total economic collapse would be a good thing for white people.

Editor’s Note: Based on evidence compiled by the Intelligence Report, the Southern Poverty Law Center is adding VDARE to its list of hate sites on the Web.

Former bank CEO David Hartman came to say that Social Security and Medicare should be halted so that whites will have more children to take care of them in their old age. Sam Francis was there, too, comparing non-white immigrants to “foreign colonizers, like space aliens.”

And then there was Peter Brimelow. Some might have expected the well-heeled finan-

cial commentator, book author and influential nativist intellectual to feel somewhat out of his element at this gathering of the very far right.

But these were very much Brimelow’s people.

They call themselves paleoconservatives — but a more accurate term, and one that is actually used by many of those who attended the New Orleans meeting of the Rockford Institute’s John Randolph Club, might be racial nationalists. The club used to include libertarians and others



Peter Brimelow has ties to Jean-Phillippe Rushton (above), president of the eugenicist Pioneer Fund, and Sam Francis (above right, center), editor of the white supremacist Council of Conservative Citizens

with a variety of political views but, as chronicled in an important article by James Lubinskas, that has changed. The club has shrunk, become more politically isolated, and focused in on issues related to race.

Peter Brimelow exemplifies that change. In 1995, he published the bestselling *Alien Nation*, a book that argued that America is historically white-dominated and should stay that way — but that was also written in a genial style and was careful to treat black Americans as part of the polity. By 1997, he was warning that by 2008 the GOP would no longer be able to compete in presidential elections because the racial makeup of the electorate would be changed by non-white immigration. Today, the former senior editor at *Forbes* magazine edits an anti-immigration Web page that carries an array of frankly white supremacist and anti-Semitic essays.

The Role of Race

Brimelow's political evolution might have been predicted. Although his *Alien Nation* was well reviewed in many places, it included strong



JENNIFER WARBURG

veins of racism and xenophobia. He described the role of race as “elemental, absolute, fundamental.” He said that white Americans should demand that U.S. immigration quotas be changed to allow in mostly whites. He argued that spending tax dollars on anything related to multiculturalism was “subversive.” He called foreign immigrants “weird aliens with dubious habits.” He worried repeatedly that his son, with his “blue eyes” and “blond hair,” would grow up in an America in which whites had lost the majority.

At one point, he wrote that if one enters an Immigration and Naturalization Service waiting room, just like entering the New York subways, “you find yourself in an underworld that is not just teeming but also almost entirely colored.”

Even earlier, in 1993, Brimelow, who is himself an immigrant from England, lauded a book by Jared Taylor, who now oversees the racist *American Renaissance* magazine. In his review, he said that racism is “undetectable” in opinion polls and “does not seem” to

affect blacks' economic status. He said tax money spent to help blacks and the poor “has done little good and much ill.” And he said that “policemen of all races are, if anything, more lenient with criminals of a different race.”

In 1999, Brimelow started the Center for American Unity, where he remains president today. The center's most important project was a Web page called VDARE, named after Virginia Dare, the first English child born in the New World in 1587. Brimelow has written that he once planned to bestow Dare's name on “the heroine of a projected fictional concluding chapter in *Alien Nation*, about the flight of the last white family in Los Angeles.” He was, he said, “dissuaded.”

Back to the Future

Fast forward to 2003. Once a relatively mainstream anti-immigration page, VDARE has now become a meeting place for many on the radical right.

One essay complains about how the government encourages “the garbage of Africa” to come to the United States. The same

Brimelow described the role of race as “elemental, absolute, fundamental.” He argued that spending tax dollars on anything related to multiculturalism was “subversive.” He called foreign immigrants “weird aliens with dubious habits.”

writer says once the “Mexican invasion” engulfs the country, “high teenage birthrates, poverty, ignorance and disease will be what remains.” Another says that Hispanics have a “significantly higher level of social pathology than American whites. ... In other words, some immigrants are better than others.” Yet another complains that a Jewish immigrant rights group is helping “African Muslim refugees” come to America.

Brimelow's site carries archives of columns from men like Sam Francis, who is the editor of the newspaper of the white supremacist Council of Conservative Citizens, a group whose Web page recently described blacks as “a retrograde species of humanity.” It has run articles by Jared Taylor, the editor of the white supremacist *American Renaissance* magazine, which specializes in dubious race and IQ studies and eugenics, the “science” of “race betterment” through selective breeding.

Recently, VDARE has even begun to publish the writings of Kevin MacDonald, a psychology professor at California State-Long Beach. MacDonald accuses Jews of “dominating” the “movement to change the ethnic balance

of the United States by allowing mass, non-traditional [i.e., non-white] immigration.” He writes that Jews, believing “the masses ha[ve] to be deceived,” frame their appeals in universalistic language. But behind that are “the Jewish agendas” of the deceivers. MacDonald also mentions “the famously heavy Jewish role” in television news.

Marching With the Confederacy

Brimelow has some remarkable things to say in his own essays. Among them, he describes the Pioneer Fund — a racist foundation that funds research like that favored by *American Renaissance* — as “a perfectly respectable institution.”

No wonder. Brimelow also runs articles by the Pioneer Fund's new president, Jean-Phillippe Rushton, another British expatriate who teaches at the University of Western Ontario and who has been investigated for violations of Canadian hate speech laws. Among other things, Rushton has theorized about a supposed inverse relationship between penis and brain size (meaning, in his construction, that blacks on average are more promiscuous and less intelligent than whites and Asians).

In New Orleans, Brimelow joined about 80 people who paid \$250 for the two-day session to discuss “America: A European Nation.” Unfortunately for him, Sam Francis was the penultimate speaker, discussing how today's immigrants “don't even know how to flush a toilet, the flushing toilet, a European invention, being a marker of civilization.” Francis went on to say that the governors of Arizona, New Mexico and Texas should be tried for treason for meeting with Mexican President Vicente Fox. By the time he was done, Brimelow had eight minutes.

Brimelow raced through his usual speech on immigration, suggesting that Third World immigration had “changed the character of America” and calling for a cap on legal immigration and deportation of all illegals. Meanwhile, in the atrium outside the conference room where the meeting was held, a band was playing pop hits by black artists for a wedding party. As the music came pounding through the wall, Brimelow denounced it as “crap.” And what would the advocate of a whiter America rather be listening to? A 19th-century Confederate marching tune, he said. ▲



ROUGH RIDE

Anti-immigration activists confront a pro-migrant freedom ride — joined by some of America's leading neo-Nazi groups

BY BOB MOSER • PHOTOGRAPHS BY LOWELL HANDLER

On the sparkling afternoon of Oct. 3, 18 buses carrying more than 900 Immigrant Workers Freedom Riders rolled into New Jersey's Liberty State Park. The riders, many of them illegal immigrant workers from Central America, had boarded the buses nearly two weeks before in 10 different U.S. cities. Inspired by the 1961 Freedom Rides for black civil rights, they'd made more than 100 stops in small towns and big cities to promote their reform agenda: greater workplace protections, reunification of immigrant families, and a "road to citizenship" for America's estimated 8 to 10 million undocumented workers.

Now they had made it to their final destination — the Big Apple. Climbing a hill that led from the buses to the rally site overlooking New York Harbor, the Freedom Riders were rewarded with a sunlit view of the icon that has welcomed immigrants since 1886: the Statue of Liberty. The mood was festive as hundreds of supporters from local labor unions cheered each new set of riders, chanting "Peace, Peace, Peace!" and waving neon-orange protest signs proclaiming "Justicia, Amnistía, Libertad." But down the hill, a few hundred yards away in a barricaded protest area, the mood and the message were decidedly different.

"You are witnessing a federal crime!" bellowed Hal Turner, a neo-Nazi radio host from nearby North Bergen. "These people are illegal aliens, and they are criminals."

"Get the hell out of my country!" Turner yelled, straining to be heard by the Freedom Ride supporters. "We don't want you here! Go back where you came from!" As more than 50 counter-demonstrators took up Turner's chant — "Arrest the illegals! Arrest the illegals!" — they waved hand-painted signs toward the immigrant rights rally: "Illegal Invasion," "Mine the Mexican Border," "No!!! Minority White America," "I Never Asked for Diversity."

Like the immigrant rights rally, this counter-demonstration — organized by Turner and heavily promoted on his Web site and radio show — was a culmination of sorts. Small clusters of protesters had greeted the Freedom Riders at more than 20 of their stops along the way. Some of the protests had been lonely, with one or two anti-immigration activists holding signs with slogans like “Being Illegal Is Not a Civil Right.” But at upwards of a dozen Freedom Ride stops, the anti-immigration activists had been joined by members of the nation’s largest white-supremacist hate groups — all of whom had come together for today’s demonstration.

Anti-immigration and hate groups did not coordinate their protests of the Freedom Ride. On the day of the Liberty State Park rally, the official anti-immigration protest, held miles away at the Statue of Liberty, attracted only a handful of participants. But at least a dozen anti-immigration protesters — with no apparent affiliation with hate groups — joined Turner’s demonstration. Similarly, around the country, members of both kinds of groups

often ended up demonstrating against the immigrants side-by-side — even though it wasn’t planned that way.

Their arguments often sounded similar. Like Turner and many hate-group leaders, the powerful Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) and Center for Immigration Studies (CIS) called for federal officials to arrest the undocumented Freedom Riders. “Any event that advertises the participation of illegal aliens ought to be raided, and the illegal aliens deported,” Mark Krikorian of CIS told the *Miami Herald*. Barbara Coe, head of the California Coalition for Immigration Reform, wrote her members an urgent “Action Now!” message urging them to flood Congress and the White House with calls to arrest the riders. “These people are criminals,” said Coe. “As such, they have NO ‘RIGHTS’ other than emergency medical care and humane treatment as they are being DEPORTED! We can only wonder how many in this group of foreign invaders have robbed, raped and possibly murdered law-abiding American citizens and legal residents.”

Meanwhile, white-supremacist groups picked up one of the anti-immigration groups’ key messages: that immigrants are wrecking the economy and “stealing” jobs from U.S. citizens. When Freedom Riders rallied in Immokalee, Fla., they were met by two dozen members of the Orion (Our Race Is Our Nation) Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, waving Confederate and American flags and handing out fliers reading, “STOP Immigration and Keep Americans Working!” At a Chicago rally, where members of the white-supremacist Council of Conservative Citizens and the neo-Nazi White Revolution appeared along with members of mainstream anti-immigration groups, protesters held signs saying, “No more free rides. No more welfare. No more stolen jobs.”

For many of the anti-immigration protesters, rallying side-by-side with neo-Nazis and Klansmen was too close for comfort. “Turns out we were smack in the middle of

a damn white supremacist group!” an anti-immigration activist calling herself “JustPiper” complained on an Internet chat site after the Chicago counter-demonstration. But what really got under JustPiper’s skin seemed to be the Freedom Riders, not the neo-Nazis from White Revolution. “[T]hese banditos kept screaming obscenities and threats at us,” she claimed. “Lemme tellya, they were just coming with signs like cockroaches!”

D.A. King of the Georgia Coalition for Immigration Reduction — a group that says it does not cater to “persons who

believe their race to be superior to others” — had a similar reaction after protesting a Freedom Ride stop outside Atlanta. “I got the sense that I had left the country of my birth and been transported to some Mexican village, completely taken over by an angry, barely restrained mob,” King wrote on the hard-line anti-immigration Web site VDARE.COM (see related story, p. 31). “My first act on a safe return home was to take a shower.”

While they may have induced revulsion in some, this fall’s Freedom Rides did not produce the immediate — and violent

— results of the 61 rides, which embarrassed the federal government into enforcing court rulings ending racial segregation in interstate transportation. But the show of strength by immigration rights activists left opponents angry and worried. “[I]t broke my heart to listen to all their demands and see their solidarity,” wrote JustPiper. “Our fight is cut out for us!”

By the time immigration opponents and racist activists came together in Liberty State Park for the nation’s largest counter-demonstration, the anger and anxiety were rising to a boil.

‘Send Them Back’

At Freedom Ride stops across the country, members of anti-immigration groups — most of whom deny any racial animus — found themselves side-by-side with hardcore white supremacists. A little after noon at Liberty State Park, “concerned Americans” Richard West and Paul Sand stood alone inside the barricaded area reserved for those protesting the Freedom Riders, waiting anxiously for the neo-Nazis to show up. West (below, right), who described himself as a “drifter” presently living in upstate New York, said he’s not a member of any organized group, and doesn’t agree with many of the neo-Nazis’ messages. So why did he come here? “I sense that I’m not going to have many opportunities to voice my opposition to something that’s spoiling our country,” he said. “These people don’t assimilate. They build up their own communities, hang out in their own groups, create barriers. And then they point a finger at *us*. They say *we’re* racists.”

Sand (above, right), an electrical engineer from Illinois with a U.S. flag sewn into his tie, shook his head in somber agreement. “Illegal aliens don’t belong here,” said Sand, who also said he had no hate-group affiliations. “There are too many unemployed Americans. My issue is *all* immigrants, not just Mexicans. Send them back. Start with Schwarzenegger if you want to!”

Forty-five minutes later, two sizable clusters of neo-Nazis materialized in the distance, heading for the protest area. “Geez, here come a lot of them,” West said. “I hope they like me!”



‘It’s an Invasion’

Hal Turner, a former New Jersey real-estate salesman, heavily promoted the counter-demonstration on his white-supremacist Web site and shortwave radio show. Turner’s 50 or so troops were far outnumbered by the 1,500 immigrants and supporters rallying three football fields away. But Turner did his best to out-shout the Freedom Riders, opening the rally with a racist stemwinder calling the immigrants “slime,” “filth,” “criminals,” “enemy invaders,” “mongrels” and “savages who have slithered their way into this country from every cesspool Third World nation on Earth.”

“It’s an invasion,” Turner declared. “But if they think we’re going to allow these mongrels to destroy what we’ve created, they’re in for a fight! Are you ready to fight?”

Turner raised an arm against the New York City skyline. “If we have to raise a clenched fist to save this country,” he bellowed, “here it is!” Fifty more fists rose up, accompanied by a guttural noise that barely resembled a cheer.



‘Liberty!’

The counter-demonstration pulled in members of every major neo-Nazi group in the country. Far from hiding under white hoods like Ku Klux Klan members of old, many were eager to talk to the reporters who warily approached the protest area. The biggest publicity hounds were these members of the neo-Nazi White Revolution members (right), identified in a subsequent Internet post as Dan Stempert, Paul Ellison and “White Wolf Ken.” The trio spent much of the rally posing with practiced snarls for local TV cameras. “We were making the best of the Zionist news coverage,” Ken later explained.

James McManus II, representing the New Jersey chapter of the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations, looked considerably less pleased about talking to a local African-American reporter. McManus (below, right) was about to be joined by “White Wolf Ken,” who later proudly reported that he and McManus had been “ranking on the negro reporter who kept asking/axing the same stupid questions.”

Rich Lindstrom (above), New Jersey coordinator for the neo-Nazi National Alliance, was the most popular speaker of the afternoon. “We’re the most tolerant people on Earth!” Lindstrom said. (“Too damn tolerant!” a couple of crowd members yelled back.) But illegal immigration from people who live in “mud huts,” Lindstrom said, is a bit too much to tolerate because “they’re going to make America a Third World country.” Whipping his fellow white supremacists into a full-throated cry, Lindstrom shouted, “Forty years ago, our streets were safe. Forty years ago, we didn’t have a drug epidemic in our schools. What did we have 40 years ago? Liberty! What are they going to take away from us? Liberty!”



‘¡Libertad!’

Up the hill at the Freedom Riders’ rally, the hateful messages were hard to hear over the chants of “Liberty Now!” and the exuberant cheers for each new group of bus riders. Besides, the Freedom Riders had gotten used to seeing protesters by now. “We’ve had them everywhere we’ve stopped,” said Jaye Rykunyk, who joined the buses pulling out of her hometown, St. Paul, Minn. Rykunyk, who also rode in the 1961 Freedom Rides, was pleased that the opposition this time was nonviolent — and, until today, small in number. “I think the first Freedom Rides were successful in changing the consciousness of America,” she says. “I don’t think hate is what this country is about.”





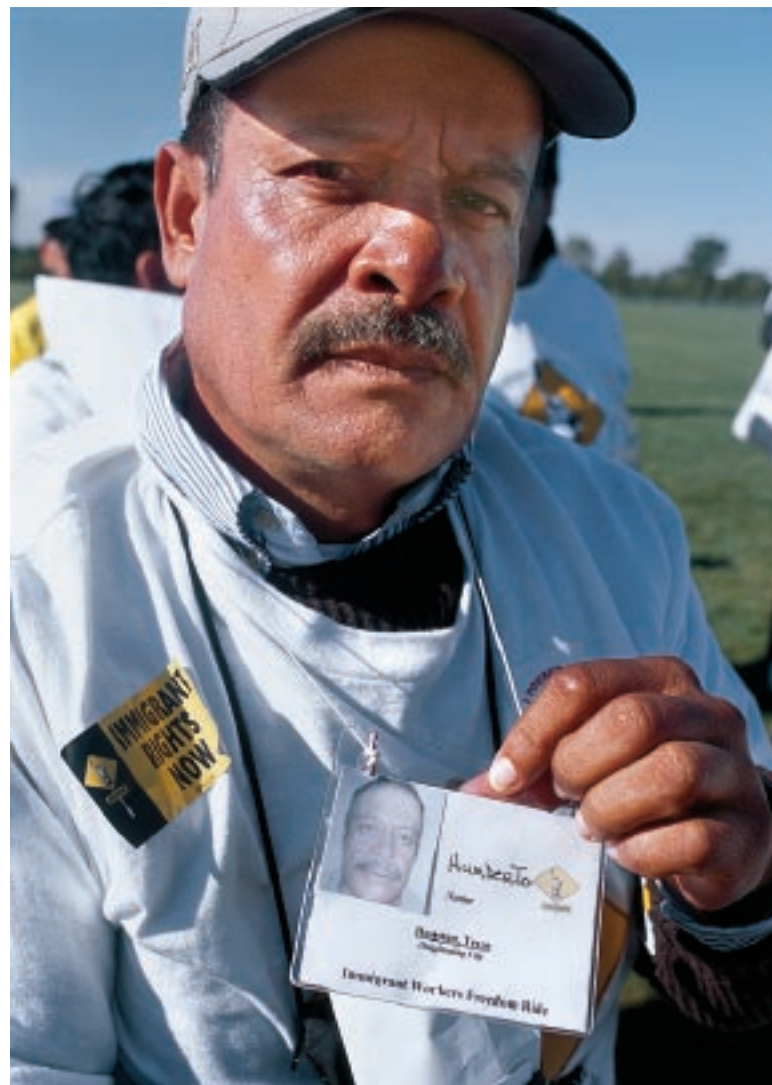
‘A Real Slap in the Face’

Both anti-immigration and hate-group activists insisted that the Immigrant Workers Freedom Riders had no business connecting their efforts to the civil rights movement of the '50s and '60s. “This is a real slap in the face to black Americans in this country,” said Dave Gorak, executive director of the Midwest Coalition to Reduce Immigration. “They’re trying to hijack the civil rights movement by calling it a ‘Freedom Ride,’” agreed David Ray, a spokesman for fair. Even Hal Turner, who has delivered faux ads on his radio show for “Portable Nigger Lynching Machines,” joined in this line of thought. “I’m upset about the way they’re co-opting the Freedom Ride,” Turner said in Liberty State Park. “For these people to equate what

they’re doing with African Americans in the ‘60s is a travesty.”

Fifteen minutes later, the most famous Freedom Rider of 1961, Congressman John Lewis of Georgia (above, left), strode to the podium at the immigrant rights rally and begged to differ. Recounting how he was “left lying bloody and unconscious at the Montgomery bus station” after a racist mob attacked him and his fellow riders, Lewis said he came along on the 2003 ride because “we all are in the same boat.”

“In 1961, 42 years ago, we won,” he said. “Forty-two years later, the Freedom Riders of 2003, you are going to win because you are right. Dr. Martin Luther King would be very proud of every one of you for being here today.”



‘Sí, Se Puede’

The Freedom Riders of 1961 risked life and limb at the hands of angry white mobs in the deep South. Many of this years’ riders faced a different risk: deportation. Anti-immigration groups such as FAIR urged their members to call the White House, Congress and Homeland Security Department and “demand that enforcement authorities arrest any illegal aliens in this group.” Hate groups like the Council of Conservative Citizens chimed in with the same message to their members: “Demand the arrest and deportation of illegal aliens in this nation and especially of those demonstrating out in the open, in total disregard for this nation’s immigration laws.”

Though federal agents largely ignored the call for mass arrests, there was one close call. On Sept. 26, U.S. Border Patrol officials boarded two Freedom Ride buses that had stopped for a rally in El Paso, Texas. “They said they would arrest us if we didn’t answer their questions,” hotel worker Maria Trejo recounted to *The Jersey Journal*. At first, the riders drowned out the agents with solidarity songs like “We Shall Overcome” (adding a new chorus, “sí, se puede” — “yes, we can”).

Ordered to leave the buses for individual questioning, they all declined to respond to queries about their immigration status, refusing to show any ID beyond their Freedom Ride cards (left). The riders had decided beforehand, Trejo said, that “on this ride, we’re all undocumented.” After five hours of questioning, the Freedom Riders were allowed to roll on to New York.



‘Forgot to Burn the Cross’

“Before you go,” Hal Turner said at the end of the counter-demonstration, “take a look at the New York skyline. See those green-topped buildings? Just on the other side of those buildings were the World Trade towers, destroyed by immigrants who overstayed their visas — they *were* illegal aliens!” If the government doesn’t get rid of them, Turner vowed, “We’ll overthrow the government!” When the cheering and fist-waving died down, Turner called the activists together for a commemorative photo with the skyline behind them. As the counter-demonstrators mugged for the cameras, Turner capped the day with an attempt at humor that only a white supremacist could relish: “Damn, guys — we forgot to burn the cross!” ▲

BOOKS ON THE RIGHT

Reviving Paganism
A Swedish scholar takes a serious look at racist neo-Paganism and its rise on the American radical right

Gods of the Blood:
The Pagan Revival and
White Separatism

By Mattias Gardell
DURHAM AND LONDON: DUKE
UNIVERSITY PRESS, 2003, 446 PP., \$23.95
(PAPERBACK), \$69.96 (HARDBACK)

Those not familiar with convoluted strains of extremism often find them inexplicable. How could people believe that white Europeans are descended from the lost tribes of Israel or that the U.S. government was secretly overthrown in 1933? Such concepts seem neither reasonable nor rational, but if one fails to understand them, their adherents will never become comprehensible.

Thus, it is welcome when someone attempts to explain arcane beliefs. In 1997, Michael Barkun shed light on the racist sect Christian Identity. Now, following rather consciously in his footsteps is Swedish scholar Mattias Gardell, who seeks to do for racist Norse paganism what Barkun did for Identity.

As he notes, it is certainly a little understood subject; among scholars, only Jeffrey Kaplan has given it much attention. Yet its importance is undeniable. Gardell, a religious historian, provides the most comprehensive study to date, although not a study without flaws. Gardell asserts that paganism has emerged as “one of the most dynamic trends” of the far right, “currently surpassing” movements such as the Klan or neo-Nazis, and “well on its way” to reducing Christian Identity to the status of an “old man’s religion.” These assertions are repeated throughout the book, yet not really supported.

In fact, Gardell is at his strongest when he concentrates on racist paganism, but at his weakest when discussing the far right in general, or the other movements or belief systems that populate it. This is a more important point than it might seem, because less than half of *Gods* actually focuses on racist paganism. The remainder is taken up by lengthy footnotes and by chapters on racism and extremism in the United States (it is not until nearly 140 pages in that the rise of neo-Paganism is introduced). The first chapter provides a history of racism and right-wing extremism in America. The second chapter offers up a “smorgasbord” of extremist beliefs, as Gardell explains aspects of the extreme right-wing counterculture ranging from anti-Semitism to conspiracy theories.

These chapters could safely have been left out, and *Gods* would have been the stronger for it, not only because there would be a sharper focus to Gardell’s analysis of racist paganism, but because most of the book’s embarrassing errors and judgments occur here. The Fort Smith, Ark., sedition trial is variously reported as having occurred in 1987 and 1988, while white supremacist Matt Hale is once referred to as “Max” Hale. Throughout the book, Montana Militia leader John Trochmann’s name is misspelled, while Gardell claims that one faction of the Michigan Militia had 15,000 members (at its height, it probably did not have a tenth of that). Equally difficult to swallow is

his characterization of Cathy O’Brien’s *TRANCE Formation of America* as “the most influential work” of female New World Order conspiracists. O’Brien’s book relates how the government used mind control to turn her into a sex slave raped by celebrities ranging from Manuel Noriega to Hillary Clinton. Even among conspiracy theorists, it is far-fetched.

Another creation that Gardell takes seriously is Cosmotheism, the bogus religion conjured up by neo-Nazi leader William Pierce primarily as an unsuccessful tax dodge (and possibly also to compete with Ben Klassen’s Church of the Creator). Cosmotheism is described by Gardell as “key to the National Alliance project,” yet few members take Cosmotheism seriously. Such statements — and others — cannot but raise questions about the extent to which Gardell is familiar with his subjects. Even though Gardell cautions the reader about accepting at face value the statements of extremists, too often he seems to do exactly that.

Gardell is on firmer ground when he discusses the rise of racist paganism in the United States. Starting with the rise of neo-Paganism in the 1960s (as manifested earliest in Wicca), he moves to people such as Else Christensen (founder of the Odinist Fellowship) and Stephen McNallen (founder of the Viking Brotherhood), who began reviving ancient Norse customs. From its beginning, thanks to Christensen, this revival had a National Socialist component, but Gardell gives attention to others who helped create what he dubs “Aryan revolutionary paganism,” including Wyatt Kaldenberg, “Jost” Turner, and Wotansvolk, created in 1995 by David and Katja Lane and Ron McVan.

Appropriately, Gardell devotes an entire chapter to Wotansvolk and the other activities of imprisoned terrorist David Lane and his wife. Here, too, he

CONTINUED ON PAGE 48



LEGAL BRIEF

Hate
International

Because of the Constitution’s First
Amendment, the United States now hosts
hundreds of European-language hate sites

BY BRIAN LEVIN

In 1995, Gary “Gerhard” Lauck was arrested in the Netherlands for sending neo-Nazi propaganda into Germany. Although Lauck had been for years the leading exporter of German-language hate material to Germany from his home in Lincoln, Neb., he had escaped prosecution up to then by remaining within the safe confines of the United States, with its broad First Amendment protections. His mistake was traveling to another country where his publishing activities — illegal under the laws of many European countries — were not similarly immune.

The ironic thing about the case was that Lauck’s mistake came at a time when his hate exporting business was losing its viability. With the explosion of hate sites on the Internet, Germans with an appetite for neo-Nazi propaganda no longer needed Lauck to smuggle them reading material. They could satisfy themselves by clicking a mouse.

Now, after a four-year stint in a German prison, Lauck is proving that he has learned his lesson — but not the one that German authorities had hoped. From his Nebraska home, the “Farm Belt Führer” is again building a hate publishing empire aimed largely at the German market. But in a sign of how times have changed, Lauck is taking full advantage of the latest technology. And once again, the First Amendment is shielding his activities from prosecution.

Today, Lauck operates a neo-Nazi Internet site that is primarily written in German and intended for German readers. More importantly, he operates a Web-hosting company — zensurfrei.com, meaning “censorship-free” — that has actively targeted European clients, mostly Germans, since he set it up in 2001. “Political repression is increasing in Europe!” his page warns. “European webmasters can reduce their risk by moving their website to the USA!” Lauck’s firm promises secrecy, and its staff can converse fluently with clients in German. To house one Web site on Lauck’s server runs \$240 a year.

Attorney Brian Levin is an associate professor of criminal justice at California State University, San Bernardino, where he is director of the Center for the Study of Hate & Extremism.

Lauck is not alone. A very large number of European hate sites are housed on American computer servers to avoid speech laws in their own countries. In addition to Lauck’s service, a site called odinsrage.com, which began life as yoderanium.com in 1998 but changed its name in 2001, offers free Web hosting to a number of European hate sites. Another site, first-amendment-hosting.com/, has hosted hate sites including the infamous godhatesfags.com, a domestic site, and others that are foreign. The total number of foreign sites housed on American servers isn’t known, but, according to Ulrich Dovermann of Germany’s Federal Agency for Civil Education, it includes at least 500 German-language hate sites.

In an interview, Lauck said he hosts about 60 Web sites, 24 of them German-language sites (just three, he figures, are illegal under German law). Although many Europeans prefer free services like those offered by odinsrage.com, Lauck says he attracts a more serious clientele that is willing to pay a small premium for added bandwidth and other features. Lauck’s foray into Web hosting, however, was as much a business decision as it was a political one. By purchasing server space in bulk, he can defray the cost of operating his own neo-Nazi site and assist other “political dissidents” in the process.

It is no accident that the United States hosts so many foreign-language hate sites; its Constitution offers expansive protections for free expression. The Supreme Court has ruled that the government, in limited circumstances, may regulate or punish expression based on the type of speech or the manner by which the speech is communicated. But over the past two decades, the high court has firmly established that non-threatening offensive expression like hate speech or flag desecration in public forums constitutes protected speech that cannot be punished on the basis of objectionable content. *R.A.V. v. St. Paul*, 505 U.S. 377 (1992); *Texas v. Johnson*, 491 U.S. 397 (1989). In 1997, the Supreme Court dealt censorship advocates an additional blow when it held the Internet to be a public forum in a case relating to indecent material. The ruling meant that otherwise protected expression, such as hate speech, would not lose its protection merely because it was disseminated on the Internet. *Reno v. ACLU*, 521 U.S. 844 (1997).

The laws are very different in most European countries, as well as in Canada. The result is a golden business opportunity for people like Lauck. Another factor driving business into the Nebraskan’s hands is the frequent efforts by anti-racist activists to pressure Internet service providers to comply with their own “no-hate” policies by kicking racist sites off their servers. For Lauck, such problems for his co-religionists are a financial godsend.

But there is something that still frightens Gary Lauck — the prospect of international travel. “I’d think twice about going to Germany or any other European nation,” he said. “I take it for granted that if the Germans knew I was coming, I would be arrested.” ▲

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 third quarter of 2003 (additional listings may be found on the Southern Poverty Law Center's Web site, www.intelligencereport.org).

ARIZONA

Phoenix • Sept. 13, 2003

Fliers from the neo-Nazi National Alliance were distributed throughout a neighborhood.

Tempe • Sept. 18, 2003

Aswastika, a thunderbolt-shaped "SS" and other Nazi symbols were spray-painted on a Muslim mosque.

Tucson • Aug. 27, 2003

Four men allegedly attacked a man they believed to be gay.

CALIFORNIA

Chino • Aug. 3, 2003

Daniel G. Garibay Jr. and Andrew A. Sanchez were charged with allegedly attacking a black man while yelling racial slurs.

Folsom • Sept. 12, 2003

Fliers from the neo-Nazi National Alliance were distributed throughout a neighborhood.

Los Angeles • Sept. 10, 2003

Ever Wilfredo Rivera, 20, was sentenced to 14 years in prison for two separate incidents in which he attacked men he thought were gay. Selvin Orlando Campos, 20, was sentenced to 10 years in prison for his role in the attacks.

Palm Springs • Sept. 20, 2003

Two alleged white supremacists, Terrance P. Gallagher, 22, and William Edic, 21, were charged with suspicion of assault with a deadly weapon for allegedly attacking two Polish tourists.

Poway • July 23, 2003

A mixed-race couple's residence was vandalized and racial slurs were spray-painted on the walls.

Quincy • July 16, 2003

Kevin G. Rikard and Jonathan G. Appley, both 21, were charged with premeditated murder, robbery and committing a hate crime for allegedly killing a man they believed was gay. Jesse W. Rath, 21, faces a felony charge of being an accessory after the fact for his role in the crime.

San Jose • Aug. 1, 2003

Edward Neil Crutchfield, 47, was sentenced to six months in jail on charges of disturbing the peace and violating a restraining order after he harassed an Iraqi family in June.

West Hollywood • Sept. 26, 2003

Three men were sentenced to prison for attacking a gay man in September 2002. Torwin Sessions, 20, was sentenced to 21 years; Larry Walker, 30, to 13 years; and Vincent Dotson, 19, to seven years.

COLORADO

Eagle • Aug. 12, 2003

Fliers from the neo-Nazi National Alliance that warned against having sex with blacks were mailed to residents and left on car windshields in response to the sexual assault case against NBA superstar Kobe Bryant.

CONNECTICUT

Bridgeport • Aug. 7, 2003

Derby resident Raymond T. DelVecchio, 54, was arrested on federal weapons charges after he allegedly hired an undercover agent to burn down a

house he feared would be rented to a black family.

Stamford • July 12, 2003

Kevin Skidd, 52, was charged with a bias crime after he allegedly used a racial epithet against a homeowner who asked that garbage not be dumped illegally in a high school parking lot.

Trumbull • Sept. 20, 2003

Brian W. Staehly, 17, was charged with intimidation due to bias in the second degree and second-degree criminal mischief for allegedly participating in a racist attack on two black teenagers.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Washington • Aug. 16, 2003

Antoine Jacobs, 22, was charged with first-degree murder while armed and hate and gender bias for allegedly murdering a Hispanic man who dressed as a woman.

FLORIDA

Saint Petersburg • Sept. 13, 2003

Fliers from the neo-Nazi National Alliance were distributed throughout a neighborhood.

ILLINOIS

Columbia • Aug. 11, 2003

Steven W. Canman, 18, and Bradley S. Stewart, 17, were charged with a hate crime and aggravated assault for allegedly pointing a gun and yelling racial slurs at a Hispanic pedestrian.

Jerseyville • Sept. 2, 2003

Michael W. Puklich, 35, was charged with committing a hate crime, battery, assault and disorderly conduct

for allegedly attacking a man he thought was homosexual.

Peoria • Aug. 7, 2003

Forest Hatley, 30, was sentenced to 41 months in federal prison for his role in a cross burning in an interracial couple's yard in July 2001.

INDIANA

Gary • Sept. 7, 2003

Fliers from the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan were distributed throughout a neighborhood.

Indianapolis • Aug. 24, 2003

About 50 members of the neo-Nazi National Socialist Movement rallied.

IOWA

Ames • July 9, 2003

David Tett, 48, was charged with a hate crime, two counts of serious misdemeanor assault and a weapons violation after he allegedly sprayed two people with water, threatened one of them with a knife and made a racial slur near an Iowa State University residence hall.

KANSAS

Derby • Aug. 26, 2003

A cross was burned on the front yard of a Hispanic family's residence and a brick with a racist message written on it was thrown through one of the windows.

KENTUCKY

Eddyville • Sept. 27, 2003

Members of the Imperial Klans of America rallied.

MARYLAND

Annapolis • Sept. 10, 2003

Dozens of racist and anti-Semitic fliers from the neo-Nazi National Alliance were left in driveways in three neighborhoods.

College Park • July 24, 2003

A wooden cross was burned at an Islamic school.

College Park • Aug. 1, 2003

Two 17-year-old boys were charged as juveniles with harassment related to religious beliefs and damaging the property of a religious entity for allegedly burning a cross outside a mosque and Islamic school.

Mount Airy • Sept. 8, 2003

Justin Eugene Wright, 20, was charged with nine counts of malicious destruction of property and one count of racial or religious harassment for allegedly spray-painting racial epithets and vulgar phrases on four homes.

MASSACHUSETTS

East Boston • July 4, 2003

A lesbian couple was allegedly attacked by a group of teens.

Framingham • Sept. 18, 2003

Fliers from the neo-Nazi National Alliance were slipped under the doors of foreign-owned businesses.

Greenfield • July 29, 2003

Marcus Millett, 37, was charged with domestic assault and battery, breaking and entering in the day in order to commit a misdemeanor, intimidation of a witness, assault and battery for purpose of racial intimidation, felony malicious destruction, threat to commit murder and attempted murder after he allegedly tried to strangle his daughter's boyfriend because the man is Puerto Rican.

Lexington • July 15, 2003

The words "Die pigs" and "Kill niggers" were written on an animal control van.

Melrose • Sept. 12, 2003

Fliers from the National Alliance were left at a temple and a church.

Plymouth • July 29, 2003

Jacob Stanton, 17, and his mother Cynthia Stanton were charged with a hate crime by means of threatening to commit a crime and assault to intimidate after they allegedly used racial slurs and assaulted a woman, her daughter and two others.

MICHIGAN

Ann Arbor • Aug. 15, 2003

A swastika and obscene phrases and pictures were painted on the walls of a building belonging to a Jewish student group and on the sidewalk in front of the building.

Grand Rapids • Sept. 17, 2003

Two white men allegedly attacked a black man while yelling racial slurs.

Mt. Pleasant • July 31, 2003

Brandon Ross Wheeler, 21, was charged with ethnic intimidation and felonious assault for allegedly using racial slurs and brandishing a 9mm pistol during a confrontation with three black men.

MISSISSIPPI

Jackson • Sept. 14, 2003

Fliers from the Orion Knights of the Ku Klux Klan were distributed throughout the city.

Schlater • July 8, 2003

Hate graffiti was scrawled on the front door of a white resident who lives in a predominantly black neighborhood.

NEW JERSEY

Buena • July 9, 2003

Nector Galindez, 51, was charged with committing a hate crime after he allegedly spray-painted a racial epithet and threats on a house.

Ewing • July 15, 2003

A group of black teenage boys armed with paintball guns allegedly chased a homeless man and shot him several times after yelling "Hey, white boy."

Newark • Sept. 20, 2003

Swastikas were spray-painted on several buildings on Rutgers University's main campus, including a Jewish community center and a fraternity house.

NEW YORK

Bronx • July 29, 2003

A group of men threatened to shoot an Asian man while yelling racial slurs.

Bronx • Sept. 16, 2003

A 14-year-old teenage boy was charged with assault, aggravated harassment and menacing for allegedly attacking a Muslim girl while yelling racial slurs.

Brooklyn • Sept. 22, 2003

Four black men allegedly attacked a 37-year-old white man with a pipe.

Brookville • July 5, 2003

A home rented by a Mexican couple was firebombed.

Central Islip • Aug. 18, 2003

David Humann, 18, was charged with second-degree menacing as a hate crime after he allegedly threatened two men and pulled a knife on one of them after he heard them speaking a foreign language at a gas station.

Congers • Aug. 29, 2003

Anti-Semitic leaflets from the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations were placed on cars and utility poles in a neighborhood.

Deepwater • July 5, 2003

Racist epithets were spray-painted on a black man's car.

Kings Park • Aug. 24, 2003

Anti-Semitic graffiti was spray-painted on the walls, doors and outdoor furniture at a Jewish center and a high school.

Manhattan • Sept. 28, 2003

A 29-year-old man allegedly attacked three Asian men while yelling racial slurs.

Manhattan • Sept. 30, 2003

Anthony Santulli, 54, was charged with second-degree aggravated harassment as a hate crime for allegedly leaving racist messages on a black colleague's voice mail.

Norwich • July 20, 2003

Joseph D. Tidernecl, 20, was charged with third-degree criminal mischief and committing a hate crime for allegedly vandalizing a Jewish center.

Staten Island • Sept. 1, 2003

A group of men allegedly attacked an 18-year-old black college student while yelling a racial slur.

Staten Island • Sept. 6, 2003

Four white people allegedly damaged a mixed-race couple's car while yelling racial slurs.

Woodside • Aug. 3, 2003

Three white men allegedly attacked three Sikhs while yelling "Bin Laden! Go back to your country!"

Yonkers • Sept. 28, 2003

Lawrence Peck, a 40-year-old white man, was charged with second-degree aggravated harassment after he allegedly yelled racial slurs at his black neighbor.

OHIO

Warren • July 21, 2003

A cross was burned in front of an apartment building in a racially mixed neighborhood.

Xenia • July 13, 2003

Larry Webb, 41, and Nathan Mefford, 18, were charged with ethnic intimidation and felonious and aggravated assault for allegedly yelling racial threats at a black man, stabbing him with a barbecue fork and hitting him with a frying pan.

Reviving Paganism

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 44

dips into the most interesting area of racist Norse paganism, its growth in the prison system. In general, Gardell is more interested in discussing the beliefs of the groups and individuals whom he profiles than their actions. While this provides the reader with a greater understanding of such underlying belief systems, it sometimes leaves a bit of a vacuum as to how those systems are applied. It would have been interesting to compare the relative successes that racist paganism and other racist movements, such as the Creativity Movement or Christian Identity, have had in prison recruiting.

More discussion of prison activism might also have helped Gardell answer one of the greatest questions surrounding racist Norse paganism: how firmly such beliefs are held by adherents. The number of “true” Norse pagans may be substantially smaller than the number of racists intrigued by Norse symbology and mythology but whose beliefs are not deeply held. Nowhere is this more pertinent than in the prison system, where some officials report the development of “prison-only Odinists” — that is, people who adopt Norse pagan practices when in prison, but abandon them when out — just as there for years have been “prison-only Muslims.” There is also the issue, unaddressed by Gardell, of prisoners who claim adherence to a religion in order to get certain privileges, such as private meetings. Ironically, Gardell notes “the conversion of whole prison gangs to the ancestral religion,” without pondering that such mass conversions are much more likely to have been calculated than sincere.

Gardell does address the tensions between racist and non-racist Norse paganism, as well as those who promote “ethnic Asatǫrú,” or Norse paganism as an “ethnic religion” for people of northern European background. While generally claiming they are not racist, they have positions which lead many — including Gardell — to conclude that their beliefs are, in fact, racist. Gardell also explores the interplay between Norse paganism and modern Satanism and the occult. Here, Gardell is more reluctant to ascribe racist beliefs to such movement figures as Michael Moynihan.

Gods is a worthy look into racist Norse paganism, although it is not the final word. Gardell seems to overstate the extent and influence of racist Norse paganism (although he is reluctant to provide numbers or estimates of groups or adherents). Because the groups Gardell does discuss, such as those of Christensen and Lane, tend not to be membership groups but rather primarily publishers of literature, this leaves the reader unsure of the extent to which racist Norse paganism truly is spreading in the United States. *Gods* is most valuable when explaining the beliefs of this racist religion, less so when analyzing its place in the racist right. ▲

— Mark Pitcavage

Mark Pitcavage, a historian and expert on the radical right, is the fact-finding director of the Anti-Defamation League.

OREGON

Bandon • Sept. 10, 2003

Fliers from the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations were distributed throughout three neighborhoods.

Gresham • July 9, 2003

Brian Heath, 21, was sentenced to five years in prison for his part in a racially motivated shooting spree in January.

Medford • July 29, 2003

Aaron Andrew St. James, 26, was sentenced to 60 days in jail and was ordered to spend three years on probation and pay \$1,414 in restitution for attacking a homeless man.

Medford • Aug. 13, 2003

Andrew Lee Patterson, 24, was sentenced to five years and 10 months in prison for attacking two homeless men earlier this year.

PENNSYLVANIA

Norristown • Aug. 21, 2003

Sidney Jackson, a 39-year-old mentally ill man, was charged with aggravated assault, civil assault and harassment for allegedly attacking a lesbian woman while yelling anti-gay slurs.

Philadelphia • Aug. 5, 2003

Brian Mettia, 29, was charged with defiant trespass, summary harassment, terroristic threats and possession of an instrument of crime for allegedly harassing his gay neighbors and trying to break into their home.

Valley Forge • Aug. 12, 2003

An ex-Ku Klux Klan member, Joseph Holleran Jr., 26, was sentenced to 27 months in prison for painting swastikas and other hate symbols on a suburban synagogue and on a Valley Forge black patriots’ memorial.

RHODE ISLAND

Central Falls • Aug. 16, 2003

William J. Monroy, 21, was charged with committing a hate crime after

he allegedly assaulted a man who was dressed as a woman and used epithets against the man.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Rock Hill • July 7, 2003

A racist, threatening letter was left at a restaurant that targeted the business’ former manager, a black man.

TEXAS

Beaumont • July 2, 2003

Norman Lee Warden Jr., 59, was sentenced to 16 years in prison for setting a Pakistani man’s gas pump ablaze.

VERMONT

Bennington • July 25, 2003

Copies of the white supremacist newspaper “The Truth at Last” were distributed in several neighborhoods.

WASHINGTON

Mountlake Terrace • Sept. 26, 2003

Ethnic slurs were written on a Korean church, its cross was defaced and the windows of a van parked there were smashed.

Seattle • Sept. 12, 2003

Donald McAninch, 45, was sentenced to 41 months in prison for sending at least 700 people threatening letters, hate mail and unwanted subscriptions to pornographic magazines.

Vancouver • July 2, 2003

Glenn Baynard Burns, 42, was sentenced to 17 months in prison for spitting in a black woman’s face and slapping her while she was moving into his apartment complex.

WISCONSIN

Madison • July 1, 2003

Kasey Bieri, 22, and Matthew Genack were charged with disorderly conduct as a hate crime after Bieri allegedly spit on an interracial couple and Genack tried to provoke a fight. ▲

THE LAST WORD

The Company He Keeps

From his political running mates to a recent traveling companion, neo-Nazi Richard Butler has made some unusual friends

BY NIA HIGHTOWER

Richard Butler had already lost the entire Klan faction of his organization. He’d lost his designated successor — two of them, actually — and failed miserably in his bid to become mayor of his Idaho hometown. Now, all the aging leader of the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations wanted to do was catch a quiet flight to Phoenix.

But one more humiliation lay in store.

Just as the 85-year-old white supremacist was getting ready to board his Nov. 7 flight from Spokane, Wash., police arrested his traveling companion on an outstanding warrant for forgery. The 31-year-old tattoo artist, an attractive woman who liked to boast of her “100% Russian” blood, was carted away. It was only the most recent arrest of still another apparently low-life Butler companion, and it left a dispirited Butler to make the trip to an Arizona rally all by himself.

There was more, however. Within minutes of her arrest hitting the local newspapers, hundreds of friends and enemies of the Aryan Nations were shaking their heads over Butler’s latest imbroglio. His friend, it turned out, was well known. Before she decided that she was “born to hate,” before she started using the E-moniker of tattoogirl1488 (the numbers refer to neo-Nazi slogans), Wendy Christine Iwanow worked under the name of Bianca Trump — as a porn megastar.

She wasn’t just any old object of desire. Iwanow was the famed “Latin Princess,” a woman who, as numerous racists were quick to point out, had publicly slept with men of color. She’d been arrested, in 1995, for armed robbery. She’d run a call girl service — charging between \$500 and \$1,500 an hour by her own account — and also a porn Webcast from her house. From

“Barely Legal Latinas” to “Brassiere to Eternity,” Iwanow had starred in more than 180 hard-core films.

How did a “Latina” porn star end up traveling with the aging patriarch of American hate? It’s not clear, although it’s a fact that she spent more than a week at Butler’s Hayden, Idaho, home before the Phoenix excursion. But it certainly was an embarrassment. An Aryan Nations press release, issued after the incident produced snickers nationwide, sounded greatly annoyed. “Unfortunately,” it sniffed, “there are some people who think that hiding out in Pastor Butler’s house is a good refuge.”

The episode was only the latest in a bad run.

In 2001, Butler had named a hard-core felon named Harold Ray Redfairn as his successor to head the Aryan Nations. Redfairn tried to oust Butler, left the group instead, made up with Butler, and was renamed heir apparent. Then, last January, an Alabama Klan group with as many as 200 members joined the Aryan Nations, becoming the Aryan Nations Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

But then Redfairn squabbled again with Butler and quit the group. Not long after, the Aryan Knights followed him out. Then, this October, Redfairn died of apparent health problems — just as an earlier designated Butler



GHARST



IWANOW



BECK

heir, California racist Neuman Britton, did in 2001, shortly after being named by Butler.

During the same period this fall, Butler had decided to run for mayor of Hayden. Running with him for City Council seats were two men who’d recently moved into Butler’s home — Zachary Beck, 24, and Karl Gharst, 43.

The New York Times and any number of other papers did stories, but the neo-Nazi ticket did not do well. Butler managed to scrounge up 50 votes out of 2,122, while Gharst got 42. Beck did significantly better, winning 69 votes — but that did not include his own. Sadly for him, Zachary Beck spent Election Day in the local jail, accused of walking up to a Latino man and punching him in the face. ▲

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Promoting Tolerance

Teaching Tolerance is an education program dedicated to helping teachers across the nation foster respect and understanding among their students. Its award-winning *Teaching Tolerance* magazine provides practical ideas for promoting an appreciation of diversity and the values of democracy and is distributed free twice a year to more than 500,000 educators. 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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Center attorneys handle innovative cases that few lawyers are willing to take. They fight all forms of discrimination and work to protect society's most vulnerable members. Several of the Center's cases have reached the U.S. Supreme Court, and many have resulted in landmark rulings.

The Center uses novel legal strategies to combat hate groups by suing them for the violent actions of their members. Its victories against several notorious Klan and neo-Nazi groups effectively shut down their operations.

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