VOLKSFRONT: ARE THESE NEO-NAZIS REALLY NON-VIOLENT?

THE SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER'S

Intelligence Report

SUMMER 2004 • ISSUE 114

AGE of RAGE

ANGRY YOUNG RACISTS ARE READY TO RUMBLE

EDITORIAL

Ready to Rumble

BY MARK POTOK, EDITOR

It began with a casual insult. A young girl, singing in Spanish as she walked through the lunchroom of her southern California high school, was interrupted by a white boy who yelled at her to shut up, using profanity and a racial slur to boot.

Within seconds, her Latino boyfriend and the white boy were fighting it out. They weren't alone long. A melée between hundreds of white and Latino students erupted in the lunchroom, ending only when 12 deputy sheriffs and a crowd of school officials intervened. The next day, even with 18 deputies patrolling the campus, two more racial fights broke out. In the end, 18 students were suspended, eight were facing expulsion, and prosecutors were considering charging five.

The events at Temescal Canyon High School in Lake Elsinore sound like they could have come straight from the most difficult days of the civil rights movement. In fact they took place this May, and followed an incident at nearby Elsinore High School last fall, when white students marched onto campus carrying an American flag on a pole etched with swastikas. A recent report by the Orange County Human Rights Commission said neo-Nazi groups are active at both schools.

It's tempting to write off the events in Orange County as aberrations, freak occurrences that don't reflect any greater reality. Surely, we'd like to think, these are isolated setbacks on our long march toward racial peace.

But we'd be wrong.

Racism Redux

In Brooklyn, N.Y., a scathing Justice Department report issued this June found that administrators at Lafayette High School ignored "pervasive" harassment and violence directed at Asian students by blacks and Hispanics over the course of two years. One Chinese student was nearly strangled to death in a shower; another, in the running for valedictorian, was kicked and beaten unconscious.

In Milwaukee, a 14-year-old white boy was arrested and charged with a hate crime this spring after allegedly sending E-mails to a black teacher at Wisconsin Career Academy threatening to kill her. In Gloucester, Va., tensions are high after a consultant's report found that parents, students and staff all believed that black students don't feel welcome in Gloucester County's schools — a perception that hasn't been helped by the fact that Gloucester High School's principal is the mother of a well-known neo-Nazi activist, even though she denies sharing his views.

And these kinds of tensions aren't limited to high schools. At Bullock Creek Middle School near Midland, Mich., the American Civil Liberties Union announced an out-of-court settlement in May stemming from a 2003 attack on one of the few black students. Kyron Tryon, then 14, was kicked, whipped with a belt and harassed by seven white students who reportedly called their assault "the KKK game."

Local county prosecutor Norman Donker told the *Detroit Free Press* the racial attack was predated by a series of minor "inappropriate" conflicts between the boys involved. "When it first started," he noted, "nobody put a stop to it." Similar things could be said about most of the other school incidents discussed here. Time and time again, administrators and teachers failed to act on ominous warning signs.

Age of Rage

What's going on with American youth? Why does race hate seem so pervasive among our children some four decades after the civil rights movement?

In this issue, the *Intelligence Report* takes a broad look at youth hatred – hatred that may never have been more widespread. We examine adult hate groups that are making serious efforts to reach youngsters. And, in a phenomenon that may be even more worrying, we look at groups and race hate that are appearing without adult help among middle- and high-school-age kids around the country.

"I don't know what's more frightening," says activist Eric Ward, "kids joining organized hate groups, or the way hate is rising up spontaneously among kids who feel it's OK to terrorize and assault people because of their race or religion or sexual orientation."

The reasons for this are not simple. But there are important clues.

Perhaps the single most important factor is the large number of rapid social changes occurring in our society. Immigration, demographic shifts and huge changes in the economy can be extremely threatening, particularly to kids raised in socially homogeneous settings. According to California's *North County Times*, Temescal Canyon High School, for instance, lost 10% of its white population in the last four years – a period during which the school's Latino population increased by 15%.

That there is an underlying problem seems indisputable. "Racism is alive and well and still rears its ugly head," is the way that Joyce Tryon, mother of Kyron, put it to the *Detroit Free Press*. "What happened to my son is proof of that." ▲

SUMMER 2004 · ISSUE 114

Intelligence Report

JENNIFER WARBURG

INTELLIGENCE PROJECT

Intelligence Report **Editor** Mark Potok • **Staff Writers** Heidi Beirich, Camille Jackson, Bob Moser • **Design Director** Russell Estes • **Designers** Valerie Downes, Chrystal Phillips • **Production Manager** Betty Ruff • **Intelligence Project Director** Joseph Roy, Sr. • **Senior Intelligence Analyst** Laurie Wood • **Information Manager** Michelle Bramblett • **Researcher** Nia Hightower • **Data Specialists** Tamara Cobb, Angela Freeman, Karmetriya Jackson • **Technology Information** Christopher Norris • **Administrative Assistant** LaTonya Penn • **Southern Poverty Law Center President** Richard Cohen • **Chief Trial Counsel** Morris Dees • The *Intelligence Report* is compiled by the staff of the Intelligence Project of the Southern Poverty Law Center. It is published quarterly. ©2004 Southern Poverty Law Center. All rights reserved. Permission to reprint text and maps (but not photographs or illustrations) is granted to law enforcement and other government agencies as well as to schools and universities for educational and research purposes on the condition that the Southern Poverty Law Center's *Intelligence Report* is credited. Contact Mark Potok, *Intelligence Report* editor, with requests. The Southern Poverty Law Center is an organization supported entirely by private donations. No government funds are involved. Inquiries are welcome. Law enforcement inquiries should be sent to Joe Roy, Director of the Intelligence Project, at the following address: **Southern Poverty Law Center, P.O. Box 548, Montgomery, AL 36104-0548**. *Printed in the USA.*

NEO-NAZIS

Freed from Prison, David Duke Mounts a Comeback

When David Duke was convicted last year of fraud — including pocketing his supporters' contributions — some people thought he might never regain his status as the superstar of the neo-Nazi world. They thought wrong. Over the Memorial Day weekend, more than 300 extremists gathered in New Orleans in the less-than-glamorous Airport Plaza Hotel to cheer the end of Duke's one-and-a-half year prison term, which the former Klan leader calls his stint in "The Gulag." By the end of the gathering, it looked like Duke could be poised to fill the power vacuum left two summers ago by the death of America's most powerful neo-Nazi, National Alliance founder William Pierce.

While the event was put on by Duke's European-American Unity and Rights Organization (EURO), it was sponsored by several other hate groups, including the National Alliance, the white-supremacist Council of Conservative Citizens (CCC), and the Holocaust-denying *Barnes Review*. Speakers from four countries warned the audience about the evils of international Jewry — a particular concern for Duke, who told his fans, "Anything that strikes out and weakens the Jewish supremacist power is good for us."

To promote unity between hate groups, Duke asked assembled leaders to sign his "New Orleans Protocol," a set of principles "pledging adherents to a pan-European outlook." Several key white supremacists signed on, including former Klan leader Don Black, who runs the neo-Nazi Web site stormfront.org; Willis Carto, publisher of *The Barnes Review*; Sam Dickson of the CCC; Ed Fields, publisher of the white-supremacist newspaper *The Truth at Last*; and National Alliance leaders David Pringle and Kevin Strom. With no apparent irony, Duke's Protocol mandates "honorable and ethical behavior" among its signatories, along with zero tolerance for violence and a "high tone" in public presentations.

The pledge to maintain a "high tone" didn't hold up for long. Dickson took the podium to mock Secretary of State Colin Powell as "someone who can't even pronounce his own name, Colin ["Caw-lin"], and has it confused with his lower intestine." Dickson also ranted about the "very, very destructive" effect of opposing the Nazis in World War II — opposition that caused people to view Hitler's "normal, healthy racial values" as evil. Paul Fromm, a Canadian racist who spent an hour raging against immigration and multiculturalism, mocked a Muslim woman as "a hag in a bag" and called Toronto's Sikh community "a nasty lot."

Nobody but Duke himself could have predicted the size of the audience that received these messages — not just the hundreds in attendance, but a whopping 67,000 visitors, according to Duke, who logged onto EURO's Web site for a Saturday simulcast. Duke's fraud conviction has done little to dim the popularity of his books, either; longtime aide Roy Armstrong says that more than 580,000 copies of Duke's *Jewish Supremacism* have been sold worldwide. Duke hopes to stoke even more anti-Semitic sentiment — and profit — when his books are translated in the near future into Arabic and sold in the Middle East.

Duke supporters greeted him with old campaign signs – and urged him to run again.

AP WIDE WORLD PHOTO

ANTI-HISPANIC

'Racist' Anti-Immigration Ads Denounce Republicans and Democrats

Dark-skinned immigrants loitering on street corners. A dark-skinned immigrant running from a pursuing police car. Those are just two of the racially charged images flashing across TV screens this election season in a big-money campaign by anti-immigration groups. The objective: steer voters away from Republicans and Democrats who support guest-worker programs and other immigration reforms, including those proposed by President George W. Bush.

One of the prime targets, Rep. Martin Frost (D-Texas), condemned the ads as racist; his Republican challenger, Pete Sessions, found them so repugnant he joined Frost in calling for them to be yanked off the air in their district. That opinion has been seconded by the campaign's two most powerful targets, Republican Sen. Chuck Hagel of Nebraska and Senate Minority Leader Tom Daschle (D-S.D.). The ads were placed on the air by the Coalition for the Future of the American Worker, a front group for radical anti-immigration groups including the nation's largest and wealthiest, the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR). (These groups' ties run deep. The head of FAIR, Dan Stein, is president of the Coalition. The Coalition's spokesperson is Roy Beck, head of another anti-immigration group created by the founder of FAIR.)

Chris Cannon, a Republican congressman from Utah, has been similarly targeted in billboards purchased by ProjectUSA, another FAIR spinoff group, because he supports Bush's amnesty program for illegal immigrants. Yet another anti-immigration group recently launched by FAIR, 9/11 Families for a Secure America, has injected itself into the Cannon race as well, distributing E-mails supporting his primary opponent, Matt Throckmorton.

Families For a Secure America blames the 2001 terrorist attacks on failed immigration policies. The first person named to its board, former Colorado Gov. Richard Lamm, also serves on FAIR's advisory board. Lamm said earlier this year that "new cultures" in the U.S. are "diluting what we are and who we are." Apparently, that applies not only to Hispanics, but also Muslims. "They are not coming here to become Americans," says Susan Tully, FAIR's Midwest regional director. Instead, Muslims are "promoting colonization of their own religion, of their own culture in towns and taking them over."

The anti-immigration network isn't just targeting political candidates in its quest to stave off the "takeover" of non-white immigrants. FAIR has donated $100,000 to Project Arizona Now, a group that hopes to float an anti-immigration measure on that state's ballot in November. Similar to California's Proposition 187, which was declared unconstitutional four years after passage in 1994, the Arizona ballot initiative would cut illegal immigrants off from most public services, including hospitals and schools.

WHITE SUPREMACISTS

Reclusive Publishing Heir To Start All-White Dating Service

William Regnery II, an heir to the Regnery publishing fortune who's a prime mover and shaker in white nationalism publishing, is moving into a new line of business: match-making for "heterosexual whites of Christian cultural heritage." In an appeal to potential investors titled "Population is Destiny," the famously reclusive Regnery wrote this March that the Caucasian dating service would be no ordinary money-making opportunity, but a chance to ensure "the survival of our race," which "depends upon our people marrying, reproducing and parenting."

Regnery, who says he's long been concerned with a "tendency to bachelorhood" among white men, told the potential investors that his latest effort to save the white race would not stop with match-making. The dating service, he says, will be only the "first arrow in a business quiver" providing "services and products to whites."

Promoting white nationalism is nothing new for Regnery — or his family. His grandfather, William I, signed incorporation papers for the America First Committee, an organization that opposed fighting Nazi Germany in World War II. His father, Henry, created Regnery Publishing, one of the major purveyors of books by right-wing attack dogs like Anne Coulter and G. Gordon Liddy. William II has made his mark as a major fundraiser in radical right circles as the founder of the Charles Martel Society in 2001. The society publishes *The Occidental Quarterly*, an academic-looking journal filled with articles by white-supremacist luminaries such as Sam Francis, editor for the white supremacist Council of Conservative Citizens and Wayne Lutton of the hate group The Social Contract Press. The society is putting together conferences, summer schools and a speaker's bureau – all designed to push Regnery's view that the white race is veering toward extinction.

ENVIRONMENTAL EXTREMISM

Sierra Club Rejects Anti-Immigration Candidates

An organized effort to stack the Sierra Club's board of directors with anti-immigration extremists — with support from a number of white-supremacist groups — was soundly defeated this spring. On April 21, officials of the nation's largest environmental group announced that a slate of anti-immigration candidates affiliated with a Club faction called Sierrans for U.S. Population Stabilization (SUSPS) had lost in a landslide.

The balloting culminated a long battle between traditional environmentalists and immigration opponents who saw the Sierra Club as an ideal venue for promoting their views. *Intelligence Report* editor Mark Potok first alerted Sierra Club officials to the takeover attempt in a letter last October. In the build-up to the election, several hate groups called on their members to join the Sierra Club so they could vote for the three main anti-immigration candidates — former Colorado Gov. Richard Lamm, Cornell University entomologist David Pimentel and former Congressional Black Caucus Foundation administrator Frank Morris.

Those efforts only succeeded in stirring up Sierra Club stalwarts, who produced the largest voter turnout in the history of the group's national elections — even higher than 1998, when the group rejected another anti-immigration effort. By about a 10-to-1 margin, the voters chose a slate of candidates endorsed by Groundswell Sierra, a rump group of club members that opposed the takeover.

This defeat did not end the battle for the Sierra Club — and other environmental organizations might be targeted next. A ballot measure that would make immigration control a major part of the Sierra Club's mission will be voted on next year. In March, SUSPS co-founder Alan Kuper, who now runs another anti-immigration outfit called Comprehensive U.S. Population Stabilization, sent an E-mail to supporters suggesting they form a "Sustainability Coalition" to push the immigration issue in another highly respected environmental group, the League of Conservation Voters.

RADICAL RELIGION

Extremist Third Party Courts "Ten Commandments Judge"

Roy Moore, ousted earlier this year as chief justice of the Alabama Supreme Court, has been compared by critics to the late Gov. George Wallace. When he refused to bend to a federal court order demanding that his Ten Commandments statue be removed from Alabama's judicial building, Moore echoed Wallace's defiant stand against federal demands to integrate public schools. Moore, who was elected chief justice as a Republican, often cites Wallace's assertion that "there's not a dime's worth of difference" between Republicans and Democrats. Now, Moore is considering one more echo of Wallace: mounting a third-party run for president, as Wallace did with surprising success in 1968, when he won five states.

AP WIDE WORLD PHOTO

As this issue went to press, Moore was slated to be a featured speaker at the Constitution Party's national convention in Valley Forge, Pa., June 23-26. The party, which was on 41 state ballots in the 2000 presidential election, claims 320,000 members, making it the third largest in the U.S. Its extremist platform calls for banning all abortions, extinguishing the "homosexual agenda," abolishing income taxes and stopping all immigration. Most appealing to Moore, the party wants to make Old Testament code the law of the land.

Since his removal as chief justice, Moore has given a series of six speeches to state gatherings of Constitution Party members, most recently in Missouri. His attorney, Herb Titus, was the party's vice presidential candidate in 1996, when it was called the U.S. Taypayers Party. Under both names, the party has tried in past years to attract big-name candidates to top its ticket, and this year's presumptive presidential nominee — little-known Maryland attorney Michael Peroutka, a member of the pro-Moore, neo-Confederate hate group, League of the South — said he would step aside if Moore decided to mount a candidacy.

Even if Peroutka ends up as the nominee, the Constitution Party appears set on a Southern strategy this November. Peroutka says the party hopes to take right-wing votes away from President George W. Bush with "support not only from guys with Confederate flags in their trucks, but also those with the Southern cross in their hearts." Michael Hill, fiery leader of the League of the South, is also scheduled to address the party convention.

SCV mover-and-shaker Kirk Lyons at a 1990 Klan rally in Pulaski, Tenn.

NEO-CONFEDERATES

'Heritage' Group Leaders Welcome Back the KKK

In 1992, the nation's largest "heritage" group, the Sons of Confederate Veterans, seemed to be moving squarely into the mainstream when it passed a resolution condemning the Ku Klux Klan and "all others who promote hate." But racial extremists have infiltrated the group and attempted to turn back the clock in recent years — and now they're questioning the wisdom of turning away Klan members.

"Mere Klan membership should not be sufficient to remove a member," white-supremacist attorney Kirk Lyons, a close associate of SCV Commander-in-Chief Ron Wilson, wrote members in a March E-mail. Rick Forlines, head of a Virginia Beach SCV camp, chimed in: "I'll take my allies wherever I can find them." Paul Burr, an SCV member from Albemarle, N.C., added, "A Klan member has the RIGHT to join the SCV."

With the 31,400-member group about to hold national elections at its biennial convention in July in Dalton, Ga., the increasing influence of extremists has been solidified in recent state-level elections. In Alabama, longtime segregationist Leonard Wilson was elected to head the state's SCV division. In Virginia, a radical slate headed by Bragdon Bowling, a fierce admirer of John Wilkes Booth, took all the state-level positions. North Carolina's Jim Pierce, who passed out a grotesque anti-black cartoon prior to the 2002 national elections, became that state's SCV historian. And in Missouri, Gordon Baum, leader of the white-supremacist Council of Conservative Citizens, now serves as Judge Advocate General.

The backward turn toward white supremacy has left some moderate members downright despondent. "I look back on the past decade of my life and wonder if I have not wasted some of my best years," general executive council member Allen Trapp wrote other SCV leaders in May. "Considering the state of the SCV today, I do not believe that I have accomplished a damn thing."

Meanwhile, another neo-Confederate outfit, the League of the South, has attempted to clean up its image by sending letters to law-enforcement officers throughout the South. The letters claim that the League, listed as a hate group by the Southern Poverty Law Center, is a "respectable organization" devoted to "the preservation of historic local cultures." No mention is made of the League's rejection of interracial marriage or its belief that the South should be "Anglo-Celtic."

AGE OF RAGE

YOUNG EXTREMISTS FIND NEW TARGETS — AND NEW RECRUITS

BY BOB MOSER

Last July 4, a lesbian couple in Boston took their two children to an Independence Day celebration in a local park — and ran smack into a gang of teenagers who did not appreciate their presence. After the teens allegedly taunted the family with anti-gay slurs and threats, 15-year-old Anita Santiago allegedly slugged 35-year-old Lisa Craig hard enough to knock her to the ground. According to police reports, Santiago and her fellow gang members then bashed Craig's head against the sidewalk and kicked the woman so brutally that her brain hemorrhaged and she needed more than 200 stitches.

A few hours later, in the blue-collar suburb of Farmingville, N.Y., a Mexican family was startled awake — just in time — by a fire that would tear through their home and reduce it to ashes in minutes. Five boys, ages 15 to 17, had decided to top off their July 4th festivities by torching the house with leftover firecrackers. Asked why, one of the teens simply told police that "Mexicans live there" — as if that were reason enough.

Welcome to the harsh new world of young-adult hate. Like the stories, photos and profiles in this special section, the Independence Day incidents illustrate some major shifts in the ways American kids are learning to hate — and how they act it out.

The Poison Spreads

Hate among kids has probably never been more widespread — and it doesn't stop with racist graffiti, Confederate flag T-shirts, swastika tattoos and homophobic slurs in high-school hallways.

Studies by hate-crime experts like Jack Levin, director of Northeastern University's Brudnick Center and co-author of the new book, *Why We Hate*, show that incidents perpetrated by youngsters, which became more frequent from the mid-1980s to the early 1990s, "plummeted" during the Clinton years. But since 9/11, the number of hate crimes by kids has risen sharply — and they appear to be more brutal than ever. "What we're seeing," says Eric Ward, a longtime observer of extremist youth who works at Chicago's Center for New Community, "is a more militant, street-fighter culture."

Tattoos and other racist symbols are only the tip of the iceberg for young racists like Jon Buschbacher – a relative "old-timer" who's spent more than 10 years in the white-supremacist movement since running away from home at 15 to join a crew of Nazi Skinheads in Ohio. He now leads the Cincinnati unit of the National Alliance.

As both the Boston and Farmingville incidents show, the targets of this militance have multiplied — and so have the perpetrators. After 9/11, a disproportionate number of the assaults on Muslim-Americans were committed by teenagers. The same appears true for attacks against sexual and gender minorities, Hispanics and the homeless. And hate activity is no longer the province of white boys, though they're still the main offenders. Not only are more Hispanic and African-American kids getting involved in hate, but more girls as well. Social ecologist Ronald Huff, a longtime student of both street and racist youth gangs, estimates that in many cities "anywhere from a third to 50% of gang members are girls."

In another demographic shift, the bulk of hate activity now bubbles up in the suburbs — among reasonably well-off youth. "Twenty years ago, big cities were hotbeds of hate," says Levin. "But as more and more minority families have moved into suburban areas, the prevalence of hate attacks has also increased there — much of it perpetrated by kids." Where the classic profile of a young hater in the 1980s was a blue-collar juvenile angered by economic displacement, the more typical picture now is a teenager "raised in a middle-class family in a place where almost everyone is a racial rubber-stamp of himself," Levin says. "These kids aren't prepared for people who are different. They see them as a threat. They come home in the afternoon to their empty houses, log onto the Internet, visit hate sites, chat rooms, bulletin boards and get ideas. "

For kids who've grown up online, there's no longer a need to join large hate groups in order to get those ideas. Neo-Nazi outfits like the National Socialist Movement (see story, p. 24) and Aryan Nations (see story, p. 18) still work hard to recruit youngsters into the fold, and concerts featuring adrenaline-fueled "hatecore" music continue to gain popularity and win converts. But much of the racist activity among kids is springing up from the grassroots, with small groups like the Connecticut White Wolves (see story, p. 14) and Agnostic Neo-Nazis (see story, p. 22), who draw inspiration from Internet hate sites — and run with it.

"I don't know what's more frightening," says Ward, "kids joining organized hate groups, or the way hate is rising up spontaneously among kids who feel it's OK to terrorize and assault people because of their race or religion or sexual orientation. What does that say about where our society's headed?"

Desperately Seeking Stability

It's an excellent question. Why is juvenile hate spreading in a culture that seems to become more accepting of differences by the day?

There's no shortage of reasons that have been proferred by sociologists and criminologists. Some blame the re-segregation of schools and neighborhoods. Some point to the omnipresence of violence in movies, on TV, and in video games. Some cite misguided "zero tolerance" policies in schools and communities, where kids are increasingly incarcerated for first offenses; on any given day, well over 100,000 U.S. youth are locked up in places that are "not only schools of violence," says Levin, "but crash courses in hatred." Then there's the lingering death of the American dream: with downward mobility — rather than upward — as their most likely future direction, more middle-class kids are looking to rebel, and looking for somebody to blame.

"White kids feel like *their* racial identity is murky nowadays," says Ward. That's been partly responsible for the outbreak of Confederate flag T-shirts in high schools, both North and South, and also in several efforts — usually snuffed out by administrators — to start Caucasian clubs, mostly in California high schools. "When they bring it up, they get their hands slapped," Ward says, "and they become pariahs. Pariahs can be dangerous."

Hate groups have tailored their recruitment pitches to these frustrated white kids. A perfect example is Jeff Schoep, "commander" of the National Socialist Movement, who says his group "lets our young people know it's all right to be white, and better yet, something to be proud of." With whites already a minority in some parts of the U.S., it's a pitch that has become very popular among extremist groups — and among bright, middle-class kids like Logan Brown. The 15-year-old lives in California, the first large American state to become minority white, and he's trying to revive the Aryan Nations Youth Action Corps. Brown insists that he's nothing like "the stereotypical racist," certainly no "redneck." But he yearns for the long-lost days like "the 1920s when everything was white and beautiful. Minorities were few and far between. Gays weren't out of the closet. We were a white civilized nation."

Brown's longing for simplicity and order — two things that seem hopelessly lost in the America of 2004 — points up one final, age-old reason why kids turn to hate. They want to know why the world seems so messy, so complicated, so out-of-control. "Most parents, most teachers don't pretend to have easy answers," notes Ward. "Hate groups do. Hate music does. Hate sites do. The racist Skinhead down the street does, too."

Easy answers can be mighty appealing to young people. But when those answers don't mesh with the complicated realities of contemporary life, the result can be anger, frustration, and violence. The following pages offer sad, and instructive, testimony to that. ▲

No single factor is sufficient to explain the spread of youth hatred. But the upsurge in one of its main manifestations — white supremacy — has inspired a theory developed by sociologists like Pamela Perry and Randy Blazak. In Perry's 2002 book, *Shades of White*, she chronicled the racial attitudes of white kids at two contemporary California high schools — one predominantly white, one minority white. She found what Blazak calls "anomie" — French sociologist Emile Durkheim's term for the sense of confusion brought on by rapid social change. The confusion, in this case, amounts to a basic question: "[W]hat is the new role of whites in the multicultural chorus?"

As Blazak points out in his forthcoming book, *Ethnic Envy*, "contemporary youth were born in the 1980s and 1990s, long after the frontline civil rights battles." White kids lack a long-term perspective on racial oppression in the U.S. — and end up saying, for instance, that "racism ended in the 1960s" and they're tired of hearing blacks "complaining about it." They also see Hispanics, lesbians and gay men, Asian-Americans and others embraced and recognized — while straight white culture seems, from their limited vantage points, to be dissed and demonized.

E-TALK

On May 10, Billy Brown, North Carolina leader of the neo-Nazi White Revolution group, told fellow radicals about a teenager he had met at a recent Virginia rally. In a Web posting, Brown described the boy as "already a leader" in the neo-Nazi National Socialist Movement and added that he was starting a new NSM unit. Brown posted an E-mail message that he received from the boy. An excerpt follows.

APRIL 11, 2004 • 2:08 P.M.

I'm a sixteen-year-old Christian skinhead. I met you in SC. actually I first met you in Raleigh a few weeks ago but didn't really get a chance to talk to you. I'm trying to start something with the youth down here. There's nothing here to my knowledge and I have a number of potential recruits ready and willing to get involved. Ever since I got the shit kicked out of me at a local club called Lucky's, for being a Nazi, I have been both cursed and revered. Many a white youth has called me to the side and asked how to get involved or simply expressed their feelings to me. I really want to get organized. There has been some talk in NSM about me starting a chapter down here. I'm just trying to get the word out that I want to organize and I am open to any opinions, ideas or suggestions. SEIG HEIL!!!!!!!!

NAZI LOW RIDERS

A California-born white supremacist youth gang hit the big time in recent years. Then it hit a wall

BY CAMILLE JACKSON

In the late 1970s, a youthful and remarkably violent neo-Nazi gang, the Nazi Low Riders, or NLR, began to emerge behind the prison walls of the California Youth Authority. Founded by John Stinson, a white supremacist inmate, the group made an exception that appeared to run counter to their staunch white power beliefs — they allowed a relatively small number of Latinos to join. Latinos not only boosted the size of the group, they also did much of the dirty work, trafficking drugs like highly addictive methamphetamines inside and outside of prison.

RICHARD GREEN/THE SALINAS CALIFORNIAN

Nazi Low Riders Dominique England (right), 19, and Daymon Schrock (left), 20, during their arraignment in Monterey County Court. The two are charged with torturing and murdering a bisexual man, Robert Maricle, in December 2002 and putting his body in a drum. Police are looking for more dead bodies in connection with the incident.

In recent years, the NLR has spread from the California Youth Authority into the adult prison populations of California and several other states. Today, experts estimate that it has 1,000 active members, most of them behind bars in California, Arizona, Nevada, Utah, Oklahoma, Illinois and Florida. Members are primarily recruited in juvenile and adult prison facilities while in their teens and early twenties. Despite the NLR's avowed racism, Latino last names and Latino wives and girlfriends are okay, but, experts say, members are supposed to be at least half Caucasian. All must show loyalty to the white race and subscribe to an ideology of hatred, especially against blacks and "race traitors."

NLR members have been behind some of the most disturbing hate crimes in California. Last April, NLR members were charged with the kidnapping and murder of a bisexual man in Salinas. In 1999, two Lancaster NLR members attacked an African-American Wal-Mart employee with a hammer, nearly killing him. Years earlier, in the same town, another member used a baseball bat to savagely beat a black teenager on the street. And in 1995, teenage NLR members, also in Lancaster, beat a homeless man to death behind a McDonald's.

In 1999, police in Ontario, Calif., a city that had been particularly hard hit by NLR crimes, realized that they could not fight the gang alone and created the multi-agency Nazi Low Rider Task Force. The team gathered intelligence, pinpointed strongholds, and tracked down NLR fugitives with the help of the FBI, ATF, state Department of Corrections and other local police departments. Ultimately, the task force generated more than 200 arrests on state charges and 13 arrests on federal charges, sending many remaining gang members underground. The charges ranged from drug trafficking to witness tampering and murder. And in 2003, after four years of investigation, indictments were finally handed down against several NLR leaders for alleged violations of RICO, the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act, a law designed to attack the Mafia and organized crime generally.

"We effectively took the legs out from under this organization," says McBride. "Did we wipe them out completely? No — that's not realistic."

Concerts featuring adrenaline-fueled "hatecore" – and adrenaline-fueled revelers – remain an important recruitment tool for racist Skinheads and neo-Nazis alike.

Working for the Aryans

Experts are quick to point out that most NLR crimes that occur outside prison walls are related to the drug trade and that members operate more like a criminal enterprise than an ideologically motivated hate group. "Ninety-nine percent of crimes are done for the benefit of the gang," says Corporal David McBride of the Ontario police department. "Very seldom will we see a race-based crime by the NLR. Members do their crimes at night, using dope to keep going."

According to Walter Bouman, a hate crime and domestic terrorism expert (see also interview, p. 25), NLR members often can be identified by their tattoos, ranging from the letters NLR in Old English script to symbols like the swastika and "ss" lightning bolts. Many have the letters "NLR" tattooed in their eyebrow or on their neck. But there are no strict rules regarding tattoos. Devil horns, demons and Nordic runes are just as likely as more obviously Nazi-related tattoos.

NLR members, experts say, are remarkable for their propensity for violence — a propensity that has resulted numerous crimes, especially in California's small desert communities. That, and their talents as drug dealers both on the street and in the prisons and juvenile facilities, brought them attention from older, more serious criminals — leaders of the Aryan Brotherhood (AB), the largest, most serious and most violent white supremacist prison gang in the nation.

Officials with the California Department of Corrections were actively seeking to break up AB, isolating the majority of its incarcerated members in segregation. This lockdown, made possible by AB's official designation as a prison gang, made it difficult for AB members to transact their business, which often involved major drug deals. Experts say that NLR founder Stinson sought an alliance with the AB around this time. The result was that the NLR, which had not yet been declared a prison gang, began carrying out the AB's drug business as junior partners.

Armed with a 12-gauge shotgun, this young Klansman worked security for Nordic Fest, an annual gathering sponsored by the Imperial Klans of America.

In this relationship, the older, more frightening leaders of the AB called the shots — even as they were theoretically isolated from other inmates. AB leaders, for instance, instructed their NLR errand-boys not to get into drug debt to members of other races. Most drug profits were funneled back to the AB. A side benefit was that the members of AB, who are supposed to refrain from drug use as part of their white supremacist ideology, were able to avoid direct contact with the drug world.

What Goes Around

Still, the differences between the NLR and the AB, with its stricter white supremacist beliefs, caused some tensions within the NLR. Prison officials have noticed two factions in the Nazi Low Riders: one that supports its older, partially Latino membership, and another that only wants pure white members, like the AB. Michael "Snake" Bridge, a 36-year-old serving a sentence for attempted murder, witness intimidation and narcotics charges, has pushed for the NLR to abandon its alliance with the AB. But another NLR leader, Joseph "Blue" Lowry, 30, has adopted an AB-style line, calling for cleaning drugs and "race traitors" from the group.

Rick Eaton, an expert on hate groups with the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles, says that the NLR is now facing the same kind of heat that the AB has for some time. The NLR has been declared a prison gang, and officials are taking advantage of that designation to put its imprisoned members in segregation.

As a result, the NLR, already staggering from the 2003 convictions of several of its leaders, is doing much as the AB did in the late nineties — making alliances with a smaller group that can help it maintain its role in the drug trade.

Public Enemy Number One, founded by inmate Donald "Popeye" Mazza, now 33, has about 200 members, shares NLR and AB's racism, and specializes in drug dealing and identity theft, experts say. Commonly known as PENI, the group has picked up where the NLR has been forced to leave off, carrying out gang jobs at the behest of AB and the NLR. At times, experts say, all three groups — AB, NLR and PENI — have worked together or in various combinations in the drug trade.

Like the NLR, PENI involves some serious players. Mazza, for example, was convicted in 2003 for the attempted murder of a drug informant. Prosecutors say that Mazza stabbed the victim while Dominic "Droopy" Rizzo, 35, held him down. AB member Albert "Baby Al" Sherwin, 45, is believed to have overseen the attack.

Officials say another PENI member, inmate Devlin "Gozzo" Stringfellow, 34, is also a NLR member, and takes orders from Bridge. "Unfortunately, even in lockdown they can still conduct business and get messages out," McBride says of the segregated AB and NLR prison leaders. "Communication still continues."

PENI may be headed down the same path as the NLR, which allied itself with the older, more serious AB as a way of protecting itself and trying to ensure the group's future growth. "Stinson did this as an experiment and it failed," Bouman says of the alliance engineered by NLR's founder. "He probably thought that the connection with the Aryan Brotherhood would take the heat off of them. It didn't work." ▲

E-TALK

These excerpts on youth recruitment are drawn from E-mail postings to the Youthful Resistance Forum of White Revolution, a neo-Nazi group. The numbers 14 and 88 are movement code – 14 for "The Fourteen Words" ("We must secure the existence of our people and a future for White children") and 88 for "Heil Hitler" (H is the 8th letter of the alphabet).

JULY 31, 2003 • TOM88 WRITES

We could do camping trips, maybe have a Sunday school program where the kids get together, and have an older member teach them about the past greatness of our Race.

JULY 31, 2003 • PHINEAS8814 RESPONDS

We all know that music is one of our best mediums for reaching out to white youth with our message, so we should exploit that as much as possible.

SEPT. 13, 2003 • TOM88 WRITES

Games are a great idea. Ben Vinyard [forum board administrator at the neo-Nazi Web site Vanguard National News] showed me this little "suicide bomber" game that was flash enabled, that wouldn't be all that hard to emulate, but that's probably not too good of an idea for kids, but maybe something similar. … An online "ethnic cleansing" perhaps, would be pretty easy to do … a "deer hunter" type game, with spooks, and hebes [Hebrews] floating across the screen, with a scope over them … hehe.

SEPT. 23, 2003 • THEWHITEBEAR WRITES

Hello. … I am "The White Bear," age 16/male … Italian/Polish-American… . I am eager to be a part of your growing youth corps. … [W]e can do so many things as youth to grow in numbers that it's not even funny. … I am willing to help on an online basis as I cannot drive yet and am in high school, obviously.

WHITE WOLVES

In the suburbs of Connecticut, violence and hatred from a band of racist youths sends a shudder through the schools

Young neo-Nazis gathered at the 2002 National Alliance Youth Congress in Washington, D.C., showing off their tats and wearing T-shirts of their favorite "white power" bands, like the popular Max Resist. JENNIFER WARBURG

BY BOB MOSER

In February 2003, yet another white-power site popped up on the Web — this one announcing the advent of the White Wolves, a band of "Proud White Nationalist Skinheads in the State of Connecticut." Nobody took much notice. And why should they? Sure, the snarling-wolf graphic on the home page was kind of cool, but the rhetoric on the site was mostly the same old, same old: "White Children should not be brought up in this hip-hop, homosexual, and DIEversity loving society," and so forth. Sites like the Wolves' are a dime a dozen, often put up by solitary racialists hoping to make some connections — any connections — with the wider world of hate. There certainly seemed no reason to worry that the White Wolves, whoever they might be, would actually follow through with their promise to "make the attempt to reach out to every White Child out there."

White Wolves and friends pose with an unidentified Klansman.

But in just a few months' time, the White Wolves would have the pricey suburbs of southern Connecticut in a full-scale uproar. Stoked by publicity from news-starved local papers, this clique of about a dozen young trench-coat-wearers — most of them resentful products of the whitest, most blue-collar pockets of the 'burbs — quickly became the most infamous gang in Fairfield County. Every protest, every assault, every public insult issued by a White Wolf seemed to make front-page headlines in the *Milford Mirror*, the *New Haven Register*, the *Connecticut Post*. The publicity made the White Wolves, especially their pack leader, 22-year-old Ken Zrallack Jr., the envy of publicity-seeking racialists everywhere. It also extracted a price: by January of this year, the group would see three of its members and "affiliates" arrested, and one of them already behind bars.

Folks first took notice of the White Wolves in May, when their Web site announced plans to protest a "pro-faggot meeting" at the Stratford Public Library. Bridges, a lesbian/gay/bisexual/transgender group, was gathering to work on plans for a new community center. The White Wolves showed out impressively, barging into the meeting room with a dozen protesters wielding signs declaring "homosexuality is a sin," "CT. will not turn gay," and "I want my kids to grow up in Stratford and not think of anal sex when they see a hot pink poster" (painted on a hot pink posterboard). Seventeen-year-old Brian Staehly, a 6-foot-5, 305-pound center for the West Haven High School football team, stationed himself by the posters and glowered, an American flag wrapped like a cape around his massive shoulders. One Wolf brought a bullhorn, the better to shout down the "faggots."

When the cops showed up and started taking names, 18-year-old Matthew Zrallack, Ken's younger brother, tried to shove his way out of the room, but he ran into a detective who later reported that Zrallack "spun around and grabbed me by the throat." Zrallack had already gained a measure of local notoriety by stiff-arming a Nazi salute on the cover of the 2002 Stratford High School yearbook. Now, as he was led away for booking, Zrallack kept his wits about him enough to yell back at David Cappiello, president of Bridges: "We don't want your kind around here, bitch!"

Ganging Up With Grown-Ups

The library ruckus — and the headlines it prompted — only seemed to fire up the Wolves, who started to connect with the larger hate movement. In August, brimful of newcomers' enthusiasm, seven of them made a 15-hour pilgrimage to Osceola, Ind., for an annual Klan gathering known as White Pride Fest. "We knew we had a long ride ahead but we could care less," Ken Zrallack later reported online. "For the whole ride we were in uniform for each bathroom, food and gas stop. We wore our black cargo pants, red laced boots and our CT White Wolves shirts."

Veteran Klan and neo-Nazi activists welcomed the gung-ho Skinheads heartily, and the Wolves joined in one-on-one, bare-fisted "sparring matches" and an old-fashioned cross-lighting. "I couldn't believe it," Zrallack wrote. "I grabbed the torch and was ready. … Saluting the cross then walking towards it and lighting the way for Christ was amazing." Best of all, Zrallack got to meet the man he called "my recruiter," Mark Martin of White Revolution, the up-and-coming neo-Nazi outfit that spun off from the powerful National Alliance in 2002. "Because of him we are now part of an elite force," cheered Zrallack, who soon became White Revolution's official contact person in Connecticut.

The first Friday in October, a handful of Wolves drove down to Liberty State Park in New Jersey, where they joined a neo-Nazi protest of the Immigrant Workers Freedom Ride. Sporting White Revolution T-shirts, the Wolves listened to fiery anti-immigrant speeches, posed for TV cameras with practiced snarls on their faces, and wielded signs with slogans like "We Won't Trade Our Borders For Landscapers."

Back home in Connecticut, the new school year brought new ways to stir trouble. Outside a hopping house party in Trumbull, about 20 Wolves and their friends surrounded a car containing two African-American teenagers trying to leave the festivities. As the car's white driver attempted to maneuver away from the threats and "hateful slurs" being shouted at her friends, Staehly used one massive forearm to smash out the back window. Police arrived quickly and arrested Staehly. The police report noted that he was carrying a card from the neo-Nazi National Alliance, that he'd chucked his swastika T-shirt into a friend's truck bed before the cops showed up, and that his left arm bore a "Kill" tattoo. West Haven High had just lost part of its offensive line.

Flirting With Fame

By now, alarm bells were sounding all around the suburbs. The Stratford town council passed a resolution condemning hate. Concerned Milford citizens formed an Anti-Hate Task Force, asking residents to sign a "Declaration of Tolerance." An NAACP official declared the Wolves "evil." Milford's mayor called them "idiots." Rumors flew around local schools, especially after a depressed African-American teenager hung himself — had the White Wolves lynched him? "They scare people easy,"

Racist Skinheads square off in the mosh pit in a violent form of "recreation" that often results in injuries.

said a senior at Stratford High who asked not to be named because "I don't want to get all beaten up before prom."

Meanwhile, the newspapers covered every activity, every rumor, every suspected incident: "FBI probes bias attack in Trumbull," "Attack victim relives horror," "Schools fearing Wolves' inroads," "Cops: Leader of White Wolves insults overweight girl at diner." "Every time they breathed, there was a story," said the Rev. Paige Besse-Rankin, a leader in Milford's anti-hate task force. Even when the Wolves did nothing at all, it was news. "White Wolves recruiters off duty for Halloween," a *Post* headline informed readers on Nov. 1.

The flames were fanned later in November, when 18-year-old White Wolf Roy Watanabe was arrested for doing exactly what local parents feared most: He'd brutally attacked a 15-year-old boy, allegedly because he refused to join the Wolves. Police said Watanabe shoved the boy to the ground and booted him in the mouth and leg. "The poor boy was just riding his bike," a neighbor who saw the attack told the *Post*. Needless to say, rumors about "White Wolf recruiters" did not subside.

But the headlines started to drop away late last year, with three of the group's alleged principals in hot water and pack leader Ken Zrallack under serious scrutiny from the law. In January, Matt Zrallack got a six-month sentence and three years' probation for assault and breach of peace at the Stratford Library. In February, the Wolves were briefly back in the news, suspected of distributing White Revolution's mock Black History Month fliers, featuring O.J. Simpson, Michael Jackson and Kobe Bryant as "examples of black achievement." The relative lull gave folks in southern Connecticut time to sit back, take a deep breath and wonder: Were the White Wolves destined to become extinct as quickly as they'd become notorious, or were they simply hibernating till their legal scuffles blow over? ▲

E-TALK

The following excerpts, taken from the Resistance Youth forum on the Web site of the neo-Nazi Resistance Records label, focus on the problems racist youths face.

DEC. 19, 2003 • NIGGER KILLER WRITES

I'm 15, and the biggest problem right now for me is school. There are so many minorities and Jews there. One of my teachers is even a Jew. It's hard because everyone knows what you are and they all hate you. … I have had only a couple of confrontations, but since there are like five of us and we all know how to fight really good and train like three times a week, they don't want to fight us (plus we go to the town center a lot and fight ourselves and they see that we are not afraid).

DEC. 20, 2003 • JOYSTICK WRITES

I'm 17. The most common, and normally the hardest task I face each day is coping with the anger I feel when I see a white person walking around with muds. It's all too common to see a beautiful, smart, and talented woman hanging off of a nigger or a spic. … I hate seeing my family with their eyes wide shut. They bend over backwards to gain acceptance by the nigger. My mom goes out of her way to make muds feel like they're important. I hate that if I were to mention my beliefs to my dad, he would most likely have another heart attack. I hate that spics can't drive to save their lives, and that niggers take it upon themselves to corrupt every moment of every day. … The hates I've mentioned above are merely skin-deep feelings. There's one thing I can say that I love more than anything else on earth, and that's the look in a white person's eyes when they begin to believe what I've told them.

MARCH 22, 2004 • YOUNG WHITE AND PROUD WRITES

I've always hated niggers because my mom is a featherwood [female white racist] but I really opened my eyes last year. … [W]hen I fight niggers it's not me fighting him, it's me fighting three of them. I really don't know why I started becoming racist but I noticed that more muds and shit were getting the jobs that only white people did. Now it's just a flood. It's sickening.

Joshua Caleb Sutter (far right), who came early to neo-Nazism and has been affiliated with the Aryan Nations, hasn't been able to mosh since his arrest in February 2003 for trying to buy an unmarked pistol from an undercover cop.

YOUTH ACTION CORPS

Led by a 15-year-old, the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations' long-defunct youth organization seems to be coming back to life

BY NIA HIGHTOWER

Hoping to secure the next generation of neo-Nazi leaders, the Idaho-based Aryan Nations has made energetic efforts throughout its history to recruit 14- to 20-year-olds for its Aryan Nations Youth Action Corps (ANYAC). But convincing white youth to see Jews as "the literal children of Satan" and view people of color as "muds" has not proven easy, and the last active ANYAC contingent died out in 1999.

Logan Brown is out to change all that. In January, the 15-year-old organized a Southern California chapter of ANYAC that is now six members strong. He's also put up two ANYAC Web sites to attract kids from elsewhere in the U.S. Logan believes that most teenagers are "brainwashed by the media – the Disney Channel, MTV with their multiculturalism, Jewish traditions, black traditions. It's unmoral. A cesspool." By contrast, he believes he's working for the betterment of the future – the white future.

But don't get him wrong. "I'm not the stereotypical racist," he insists. "You know, I'm not a redneck. I don't generally get picked on by minorities at my school."

There aren't many minorities around to pick on him. Like many youthful newcomers to white supremacy, Logan is growing up in a predominantly white, middle-class milieu – the mountain community of Lake Arrowhead, Calif. Logan and his "racially aware" ANYAC allies attend predominantly white Rim of the World High School. "We do get a select number of blacks that are bused here," Logan says. "Gangsters or thugs, or whatever they want to call themselves."

Masquerading as Mainstream

To make their politics look more palatable, Logan and his comrades have also started a campus group called the Council of Concerned Students. "Inside the school we're being conservative" rather than extremist, Logan says, "so we won't be prosecuted

YOUTH, HATE AND CRIME

Criminologists long have known that youths are more likely than adults to act out violent ideas. This may be particularly true for hate crimes and other ideologically motivated violence, because teenagers and those in their early 20s seem to see the statements made by older ideologues as justification for action. What follows is a small selection of apparent ideological youth crimes from the new millennium, ranging from cross-burnings to brutal gangland murders.

SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA

Eight youths aged 14 to 17 chased down five Mexican nursery workers at a campsite in the Carmel Valley, assaulting them with steel rods, pellet guns and rocks. The **July 5, 2000**, attack, which targeted elderly legal immigrants, left one man with brain damage so severe that he can no longer hold a conversation. Adam Ketsdever and Bradley Davidofsky were identified as ringleaders and sentenced to two years in the county jail. Steven James Deboer got a one-year sentence. Michael Anthony Rose had a prior record and was ordered held in youth facilities, possibly until his 25th birthday. The other four — Nicholas Paul Filecchia, Kevin Scott Williams, Morgan Victor Manduley and Jason Wayne Beever — were sentenced to four to eight months in youth facilities. A civil lawsuit against the boys' families resulted in an award to the victims of $1.4 million.

PORTLAND, OREGON

Recruited by a 24-year-old whom they referred to as "commander," five boys aged 14 to 17 engaged in a spree of racist vandalism that stretched through several months of **late 2000** and into **early 2001**. The boys, who pleaded guilty to burning crosses in a park and spray-painting racist graffiti and swastikas at a Korean church and a Jewish cemetery, were all placed on probation. Brian Raymond Hauth told police he had driven them to crime scenes. Hauth was sentenced to 33 months in prison for his role in directing the criminal activity of the so-called Oregon State Boot Boys.

CENTRAL ISLIP, NEW YORK

Four teenagers – Connor Cash, 19, Jared McIntyre and George Mashkow, both 17, and Matthew Rammelkamp, 16 – were charged with burning down four luxury homes on **Dec. 29, 2000**. Three were later convicted of arson and conspiracy. The fourth, Connor Cash, was acquitted in May. The teenagers left graffiti indicating that they carried out the action in the name of the Earth Liberation Front, a radical environmental group that advocates what it calls "direct action."

SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

A black teenage boy who participated in alcohol-fueled riots in Pioneer Square on **Feb. 27, 2001**, was charged with fourth-degree assault after reportedly telling police that he had joined an attack on a fallen white man because he thought of himself as a soldier in a racial war. Police initially asked that Khalid Adams, 17, be charged with a hate crime, but prosecutors decided not to do so because their only evidence was a videotape of the attack. The riots, which took place during Mardi Gras celebrations, consisted almost entirely of attacks by blacks on whites, according to witnesses and videotape. Adams later pleaded no contest to lesser assault and theft charges.

CORTEZ, COLORADO

On the night of **June 16, 2001**, 18-year-old Shaun Murphy offered a ride to transgendered 16-year-old F. C. Martinez. Five days later, Martinez's body was found in a canyon outside Cortez, her skull smashed with a boulder and her stomach sliced open. Murphy told police he attacked Martinez in self defense, but witnesses said he had bragged to friends that he had "bug-smashed a *joto*," using a Spanish slang word for homosexual. Murphy, who had a long record of violence and was a member of the East Side Locos Trece gang, was sentenced to 40 years in prison for the murder.

CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA

Nine black teenagers, most of them students at Charlottesville High School, carried out five random attacks on white and Asian students at the University of Virginia. Police said that several of those involved in the attacks, which occurred between **September 2001** and **January 2002**, admitted they targeted their victims because they thought they were white. In the end, however, prosecutors declined to file hate crime charges, saying that racial slurs had not been used and that the teens were more motivated by class envy. Eighteen-year-old Gordon Fields pleaded guilty to a misdemeanor charge in adult court. The others, all of them younger, were referred to the juvenile courts, where they faced a variety of misdemeanor charges.

LAS VEGAS, NEVADA

Authorities say that 20-year-old Anthony Prentice was a member of the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations, a "minister" in the rabidly anti-Semitic World Church of the Creator, part of the violent Hammerskin Skinhead gang — and the roommate of a gay man, the kind of person despised by all the groups to which Prentice belonged. On **Aug. 30, 2002**, Prentice and an alleged accomplice, James "Evil" Harrison, 21, stabbed the roommate, 58-year-old driving instructor Dan Miller, 128 times and carved a swastika into his back. Prentice was convicted of murder and sentenced to life without parole, rather than death, as he had requested. A trial for Harrison is scheduled for Nov. 16, 2004.

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

Three high school buddies tried to destroy a construction crane in the name of the Earth Liberation Front on **Sept. 21, 2002**, after their attempts to set it alight failed. After their arrest, Adam Blackwell, 18, and Aaron Linas and John Wade, both 17, admitted that they had taken part in ELF-style attacks over a period of five months, damaging a suburban construction site, SUVs at a local Ford dealership and the windows of several fast-food restaurants. Convicted on federal criminal conspiracy charges in 2004, Linas and Wade were sentenced to about three years each and ordered to pay $204,000 in restitution. Blackwell's trial is pending.

FARMINGVILLE, NEW YORK

After hearing years of vitriol about Mexicans from adults in their community, five white teenagers set fire to a home where a Mexican family was sleeping on the early morning of **July 5, 2003**. The family awoke and was not injured. When police arrested the group — Derek Brandafino and Kyle Mahler, both 17, William Lutz and Scott Soucek, both 16, and an unnamed 15-year-old — they found magazine photos of Klan members and anti-Hispanic literature in Mahler's pocket. The four older boys, who pleaded guilty in return for leniency, were to be sentenced on July 13, 2004.

MURRIETA, CALIFORNIA

Two white students at Murrieta Valley High School — 17-year-old

Noah Rawls and 14-year-old Saege Hall — randomly attacked a black student outside the principal's office on **Aug. 20, 2003**, punching and kicking him so severely that his jaw was badly injured. The two were apparently enraged that Hall's older brother, 17-year-old Dylan Hall, had been sent to the principal's office earlier, after taunting another black student with racial slurs. Police charged Rawls and Saege Hall with assault with a deadly weapon and Dylan Hall with uttering threats. All three pleaded guilty to the charges in juvenile court. Rawls and Saege Hall received eight to nine months in a juvenile facility, while Dylan Hall was handed six months of probation.

LINDEN, TEXAS

Four young white men allegedly attacked and nearly beat to death a 42-year-old mentally disabled black men in a pasture after all five had spent time drinking together at a **Sept. 28, 2003**, party. A cousin of victim Billy Ray Johnson told reporters that the foursome had first forced Johnson to dance and perform other humiliating acts. Johnson's alleged attackers –Dallas Chadwick Stone, 18, John Wesley Owens, 19, Christopher Colt Amox, 20, and James Cory Hicks, 24 – then dumped their victim, who was in a coma and suffering brain hemorrhaging, on a fire ant mound in the woods by the side of a road. The men were charged with aggravated assault.

BOULDER CITY, NEVADA

Six youths, said to be members of a white supremacy-tinged drug gang called The Crew, allegedly joined in the **Oct. 15, 2003**, murder of 17-year-old Jared Whaley because they thought he was about to reveal their illicit business. One of the six, 17-year-old Shane Johnson, described himself as a member of the Kentucky-based Imperial Klans of America. After entering into a plea agreement, Johnson testified that he had initially stun-gunned the victim in the desert near Boulder City, but that Whaley did not go down. Then, he said, 17-year-old Shane Myers bludgeoned him with a tire iron. Finally, he said, Matthew Douglas Baker, the 18-year-old alleged ringleader, shot Whaley in the head with a shotgun, killing him. The group then disfigured their former friend's face in an effort to hide his identity, even chopping teeth out of his mouth before burying his body. Johnson, Baker, Myers, Myers' twin brother Cody, 17, and Stephen James Springfield, 19, were charged with murder. A sixth man, Gerald Wilks Jr., 20, pleaded guilty to conspiracy in return for leniency.

FORT WORTH, TEXAS

A 14-year-old boy, apparently trying to curry favor with the Aryan Brotherhood supremacist gang in order to become a full-fledged member, allegedly shot and killed Donnie "Tiger" Finchum on **Dec. 13, 2003**. Just moments earlier, Finchum had argued with his roommate, Aryan Brotherhood member Christopher Sellers. Police say Sellers threatened Finchum with a gun, but then desisted. At that moment, the 14-year-old arrived with a group to help Sellers move out of the apartment. The boy allegedly grabbed Sellers' gun, saying, "I'll kill you, I'll kill you," and, after Sellers and others left the room, shot and killed Finchum. The boy fled with Sellers and was only captured about a month later. Prosecutors sought to try the boy as an adult, but a judge refused. A trial was set for spring 2004.

FRANKVILLE, WISCONSIN

After learning that National Socialist Movement member Michael Kenneth Faust was conducting firearms training for neo-Nazi teenagers on his grandmother's farm, authorities raided the farm on **Dec. 23, 2003**, and arrested Faust on charges of being a felon in possession of firearms. Faust, 36, had earlier served eight years in prison for shooting a 14-year-old in the chest in 1990. Officials found a dozen weapons and Faust pleaded guilty to two felony weapons charges, drawing a sentence of a little over five years. Faust's attorney, noting that Faust was secretly of Jewish descent and suffered from paranoid fears of neo-Nazis, asked for less time unsuccessfully.

ANDERSON, CALIFORNIA

A 16-year-old boy, who officials say was "clearly guided" by a 22-year-old felon, joined his mentor in the **Jan. 2, 2004**, burning of a large cross on the lawn of a black woman's home. Police say they had little trouble tracking down the boy and his friend, Christopher Dale Easley, because the pair had allegedly left swastikas and racial slurs outside the woman's house just weeks before. The teenager pleaded guilty to various charges and was sentenced to 12 to 18 months in a juvenile facility. Easley, facing federal charges of civil rights violations, interference with housing rights and the use of fire to commit a felony, could get up to 30 years if convicted.

LUBBOCK, TEXAS

Four boys, aged 13 to 15, were arrested after worshippers arriving at the Islamic Center of South Plains on **March 7, 2004**, found extensive vandalism and anti-Muslim slurs like "sand niggers" scrawled on the center's walls. Two of the boys were ordered to perform community service and pay $12,000 in restitution, while another was sent to a juvenile detention facility. Punishment for the youngest of the four was still pending at press time.

ARLINGTON, WASHINGTON

Two 16-year-old boys, members of what Arlington police officials described as a loose-knit white supremacist gang called The Hics, burned a gasoline-soaked cross on the lawn of Jason Martin, a black pastor, on **March 24, 2004**. The teens later pleaded guilty and were ordered to spend 30 days in a juvenile facility and perform 72 hours of community service. The light sentence drew criticism from Martin.

NEWARK, OHIO

Four white teenage boys, members of clique known as The Cowboys who wore cowboy hats adorned with Confederate battle flags until officials at Newark High School prohibited them, were suspended for alleged threats. School officials say the boys, one freshman and three sophomores, threatened to shoot black students and their friends on **April 20, 2004**, the anniversary of the 1999 Columbine (Colo.) High School massacre and Hitler's birthday. News of the threats spread so far that 241 of the school's 1,700 students stayed home that day. Students said The Cowboys were known for their racist comments and had clashed with other students before.

ROCKFORD, MARYLAND

Twenty-year-old Michael Breit was arrested after police came to his apartment on **April 21, 2004**, because he'd accidentally fired his AK-47 assault rifle. Breit allowed officers to search his home, where they found a cache of weapons and explosives including materials to make pipe bombs, a hand grenade, a sawed-off shotgun, a sword and black powder. A copy of *The Turner Diaries*, a famous racist novel, was also found, along with books detailing how to make bombs. Police say Breit had outlined a written plan for 15 men with automatic rifles and hand grenades to kill 1,500 people at a Democratic caucus, and had also prepared a list of liberal anti-gun politicians who were "marked to die." Breit was charged with federal counts of illegally receiving material to make an explosive device and receiving an explosive with intent to use it to kill or to damage property. A court date is pending. ▲

JENNIFER WARBURG

A member of the Resistance Youth Corps shows his colors at a 2002 National Alliance rally in front of the U.S. Capitol

[sic] or attacked." But the real purpose is to woo prospective neo-Nazis. "I'm using [the group] as a way to get the word out about ANYAC," Logan says.

In lieu of racial violence, the council's chosen weapon has been circulating petitions. "Basically, you know, we don't want to take drastic action like stereotypical maniac racists," Logan explains. The first petition called for the banning of gay pride T-shirts; Logan says wearing the shirts is "vulgar – shoving it in my face," and he claims 150 students have signed on. (School administrators would not comment.) Logan and his buddies have also started a petition to ban the display of Jewish symbols at Rim of the World High. Logan casts it as a simple matter of fairness. "They can wear their Star of David, but I can't wear my swastika?"

Logan hopes to inspire other kids to follow his path into neo-Nazism. He says his "traditional" upbringing made for an easy segue into white power. "I basically had some of the roots of a racialist," he says, "anti-immigration, anti-drug, et cetera." After joining the racist Skinhead movement at age 12, Logan "grew out of that" pretty quickly. Then he picked up *White Power*. Published in 1967 by George Lincoln Rockwell, the founding father of American neo-Nazism, *White Power* explores the racial "mongrelization" of the U.S. "That was a real eye-opener," Logan says. "Say it's the 1920s when everything was white and beautiful. We were a white, civilized nation."

After imbibing Rockwell's views, Logan sought something more spiritual – and found it in the Aryan Nations' anti-Semitic theology, Christian Identity. "Jews are basically the literal children of Satan," he says, echoing fundamental Identity tenets. "They can go back to their country. They don't belong here." Same goes for people of color. "Africans can go back to Africa," he says. "I mean, technically they are not citizens." Mexicans, he says, "are illegals anyway. Immigration is only for pure white immigration – that's what our forefathers meant."

Thinking Big

Logan's extremism has come with a cost. He says his family doesn't "support me whatsoever" – especially his stepmother. "She's just close-minded," he says. His older brother doesn't like Logan's activism, either. "[He] raided my room and stuff like that," Logan complains. "He's just a middle-class white boy trying to fit in with the black crowd."

Logan vows he won't follow the path of the last youngster to lead ANYAC, Shaun Winkler. Winkler's activism began with peaceful activities like distributing flyers – but as he rose up the ranks of national leadership in the Aryan Nations, he became more violent. This April, Winkler, now 25, was convicted on charges stemming from a confrontation with another Nations member and his children; following an outburst during his trial, Winkler now faces charges of resisting arrest and battery on a police officer. Logan says he'll remain nonviolent – unless violent methods are needed to create a white homeland. "I just want what's best for our people," he says.

Logan's ANYAC chapter has been busy recently – holding a fund-raising concert in honor of Hitler's birthday, celebrating the prison release of former Klan leader David Duke – but his plans stretch way beyond Rim of the World High. His Web sites and frequent postings on white-power message boards helped inspire a new ANYAC chapter in Illinois. Logan says he's also recruited members in Arkansas, Maryland, and several other states. Meanwhile, he's mapping out a plan to restore the grown-up Aryan Nations to its former prominence among neo-Nazi groups. Posting on an Aryan Nations forum, Logan lamented the loss of the group's Idaho headquarters and, with a teenager's enthusiasm, urged members to rise up. "It is time to rebuild and show these filthy Jews we mean business," he wrote. "I purpose [sic] to set up a fund to raise enough money to rebuild HQ bigger and better than ever!"

That might have to wait, Logan admits, until he finishes college, gets his Ph.D. in history, attends law school and becomes a district attorney. "Then I'd like to go to Idaho and take over," he says, pausing to correct himself, "or help the Nations." ▲

AGNOSTIC NEO-NAZIS

Fueled by the Internet, a teenage gang in a New Jersey suburb dabbled in white supremacist crime. It didn't last long

BY BOB MOSER

One Sunday morning last July, cops in Middletown, N.J., got a call reporting that a six-foot statue of the Virgin Mary had been decapitated outside St. Catherine's Roman Catholic Church. Ho-hum. Chief John Pollinger and his officers figured it was just "one more case of criminal mischief," probably perpetrated by bored teenagers. Even in a sedate little bedroom community like Middletown, a one-hour commute from New York City, there's nothing new about that.

But when the police department's phones started ringing the next morning, Pollinger changed his mind. A four-block radius around St. Catherine's was newly awash in hateful graffiti. "Anti-black, anti-God, anti-Semitic, anti-Puerto Rican, anti-gay — you name it," Pollinger says. Swastikas, pentagrams, white-supremacist slogans and death threats — some specifically targeting local high-school girls — had been sprayed on every available surface: sidewalks, streets, statues, fences, houses, the neighborhood recreation center. Whoever the perpetrators were, Pollinger said, one thing was clear enough: "They hated everybody."

In a matter of hours, police arrested five teenagers from the mostly white, lower-middle-class neighborhood around St. Catherine's — three girls and two boys, ages 14 to 16. (Under New Jersey law, the names of juvenile offenders are not released.) A tight-knit bunch, they dressed in black, grooved on heavy metal and got stuck with a stereotype of their own: "outcasts." "These were the kids people were afraid of because they looked different," Meaghan Pearlstein, a junior at Middletown High School North, told the local *Asbury Park Press*.

Their ideas were far more "different" than their attire. When police searched the bedroom of the group's ringleader, a 14-year-old boy who'd been expelled from local schools, they discovered the gang of five had started their own organization. It had some of the quaint, age-old trappings of kids' secret clubs — membership tests, matching rings, official-sounding rules and regulations. But this was not something you'd expect Beaver Cleaver and his pals to cook up. These kids called themselves the Agnostic Neo-Nazis, and a wirebound notebook containing their secrets included a mishmash of white-supremacist ideas downloaded from the Internet — "just about every piece of hate imaginable, spelled out — or misspelled," said Monmouth County Prosecutor Jonathan Kaye. New members were not only required to demonstrate their knowledge of neo-Nazi ideology, they also had to get a swastika tattoo. And the Agnostic Neo-Nazis weren't meeting in anybody's treehouse or basement rec room. "We found a spot under a bridge where they'd gather," says Pollinger, decorated with both hate graffiti and "images of lynchings."

Serious as it sounds, the arrests appear to have nipped the group in the bud. Miles away from "planning a race war," as one local newspaper gravely warned, the members had not yet advanced beyond breaking into unlocked cars to earn money for the secret rings and collecting Nazi memorabilia from World War II. Besides, Pollinger says with a chuckle, "They'd have to travel a great distance to find a race other than their own to target." That's only a slight exaggeration: Middletown is more than 90% white, notes the chief.

Typical enough, say hate-crime experts: most white-supremacist kids spring up in homogenous suburbs like Middletown. And most of them pick up their knowledge of white supremacy from the Internet, assembling collections of "bizarre, loose ideas and goals," as Pollinger puts it. What's not typical is how quickly the Agnostic Neo-Nazis were discovered and disbanded. Charged with up to 22 criminal counts apiece, the kids ended up with combinations of juvenile detention, community service and mandatory bias education — working in a Jewish retirement home, visiting a Holocaust museum, dishing out meals at the local shelter. Pollinger hopes the lesson for Middletown's other disaffected youth is clear: "Hateful, terroristic behavior won't be tolerated." As for their parents, he hopes they've learned something, too: "Be nosy." ▲

A young neo-Nazi salutes.

E-TALK

This March, four apparent racist high school students discussed an Indian fellow student that one of the four dislikes. The following exchange took place on the Resistance Youth Forum of the Web site of neo-Nazi Resistance Records, which sells white power music to racist Skinheads and other youths.

MARCH 17, 2003 • IDC WRITES

This Indian kid at school has been really getting under my skin lately. He feels that he is the king of the world, thus he constantly makes fun of people for being too white. So my friend and I hatched this plan: If he is suspended he will be sent back to India, so we are trying to get everything he does on tape in order to get him removed from our country. We will bring up his constant threats, and attacks, on people due to their whiteness.

MARCH 17, 2003 • DEICIDE RESPONDS

The system would consider that to be teasing and do almost nothing about it. That just reminded me of a time in 7th grade. There was this total queen in our school, I mean a total homo. Everybody in that school made fun of him. He told the principal and that got 7 people suspended.

MARCH 17, 2003 • XENU WRITES

If you could con him into doing something really bad it would work. It doesn't need to be racial. In fact, it shouldn't [be].

MARCH 18, 2003 • AUSSIE NATIONALIST WRITES

Yeah, if you're known as a racist at school, trying to get him suspended for racism probably won't work.

NATIONAL SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

Many hate groups say they mean to save white children. One based in Minneapolis specializes in recruiting them

BY CAMILLE JACKSON AND MARK POTOK

The National Socialist Movement (NSM) says it's the largest neo-Nazi group in the United States. It claims to have been around the longest. It describes itself as the most elite radical organization there is. And it says it recruits young kids.

On that last point, at least, it's not lying.

Registered sex offender John Snyder heads up the Indiana NSM chapter.

Many hate groups in America claim to be creating a better world for white children. Their leaders say they hear from youngsters angry at the way the country is going every day. Some of them put drawings and essays, supposedly from the hands of their own "racially aware" children, up on their Web sites. Others create violently racist video games for the young. Almost all say they work closely with kids.

But the NSM has the pictures to prove it.

More than almost any other organization on the American radical right, the Minneapolis group headed by 30-year-old Jeffrey Schoep has sought to bring young people — very young people — into the movement. Photographs circulated by Schoep show that he isn't kidding when he says he's created a special corps for those aged 14 to 17 — although half of them look like they still haven't reached puberty.

Dubbed the Viking Youth Corps (VYC), the NSM youth auxiliary is open to boys and girls of pure European descent who promise that they don't drink, smoke or do drugs, and who are the children of NSM members or have a signed consent form from their parents allowing them to participate. Viking Youth, Schoep says, will be taught military skills, national socialist theory and practice, the history of the white race and, in general, how to become "a more effective warrior."

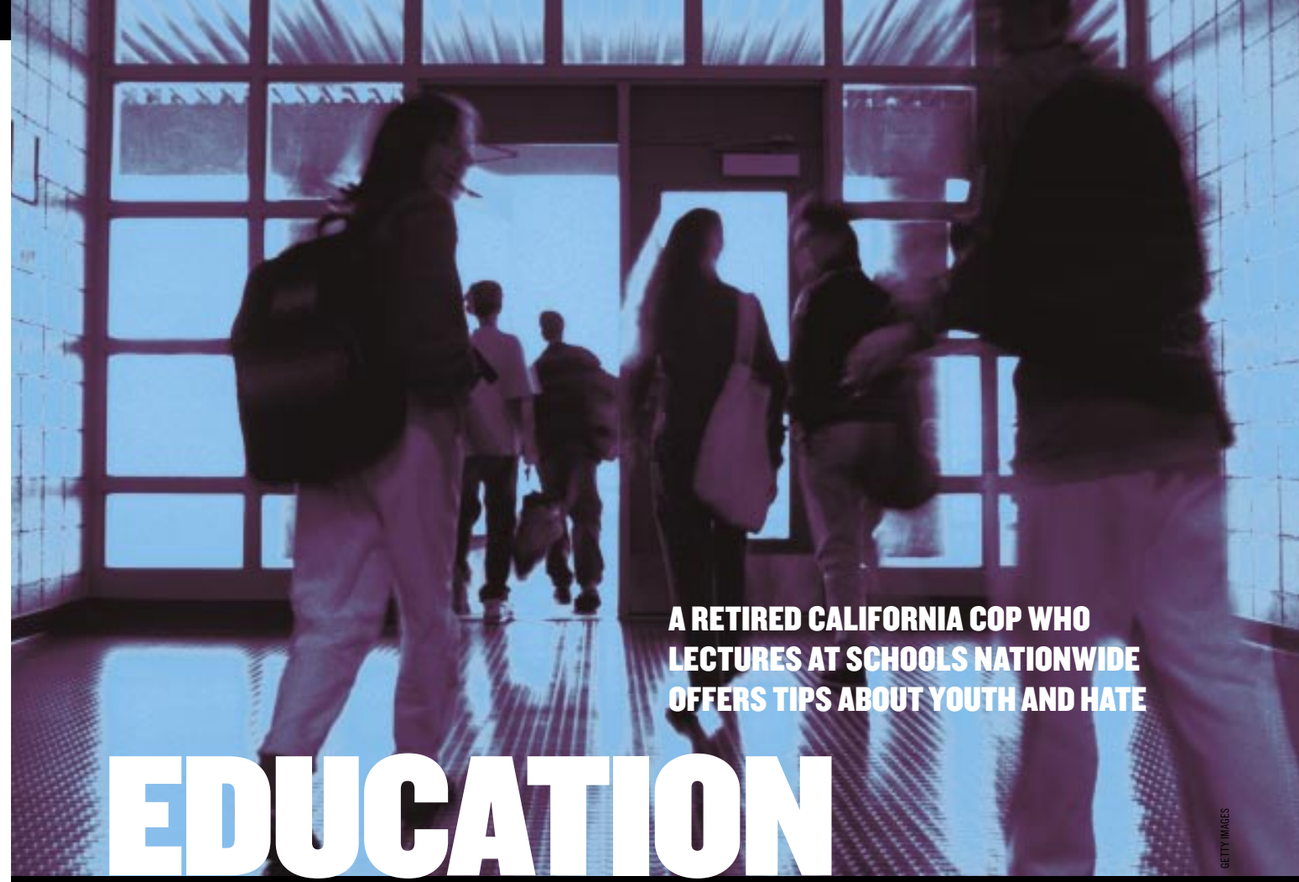
Schoep won't detail his efforts with youngsters, but he's quick to make big claims. "There are so many coming to us, we can barely keep up," he asserted in a recent E-mail. "Really, what other choice is there for young white people?"

Schoep's group is explicitly neo-Nazi. Its adult members dress up in faux Nazi brownshirt outfits, while the children wear T-shirts with neo-Nazi slogans and regularly sieg-heil for their führer's cameras. While the number of adult and juvenile members is not known, NSM last year listed 45 units operating in 29 states.

On its Web site, the group claims to be the largest neo-Nazi group around, although that is far from clear. It also describes itself as being 30 years old, saying that its first leaders, Robert Brannen and Cliff Herrington, were originally "storm troopers" in the American Nazi Party. That organization, founded by the late George Lincoln Rockwell, was the first major fascist group in postwar America.

Schoep may be exaggerating the importance of his group on the radical right. But there's little question that he has increased its scope since taking over at age 20 in 1994. He has made alliances with other hate group leaders and has held numerous neo-Nazi rallies, the most recent in Indianapolis and Raleigh, N.C.

NSM may not, however, be the best place to send your children for summer camp. That became apparent when the Indiana Department of Corrections posted a photograph of that state's NSM leader, John Edward Snyder, 39. It turns out that Snyder was released recently after about four years in prison — for rape, criminally deviant conduct and criminal confinement. A registered sex offender, Snyder is banned by his probation from having contact with or recruiting children. ▲

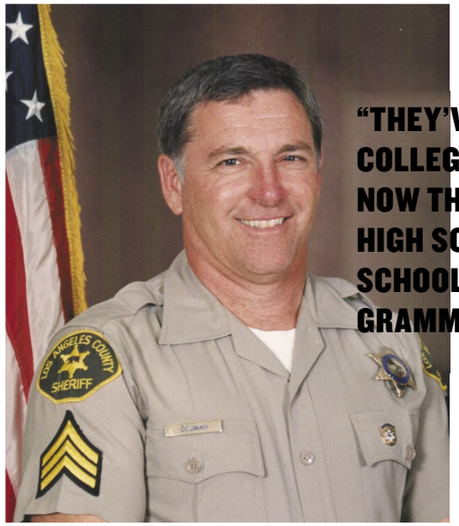


GETTY IMAGES

A RETIRED CALIFORNIA COP WHO LECTURES AT SCHOOLS NATIONWIDE OFFERS TIPS ABOUT YOUTH AND HATE

EDUCATION & EXTREMISM

For more than 10 years, Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department Sgt. Walter Bouman interviewed virtually every white supremacist to come through Central Jail. After officials flagged the detainees because of tattoos or the nature of their alleged crimes, Bouman would pull each inmate aside and slowly begin a conversation. "We have all day, and I'm not leaving," he would tell his reluctant charges. Bouman had an ability to size up and relate to these suspects and it wasn't long before many of the most hardened hate criminals began talking. Bouman's skills proved highly useful. He gave classes to the county's jail deputies and juvenile facility officers on how best to treat racist prisoners and later worked with the district attorney's office, traveling throughout the county training law enforcement officers on similar topics. In 2000, after a 33-year career, Bouman retired. But he wasn't finished. Since then, he has developed a career educating law enforcement agencies, schools and communities about hate violence, domestic terrorism and youth. He has taught everything from hate crime investigation for members of the county sheriff's gang unit to how to deal with bullying for California's Department of Education. Traveling around the nation, Bouman has lectured in approximately 500 school districts, for the National School Safety Center, and for the Department of Homeland Security. He is also on the advisory board of the Southern Poverty Law Center's online hate crime training program for law enforcement officers. In an interview with the Intelligence Report, *Bouman focused on youthful white supremacists.*



"THEY'VE TRIED GOING TO COLLEGES TO RECRUIT. NOW THEY ARE GOING INTO HIGH SCHOOLS, MIDDLE SCHOOLS AND EVEN SOME GRAMMAR SCHOOLS."

INTELLIGENCE REPORT: How do white supremacist groups recruit the young?

WALTER BOUMAN: Their members go into schools and watch the kids. One method they employ is to go onto a campus and seek out two diverse groups, the exceptionally intelligent kids and the noticeably weak ones. As a group, young white supremacists are well rounded — you have some A students, athletes, computer geeks, and the D students. The groups are also recruiting more girls.

To build up a group, young white recruits sometimes will do something to the black students, if it's a majority white school. Wherever the black kids sit, the supremacists will put a swastika or the N-word or something offensive in a visible spot. For example, if there is a new black teacher they will put a swastika on that teacher's classroom door. What they try to do is get the black students upset so that they'll attack some of the weaker whites. When the white students are attacked, then the racist gangs will come in and assist the weaker ones, putting them under the gang's protection. The reason they want these weaker kids is because they are easily influenced to do something for "the cause." The groups cause trouble on campuses to see what they can get out of it and to help recruit those kids who are being picked on — when it comes to recruitment they're always looking for the kids being harassed.

IR: Have you ever made a criminal case out of a situation like this?

BOUMAN: In a middle school in Los Angeles. It happened about two years ago. There was a group of juveniles who had formed a white supremacist Skinhead group, and they decided that they wanted to get some other people to join. They didn't like the fact that the demographics around them were changing, that black students were coming to their school and that they had a new black teacher. So as these black kids went home — in a certain direction, out of a certain gate, down certain streets — the white group was putting this racist graffiti up along the same path. It was a message of hate to the black kids.

Prosecutors got a case going against the gang — a great case, because we actually got them for a hate crime. They were only doing this where the black kids sat or walked. It was hate.

IR: You mentioned especially targeting smart kids.

BOUMAN: When you listen to leaders like Matthew Hale [the leader of the neo-Nazi World Church of the Creator, convicted this May of soliciting the murder of a federal judge], Tom Metzger [a former Klan leader and key supporter and one-time recruiter of young racist Skinheads] or David Lane [a white supremacist ideologue imprisoned for his role in the 1984 machine-gun murder of a Jewish radio talk show host in Denver], their whole thing is that they want the kids who follow them going to college. They've tried going to colleges to recruit, but the kids there were already beyond their capacity to manipulate. Now they are going into high schools, middle schools and even some grammar schools because the smart kids there are still very open to ideological influences.

IR: Doesn't that set off alarm bells at these schools?

BOUMAN: The schools can't turn kids away just because they're racists. If they see swastikas or offensive clothing, they can make them change clothes and not allow them to put these symbols on their books. But they can't keep them from coming into school. You can admonish them for publicly expressing slurs, but you can't keep them from talking about their beliefs in private.

IR: How does recruitment on the streets, as opposed to in the schools, work?

BOUMAN: It's the same as in the schools — hate group recruitment works best when you have the demographics of a changing community.

Recruiting often takes place much more publicly than you'd expect — and this is something that police officers can take advantage of. For example, in Orange County, for years you could go down to a local beach city and see the racist white kids sitting in a parking lot off the main street, about two blocks from the pier. A business owner allowed them to gather in the parking lot because he thought that if he didn't they would damage his building. The police couldn't very well say, "Hey, don't let them do this." Instead, officers would go out there and get to know these kids. They didn't harass them as long as they didn't harass other people or break any laws. That way they kept them off the street. They'd gather, wearing their garb and talking about their beliefs. There'd be 20 or 30 kids, even more if outsiders were talking to them.

IR: Youth street gangs are sometimes described as alternative families for kids with dysfunctional home lives. Is that true of white supremacist youth gangs, too?

BOUMAN: Absolutely. Tom Metzger used to bring in kids who weren't acceptable to their families or anyone else and let them stay with him. He gave them alcohol and cigarettes, or whatever it took to get them to believe. They used to get lots of kids this way. It's not unusual — hate groups have been doing it for years. [Long-time Alabama Klansman and four-time felon] Bill Riccio, who is back in the KKK, used to go into the streets of Birmingham, Ala., to recruit teenage Skinheads. His group [the Aryan National Front] broke up after he went to prison, but he still gets around. He had a house where all these kids met and he gave them free beer; I have a video of a young boy in the house talking about what they believe in and why white supremacy is the way to go. Riccio used the "14 Words" [penned by David Lane] — "We must secure the existence of our people and a future for White children" — big time in his recruiting.

Riccio was crazy — one of his recruits even killed a homeless man. He has also worked on the West Coast. He and Metzger were teaching people here how to recruit kids. They loved runaways too. They'd pick the runaways up, give them booze and drugs and affection, and soon white supremacy became their family.

IR: Don't many young people seek out the groups themselves?

BOUMAN: Sure. Look at Benjamin Smith from the World Church of the Creator. [*Editor's note: Smith, a follower and close friend of group leader Matt Hale, went on a July 1999 rampage in Illinois and Indiana that left two minorities dead and another seven wounded. Smith shot himself to death as police closed in.*] He was a college student who came to them. They didn't go to Smith. He was not happy with the world and found the group on the Internet.

IR: So is the Internet a useful youth recruiting tool for these hate groups?

BOUMAN: [Former Klan leader] Don Black, founder of Stormfront [the first major hate site on the Internet] had his son Derek, 14, put together a Web site section for kids, and he uses it to recruit little kids. Don helped Derek put these sites together when Derek was 9 years old. When I visit schools throughout California, I find that kids are using the school's computers to access Stormfront's kid page. I talk about blocking the systems so the kids can't access it, but most libraries don't want to block it because of the threat to freedoms.

It's unbelievable where kids can go on the Internet. And they can do it anywhere. Derek Black even changed around a [commercial] video game so that users can kill blacks. They actually changed the figures to black figures.

IR: Are young people who join or flirt with these groups really driven by hate? Or is there something else going on?

BOUMAN: In part, it's an excuse for their failures — "I don't like minorities because they're taking my job," that sort of thing. Would these kids be working anyway? Probably not. It's an excuse for why they haven't made it in life. I think it's a defense — they don't feel good about themselves. When they become part of the "white race," it gives them something to live for. When you talk to them in jail, it's about the jobs, the neighborhood changing, schools changing. They're lazy. Some of them are actually academically smart, but when it comes to life, they're dumb.

It's also about belonging with some of these kids — their parents are neither authoritative or nurturing. The parents are not there to help them understand or protect them. Look at the boys at Columbine [High School in Colorado, where two students killed 12 students and a teacher before killing themselves]. They're not totally involved in their kids' lives. Many of these kids share a common lament, "My parents don't care, they don't do anything for me, they're never there." Many of these parents have never showed guidance love, respect. Riccio did. And he did it his way with white supremacy.

IR: What's the most important message that you're trying to reach other law enforcement officers with?

BOUMAN: What we promote is community awareness, understanding the pain and suffering of the community — not just the individual who was victimized, but also the relatives, the family members, the neighbors. When you have a hate crime, it doesn't just affect the person who is directly victimized. We tell law enforcement that when you arrest these white supremacists, you're not just taking a crook off the street, you're saving a community. You're bringing people who didn't trust the system back into the fold. I ask them, would you rather take a car thief off the street over a man who's been hurting people emotionally and physically? Here you have a violent felony versus a car theft felony. I try to convince them that hate crime prevention maximizes their time. We're marketing anti-hate behavior not only to law enforcement, but also to schools and the greater community. We encourage officers to share what they learn with the people they serve.

IR: What is it like for people who try to leave the movement? Is it easy to get out?

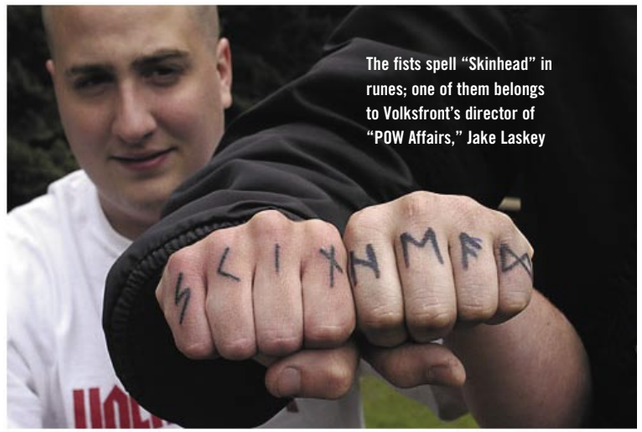
BOUMAN: Look at [former racist Skinhead] T.J. Leyden and [former Aryan Nations official] Floyd Cochran. [*Editor's note: Both men have engaged in antiracist work for years since leaving the movement.*] Their experience is so invaluable. But once they went public, they became targets. These groups will kill you for talking. That's one of the rules of white supremacy. These white supremacists are terrorists. They use fear to make their enemy or their targets more afraid or weaker. Hate has become their life.

IR: Do you have any final thoughts?

BOUMAN: Complacency will allow people with hate-based philosophies to flourish and thrive. Hate starts at home. Prevention and eradication work hand-in-hand. School administrators must use their power and say, "You may do that at home, but you're not going to do it here." Fear of parental backlash sometimes causes school administrators to hesitate in acting swiftly and authoritatively to defuse a potentially explosive situation. The Supreme Court of the United States has said these types of dangerous situations are important issues. They gave the schools the power to control these types of situations on their campuses through case decisions. By law, school administrators can dictate what is said and done on their campuses. We tend to let things happen and then wonder why they happened. Hate doesn't go away unless you make it go away. ▲

2 FACES OF VOLKSFRONT

A growing and increasingly important neo-Nazi group claims it opposes any kind of political violence. Could it be true?



The fists spell "Skinhead" in runes; one of them belongs to Volksfront's director of "POW Affairs," Jake Laskey

BY HEIDI BEIRICH AND MARK POTOK

The hunt began with a trip to a couple of local businesses. They needed more beer, of course, an armload of 22-ounce tallboys and an 18-pack of Budweiser. That would be the fuel. But they didn't forget to buy the baseball bats.

The foursome headed out as the cool of the evening set in. Sucking down beer and carrying their two new bats, they made their way to an area they knew well, a secret world of street people who congregated under a highway bridge in Tacoma, Wash. They knew what they were looking for, as several of them told police later — a drug dealer, preferably a black one. But the first black man they saw, walking by with a white woman, drew a machete when the menacing group of racist Skinheads approached. The brave young warriors dropped that plan fast.

Then they spotted Randy Townsend.

David Nikos Pillatos, 19, dealt the first blow, smashing the homeless white man with one of the bats as Scotty James Butters, 20, began to punch him. With Pillatos' second swing, the bat splintered across Townsend's face. Then Tristain Lynn Frye, 22 and the only female present, began to kick the fallen man. Pillatos found a 40-pound rock and dropped it on Townsend's head. It was then, according to statements later given by the three to police, that Kurtis William Monschke, 19, joined in. Noticing that Townsend was breathing, Monschke laid into his victim with the second bat before lifting and smashing his head onto a railroad track.

Randall Mark Townsend, a gentle, 42-year-old man afflicted with paranoid schizophrenia, never opened his eyes again. He lingered in a coma for 20 days after the March 23, 2003, attack, but in the end his battered body succumbed.

The ringleader, prosecutors said, was Monschke. He had recently been named head of the Washington chapter of Volksfront, a Portland-based neo-Nazi group whose Web site describes drug dealers as "the lowest form of vermin." The same site ran a 2002 essay calling for capital punishment for dealers. Prosecutors said the attack was meant to lift Monschke's status in the white supremacist movement and to earn Frye a pair of red shoelaces, with the red signifying the drawing of blood. This June 1, a jury agreed, finding Volksfront's Washington state leader guilty of aggravated first-degree murder. Monschke was sentenced to life without parole.

Monschke himself seemed to back up the prosecution's version. Before the trial, in letters that were opened by jail personnel, he pleaded with Jake Laskey, head of Volksfront's "POW Affairs Department," to be listed as a "prisoner of war." But then he heard that Volksfront had put up a remarkable new statement on its Web site, disowning Monschke and calling for the death penalty in his case. Volksfront, it seemed, was determined to convey the idea that it was wholly nonviolent.

"[Is this] true or false?" an anguished Monschke wrote Laskey. "I understand people's disappointment and anger, 'civil suits transpire,' but damn! Sometimes our own people seem like the enemy.... [I]t's just confusion and selfishness."

Confusion and Selfishness

When Randall Lee Krager first started Volksfront in 1994, the Oregon Skinhead hardly looked like an advertisement for nonviolence. Starting at age 15 with a racially motivated attack on other teenagers in a local park in 1989, Krager had reportedly had 28 "contacts" with the authorities by 1991. In 1990, he attended the civil trial of Tom Metzger, a Southern California neo-Nazi who specialized in particularly violent propaganda and who ultimately was found liable in the Skinhead beating death of an Ethiopian student in Portland in 1988. Then 16, Krager told a reporter that Metzger was a "cool guy" and "one of the nicest guys you'd ever meet." In 1992, Krager viciously attacked a black man. As he was being sentenced to a three-year prison term for that assault, Krager screamed "fuckin' Jew pig" at officers of the court, according to an account by a local neo-Nazi leader.

Emerging in 1994, Krager inaugurated Volksfront, drawing his members from violent local Skinhead groups like the Youth of Hitler and East Side White Pride, the same crews that had been affiliated with Metzger's White Aryan Resistance. By the end of its first year, Volksfront had spawned a white power rock group, Intimidation One, that was named after Oregon's hate crime law and specialized in violent lyrics. But Krager didn't stick around long. The same month he was released, Krager called a local antiracist Skinhead, Pan Nesbitt, and threatened to kill him. In early 1995, he pleaded guilty to first-degree intimidation and served another 14 months.

A Volksfront poster, apparently produced around this time, captured the spirit of the organization. Headlined "TAKE BACK YOUR STREETS," it depicted a white Skinhead using a bat and boots to beat three black men, respectively labeled "rapists," "muggers" and "drug dealers." The message was hard to miss.

Krager, with a swastika tattooed on his neck and F-E-A-R inked on the knuckles of one hand, wasn't alone. Other Volksfront members were also known for their terror tactics, including founding member Troy Harlow, who pleaded guilty to a federal charge of conspiring to deprive a black man of his constitutional rights by burning a cross in his yard in 1996. Harlow served a year for that crime.

In 1998, with police heat turned up on Volksfront because of its continuing association with criminal violence, the group suddenly seemed to disappear. Its Web site now says that Volksfront went "underground" that year due, in part, to "police and governmental pressure." When it reappeared publicly in 2001, it had adopted a new line on violence entirely — it said it was against it. Krager explained to a local paper, the *Willamette Weekly*, that he had done "a lot of thinking in prison."

Today, Volksfront claims on its Web page that it "discourages" violence — even as it recognizes that "force must be sometimes used if we are to remain a free people." "[K]icking in someone's head will not make them our political allies. ... We know that violence created by stupidity or machismo will and can destroy organizations." But, it adds, "if you choose to attack us it's at your risk."

It's not hard to understand potential motivations for the new views supposedly adopted by Krager. As a youngster, he had witnessed the trial of Metzger and his son for their roles in urging on the violence that culminated in the murder of Ethiopian student Mulugeta Seraw. The suit, brought by the Southern Poverty Law Center and the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) on behalf of Seraw's family, resulted in a $12.5 million verdict against the Metzgers and their organization. It wrecked the group and, to this day, Tom Metzger's still has to pay the Seraws a portion of his income each month.

Volksfront Rising

Randy Krager, now 30, is leading a resurgent Volksfront. The group that had virtually disappeared as the 1990s came to an end grew from five to eight chapters in 2003, spreading east to Pennsylvania and strengthening its presence in California.

From an estimated 50 members in 2001, when it first reemerged, it has grown to approximately 100 serious members, many of them in a highly active Phoenix unit. "We've had a fairly constant flow of individuals with ties to Volksfront coming to Phoenix," said Michelle Lefkowith, a hate group researcher who works for the ADL. "There's quite a network

Michelle Bramblett contributed to this story.

"Line them up against a wall,
"Shoot them, watch them die.
"I love to hear the agony,
"They vomit, scream and cry."

At 16, future Volksfront founder Randy Krager (left, center) attended the 1988 civil trial of neo-Nazi leader Tom Metzger. Already implicated in criminal violence, Krager described Metzger as a "cool guy." Volksfront members provided security for Metzger (below) at this year's Aryan Fest.

KRAIG SCATTARELLA/*THE OREGONIAN*

developing between Oregon, Washington, California and Arizona. They seem to be a real up-and-coming neo-Nazi organization."

They are also an unusual one, in that they follow a political line very similar to that of Tom Metzger, the so-called "Third Position" or "Third Way." In practice, that means the group claims to stand for working-class whites, rejecting capitalism as well as communism (though Metzger often lauded the former Soviet Union as a white workers' state), and angrily opposing non-white immigration. It backs unions, a fact underlined by Krager's activism in local construction unions. And it embraces a racist version of Asatrú, a form of Scandinavian paganism dating to the Middle Ages.

This ideology has not stopped Krager, a scary-looking man of some 240 pounds, from maintaining a relatively nonsectarian stance and making alliances with many sectors of the radical right. This January, in a park outside Phoenix, Volksfront hosted Aryan Fest, a major white power music event, and managed to win plaudits from most of those who attended. Among the racist stars who came were Richard Butler, the leader of the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations; Metzger, who also spoke at a 2001 event hosted by Volksfront; Billy Roper, the head of a hot new group, White Revolution; and a large number of racist bands. After the event, which featured heavy security provided by Volksfront, racists sung the praises of the group far and wide.

Krager's group also claims to have recently purchased a five-acre plot of land, apparently located outside Medford, Ore., from members of the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations. Volksfront has said on its Web site that it intends to build a "folk homeland" on its acreage.

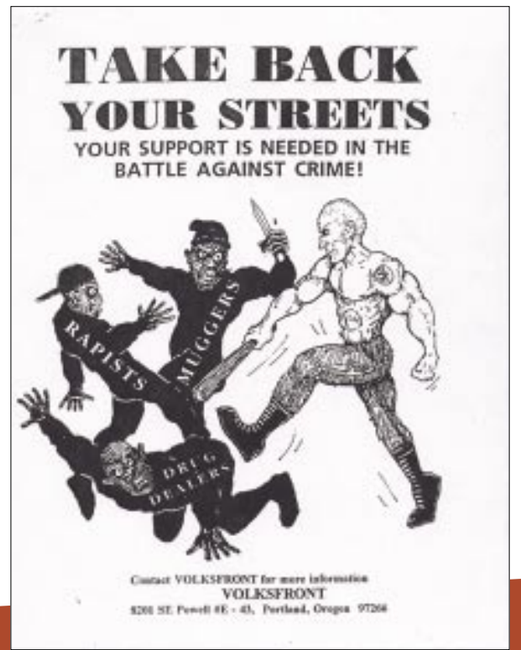
Volksfront seems to have profited from the troubles of other groups, among them the World Church of the Creator, which collapsed after its leader Matt Hale was convicted this spring of soliciting the murder of a federal judge (see story, p. 36). Hard times in the Aryan Nations and the National Alliance, two historically large neo-Nazi groups, also may be driving new members into Volksfront.

"They are definitely a more significant player on the white supremacist scene with the decline of the National Alliance and the Aryan Nations," said Randy Blazak, a Portland State University sociology professor who has studied Volksfront and knows Krager personally. "They are trying to fill that vacuum."

The Evidence

Is Volksfront really nonviolent? As its posted remarks on violence suggest, the group manages to maintain a useful ambiguity on this critical question.

In 2001, the same year that it adopted its nonviolence language, Volksfront also announced to its members that it had created a special security database meant to track "enemy individuals and organizations." Photos and other personal data on antiracists were solicited for the database. Given the history of Skinhead violence in Portland — one racist Skinhead was killed by an antiracist in the wars that convulsed the city in the early 1990s — this was widely seen as a serious threat by antiracists.



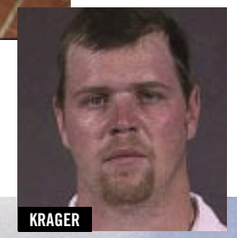
Volksfront claims it is now opposed to violence. It wasn't always so.

Intimidation One, the band that has been associated with Volksfront since its early days, issued a threat to antiracists the same year, suggesting that they click on a certain computer link to learn their eventual fate. The link brought viewers to a film that showed apparent World War II fascists sawing a man's head off with a knife — a film that is incredibly grotesque and frightening, even by neo-Nazi standards.

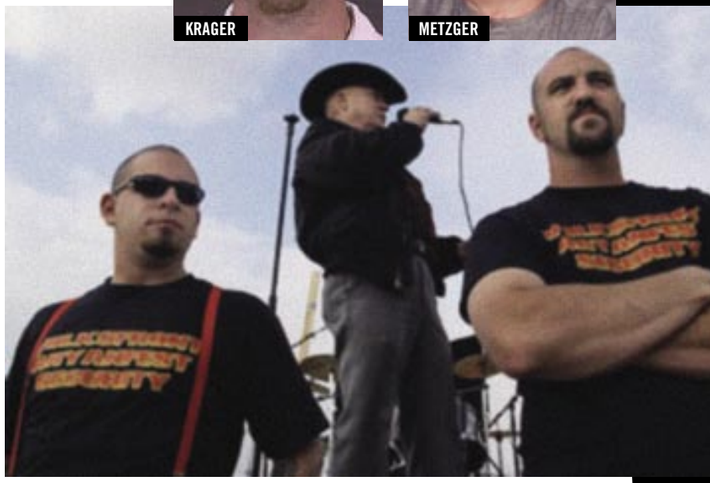
Krager claims great distance from Intimidation One, even though the band still plays regularly at Volksfront events and also distributes the group's literature. In addition, Intimidation One albums are distributed by Imperium Records – a white power music label whose Web site is registered to the same address as Volksfront's main page (along with Volksfront's publishing arm, Thule Publications).

According to Scott Britt, a former racist Portland Skinhead, Thule Publications at some point endorsed the 1984 "Declaration of War" penned by Bob Mathews, leader of the terrorist Order group that gunned down a Denver talk show host and robbed some $4.1 million in armored car heists. (Mathews was killed later that year in a Washington state shootout with the FBI.) The declaration committed its backers to a "full and unrelenting state of war" against the government.

Volksfront also sells on its own Web site a compilation CD — featuring both Intimidation One and a band called Jew Slaughter — entitled "Martyrdom Volume One: Free Ken Mieske." Mieske, whose street name is Ken Death, is in prison for carrying out the Seraw murder. Lauded by


KRAGER


METZGER



Volksfront as a prisoner of war, Meiske once wrote a poem called "Senseless Violence." Its words are to the point:

"Line them up against a wall,
"Shoot them, watch them die.
"I love to hear the agony,
"They vomit, scream and cry."

Volksfront, along with racist outfits known as Upfront Records and the Northwest Folk Alliance, sponsors a publication called *The Folk Tribune: The Independent Voice of the White Working Class*. In a 2002 issue, Volksfront pays tribute to Hendrik Möbus, a German neo-Nazi convicted of the murder of a teenager. It angrily complains about the conviction of members of a local neo-Nazi band for assault and witness tampering. ("BEATING A PEDOPHILE IS NO CRIME," it says. "IT IS A PUBLIC SERVICE!") It carries "Scum Watch," a feature with photos of antiracists activists topped by headlines like "Criminal Jew" and "Traitor."

Volksfront's POW list also is instructive. Although it apparently won't be featuring Kurtis Monschke any time soon, its authors do not shrink from lauding others who committed similar crimes, saying that while they reject violence they understand that those in prison were motivated by "defense of our people."

Who are these Aryan heroes? David Tate, who murdered a Missouri state trooper and was a member of Mathews' terror gang; George Loeb, killer of a black Gulf War veteran; James Burmeister, an Army paratrooper who shot to death a black couple outside Ft. Bragg, N.C.; Wallace Weicherding, imprisoned for his role in a plot to blow up the Southern Poverty Law Center and every state capitol in America; Yori Kahl, who helped his father murder two U.S. marshals; and Nathan Thill, who shot a black man to death in Denver because he was "wearing the enemy's uniform" — his black skin. The list goes on, including a whole roster of racist killers.

"Krager was in the [prison] system a long time and he came out a lot more sophisticated than he went in," said Lefkowith, who knew Volksfront well when she was an activist with an Oregon anti-hate group. "But it's all smoke and mirrors. It's a way to put a kinder, gentler face on an extremely radical and violent organization. Numerous individuals associated with Volksfront have long criminal histories."

Helping Out With Hate

Randy Krager and his growing group may admire cop-killers and racist murderers, but they still insist that they have some real contributions to make to society. That was made crystal clear to Randy Blazak a few minutes before midnight one Saturday in late 2001. Opening his electronic mailbox, Blazak found an E-mail sent to him in his capacity as a member of the state's Coalition Against Hate Crimes (CAHC) — a body that includes representatives of law enforcement, government, and civil rights, gay rights and religious groups, among other things.

"Violence is part of the social environment of Volksfront."

"Greetings!" it began, and then, identifying its authors as "a group committed to ending violent and hate crimes," it politely asked for CAHC's membership rules.

The E-mail was from Volksfront.

"I think we would represent a currently unrepresented segment of our society on the issue of hate crimes and would therefore be a big asset," an anonymous Volksfront member wrote in a follow-up E-mail. "On this matter we are completely serious and very interested. Please do not let your own preconceived notions of us interfere with the unique assets we bring to the work of ending hate crimes."

"It was an amazing request," said Emily Gottfried, the American Jewish Committee's representative at CAHC. "They weren't trying to join us because they believed what we believed. That was not their purpose. It was insane."

Whether or not Volksfront indeed had "unique assets" to bring to the battle against hate, it was not invited to join CAHC. Volksfront, after all, is working to turn the Pacific Northwest into an all-white Aryan homeland — an end it says it will reach by deporting people of color. Somehow, that didn't sound too tolerant.

The public's verdict may still be out on Volksfront's attitude toward violence. It's in, though, in the case of Kurtis Monschke, Washington state leader of the organization — even if Volksfront did put up a belated message disbanding all of its Washington operations because of "violations of organizational policy." And the verdict in that case was guilty. (Pillatos, Butters and Frye, who testified against Monschke, pleaded guilty to lesser charges and are expected to be sentenced for their roles this August.) Many observers think that judgment could easily apply to Volksfront as well.

"Volksfront began at the hands of individuals who were involved in criminal activity," said anti-racist Eric Ward, a former Seattle activist who now works for the Chicago-based Center for New Community. "I have a hard time believing that such criminal activity will not continue. They can say that they are not involved in violent activity and they can condemn it, but it certainly seems to occur around them quite frequently. Violence is part of the social environment of Volksfront." ▲

LUI KIT WONG / *TACOMA, WASH.) NEWS-TRIBUNE*

David Pillatos, who struck the first blows in the murder of Randy Townsend, testifies in Kurtis Monschke's trial

'I KILLED HIM AND I LIKED IT'

In the months after their arrests in the 2003 murder of Randall Townsend, four racist Skinheads sent scores of handwritten letters to friends, lovers and relatives. In them, the suspects — David Nikos Pillatos, who was 19 at the time of the killing, Scotty James Butters, 20, Tristain Lynn Frye, 22, and Kurtis William Monschke, 19 — expressed fury at those they thought were talking to police, talked about their own fates, and even offered rare glimmers of regret. Frye, the only woman, was pregnant with Pillatos' child at the time and both of them frequently worried about the future of their child. The mostly undated letters paint a confusing portrait, with stories and attitudes changing regularly and many references left unclear. In the end, Pillatos, Butters and Frye all pleaded guilty — the two men to first-degree, and Frye to second-degree murder — and testified against Monschke, the neo-Nazi Volksfront leader who was later convicted of aggravated first-degree murder. Pillatos, Butters and Frye had begun the assault on Townsend, who they mistakenly assumed was a drug dealer, using baseball bats, rocks and steel-toed boots; Monschke finished off the homeless man with a bat. The letters came to light when jail officials began opening mail in order, they said, to keep the jail safe. Although the trial judge refused to allow any of the letters to be presented to the jury, they are a part of the court record. Letters to attorneys were not opened, with one exception: a remarkable note from Pillatos to his attorney that was not marked "legal mail." In it, Pillatos writes, "FUCK THE PROSECUTORS. I'M NOT TAKING A DEAL. … I killed him and I liked it." Other excerpts follow. For the sake of authenticity, grammatical and spelling mistakes have been left intact.

DAVID NIKOS PILLATOS

TO FRYE "I know you were scared and didn't want nothing to happen. You're a pregnant woman for Christ sake. You didn't even help burn evidence. Polygraph that. You didn't even have steel toed boots. Polygraph that. You gonna do fine baby. Don't stress. You have more luck than me. Keep the baby healthy. Stress won't help."

TO A FRIEND "By the time I get out I'll be on big angry person. Prison will not help me. I'll try to help myself. Dam I'll be 39 years old if I'm released with good time. My kid will be 20 and I'll have no one. Have to get out and start all over again from scratch. To old to marry with only 8 months freedom from age 12-39. Sad but my whole life has been."

TO FRYE "Will you mom allow that I teach Jr.? I know I already asked. Does she think I'm a monster. SKINHEAD falls under that category to most people. Call it uneducated hate. The bible (I've been studying) is pretty clear. It says the rulers of Jerusalem were pure and white as snow."

TO FRYE "It wasn't planned to kill a bum. Even if said I wanted to beat up a drug dealer and I did. The police aren't doing enough of it."

TO HIS FATHER "Hearing about all that homeless guys friends pissed me off. If he was a retard or mentally ill how did he know what friendship even was. As far as I'm concerned I didn't do it. I don't have any friends to mourn me. If I die, there will be maybe 8 people there."

TO FRYE "Fuck him [Monschke] and Scotty [Butters]. Testify against all of us. You can do more for me out there than in here. Raise our child, send me pics, visit me, let me get you pregnant at a conjugal visit. Don't let pride or fear get in the way. You're a mother."

TO HIS AUNT "And I am sorry I'm back in jail but I feel its out of my control. I don't plan on doing crimes and don't even really like violence. I'm pleading insanity. I know I wasn't raised this way. And I know I used drugs. That's not why I killed the man. I kinda flipped out."

TO FRYE "I'll be 43 almost 44 if I get murder 1. And I'll be big, tattooed and mean as a motherfucker. As well as immature. Can't grow up in jail. Will ya still love me if I get out crazier than I am and start a militia?"

TO HIS GRANDMOTHER "I wish it was different, but I deserve whatever I get. It's karma. There's lots of stuff I've done that I never got caught for. Now I'll pay. It's up to whatever higher powers there are."

TO FRYE "I want the baby to be named David Matthews Lane Pillatos. It's gonna be a boy I think. Two famous revolutionaries. [*Editor's note: Bob Mathews, the leader of the terrorist group The Order, died in a shootout with the FBI in 1984; David Lane, a Mathews follower, is in prison for his part in a murder The Order carried out the same year.*] I tried to convince myself I could give up my beliefs, but I can't."

TO HIS FATHER "At the library there's a how to draw book called How to Draw 50 Famous Faces. Its step by step illustrations. Copy off Hitler's."

TO FRYE "I'll love ya no matter what. Even if you decide jr shouldn't be raised with my beliefs. It would be kind of cute to have water colored child's paintings of swastikas with suns and stick figures sent to me. Just playen."

TRISTAIN LYNN FRYE

TO PILLATOS "Baby, you should see my cell. It's all decorated! My mats are on my floor because my cards are on the bed. I've got pictures on my desk (Lisa's sending one of you soon I hope). I've got collages on my walls and I've got Temper & Twist [graffiti "tags" used by Frye and Pillatos] all over. It's not quite home, but it'll have to do. … Anyhow it's late and my pregnancy sack is here so I'm gonna go. DUDE. It's peanut butter and jelly. Score!"

TO A FRIEND "The death penalty will more than likely be ruled out. Pray. As for Baby, I have an appointment soon. I've got cold sores all over my lips from some sort of allergic reaction to something they gave me. It looks horrid! It's embarrassing. I hope it's gone before I see David [Pillatos] in court."

TO HER SISTER-IN-LAW "The crazy part is [my grandmother] had told me to watch out for their beliefs and silly me, I had to find out the hard way what is involved with their beliefs. I should've listed rather than trust that I wouldn't get drug down by their racist, prejudiced crap. You know that my mom is the same age as [Townsend]. That scares me. That man was so innocent and he got killed over nothing because some thought themselves to be superior."

TO HER SISTER-IN-LAW "If my attorneys can prove I am not racist, and all this wasn't for my initiation I will be set free. What happened to that man is tragic and I am the only one that cares, cries or hurts over that mans death."

TO HER FATHER "What about baby? Sigh. Whatever happens is Gods will. I can't talk about this case any more but even Jen, Kurtis' girlfriend said I've been wanting to get my red laces for a while! The fact is I really didn't care. They're shoelaces, the boys other person wanted me to get them more than anyone."

TO HER MOTHER "I guess we really wasted that money but it was so cool to be able to get pierced with my mom! Dude! Where's my car!? Cheer up mom. Everything will be fine."

TO HER FATHER "See the fact is that I was there and saw everything but didn't call 911. Have you ever watched someone you know kill a man you just shared a beer with and then had that same man threaten your if you told? No one can judge me or my actions except God."

JANET JENSON / (TACOMA, WASH.) NEWS-TRIBUNE

On trial, Kurtis Monschke contemplates the evidence against him.

SCOTTY JAMES BUTTERS

TO HIS GIRLFRIEND "I don't know if you know, but I am locked up for murder. I was set up by some sissy ass, fake, young wannabe skinheads. They are trying to give me the death penalty. … Tell everyone I said hi. If I get out I am moving back to Humboldt county for sure. I do not like Washington and miss good old Northern California. … Hopefully I will be out in my early 30's."

TO A FRIEND "I will stand tall and strong to a solid, loyal brother or sister, but I will not just sit there and die for a punk ass traitor. … The only good thing I can say about my arrest was when Detroit arrested me I was drunk. LOL."

TO HIS GIRLFRIEND "The son of a bitch [Pillatos] has the nerve to call himself a skinhead. Then I find out he has a spic gang tattoo on his stomach. Also, his girlfriend [Frye] claims to be WP ["white power"] I always thought she was a fake, but come to find out she fucks niggers. Not only are they traitors + betray me, but they are fake + a disgrace to my race. They fucked me over + now they expect my loyalty."

TO HIS GIRLFRIEND "I got more tattoos. I got the Swastika on my arm. It looks like this. I have another swastika on my right chest. It is big and blocked. I have lightning bolts on my left chest. I have half of my Iron Cross on my right shoulder. I have more to go. … How is everyone down there? Tell Hez, Esther, etc. I said hi. Man I miss it down there. Making money, getting loaded, hanging out, etc. etc."

KURTIS WILLIAM MONSCHKE

TO JAKE LASKEY "Hey Jake? [*Editor's note: Laskey is the head of the "Prisoner Affairs Department" of Volksfront, the neo-Nazi group of which Monschke was the Washington state leader.*] There's a black guy & a Jew, both sitting atop a building, both fall … who hits the ground first? … Who cares! Ha Ha Ha … I am trying to get moved to the 'God Pod' responsible living unit. Where you attend bible school. I know most the teaching will be tainted, but I can see through the Jewry."

TO A FRIEND "That's 2 solid Aryan's who were doing a lot of good for the movement. One with a child on the way (14 words). [*Editor's note: The "14 Words" — "We must secure the existence of our people and a future for White children" — is a famous motto penned by an imprisoned white supremacist murderer. Monschke is apparently referring to Frye and Pillatos.*] Who are now in the hands of the Jew. Two people couldn't just stand tall & hold their own for the fight of the Aryan race. Kind of makes you want to cry, huh?

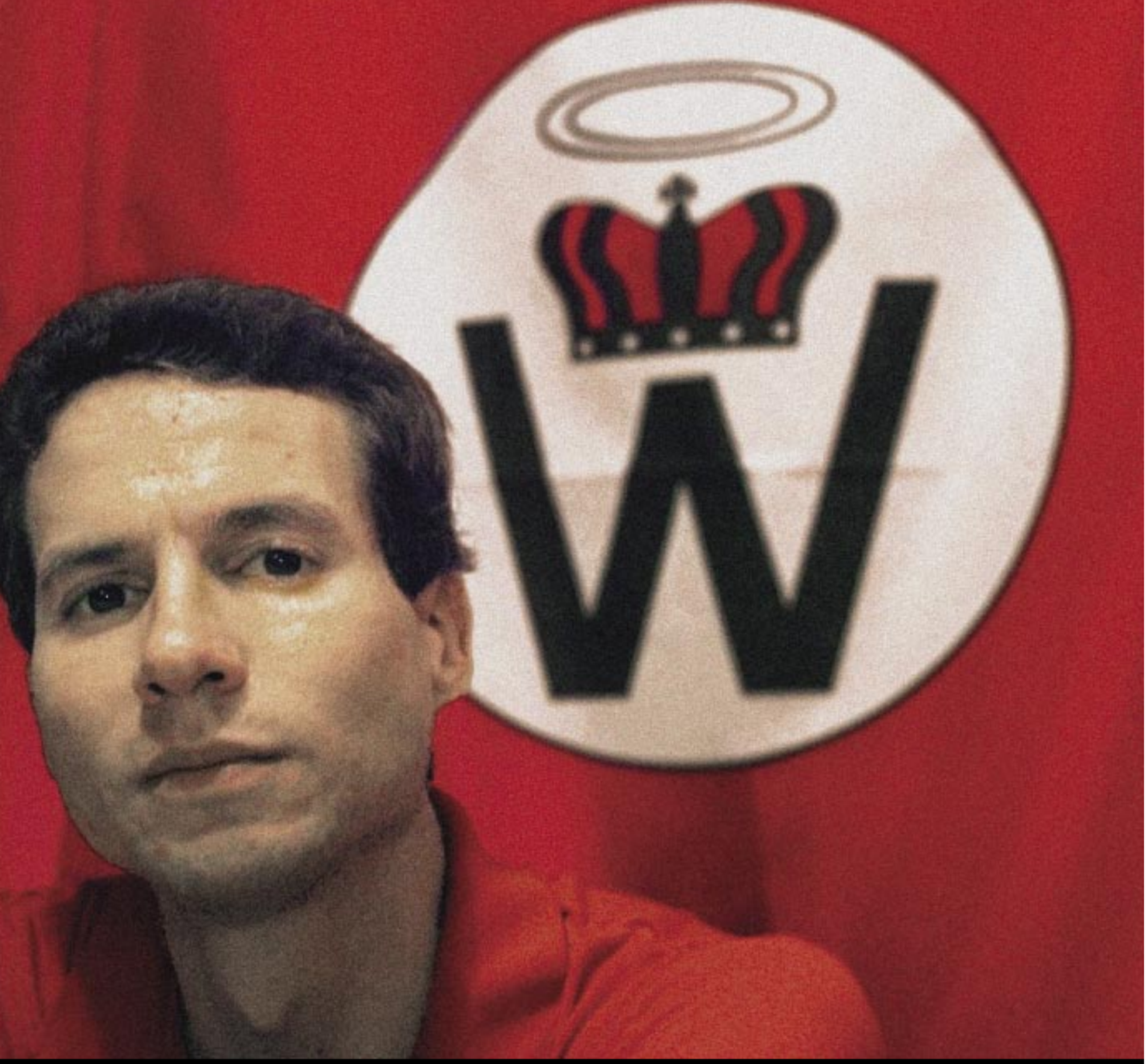
TO LASKEY "When I get out I will wipe my feces on those shitskins [Butters and Pillatos], & take pix & then to top it all off, I'll make a Web site dedicated to broadcasting those who don't remain loyal in times of struggle & put all the pictures on the site!"

TO HIS GIRLFRIEND "I heard that the detectives paid you a visit. They are using everything you told them specially the whole red shoe lace thing. But I'm not mad at you. I love you. I hope no one has turned you against me. All my days will surely darken if that has happened."

TO LASKEY "Bruder [German for "brother"], we are one, from the first to the last. I lack the artillery, but I have enough fight in me to win. And we will win, for it's the promises of our grandfathers. … It is time for revolution, but people just aren't read, The Order, yes they were right on the money, hit it on the freaking nail. We just need to pick up the damn torch."

TO LASKEY "Why am I such a leper? I would really like to know. Is it b/c I chose not to give up on people when they made mistakes? … But does that mean I need to be ridiculed and made a leper by my own people? It hurts. But as I said to others I love my people enough that I'd give my life … If hating me, blaming me, or killing me, some how helps the movement move forward then so be it!"

TO LASKEY "Look last night I was upset. My head is clear now. I understand why everyone is unhappy with me. And if the way they choose to deal with it is by abandoning me & not acknowledging me than anything more than a nigger, then so be it. I still believe in the cause, to be noble & true. I believe Volksfront to be a fine organization & am severely sorry to have brought harm to it or its member." ▲



GETTY IMAGES

PONTIFEX

THE TRIAL THAT SENT NEO-NAZI MATT HALE TO PRISON ALSO REVEA LED THE SHABBY REALITY OF HIS WORLD CHURCH OF THE CREATOR

BY BOB MOSER

CHICAGO — When Matt Hale shambled into a small Chicago courtroom on April 6, commencing the first day of a trial that could land him in prison for life, nobody gasped audibly. But the first glimpse of Hale, David Duke's only serious rival for the title of America's most famous neo-Nazi, left looks of profound confusion on dozens of faces around the courtroom. Looks that said: That can't possibly be him, can it?

But yes, this was him. This was the man who had spent more than a decade crafting a public image as the handsome, clean-cut, suit-and-tie-wearing boy genius of American neo-Nazism. Now, for the most critical three weeks of his life, Hale had decided to eschew his Sunday best and come to court in an orange prison jumpsuit, carelessly unbuttoned at the top, a stretch of white T-shirt showing underneath.

Puzzled reporters later discovered that Hale had chosen his attire as a way of protesting his incarceration, of marking himself as a "political prisoner" for all the world to see. But since the judge reportedly refused to let Hale's attorney explain his appearance to the jury, the prison jumpsuit only served to mark him as a criminal.

It wasn't the first time Hale had left people scratching their heads. The reality of Matt Hale — like that of the neo-Nazi group he commanded — has never come close to the image. He made grandiose claims about the World Church of the Creator's membership, for instance, sometimes telling gullible reporters and supporters there were as many as 80,000 — when the real number never reached one thousand. But Hale exaggerated so expertly that even the normally sharp *New York Times* columnist Nicholas Kristof fell for it, calling WCOTC the standard-bearer of "Hate, American Style."

Nothing mattered more than the personal image of Hale himself. A mere 25 years old in 1996, when he was crowned Pontifex Maximus (high priest) of an obscure, nearly moribund organization called "Church of the Creator," Hale quickly displayed a rare gift for attracting publicity. Like Duke, he recognized that a presentable, well-spoken, youthful neo-Nazi leader would certainly have novelty on his side. Especially one who, like Hale, could boast about being a law student at a reputable university. As he traveled the country, mingling with his fellow neo-Nazis at rallies and watering down his message of racial holy war ("RaHoWa") for small-town library audiences, Hale always made one thing perfectly clear: He was a cut above the herd.

To reinforce this illusion, Hale added "World" to the name of his group. He christened two upstairs rooms in his father's humble house in East Peoria, Ill., the "World Headquarters." Wherever he went, he made sure he was accompanied by his "elite security force," the White Berets. His thin, quavering voice spoke in measured, lofty tones. When reporters from big magazines like *GQ* came calling, he might even break out his violin, emphasizing that he was not only a law student but — get this! — a classically trained musician, as well. For photos, he would often remove his

glasses and clench his jaw, making his face look fuller, more dignified.

And now here he was, on the first day of jury selection, wearing that orange jumpsuit. As Hale gingerly lowered himself into his chair at the defendant's desk, he craned his thin neck around the courtroom for a quick, anxious study of the spectators. What he saw surely dispirited him. Or, rather, what he didn't see, because the only familiar faces belonged to a couple of local reporters and Hale's divorced parents, Russell and Evelyn. Not one of his followers had shown up for the start of what Hale, in prison letters and poems, had grandly dubbed "Nuremberg II," or, more simply, "The Great Trial."

For the man who would be führer, it only went downhill from there. Hale would watch as his defense attorney, Thomas Durkin, helped select a multiracial jury — five African Americans, one Latino, and one white college dean with a black partner — to decide whether the white-supremacist leader had obstructed justice and solicited the murder of a federal judge. (Durkin's theory, with which Hale vehemently disagreed, was that minorities would be more likely to believe that the government had framed his client.) He would look on as Durkin tested the jurors' patience with long, rambling, frequently overruled arguments and cross-examinations. He would see revulsion spread across jurors' faces as they read his E-mail messages and listened to tapes of his public speeches and private conversations.

Hale could only watch, silent and slack-jawed, as the curtain was pulled back on his cherished empire and his carefully groomed image, revealing the shabbiness and sordidness behind the illusion. And in one final, painful twist of fate, those most responsible for pulling back the curtain would be three of the members the Pontifex Maximus trusted the most.

Vacuuming for the Führer

Jimmy Burnett was barely old enough to drive in 1991, when he happened upon a cable-access television show called "Race and Reason." The host was a nerdy-looking, smart-sounding Bradley University student who had founded a neo-Nazi group on campus. Born with fetal alcohol syndrome, Burnett had serious mental and physical disabilities that had led him to drop out of school. He was looking for something to do with his life. So he called the hotline number spelled out by the host. And the next thing he knew, Matt Hale had shown up on his doorstep, ready to help him find his life's purpose.

After Hale assumed command of the World Church of the Creator (WCOTC), Burnett became his Boy Friday, working for him three times a week. He vacuumed the "World Headquarters." He rolled up copies of the Church's newsletter, *The Struggle*. He helped maintain the shrine that Hale erected to himself, adding fresh photos, articles, and videos of Hale's television appearances. He would do anything "Mr. Hale" asked — which meant, on one occasion, stealing a batch of *Thrifty Nickel* newspapers and inserting WCOTC fliers in them. "I wouldn't dare defy him," Burnett nervously testified on the second day of his former hero's trial.

NOTHING MATTERED MORE THAN THE PERSONAL IMAGE OF HALE HIMSELF.

In September 1998, Burnett got some help with his tasks at the World Headquarters. Ben Smith, a sweet-faced local college student, quickly became Hale's most enthusiastic proselyte — a tireless worker who left thousands of WCOTC leaflets in mailboxes, on cars and in driveways all across Illinois. Unlike Burnett, who testified that he'd only read "just a few chapters in front" of the church's main "holy book," *The White Man's Bible*, Smith shared Hale's passion for the twisted ideology mapped out by Ben Klassen, the Church of the Creator founder who committed suicide in 1993.

Like Burnett, Smith had access to both the public Matt Hale and the private Matt Hale. In public, Burnett testified, Hale would inveigh against Jews and "mud races," but also advise members to "stay legal at all times." But "it was more of a darker tone at private meetings," Burnett said, "more hinting at violence." Hale would talk, for instance, about having "Jewish leaders hanged." And what about white people who consorted with minorities? "He would have race traitors exterminated."

Shooting for More Members

When Matt Hale spoke, Jimmy Burnett listened. Ben Smith acted. In the summer of 1999, word came down that Hale had been denied his law license in Illinois, deemed morally unfit for the bar. A few days later, Smith — who had planned to follow Hale's lead and go to law school himself — launched out on a three-day, one-man ethnic-cleansing campaign that left two people shot to death and seven wounded. On July 4, he ended the spree by turning a gun on himself.

Hale, Burnett testified, was anything but sorry. He had only one regret, he told his faithful assistant: "He wished Ben Smith had killed more race traitors." Far from distraught at losing the man he called "my protégé," Hale seemed positively ebullient, telling Burnett the national attention brought on by Smith's rampage "would bring in more membership and more PR."

That it did. The WCOTC's membership began to climb, reaching its peak two years later with 88 chapters nationwide — more than any other neo-Nazi group could claim. Hale became a minor media celebrity in the wake of the tragedy, profiled in major newspapers and magazines, interviewed by Katie Couric on the "Today" show, visited at home by CNN. But while he was riding high, Hale was sowing the seeds of his own destruction — and the WCOTC's.

Burnett stuck with him longer than anyone else — "till he was arrested," he testified. But by the time Burnett stepped down from the witness stand, visibly relieved to be finished with painting his former hero as a serial liar and petty tyrant, the jury was prepared to believe just about anything about his former boss. "You've seen some members of the WCOTC," prosecutor David Weisman would remind them in his closing argument, "and [Hale] is a lot smarter than all of them. He is a manipulator. He wants somebody else to do his dirty work."

Clueless in Kentucky

A high-school dropout with severe bipolar disorder, Jon Fox was already a member of the antigovernment Kentucky State Militia when he first paid his $35 yearly dues to the World Church of the Creator in 1997. But it was only after the 9/11 terrorist attacks that Fox — a burly, bearded man with a well-earned reputation as one of the wilder characters in the world of white supremacy — decided to fully devote himself to Hale's cause by becoming a WCOTC "reverend."

Hale learned classical violin as a child; as an adult, he liked to show his stuff to visiting reporters, highlighting his "boy genius" persona.

During his testimony, Fox explained the process of becoming a high official in Hale's church: "You would just send $15 to Matt, he would send a test, and you'd just fill out the test and send it back to Matt and he would grade it."

Was the test difficult? Fox was asked.

"It's open book," he testified. "It couldn't get any easier."

"So you passed?"

"Third time around."

Fox formed a new Kentucky chapter of the WCOTC that fall. A year later, in October 2002, he met Hale at a Ku Klux Klan rally in West Virginia, where the Pontifex Maximus asked his gung-ho "reverend" to take a more important job: state leader of Hale's own Illinois chapter. Hale said he wanted "someone he could trust," Fox testified, "someone older and mature." Hale offered to pay for the move out of the church's coffers, and to send another one of his loyalists, Scott Gulbranson, to transport the Fox family from Kentucky.

It sounded like a sweet deal to Fox, who at the time was living with his two daughters in a homeless shelter. Besides, as Fox testified, "I thought I was doing something good, being an idealist or whatever you want to call it."

He had no clue that he was stepping into a maelstrom. By the time Fox arrived in East Peoria that November, Hale was furiously fending off challenges to his leadership from at least two disgruntled factions of the World Church. The Montana chapter had already "impeached" Hale and installed its own Pontifex Maximus. But that was only the tip of the iceberg. Hale was also awaiting a court order that might force the WCOTC to change its name — the one he'd worked to make famous.

That May, a suit had been filed in federal court on behalf of the TE-TA-MA Foundation, a religious organization in Oregon that had trademarked the name "Church of the Creator." Because of the similarity in the names, attorney James Amend testified, "My clients were getting blamed for the views" of Hale's better-known "church."

When U.S. District Judge Joan Lefkow issued a ruling in the trademark suit, Hale breathed a sigh of relief: Lefkow said that because "Church of the Creator" was a generic name for religious organizations, the trademark was null and void. WCOTC could keep its name.

Not for long, however. When TE-TA-MA appealed Judge Lefkow's decision, the 7th Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals reversed her ruling, declaring the trademark was valid after all. Judge Lefkow was left with no choice but to issue an order forcing the WCOTC to comply with the higher court's finding.

On Nov. 19, less than two weeks after Fox and his daughters rolled into East Peoria, the order came down. The World Church of the Creator had to stop using its name, and had to report back to the court within 30 days that the name had been removed from all print materials — or at least covered up with tape — and taken off of the group's Web sites.

Hale snapped. On Nov. 29, he dispatched an E-mail message to key WCOTC members calling the ruling "a sick, draconian order that in effect places our church in a state of war." The order had made it clear that there was no need to destroy the WCOTC's most valuable possessions — more than 4,000 "holy books" that sold for $10 a pop. But Hale told his followers that the court had ordered a "book-burning." Blaming "Jew vermin" for this miscarriage of justice, Hale wrote, "They are the criminals, and we can now treat them like the criminal dogs they are." The note went on to declare "open season on all Jews."

Pregnant at 12

A few days after his incendiary E-mail, Hale summoned Fox to the World Head-

quarters saying he needed help distributing copies of that month's *Struggle*. When Fox arrived, he testified, "Matt said we had a lot to talk about. The first thing he brought up was, 'We have to teach this judge a lesson.' "

As they circled the block around Hale's father's house, avoiding the microphones Hale was convinced the government had installed there, he told Fox he was in search of Judge Lefkow's home address. "He wanted signs, posters, fliers around [her] neighborhood," Fox testified. "He wanted demonstrations every time she went to the courthouse. He wanted me to find out her daily routine. He wanted to intimidate her."

That wasn't all Hale wanted, Fox testified. "He said the judge, those attorneys, they all needed to die." So did the head of the TE-TA-MA Foundation. "He wanted the church burned down around his head. He asked if I, or anyone I knew, could do that. I told him no."

Under two long days of sarcastic cross-examination by Hale's attorney, Thomas Durkin, Fox calmly stuck to his story. But there was no hard evidence — no tapes, no E-mail messages — to back up his charge that Hale had solicited Judge Lefkow's murder. There was only the corroborating testimony of Fox's daughter, Elizabeth, who provided the saddest spectacle of Hale's three weeks in court.

Every inch the teenager, Elizabeth slouched into Courtroom 1441 wearing jeans and a T-shirt. She rolled her eyes and sneered at Durkin, at one point asking him, "Are you trying to confuse me or something?" But she also stuck to the story, testifying that her father had told her they were moving back to Kentucky because Hale had "asked him to do stuff, like he wanted the judge dead and the church burned to the ground. My dad decided we shouldn't be a part of this anymore."

Hale's erratic behavior wasn't the worst of it. By the time the Foxes hightailed it back to Kentucky in February 2003, Elizabeth was pregnant — courtesy, they say, of Scott Gulbranson, the man Hale had sent to help them move to Illinois. At the time, Elizabeth testified, she was "almost 13" years old.

JENNIFER WARBURG

Delivery Boy or Hit Man?

Tony Evola looked like a godsend when he showed up in East Peoria in the spring of 2000. The attention generated by the Ben Smith shootings already had Hale's conspiratorial brain buzzing about what the "Jewish occupational government" might do to bring him down. He felt certain that his house was being bugged. He knew that the Jewish Defense League (JDL), a bare-knuckles bunch of hate-group haters, was out to get him. He had good reason to suspect that his chief White Beret, Ken Dippold, could no longer be trusted.

Enter Evola. A wide, solidly built block of a man with a thick mustache, receding hairline and heavily accented, deep-as-a-well voice, Evola could pass for a cast member of "The Sopranos." But for Hale's purposes, his situation in life was even better than that. Held back by a severe learning disability, Evola was living on social security as he approached middle age, delivering pizzas and working volunteer security at Chicago public schools.

In March and April 2000, Evola turned up at two of Hale's speaking engagements in the company of a WCOTC member from Chicago, whom he'd met at the pizza parlor. As Hale was leaving one of the events, JDL members tried to start a scuffle. Evola stepped in instinctively, protecting the Pontifex Maximus as he made a safe exit.

The second time they met, Hale asked Evola to be his security chief. As Evola testified in court, he hadn't even joined the WCOTC at that point. But Hale was desperate. And when Evola brought him a gift the next time he visited East Peoria — a T-shirt he'd printed up, calling Ben Smith a "First Amendment Martyr" — Hale knew he'd found just the man to keep him safe.

From the spring of 2000 till Hale's arrest in January 2003, Evola went everywhere the Pontifex Maximus went. They drove and flew together to speaking engagements and racialist gatherings all over the country. While they traveled, there was plenty of time to talk — sometimes about killing people. Evola had contacts, you see, friends of his cousin who could do a "good quiet job" of "exterminating" any "rats" who needed it. And as trouble increasingly swirled around Hale, the rats seemed to be everywhere.

Hale never initiated the conversations about "exterminating" his enemies. But he never put a halt to them, either. During his four days of testimony, the jury heard a dozen tapes of Evola and Hale discussing these matters at length — all of them following the same basic script as their May 2002 conversation about Dan Hassett.

Hassett was a longtime church leader in Montana who'd been instrumental in choosing Hale as Pontifex Maximus in the first place. Now he was calling for his impeachment, sending E-mail messages calling Hale — among other things — a "Jew lover." On the tape, driving home from a rally, Evola brings up Hassett's "campaign" against Hale, and asks what Hale wants "done with him." As Nazi marching music blares in the background, Hale protests that he can't discuss such things — at least not directly. "[Y]ou have to understand my position. I can't ever say anything illegal and nor can I ever encourage anything illegal and that's why I simply have to say or hope …"


AP WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Trusted Creators: Jon Fox (opposite page, holding flag) stumbled into a maelstrom when Hale brought him to Illinois. Ben Smith (left) sacrificed his life – and two others – for Hale's cause. FBI informant Tony Evola (above, over Hale's shoulder) finally brought down Hale's sordid empire.

Evola: "You wouldn't mind him falling off the face of the earth."

Hale: "No, I wouldn't mind at all. … All I can say is that I hope the guy, however, one day, shuts up. I mean, what else can I say?"

Evola: "It'd be like that." On the tape, he can be heard snapping his fingers to demonstrate. "All I need is the cash to make it happen."

Hale: "Let me think about it."

The conversation continues in this vein for several more minutes, with Evola making suggestions and Hale equivocating. "I know damn well that if I were to tell you right now to go out there and shoot the bastard, you would in a heartbeat," Hale finally says. "I know you would and you know, believe me, it's tempting, believe me." On the tape, Hale can be heard laughing nervously over the martial strains of marching Nazis.

'Dumber Than a Bag of Hammers'

All told, Matt Hale talked with Tony Evola about bumping off five of his enemies: three WCOTC members, JDL Executive Director Ian Sigel and Judge Joan Lefkow.

For many courtroom observers, the most surprising thing about these taped conversations was that Hale, with his law-school training and his conspiratorial mind, never seemed to suspect the truth: that Evola was an FBI plant who'd been taping him from the git-go. "After the 10th time he's brought up killing somebody, how could you not be suspicious?" asked Richard Warman, a Canadian human-rights attorney who came to Chicago for the trial. "Hale must have read entrapment cases in first-year law. How could it not occur to him, 'Gee, it's almost like this guy's trying to get me to order a killing'? The first few times, sure, maybe you just think the guy's being overzealous. There are plenty of overzealous neo-Nazis out there. But the ninth, 10th time? Even if you're dumber than a bag of hammers, you're not going to keep failing to suspect anything."

"THERE WAS NO INTEGRITY. THERE WAS NO SENSE TO IT."

The boy genius of neo-Nazism never suspected a thing. Not even when Evola showed up unannounced at World Headquarters, the day after Hale sent out an E-mail message to selected WCOTC members, providing them with Judge Joan Lefkow's home address. After greeting the Pontifex Maximus with a hearty "RaHoWa!" Evola asked Hale why he'd given out the address. "[F]or educational purposes," Hale said, "and for whatever reason you wish it to be."

Evola: "[W]e gonna exterminate the rat?"

Hale: "Well, whatever you wanna do."

As usual, Hale then quickly qualified his remarks. "Ah, my position's always been that I, you know, I'm gonna fight within the law and, but, ah, that information's been pro-, provided. If you wish to, ah, do anything yourself, you can, you know?"

Evola: "Okay."

Hale: "So that makes it clear."

Evola: "Consider it done."

Hale: "Good."

Four days later, the FBI directed its informant to send Hale an E-mail message. "I called the exterminator," Evola wrote. "He is working to get rid of the femala [sic] rat right now." Records show that Hale got the message. In the past, he had always backed off when Evola told him a murder was actually going to go down. This time, he sent no reply at all.

JENNIFER WARBURG

The reality behind the image: Matt Hale at the moment of his arrest

A Dangerous Gamble

The prosecution rested on April 20, Hitler's birthday. Matt Hale's defense team called no witnesses, gambling that the jury would not convict him on the most serious charges he faced — soliciting Judge Lefkow's murder. But just to make sure, attorney Thomas Durkin gave a fiery closing argument that kept the courtroom riveted for more than two hours.

This case was not really about Hale, Durkin insisted — and it certainly was not about his "ugly, hateful, vile" ideas. Instead, Durkin argued, the case was a chilling example of "how dangerous it is when the government … infiltrates and attempts to capture people for what they think might have been done." FBI agents had been out to get Hale ever since the Ben Smith shootings, he said — and when they couldn't find a way to blame Hale for Smith's rampage, they used Tony Evola to frame him in a clear-cut case of government entrapment.

"This is not Hale trying to solicit Evola," Durkin bellowed, pacing up and down in front of the jury box. "This is Evola trying to induce Hale! If there was any soliciting, it was [done by] the government."

It took the jury two days to decide differently.

Still stubbornly wearing the orange jumpsuit, Hale squinted at the jury foreman — the college dean with an African-American partner — as he pronounced Hale not guilty of soliciting Jon Fox, but guilty of soliciting Evola. He was found guilty on all three of the lesser obstruction charges: attempting to intimidate Judge Lefkow, sending a letter to Lefkow with false information about the WCOTC's materials, and asking his father — in a taped phone conversation from jail — to lie in grand jury testimony about his son's reaction to the Ben Smith shootings.

Hale's face showed no expression at all. But he knew the math, no doubt: he would now be facing up to 50 years in prison. (He is to be sentenced on Aug. 23.) Hale tipped his head in the direction of his parents as he was led away, headed back to the solitary cell where he had spent the previous 15 months, helping his attorneys prepare for "Nuremberg II."

Wrong Again

Back in the halcyon days of Matt Hale's empire, when his shrine to himself was adding items even faster than the World Church of the Creator was adding members, he called his followers together for a one-year memorial service honoring Ben Smith. "Nothing builds a movement like persecution," Hale said with typical bravado. "Let them arrest me, and someone will take charge tomorrow."

It didn't turn out that way. Renamed the Creativity Movement, Hale's former "church" has practically dwindled to dust. A few days after his convictions, his remaining loyalists scheduled an "emergency meeting" to select a new "interim" leader. But there aren't many Creators left to lead. Some have peeled off into other neo-Nazi groups like White Revolution. Others, stung by their experience with the WCOTC, have sworn off neo-Nazi groups altogether. One Montana Creator went out with a bang last year, breaking into the storage shed where 4,100 of the "holy books" had been shipped for safekeeping. Identified in newspapers only as "Carl," he hauled off every last holy book and peddled them to the Montana Human Rights Network — for a token $300.

"One day I just asked, 'What am I doing?' " Carl told the *Billings Gazette*. "There was no integrity. There was no sense to it."

For the rest of the neo-Nazi universe, the message of Hale's conviction is crystal clear. "This whole thing, from beginning to end, is nothing but a Jewish conspiracy," former WCOTC stalwart Billy Brown recently railed at a White Revolution rally in South Carolina. "If we'd have had a legitimate judicial system, he'd have never been charged." Those sentiments were echoed in countless online postings. "We hate the jews [sic] ten times more today than yesterday," wrote one poster on the neo-Nazi Vanguard News Network.

It was only a matter of days before a Creator calling himself "Exterminance" took a trick out of Matt Hale's old playbook. He posted an address, cell and telephone number for an Anthony Evola outside Chicago, "In Case Anyone Wants To Say Hi." Within hours, threatening messages had started to pop up on Anthony Evola's answering machine.

Just one problem: It was the wrong Anthony Evola. ▲

BOOKS ON THE RIGHT

'Heart of Darkness'

A British journalist explores the sometimes frightening world of the American and European racist right

Into a World of Hate: A Journey Among the Extreme Right

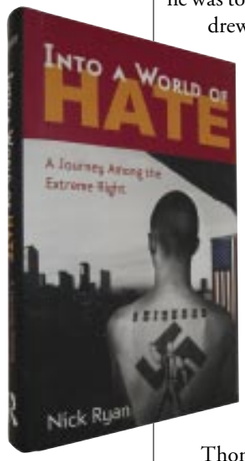
By Nick Ryan

NEW YORK: ROUTLEDGE, 2004, 320 PP., $27.50

In *Into a World of Hate*, British journalist Nick Ryan descends into a "heart of darkness" peopled by white supremacists. To inspect his rather disturbing subjects in their native environments, Ryan traveled to several Western European countries and the United States between 1996 and 2002, all the while interviewing members of the movement. One part travelogue, one part memoir, *Into a World of Hate*, first published last year as *Homeland* in the United Kingdom, is a useful and colorful introduction to the international subculture of race-hate.

No sociology textbook, Ryan's volume looks at the racist right anecdotally, shunning analytics in favor of the particular. This method yields interesting details about the odd birds that inhabit this world — like the facts that British ex-neo-Nazi leader, ex-monk and ex-Satanist David Myatt has a fondness for dueling and horse-drawn farm equipment and that Arkansas-based Christian Identity ideologue Mike Hallimore had a religious epiphany while deer hunting and is prone to tearing up. Ryan's book also gives an up-close-and-personal description of the shadowy, international network of "antifas," or anti-fascists, hooked to the British anti-racist magazine *Searchlight*. Without this network's contacts, largely provided by Ryan's friend and *Searchlight* investigator Nick Lowles, this book would not have been possible. For the most part, it is this network's specialists that give analytical coherence to the myriad and fascinating details Ryan digs up.

Ryan spins a harrowing tale as he fretfully descends deeper and deeper into the international network inhabited by extreme nationalists, neo-Nazis and other racial extremists. Ryan's strongest reporting takes place in his own backyard and in the United States. He spends months cultivating the leadership of the violent British group Combat-18 (C-18), drinking with them in their favorite watering holes and plying them for information. Ryan eventually attends the trial of the group's leader, Charlie Sargent, who ends up imprisoned for murder. He stays in touch with Charlie's brother Steve for a while thereafter and watches C-18 veteran Darren Wells switch sides and join *Searchlight's* informant network. (The information Wells provides ultimately destroys the group.) Ryan repeatedly interviews the leader of the white supremacist British National Party (BNP), Nick Griffin, and the American-based head of the American Friends of the British National Party (AFBNP), Mark Cotterill. With Griffin's endorsement, Ryan was even allowed to move into Cotterill's Washington, D.C.-area apartment for a few weeks, learning about Cotterill's efforts to build up the AFBNP as a fund-raising arm for his BNP allies. Not long after Ryan left Cotterill's apartment, the AFBNP collapsed in the wake of an *Intelligence Report* exposé of the group's illegal fundraising, an implosion that reverberates in Ryan's book as it hits both sides of the "pond."



Though Ryan was able to secure interviews with most of the movement's leadership, including the elusive American anti-Semite Willis Carto, his book is missing one very important actor: William Pierce, the now deceased founder of the neo-Nazi National Alliance. Pierce, who died unexpectedly in 2002, was a key neo-Nazi ideologue who influenced legions of followers both in the United States and abroad, predominantly through his race-hate propaganda novel, *The Turner Diaries*, which helped to inspire Timothy McVeigh's 1995 murder of 168 people with an ammonium nitrate bomb in Oklahoma City. Just a few days before he was to meet with Ryan, Pierce withdrew his offer of an interview after finding out that Ryan had worked with *Searchlight*.

Surprisingly, Pierce's absence may actually make the work better. He still haunts every bit of the narrative as a real-life "Dr. Evil" whose novels and other writings have inspired violence from lone-wolf white supremacists in many countries. Ryan documents how Pierce inspired much European violence, including the mail bombs of Thomas Nakaba, a Danish white supremacist. It is a rare extremist indeed that Ryan meets who doesn't hold Pierce in the highest regard. Ultimately, the absolute malignancy of Pierce and his legacy is made all the more real by hearing about him from those he "inspired" — something that Pierce's nasal, whiny voice and under-

stated, professorial demeanor might have masked.

Ryan's reporting uncovers a remarkable diversity on the far right, from lone "nutters" to powerful political parties such as the Austrian Freedom Party, whose leader Jorg Haider eludes Ryan's repeated requests for an interview. The sections on Germany are particularly disturbing, as they reveal a surprisingly large "nationalist" movement that includes political parties like the National Democratic Party, local "community"-based organizations such as the widespread Kameradschaften (comradeships), and even areas said to be off-limits to minorities that neo-Nazi activists call "National Liberated Zones." Ryan also includes other elements in the work, such as interviews with depressed African asylum seekers in Eastern Germany and accounts of anarchist street violence in Berlin. At times, these other scenes add to the work, as with the asylum seekers' gripping descriptions of their well-justified fears of neo-Nazi violence. In other cases, especially Ryan's descriptions of anti-globalization protests, the connection seems rather oblique.

Ryan's book confirms the international nature of the movement, with members of American and British radical groups frequently making their way to events put on by their transatlantic allies. His reporting shows how international networks link far-right, anti-immigrant political parties in Europe — such as France's National Front, on whose ticket Jean-Marie Le Pen won some 20% of the vote in a recent presidential run-off — with white supremacist organizations like the Council of Conservative Citizens here in the United States. As the right fractures in much of Europe, dividing into nationalist and non-nationalist factions, these connections are likely to expand. And widespread anger in Europe and some parts of the United States about immigrants and asylum-seekers seems to be adding fuel to the nationalist fires. These links between mobilized, extremist European political parties and our own white supremacists should give Americans pause. Europeans, of course, also have much to be concerned about from our extremists, many of whom are responsible for spreading across the Atlantic neo-Nazi propaganda that is illegal in Europe through Web sites, publishing operations and white power music.

Nick Ryan's book suffers from one annoying flaw: There's too much of the author in it. The text is overstuffed with Ryan's emotions, which quickly alternate from fearful, to cocky, and back to terrified. He writes extensively — probably too extensively — about his experiences in the Balkans, Asia and the Middle East. Readers should buy the book for its perceptive reporting and excellent writing, but, like me, they may wish they could skip some of the life of Ryan. ▲

— Heidi Beirich

LEGAL BRIEF

Taxing the First Amendment

A recent injunction prohibiting the sale of a tax protester's book raises thorny questions about the First Amendment

BY CATHERINE E. SMITH

The Internal Revenue Service (IRS) and the Tax Division of the Department of Justice (DOJ) have set their sights on scammers who market and promote tax-evasion schemes to the public. In May, Lynn Meredith, founding member of We the People (see also "Don Quixote of Queensbury," Winter 2001 *Intelligence Report*), was convicted of several offenses, including conspiracy to obstruct the IRS by advocating tax evasion via bogus trusts.

Irwin Schiff is next on the anti-tax chopping block.

Described by a federal court as "an extremist who reserve[s] the right to interpret the decisions of the Supreme Court as he read[s] them from his layman's point of view regardless of and oblivious to the interpretations of the judiciary," Schiff has doggedly espoused anti-tax philosophies for more than three decades and has served time, twice, for tax evasion. [*Schiff v. United States*, 612 F.2d 73, 75 (2nd Cir. 1979).]

Recently, a federal district court halted the sale of Schiff's book *The Federal Mafia: How the Government Illegally Imposes and Unlawfully Collects Income Taxes*, raising the ire of First Amendment advocates nationally.

The Federal Mafia, primarily autobiographical but teeming with Schiff's anti-government and anti-tax theories, instructs readers to file "zero-income" tax returns and includes attachments designed to accompany the returns. According to the IRS, Schiff's adherents have filed nearly 5,000 zero-income federal tax returns, bilking the government out of $56 million in the past three years.

Schiff's newest tax scheme reportedly caught the attention of the IRS after advertisements were aired on the Michael Savage and Bill O'Reilly shows. Schiff and two associates now face criminal prosecution for tax evasion, conspiracy to defraud the government, and aiding and abetting thousands of fraudulent tax returns.

Free Speech Advocates Rally

While no one — except Schiff — is complaining about his criminal woes, he has found some allies in his civil battle with the DOJ. In early 2003, after the government sought a preliminary injunction to stop Schiff from instructing others on how to file fraudulent returns through the sale and distribution of videotapes, Web sites, seminars, consultations and print materials — including *The Federal Mafia* — the American Civil Liberties Union of Nevada, the Association of American Publishers and others filed arguments on Schiff's behalf. Despite their pleas, the district court granted the injunction. While the injunction has been stayed pending the appeal, debate over Schiff's First Amendment right to sell his book rages on.

The central tenet of the First Amendment is a prohibition on government restriction of speech because of the message or idea expressed. [See R.A.V. v. City of St. Paul, 505 U.S. 377, 382 (1992).] But even the First Amendment has its limits.

The DOJ asserts that *The Federal Mafia* is commercial speech — "expression related solely to the economic interests of the speaker and its audience." [See *Central Hudson Gas* and *Electric Corp. v. Public Service Comm'n of New York*, 447 U.S. 557, 561-563 (1980).] Commercial speech is accorded less First Amendment protection than traditional forms of expression and enjoys no protection at all if it disseminates false information or is related to illegal activity. [See *Central Hudson*, 447 U.S. at 566; see also *Pittsburgh Press Co. v. Human Relations Comm'n*, 413 U.S. 376, 388 (1973).]

Free speech advocates, on the other hand, argue that *The Federal Mafia* is political, noncommercial speech and that the court's injunction violates the First Amendment as a "judicial order forbidding certain communications when issued in advance of the time that such communications are to occur." [*Alexander v. U.S.*, 509 U.S. 544, 550 (1993) (citation omitted); see also *Near v. Minnesota* ex. rel. Olson, 283 U.S. 697 (1931) (extending prior restraint law to injunctions against future speech).]

At the district level, the court's decision to halt the book's sale rested on two major conclusions. First, it deemed *The Federal Mafia* commercial speech, because the publication contained advertisements for Schiff's other materials. Economic motivations or advertisements, standing alone, however, do not make speech commercial. [See *Bolger v. Youngs Drug Products Corp.*, 463 U.S. 60, 66 (1983); *New York Times Co. v. Sullivan*, 376 U.S. 254, 266 (1964).] In *New York Times Co. v. Sullivan,* Montgomery, Ala., officials sued *The New York Times* for libel after it accepted and published an advertisement criticizing police actions against civil rights protesters. The Supreme Court rejected arguments that the advertisement was commercial speech because *The New York Times* was paid to run it. In finding the advertisement to be political speech, the court considered that it "expressed opinion, recited grievances, protested claimed abuses, and sought financial support" for a matter of public concern. [Id. at 266.] Surprisingly, the factors highlighted in *New York Times Co. v. Sullivan* were not mentioned in the district court's ruling.

Second, the court declared that, even if *The Federal Mafia* were considered political speech, the injunction would withstand constitutional scrutiny. [See *U.S. v. Schiff*, 269 F. Supp.2d 1262, 1279-1282 (D. Nev. 2003).] Even political speech is not absolute and may be restricted if it incites imminent lawless action, as established in *Brandenburg.* [See e.g., *R.A.V.*, 505 U.S. at 382-385; *Brandenburg v. Ohio*, 395 U.S. 444, 448 (1969).]

In *Brandenburg,* the defendant stated at a Ku Klux Klan rally that if the president, Congress and Supreme Court continued "to suppress the white Caucasian race, it's possible that there might have to be some revengeance [sic] taken." The Klansman was then convicted under a statute that barred advocacy of violence. [*Brandenburg,* 395 U.S. at 446-447.] The Supreme Court deemed the statute unconstitutional and found that the First Amendment protects the advocacy of legal violations as long as it is not "directed to inciting or producing imminent lawless action and is [not] likely to incite or produce such action." [Id. at 447-448.]

Imminent Action or General Advocacy?

To meet the imminence requirement of *Brandenburg,* timing is crucial. [See *McCoy v. Stewart*, 282 F.3d 626, 631 (9th Cir. 2002).] Schiff's instructions in *The Federal Mafia*, however, are mere advocacy of lawless actions at some "indefinite future time." [See *McCoy*, 282 F.3d at 631 (quoting *Hess v. Indiana,* 414 U.S. 105, 108 (1973)).] The government failed to show that the words of *The Federal Mafia* were "so close in time and purpose to a substantive evil as to become part of the ultimate crime itself." [*U.S. v. Freeman*, 761 F.2d 549, 552 (9th Cir. 1985) (affirming aiding and abetting tax conviction of defendant who counseled tax evaders at seminar).] The readers of *The Federal Mafia* had ample time to reflect on Schiff's theories, seek out corresponding viewpoints and make informed decisions as to whether to follow his advice.

Some might argue that Schiff's First Amendment rights should be analyzed in the context of *Rice v. Paladin Enterprises,* 128 F.3d 233 (4th Cir. 1997). In *Rice,* the defendant

CONTINUED ON PAGE 48

Catherine E. Smith is an assistant professor at the Denver University College of Law, where she teaches a course on extremism and the law.

for the Record

Incidents of apparent hate crimes and hate group activities listed in *For The Record* are drawn primarily from media sources. These incidents include only a fraction of the approximately 10,000 hate crimes reported to the FBI each year and an even smaller proportion of the 50,000 reported and unreported hate crimes that are estimated to actually occur annually. This listing carries a selection of incidents from the first quarter of 2004 (additional listings may be found on the Southern Poverty Law Center's Web site, www.intelligenceproject.org.)

ALABAMA

Auburn • Feb. 27, 2004
Fliers from the neo-Nazi National Alliance were posted downtown.

Daphne • March 22, 2004
Fliers from the Orion Knights of the Ku Klux Klan were left on the front lawns of residences.

Montgomery • Feb. 14, 2004
Fliers from the National Alliance were distributed in several neighborhoods.

ARIZONA

Gilbert • March 1, 2004
Fliers from the neo-Nazi National Alliance were distributed throughout a neighborhood.

Scottsdale • March 30, 2004
A black woman who works at a pro-diversity office received a threatening phone call.

CALIFORNIA

Anderson • January 2, 2004
A cross was burned in a black family's yard.

Chico • Feb. 28, 2004
Tires on a car occupied by several black Chico State University students were slashed and a racial slur was spray-painted on the vehicle.

Davis • Jan. 26, 2004
A racist threat was written in the men's restroom in a local park.

Felton • Feb. 25, 2004
Three men allegedly used racial and ethnic slurs and assaulted a man in a supermarket parking lot. Travis Clark was charged with battery, violation of civil rights and other charges.

Huntington Beach • March 29, 2004
A black person's car was set afire three weeks after it was spray-painted with a racial slur.

Jackson • Jan. 25, 2004
Fliers from the neo-Nazi National Alliance were distributed in various neighborhoods.

Lancaster • Feb. 17, 2004
Sean Delaney, 23, pleaded not guilty to two counts of attempted murder for allegedly committing the racially motivated stabbings of two black men.

Pacific Palisades • Feb. 2, 2004
Fliers from the National Alliance were distributed throughout a neighborhood.

Pomona • March 29, 2004
Tony Barron, a 17-year-old alleged member of a Hispanic street gang, was sentenced to life in prison for the hate-crime murders of two black men.

Sacramento • Feb. 15, 2004
Fliers from the National Alliance were thrown on lawns in a neighborhood.

Sacramento • March 4, 2004
Two 15-year-old students were each charged with conspiracy to commit murder and attempted burglary for allegedly plotting to attack black students.

Sebastopol • March 29, 2004
Leaflets from the National Alliance were distributed throughout the town.

West Covina • Feb. 29, 2004
Three Latinos allegedly assaulted a 15-year-old black youth.

COLORADO

Denver • Feb. 9, 2004
Fliers from the neo-Nazi National Alliance were left on cars outside an anti-Semitism forum.

Denver • March 23, 2004
Fliers from the National Alliance were distributed along the Front Range.

Highlands Ranch • March 2, 2004
Fliers from theneo-Nazi National Socialist Movement were placed on cars at a theater.

CONNECTICUT

Hartford • March 30, 2004
Literature from the white supremacist European-American Unity and Rights Organization was delivered to two neighborhoods.

Milford • March 22, 2004
Literature from the American Nazi Party was distributed throughout the city.

Norwich • March 19, 2004
Joseph D. Tiderencel, 21, was sentenced to five years of probation, the first four months of which he will spend in jail, after pleading guilty in February to felony third-degree mischief as a hate crime for breaking the windows of a Jewish center in July 2003. He was given credit for the 60 days he has already served in jail. Tiderencel also was ordered to pay the center $280 in restitution.

Stratford • Feb. 16, 2004
Fliers from the neo-Nazi White Revolution were distributed in two neighborhoods.

DELAWARE

Clarksville • March 21, 2004
Joshua E. Boyer, 16, Matthew S. Sutter, 15, Kenneth R. Sutter, 16, and Richard E. Bennett, 14, were charged with committing hate crimes after allegedly vandalizing a Methodist church.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Washington • February 9, 2004
Charles Lambert was sentenced to 37 months in prison for his role in a July 2001 cross burning that targeted an interracial couple.

FLORIDA

Bartow • March 29, 2004
Four black prisoners, Anthony Q. Raines, Maurice D. Spann, Richard Reginald Green, and Jerry Lee Hopkins, were charged with aggravated battery for allegedly beating a fellow white inmate.

Deerfield Beach • Jan. 25, 2004
Swastikas and anti-Semitic and anti-religious phrases were spray-painted on a Catholic church and a Presbyterian church.

Deltona • March 30, 2004
A black family's home was defaced with racist graffiti for the second time in two years.

Gainesville • March 1, 2004
Ernest Cox, a 48-year-old white man, was charged with aggravated assault after he allegedly used racial slurs against a black man and threatened to cut his throat.

Lakeland • March 21, 2004
Shane Desalvo, 30, was charged with aggravated assault with a deadly weapon as a hate crime after he allegedly used racial epithets and threatened his black neighbors with a hammer and knife.

Miami • Jan. 12, 2004
Racist literature from the neo-Nazi National Alliance was distributed to Florida attorneys.

Palm Beach • March 4, 2004
Three Bangladeshi convenience store workers were beaten during a robbery attempt. Police are investigating the incident as a hate crime.

Pinellas Park • Jan. 14, 2004
Louis J. Giannola was charged with a felony hate crime for allegedly throwing a noose around a black teenager's neck while yelling a racial slur.

Pompano Beach • March 29, 2004
Literature from the white supremacist White Aryan Resistance was left on doorsteps.

Stuart • Feb. 24, 2004
Two baseballs, one of which had racial statements written on it, were thrown through the window of a black family's residence.

Key West • Jan. 1, 2004
Travis Rigdon, 20, David Beckstead, 22, and Aaron Beckstead, 28, were charged with evidencing prejudice while committing a battery and Elias Miranda was charged with aggravated battery after the four men allegedly began making comments about gay men and then assaulted them.

GEORGIA

Augusta • March 6, 2004
Fliers from the neo-Nazi National Alliance were distributed in a parking lot.

Cleveland • March 15, 2004
A high school student was charged with making terroristic threats after allegedly sending an E-mail containing racist remarks and threats to the school's assistant principal.

ILLINOIS

Chicago • March 17, 2004
A white teacher allegedly made a racial remark against an 8-year-old African-American boy in her class.

Peoria • March 18, 2004
Two men allegedly attacked a man while yelling anti-gay epithets.

MARYLAND

Elkton • Feb. 1, 2004
The letters "KKK" were scrawled twice on doors at an African-American church.

Largo • March 14, 2004
Four teenagers allegedly spray-painted a swastika and the letters "KKK" on cars, street signs, lawn ornaments and homes.

MASSACHUSETTS

Carver • March 20, 2004
A 17-year-old allegedly spray-painted racial slurs on a black teacher's truck.

Hamilton • Feb. 11, 2004
Leaflets from the neo-Nazi National Alliance were distributed throughout a neighborhood.

Merrimac • Jan. 30, 2004
Fliers from the neo-Nazi White Revolution were left on lawns throughout a neighborhood.

Needham • March 27, 2004
Fliers from the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan were distributed throughout a neighborhood.

Springfield • Jan. 13, 2004
Swastikas and obscene graffiti were spray-painted on a Jewish family's home.

Tewksbury • Feb. 16, 2004
Fliers from the White Revolution were attached to mailboxes and car windshields throughout a neighborhood.

Topsfield • Feb. 14, 2004
Fliers from the National Alliance were left in driveways and mailboxes in a neighborhood.

MICHIGAN

Ann Arbor • March 28, 2004
Fliers from the Mystic Knights of the Ku Klux Klan were left in several mailboxes throughout a neighborhood.

Chesterfield Township • March 17, 2004
A cross was burned on the lawn of a biracial couple's home.

MINNESOTA

St. Cloud • March 15, 2004
Anti-Semitic literature from the neo-Nazi National Alliance was distributed throughout a neighborhood.

NEBRASKA

Fremont • March 4, 2004
Fliers from the neo-Nazi National Alliance were found throughout a neighborhood.

Omaha • Feb. 15, 2004
Fliers from the National Alliance were left in driveways in a neighborhood.

Omaha • March 1, 2004
Anti-gay brochures were distributed throughout a neighborhood.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Nashua • Jan. 9, 2004
An anti-gay epithet was painted on a condominium community's sign.

NEW JERSEY

Bridgewater • Feb. 14, 2004
Swastikas and profanities were spray-painted on more than 25 cars, a boat cover and the back of a school.

Cherry Hill • March 25, 2004
A brick bearing a note with a racial slur directed at a 17-year-old black teenager was left on the lawn of the teen's home.

Toms River • March 27, 2004
Eight alleged members of the racist Skinhead East Coast Hate Crew were arrested for allegedly targeting minorities, particularly Mexicans and Latinos, and beating a Hispanic male with a bat and other weapons.

NEW YORK

Bronx • March 2, 2004
About 15 black teenagers allegedly attacked three Hispanic teenagers.

Brooklyn • Jan. 17, 2004
Hiram Valentin and Michael Alvarez, both 20; Luis Torres, 26; and Ramon Ortiz, 21, were charged with attempted murder for allegedly participating in an attack on five Russian construction workers.

Brooklyn • March 1, 2004
A group of Hispanic teens allegedly attacked a white girl while yelling ethnic slurs.

Dobbs Ferry • Feb. 23, 2004
Literature from the Orion Knights of the Ku Klux Klan was distributed throughout a neighborhood.

Great Kills • Feb. 12, 2004
Three white men, Christian Rudge, 20, Anthony Improta, 18, and Christopher Zitelli, 19, were charged with assault as a hate crime, assault and weapons violations under a 20-count indictment for allegedly assaulting a black woman and six of her friends in September.

Ithaca • March 5, 2004
Two black women, LaToia Harris, 23, and Tieara E. Leckey, 21, were charged with second-degree harassment for allegedly assaulting a white girl in November. Two black 14-year-old females were charged as juveniles

with third-degree assault for their alleged role in the incident.

Mount Vernon • Feb. 25, 2004
Racist literature was mailed to several police departments throughout Westchester County.

New York • March 7, 2004
Anti-Semitic markings and swastikas were scrawled on a building occupied by many Hasidic Jewish families.

New York • March 30, 2004
John Campoli, 20, and Paul Scott, 19, were arrested for allegedly making anti-gay and anti-black remarks and assaulting two men.

Port Chester • Feb. 18, 2004
About a dozen racist fliers were tossed to children outside at a day care center.

Queens • March 13, 2004
Yolanda Moorjaney, a 31-year-old white woman, was charged with criminal mischief as a hate crime for allegedly scrawling racist graffiti on a school's bathroom wall.

Selden • March 24, 2004
A house occupied by people of Dominican descent was set afire.

Staten Island • March 25, 2004
Josephine Laringa, 24, and Kimberly Albertson and David Egan, both 25, were charged with reckless endangerment as a hate crime for allegedly shouting racial slurs at a black and Hispanic couple last September.

Staten Island • March 25, 2004
Anti-Semitic insults were scrawled on the front door of a Jewish center.

Watertown • Feb. 17, 2004
A white woman dating a black man received a fifth letter laced with racial slurs.

NORTH CAROLINA

Gastonia • Jan. 23, 2004
Robert Nelson May was sentenced to probation and five months of house arrest for burning a cross near an interracial couple's residence in 1999.

Raleigh • Feb. 21, 2004
About 30 members of the neo-Nazi National Socialist Movement rallied.

OHIO

Bevis • Jan. 15, 2004
A 15-year-old high school sophomore and 17-year-old senior were each charged with one count of aggravated arson and inducing panic for allegedly drawing graffiti that included racial slurs and threats to "blow up" their school.

Cincinnati • March 20, 2004
Literature from the neo-Nazi National Alliance was distributed throughout a neighborhood.

OREGON

Eugene • Feb. 27, 2004
White supremacist leaflets were placed on the car windshields of moviegoers who saw "The Passion of the Christ."

Government Camp • March 9, 2004
Four men and one woman allegedly attacked two gay men.

PENNSYLVANIA

Duncansville • March 13, 2004
Police raided a racist music concert sponsored by the Keystone State Skinheads.

RHODE ISLAND

North Kingston • Jan. 17, 2004
Alleged Skinheads Eddie F. Demaire III, 24, and Troy Stokes, 21, were charged with possession of a firearm with an obliterated serial number after police seized several weapons and paraphernalia from a local apartment.

TENNESSEE

Newport • Jan. 17, 2004
Members from the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Cleveland Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Knights of Yahweh and the neo-Nazi White Revolution rallied.

TEXAS

Lubbock • March 6, 2004
Four teenagers were charged with burglary after allegedly burglarizing and vandalizing an Islamic center with pro-American and anti-Muslim slogans.

VERMONT

Brattleboro • March 23, 2004
Benjamin D. Goraj, 24, was charged with domestic assault, disorderly conduct and hate-motivated crimes after he allegedly struck one woman and threatened another woman while using racial slurs.

VIRGINIA

Staunton • Feb. 25, 2004
Fliers from the neo-Nazi National Alliance were distributed in a neighborhood.

WASHINGTON

Arlington • March 26, 2004
A cross was burned on the lawn of a black minister after his son was allegedly threatened at school. Two 16-year-old boys were charged with malicious harassment.

Bremerton • Jan. 18, 2004
Fliers from the neo-Nazi National Alliance attacking the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King were distributed throughout a neighborhood.

WEST VIRGINIA

Morgantown • March 1, 2004
Norman P. Barb III, James A. Demidovich and John L. Erjavek allegedly attacked three gay men.

WISCONSIN

Madison • Jan. 13, 2004
James J. Lepak, 61, was charged with two counts of disorderly conduct for allegedly yelling racial epithets at a black couple and a black police officer. ▲

Taxing the First Amendment

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 45

publisher sold *Hit Man: A Technical Manual for Independent Contractors*, which gave explicit instructions on how to murder people. Family members of murder victims killed pursuant to the book's instructions sued the publisher for civil aiding and abetting. The defendant publisher stipulated that it intended for the book to be used by criminals and had assisted in the commission of the murders. [*See id.* at 241-243.] The appeals court, based on the specific facts of the case, held that the First Amendment did not protect *Hit Man* because it incited violent imminent lawlessness.

Unlike *Hit Man*, *The Federal Mafia's* advocacy of illegal activity is tied directly to abstract advocacy, political hyperbole and discourse on an issue of public concern, federal taxation; Schiff's book isn't a simple "how to" manual. Further, advocacy of tax fraud is a far cry from assisting in murder or other violent acts.

For once, Schiff may have the law on his side. ▲

THE LAST WORD

When Giants Roamed

A Florida theme park sells creationism — with an antigovernment twist

BY CAMILLE JACKSON

If you can prove that evolution is real, there's $250,000 waiting for you in Pensacola, Fla. — if the IRS doesn't get to it first. Kent Hovind, a 51-year-old evangelist also known as "Dr. Dino," challenges evolutionists with this offer at the entrance of his homage to creationism, Dinosaur Adventure Land, "where the Bible and dinosaurs meet."

There are no roller coasters, no Ferris wheels, no popcorn or cotton candy at Dinosaur Adventure Land. Instead, visiting children are treated to a creation museum, science center and bookstore, an assortment of outdoor games with names like "pterodactyl glide" — and a big dose of Dr. Dino's theories about the beginnings of the universe.

In the middle of a sunny Saturday afternoon in April, fewer than 25 visitors roam the heavily shaded park, located just off a stretch of Pensacola Avenue car dealerships. In the science center, a couple of girls are busy with the "dinosaur dig," flinging sand to unearth a cement dinosaur's skeletal spine. Upstairs, a group of boys scrutinizes a taxidermied bat. When the PA system announces, "The tower is now open," the kids all abandon the exhibits, dash out the back door and line up at the base of a tree. After climbing up, the children soar down a giant swing attached to a cable, touching ground about 200 feet away. Just like pterodactyls.

While most of the fun is outside, the serious creationism is taught inside, where Hovind promises "hundreds of amazing displays and artifacts that document God's word." Behind dimly lit, child-smeared glass cases, the amazing displays include finger-length replicas of ancient beasts' teeth; dusty rocks and geodes glued to faded construction paper; and dried roaches, beetles and grasshoppers — insects that have been around, Hovind says, since the beginning of time.

As have humans. Not only does the former public-school science teacher claim the Earth was literally created in six days about 6,000 years ago, he also asserts that the first humans grew as tall as 14 feet and could live until age 900. These super-humans co-existed with dinosaurs until a worldwide flood covered the Earth, almost destroying them all — till God ordered Noah to build an unsinkable ark big enough for two of everything, dinosaurs included. A good thing, since Hovind claims that a few small dinosaurs still rove the planet. (This explains Bigfoot.)

Opened in 2001, Dinosaur Adventure Land sprung from Hovind's Creation Science Evangelism ministry, which began to evolve in the late '80s. CSE sells videos and audiotapes of Hovind's lectures and his debates with evolutionary scientists, along with books on "Evolution and the New World Order." (At least one of them, *Fourth Reich of the Rich*, alleges a Jewish conspiracy to take over the world.) Hovind also points his followers to *Citizens Rule Book*, popular among antigovernment "Patriots"; *Media Bypass*, an antigovernment magazine with strong anti-Semitic leanings; and titles by America's leading authority on tax-dodging, Irwin Schiff, who was indicted on criminal tax evasion charges in March (see story, p. 44). Two years ago, Hovind's "fine Christian friend," Joseph Sweet of the Joy Foundation, ran into similar trouble, sued by the feds for allegedly teaching folks how to evade income taxes.

So it was no surprise when IRS agents swarmed Hovind's Pensacola homestead in April, confiscating financial records dating back to 1997. The IRS wanted to know why Hovind, whose enterprises have occasionally earned "well in excess of $1 million per year," had been operating with neither a business license nor tax-exempt status. No charges were filed, but the investigation is ongoing. Hovind denies any wrongdoing, saying he follows "church law," not secular law. But he was called to court in May for having failed to secure a $50 building permit for Dinosaur Adventure Land.

Undaunted, Hovind has asked donors for $30,000 to expand his theme park. And as a guide in safari-like garb says, Dr. Dino's campaign "to get the lies [about evolution] out of the textbooks" is ongoing. But there's one place Hovind won't be taking his message: Comedy Central's The Daily Show, which recently asked him to appear. "Some people think it's a joke," says the guide.

He points to the park's scientific centerpiece, a replica of what is allegedly the femur of a 14-foot man, and then to a replica of a fat-toed footprint extracted from the red clay of Glen Rose, Texas — conclusive proof, according to Hovind, that humans once were giants.

"Some people," the guide says, "don't believe until they come and see the evidence for themselves." ▲

SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER

Promoting Tolerance, Monitoring Hate, Seeking Justice

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.

Seeking Justice

Center attorneys handle innovative cases that few lawyers are willing to take. They fight all forms of discrimination and work to protect society's most vulnerable members. Several of the Center's cases have reached the U.S. Supreme Court, and many have resulted in landmark rulings.

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

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

KW04EB80

VISIT US ON THE WEB

www.splcenter.org • www.tolerance.org • www.teachingtolerance.org