

ARIZONA SHOWDOWN: BORDER VIGILANTES ON THE PROWL



Intelligence Report

SUMMER 2005 • ISSUE 118

**TEN
YEARS
OF
TERROR**

**ALMOST 60
RIGHT-WING
TERRORIST PLOTS
UNCOVERED SINCE
OKLAHOMA CITY**





EDITORIAL

Vigilantes and the Law

BY MARK POTOK, EDITOR

On the tenth day of the Minuteman Project, a vigilante effort to shut down human traffic across the Arizona-Mexico border that began on April Fools Day, a man named Patrick Haab was arrested at an Arizona rest stop where officials found him holding seven undocumented immigrants at gunpoint.

Haab, an Army reservist who had just returned from a tour of duty in Iraq, was not a part of the Minuteman Project, but he quickly became a hero and near-martyr to those who were. He was charged that night by Maricopa County sheriff’s deputies with seven counts of aggravated assault, a decision that was later strongly endorsed by famously conservative Sheriff Joe Arpaio.

Haab claimed that he had stopped to relieve his dog and then, while walking the animal in the dark, was “rushed” by a group of men emerging from the brush. He said he feared for his life, so he trained a gun on the group and called 911.

Arpaio said that’s hogwash.

Among other things, Arpaio said Haab’s claim that he was “attacked” does not hold up, because even Haab admitted the unarmed men did not touch or threaten him. Haab’s statement that he feared for his life is contradicted by the fact that he then followed them to the vehicle they were meeting, ordering them out and onto the ground while pointing the weapon at them, Arpaio said. And Haab’s claim that he had no idea the men were illegal immigrants didn’t make any sense, either, because Haab later said he thought they had believed he was a Border Patrol agent.

Enter the Prosecutor

Then Arizona politics intervened.

On April 21, 11 days after Haab was arrested and a week after he bonded out of jail, Maricopa County Attorney Andrew Thomas made a curious announcement: Haab would not be prosecuted. Thomas said Haab had the legal right to make a citizen’s arrest because the man smuggling the group was committing a federal felony and those being smuggled were also, because they were “conspiring” with the *coyote* to have themselves smuggled into the country.

It was a remarkable piece of reasoning from Thomas, who campaigned for his office last fall on an anti-immigration platform.

But it was flatly rejected by federal prosecutors who are, after all, specialists in federal law. “Individuals can’t be charged with aiding and abetting their own smuggling,” a federal official told the *Arizona Republic*. “If the people being smuggled are only being transported, then there is no conspiracy.”

So if Haab had stopped only the *coyote*, who allegedly did commit a felony, he might have acted legally — if he could show reasonable cause to suspect the felony. In the case of the other six men, however, they committed at most a federal misdemeanor by crossing the border. And Arizona law only allows citizens’ arrests for misdemeanors that rise to being a “breach of the peace.”

“Mr. Haab’s actions risked the lives of the illegal aliens he detained,” said u.s. Attorney Paul Charlton, who asked federal lawyers to review the case.

Pulling Triggers?

Meanwhile, Patrick Haab, along with Andrew Thomas, has become a hero to the anti-immigration movement — a role he took on with enthusiasm, appearing on conservative and right-wing radio shows and, at one point, e-mailing supporters about his fears that the country was becoming “Americo.”

Haab’s case wasn’t the first that seemed to reflect a reluctance to prosecute gunmen acting against those they suspect are illegal immigrants. In Cochise County, Ariz., a rancher well known for rounding up groups of illegals was charged with aggravated assault last year by sheriff’s deputies for holding a family who turned out to be u.s. citizens at gunpoint. Roger Barnett has never been prosecuted.

These cases form the backdrop for rising anti-immigrant vigilantism in Arizona and around the nation — vigilantism embodied in the Minuteman Project, whose leaders claim to be nonviolent followers of Martin Luther King Jr. In fact, as a story in this issue makes plain, the Minuteman Project was notable for its weaponry, militaristic attitudes and frequent expressions of racism.

Ray Ybarra, who led American Civil Liberties Union legal observers during the project, may have said it best. “The Minuteman Project spread the message that it’s a good thing to wear a gun when you’re dealing with migrants,” he told the *Intelligence Report*. “The Patrick Haab case spread the message that it’s okay to actually point those guns at people. And I think a lot of vigilantes are just waiting for the signal that it’s okay to go ahead and start pulling triggers.” ▲



33 On The Cover Ten years after the Oklahoma City bombing, the Department of Homeland Security reportedly sees only radical animal rights and environmental groups as posing a serious domestic terrorist threat. But the last decade has seen almost 60 major right-wing terrorist plots uncovered in the United States that involved guns, bombs, missiles, chemical weapons and, in many cases, plans for assassinations or mass murder.

AP WIDE WORLD PHOTO



8 The Rift For decades, racial problems in America have been portrayed as mainly a conflict between blacks and whites. But a series of recent incidents, including huge brawls in public schools, show that black-Hispanic tensions are escalating.



16 Arizona Showdown Minuteman Project officials claim their volunteers were “white Martin Luther Kings,” not vigilantes. But the border watch project was rife with guns and racism. In a related interview (p. 29), an observer describes his experience.



50 Electronic Storm Stormfront was the very first major hate site on the World Wide Web — and also the first large interactive forum of the radical right. As the site turns 10, membership has hit 52,000, with almost half that growth in the last year alone.

JENNIFER WARD/URG

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David Woodard composed musical tributes to the Oklahoma City bomber and a top neo-Nazi. Now he’s promoting an “Aryan” colony in the jungles of Paraguay.



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INTO THE MAINSTREAM

George Wallace Jr. Delivers Major Speech to Hate Group

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — Alabama Public Service Commissioner George C. Wallace Jr., whose father famously vowed to defend racial segregation “forever” in a 1963 speech from the steps of the state Capitol, gave the welcoming speech to the national delegates of a white supremacist hate group meeting here on June 3.

The younger Wallace, whose official resumé boasts of an NAACP Freedom Award, opened up the first day of the annual national convention of the

mailing lists of the old White Citizens Councils, which were set up in the 1950s and 1960s to resist efforts to desegregate Southern schools, and which Thurgood Marshall once described as “the uptown Klan.” Recently, it has embraced Holocaust deniers and published anti-Semitic articles on its Web site.

In the audience listening to Wallace were a number of leading white supremacists. They included Don Black, proprietor of

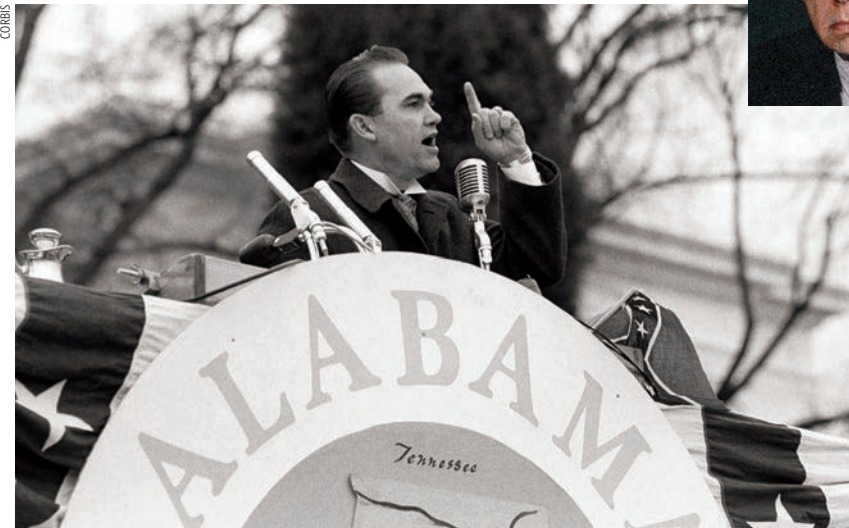
St. Louis personal injury lawyer Gordon Lee Baum.

Wallace could not immediately be reached for comment. Later, he told The Associated Press, “There is nothing hateful about those people I’ve seen.” He said he welcomed the delegates and spoke about his family and conservative values.

This was not Wallace’s first flirtation with the CCC, a group that has grown more openly radical and racist in recent years. Wallace, who was Alabama state treasurer between 1986 and 1994 and was elected to the Public Service Commission in 1998, gave speeches to the CCC once in 1998 and twice during 1999.

Also speaking at the most recent convention was John Eidsmoe, a constitutional law professor at Montgomery’s Thomas Goode Jones School of Law. Eidsmoe is a close friend and one-time legal adviser to Roy Moore, the Alabama chief justice ejected from his post for defying federal court orders to remove a Ten Commandments monument from the Supreme Court rotunda. Like Moore, Eidsmoe has suggested that the government “may not act contrary to God’s laws.”

The elder Wallace, who was governor of Alabama three times in the 1960s and 1970s, was famous for his resistance to desegregation, and he ran for president four times on a racist platform. But after his final defeat, Wallace came home to Alabama and sought to reconcile with civil rights leaders and others whom he had pilloried for most of his political life. In 1982, he was elected governor once more — this time with most black Alabamans behind him. It was never clear whether it was his conscience or political expediency that was behind this transformation.



Council of Conservative Citizens (CCC), a group whose Web site has referred to blacks as “a retrograde species of humanity.” More than 100 delegates heard his speech, which went without any immediate coverage in the Alabama print or broadcast media.

There is little debate that the CCC is a racist group. In fact, the head of the Republican National Committee in 1999 warned party members to avoid the group after the Southern Poverty Law Center published an exposé detailing its racism. The CCC was created from the

NEO-CONFEDERATES

In Alabama, a ‘Wizardess’ Disputes Her Title

The rift between the Wizardess and the governor of Alabama started even before the Christmas card arrived last December.

Patricia Godwin, a hard-line neo-Confederate activist from Selma who is engaged in a crusade to block any acknowledgement of the Selma-to-Montgomery civil rights march on the Capitol grounds, had been a supporter of Republican Gov. Bob Riley, according to an Internet essay she posted.

But the woman who denounces the 1965 march as “The Mother of All Orgies” said in the same essay that she was miffed with Riley because he ignored a “report” she sent him criticizing the Alabama Historical Commission.

Then came the Christmas card.

All it took was one word to turn the governor into the Grinch. Riley’s card addressed the avid admirer of Nathan Bedford Forrest, a Confederate general and the first “grand wizard” of the Ku Klux Klan, with the formal title of “Wizardess.”

Godwin, who often refers in e-mails to her majority-black hometown as “Zimbabwe on de Alabamy,” boiled over.

“I am highly offended,” Godwin huffed to the *Montgomery Advertiser*. “Nothing about my life warrants such an attack



The governor’s noncompliance may be due to the fact that it didn’t take staffers long to discover that Godwin, her cries of outrage notwithstanding, frequently signs her E-mails as the Wizardess. The *Intelligence Report* provided copies to the governor’s office.

That wasn’t all, according to what Riley spokesman Jeff Emerson told the *Advertiser* for a follow-up story. “My understanding is that she said, ‘You can refer to me as the Wizardess,’” Emerson reported. “She said this to several people. She said it verbally. We don’t make this stuff up.”

HOSTILE TAKEOVER ATTEMPT

Sierra Club Members Again Reject Anti-Immigration Initiative

For the third time in seven years, members of the Sierra Club this spring rejected attempts by activists to take over the powerful environmental organization and convert it into an anti-immigration powerhouse.

Some 15% of the Club’s 750,000 members voted in April to reject a ballot initiative that would have moved the Club from a position of neutrality on American immigration policy to one that favors clamping down the borders.

At the same time, members voted down five anti-immigration candidates to the Club

board. These candidates favored the same kind of policy change.

Both the ballot initiative and the anti-immigration board candidates were supported by SUSPS, which was formerly known as Sierrans for U.S. Population Stabilization but now goes by its acronym alone. Alan Kuper, a principal SUSPS founder, was one of the board candidates who lost by five-to-one margins.

“Sadly, none of the SUSPS candidates was elected and our ballot question lost badly,” a despondent SUSPS E-mail reported in late April. The E-mail largely blamed

MoveOn.org, a liberal organization that had worked against the anti-immigration candidates and ballot initiative.

Acting on a suggestion by anti-immigration maestro John Tanton, activists in 1998 tried to pass a similar ballot initiative but were beaten back. In 2004, a slate of anti-immigration activists made a strong run for the board, but were also defeated by 10-to-one margins after a bitter campaign. *Intelligence Report* Editor Mark Potok had written Club officials in late 2003 to warn them of a “hostile takeover attempt” by anti-immigration forces backed by a number of extremists.

PATRIOTS FOR PROFIT

His 'Straw Man' Free, a Scammer Finds the Rest of Him Isn't

As the creator of the "Redemption movement," a bizarre fusion of conspiracy theories and financial chicanery, Roger Elvick claims he has liberated his "straw man," a secret doppelganger created by the U.S. government to capture the economic value of U.S. citizens who, according to the Redemption doctrine, have unknowingly been sold into slavery to a Jewish-run international banking cabal.

But while Elvick's straw man is free—at least in his own mind—the rest of him is back in prison.

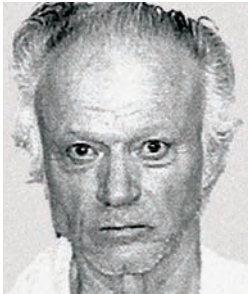
In April, Elvick pleaded guilty to one count each of forgery, extortion and engaging in a pattern of corrupt activity, and was sentenced to four years in an Ohio state penitentiary. The 68-year-old far-right extremist and former Aryan Nations associate was charged for aiding and abetting a ring of Redemption scammers based in Akron, Ohio, home to Right Way Law, a clearinghouse for the Redemption movement's pseudo-legal shenanigans.

The Redemption movement is founded upon Elvick's outer-limits postulation that for every birth certificate issued in the U.S. since the 1936 Social Security Act, the federal government deposits \$630,000 in a hidden bank account linked to the newborn American. Redemptionists claim that by executing a series of arcane legal maneuvers, a person may entitle themselves to the \$630,000 held in the name of the phantom entity created at their birth, and may then access these funds with "sight drafts" — better known to business owners and prosecutors as "bogus checks." Elvick also encourages Redemption enthusiasts to harass enemies with phony property liens and IRS reports designed to provoke audits.

Elvick first started spreading his crackpot vision in the 1980s, when he was the national spokesperson for Committee of the States, a white supremacist group Elvick started with William Potter Gale, who had previously founded the Posse Comitatus, a violent anti-Semitic organization.

By 1990, Redemption groups advised by Elvick were active in 30 states and several provinces of Canada, and had tried to pass more than \$15 million in bad checks. Elvick was eventually convicted of personally passing more than \$1 million in sight drafts, and, in a separate case, of filing fraudulent IRS forms. He spent most of the 1990s in federal prison.

But while he was incarcerated, the Redemption movement lured ever-growing legions of antigovernment extremists with the combined promise of free money and the chance to attack the federal government with paperwork instead of guns.



After Elvick was released, he started holding expensive seminars where he instructed Redemption acolytes. It wasn't long before he was back in big trouble. Elvick was indicted on multiple felony counts in Ohio in August 2003.

During preliminary hearings, Elvick frustrated court officials by denying his identity, claiming the court had no jurisdiction over him or his straw man, and constantly interrupting with unfathomable questions about procedure. A judge ruled Elvick mentally unfit to stand trial and committed him to a correctional psychiatric facility, where he was diagnosed with an "unclassified mental disorder" and underwent nine months of treatment before facing trial. Elvick then surprised prosecutors by changing his plea to guilty.

When asked if he wished to address the court at his sentencing, the usually vociferous Elvick replied simply, "I have nothing to say."

EXTREMIST CRIMES

Eric Rudolph, Unrepentant Bomber, Avoids Death



To the surprise of many people close to the case, federal prosecutors this April approved a plea bargain with Eric Robert Rudolph, a right-wing extremist who carried out four major bombings that killed two people and injured more than 100 others.

Shortly before he was expected to go on trial in the 1998 bombing of an abortion clinic in Birmingham, Ala. — a bombing that left one police officer dead and a nurse gravely wounded

— prosecutors announced the deal, which allowed Rudolph to avoid the death penalty by agreeing to a sentence of life without parole.

Rudolph also admitted his responsibility for bombing the 1996 Olympics in Atlanta, killing one woman, and the 1997 bombings of an Atlanta gay nightclub and a Sandy Springs, Ga., abortion clinic. Letters taking credit for all the attacks except the Olympics bombing were signed "Army of God."

ANTI-GAY PROPAGANDA

Live on National Television: Sex, Lies and Videotape

The first one to publicly point out the whopper was Jon Stewart, host of "The Daily Show," Comedy Central's spoof and commentary on the news.

But this was no laughing matter.

During an April CNN discussion of a Texas proposal to ban same-sex couples from becoming foster parents, Cathie Adams, president of the far-right Texas Eagle Forum, declared that it was "a proven fact" that "children in same-sex couple homes are 11 times more likely to be abused sexually."

Her sparring partner, Randall Ellis of the Lesbian/Gay Rights Lobby of Texas, called the claim "completely absurd," but conceded he knew nothing of the



"study" that Adams claimed had been carried out in Illinois.

CNN anchor Kyra Phillips, as Stewart acerbically pointed out, offered no enlightenment, and Adams' tendentious claim went essentially unchallenged.

It was, as it turned out, utterly false.

As was pointed out in a lengthy article by Carl Bialik, the *Wall Street Journal's* "Numbers Guy," Adams' statistic ultimately came from Paul Cameron, a gay-bashing activist whose research was discredited long ago and whose organization, the Family Research Institute, is listed by the Southern Poverty Law Center as a hate group. Adams told Bialik she derived it from an article on the far-right WorldNetDaily Web site. That article cited another by Cameron that was published in the journal *Psychological Reports*.

Cameron looked at the 270 cases of sexual abuse of foster children reported to Illinois authorities between 1997 and 2002, 34% of which were same-sex in nature. Citing other studies that conclude gays make up 1% to 3% of the U.S. popu-

lation, Cameron concluded that "homosexual practitioners" were vastly more likely to abuse children sexually than far more numerous heterosexuals.

But Cameron had no idea if the abusers were in gay or heterosexual partnerships. In other words, a foster parent in a heterosexual relationship who

abused a child of the same sex was jammed by Cameron into the "homosexual" category — a gross error that was amplified by Adams when she later told CNN viewers that the same-sex abuse had occurred "in

same-sex homes." Adams compounded this wildly unscientific approach, Bialik reported, by simply dividing the 3% into the 34% to derive her 11-fold statistic — despite the fact that neither she nor Cameron had any information about the percentage of gays in Illinois, as opposed to

the United States as a whole.

One Cornell statistics professor told the *Journal* that Cameron's "study" was not a "competent research paper." Another, at Duke, called it "pretty lightweight." A far more serious study of a similar matter produced almost opposite conclusions.

Cameron's response? "There is no perfect study," he told the *Journal*. And Cathie Adams? She told Bialik she "didn't have that articulated as well as I should have. ... It just requires more explanation than you can do in sound bites." ▲

MELTDOWN

The once-powerful National Alliance loses its key leaders, a huge swath of members and its claim to neo-Nazi preeminence **BY MARK POTOK**

The National Alliance, for decades the powerhouse of the neo-Nazi radical right, is on the ropes. It has lost almost all of its key leaders, most of its income and its prestige. Its chairman recently stepped down under fire. And, with a hemorrhage of followers flowing into other groups, the Alliance's dues-paying membership has plunged to under 200 people, less than a seventh its size just three years ago.

The rapid-fire developments this spring came after almost three years of worsening political chaos unleashed by the unexpected July 2002 death of Alliance founder William Pierce. A series of embarrassing revelations, highlighted by the marriage of Chairman Erich Gliebe to a former stripper, has reduced the once-proud group to a menagerie of squabbling gossips desperate to hold onto power.

"The revolt against misrule by two people at the top that began when David Pringle resigned in protest as our Membership Coordinator in August of 2004 has now expanded to what must be over 90% of us," Jamie Kelso, an ex-member well-connected to other radical leaders, wrote in a late April Internet essay.

Gliebe, a former boxer who replaced Pierce after the founder's death, was already widely disliked at the time of Pringle's resignation. He had managed to alienate constantly increasing numbers of Alliance members, invited strippers to pose for an Alliance calendar and to attend a semi-annual "leadership conference," earned enmity by paying himself far more money than other staffers, and won a reputation for lying to his followers and wrecking the group's formerly successful businesses.

It didn't help that Pringle was popular in many quarters, or that he released an essay entitled "Demand an Audit" after his departure that detailed money wasted by Gliebe and Shaun Walker, the

Alliance's chief operating officer, in a series of failed business ventures. "The days of Erich Josef Gliebe telling people to 'keep quiet' about internal problems because 'our enemies' might exploit the situation are over," Pringle wrote. "In the last year, 'our enemies' have not made disastrous decisions that have cost us most of our cash savings. Our leaders have. Our enemies have not caused us to lose more than half of our rank-and-file membership and almost two thirds of our organizational revenue in the last year. Our leaders have."

The 'Dues Brothers'

Late in the year, attempting to stop what threatened to become a mass exodus, Gliebe and Walker set up an executive committee composed of Alliance officials — Kevin Strom, Rich Lindstrom, Charles Ellis, Robert Pate and Roger Williams — in a bid to give the group a more democratic look. But, as Gliebe explained months later, it had only advisory powers. It did almost nothing to stem mounting criticism. On one Web forum after another (see list, p. 55), Gliebe and Walker were pilloried as self-interested money-grubbers — the "Dues Brothers" of the neo-Nazi right.

Things got worse. In November, most of the North Carolina contingent quit, lamenting that the state had once been among the Alliance's strongest units. In early December, the coordinator of a Washington state unit left, saying he could no longer work under the current "unethical" leadership. A month later, the coordinator of a Tennessee unit departed, too, writing that he had "lost faith" in the Alliance.

In New Jersey, Gliebe was met with a nearly open revolt when he went to address a local unit and was peppered with questions about his then-girlfriend, ex-*Playboy* model and lap dancer Erika Snyder, and "moral character." Member Robert Minnerly, who initiated the confrontation, was expelled afterward. Not long after that, well-known New Jersey member Hal Turner wrote an essay entitled,

"Knowing When it is Time to Step Down." He was ejected from the group within days.

Through it all, as the situation threatened to turn into a full-scale revolt, Kevin Alfred Strom, the group's house "intellectual" and host of its "American Dissident Voices" radio program since Pierce's death, kept quiet. Seen as a reliable Gliebe stalwart, he didn't speak up when his pay was docked for being late on deadlines for several Alliance publications he was supposed to edit. Then came April.

Things Fall Apart

On April 11, much of the Alliance's membership was shocked to learn that Gliebe and Walker had cancelled the group's semi-annual leadership conference. Although Walker claimed the cancellation was "due to a variety of reasons beyond our control," it quickly became known that the real reason was that a very prominent member was expected to aggressively confront Gliebe during the conference.

Meanwhile, it turned out, Strom had been making plans. He had talked to Pringle and Kelso, who lives with former Klan leader David Duke in Louisiana, about announcing a new organization at a May conference of Duke's latest hate group, the European-American Unity and Rights Organization. On April 14, Strom secretly transferred ownership of the Web site for the Alliance's National Vanguard Books to Palladian Books in Virginia, which is run by Strom and his wife.

Two days later, Strom was thrown out of the Alliance. Several other leading players were also expelled around the same time, including Western States Regional Coordinator Roger Williams, also a member of the new executive board; Nebraska leader William Muller; California member April Gaede, well known for her activism and her daughters, who make up the Prussian Blue band; and several others. "At this point," Pringle wrote, "every single NA unit is in disarray and open revolt."

A day after that, on April 17, much of the Cincinnati unit decided to quit paying dues to headquarters, giving them to their local treasurer instead. And on April 18, the rebels published a "historic declaration" criticizing Gliebe and Walker, demanding Walker's demotion and asking Gliebe to give up ownership of several of the Alliance's enterprises and put them in the hands of an expanded board. Signing were most of the Alliance's leaders — the entire executive board including Strom and a very wide array of unit leaders and other key activists, 140 of them in all (by the end of the month, that number had risen to more than 230 Alliance members).

A response wasn't long in coming. Four days later, Gliebe dissolved the executive board, saying that it had been designed as an advisory "think tank" but had degenerated into a "springboard" for a "power play" by the chairman's enemies.

Into the Future

It wasn't until April 24, eight days after Strom's ouster, that Gliebe tried to explain himself. In a letter to members, Gliebe

described the affair as an "attempted coup" by Strom and several unit leaders that included "a massive smear campaign." Some, he said, had been "taken in by the smooth talk of our enemies." But despite it all, he insisted, "the severity of the damage and the extent of the coup were greatly exaggerated." He urged members to remember the "leadership principle" espoused by Pierce, and recalled how Pierce had put down a similar "coup" in the 1980s.

Apparently, Gliebe wasn't too convincing.

One day later, on April 25, Walker announced that Gliebe had stepped down as chairman because the one-time ladies' man had married Snyder and wanted "to devote more time to family matters." Walker would replace Gliebe, but Gliebe would stay on as CEO of Resistance Records, the Alliance's music operation.

By that time, Strom had already announced that he was forming a new group, to be named after *National Vanguard*, the Alliance magazine that he had long edited and whose Web site he and his wife now controlled. In May, he attended Duke's conference in New Orleans, where talk of the happenings within

"At this point, every single National Alliance unit is in disarray and open revolt."

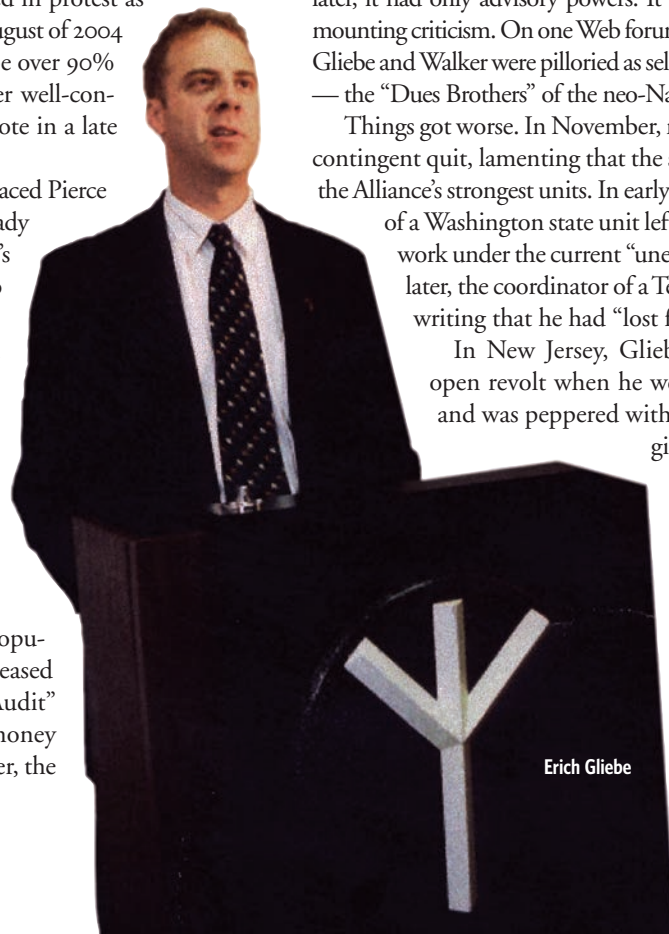
the Alliance was rampant. The new National Vanguard group, it was announced, would be run by former members of the Alliance executive board and other prominent former Alliance leaders.

It's not clear how successful National Vanguard will be. By mid-June, there was some evidence of 15 chapters around the country. But activists have criticized Strom as too interested in money and too weak to be a charismatic leader.

What is certain is that the Alliance, for the most part, is a hollow shell. It has lost almost all its well-known leaders, and its prestige has never been lower. Its moneymaking operations, National Vanguard Books and Resistance Records, are no longer making a profit. While it is sure to struggle on for some time, any major recovery seems very unlikely — although Gliebe still controls the Alliance's West Virginia compound, including several buildings, and other assets. In early June, a message was posted by an Alliance member that claimed surviving Alliance units only in Baltimore, Md.; Boston; Cincinnati and Cleveland, Ohio; Raleigh, N.C., and Sacramento, Calif. Others, it reported hopefully, were reorganizing.

The sorry state of the Alliance — and the circled-wagons mentality that has overtaken it — is reflected in angry May postings from Erika Snyder, Gliebe's wife, attacking the Stroms. Kevin Strom, Snyder wrote, is "a pompous, power-hungry brat," and his wife, Elisha, is "a FEMINIST bisexual" given to attacks on "beautiful women [Snyder, presumably] and men who like beautiful women [Gliebe]."

Most former Alliance stalwarts seemed simply to shrug. "Gliebe can't kill the NA," wrote one in a message that spoke for hundreds. "It's already dead." ▲



Erich Gliebe



THE BRIEF

AROUND THE COUNTRY, EVIDENCE OF A GROWING DIVIDE BETWEEN BLACKS AND HISPANICS IS MOUNTING. IT'S A SPLIT THAT FEW WANT TO DISCUSS BY SUSY BUCHANAN

O

ne after another, the reports have rolled in. From Florida to California, Nevada to New Jersey, even as far away as the state of Washington, the news is getting harder to ignore: There's trouble brewing between blacks and browns.

At Hug High School in Reno, Nev., an emergency task force began work last October after a series of fights between black and Hispanic students that interim Schools Superintendent Paul Dugan said reflected "definite racial tensions." In Monroe, Wash., similar tensions shot up after a Mexican flag was torn down and thrown into a bathroom and several off-campus fights broke out. In Chicago, seven students were arrested after an interracial brawl in January left teachers and security guards injured and parents complaining of mounting racial strife.

But it was in schools in California, where so many

between blacks and Jews, the black/brown coalition has grown more and more strained. Many blacks resent what is seen as Hispanics leapfrogging them up the socioeconomic ladder, and some complain of the skin-color prejudices that are particularly strong in some Hispanic countries, notably Mexico. Just this May, the Rev. Al Sharpton bitterly demanded that Vicente Fox apologize after the Mexican president made what some blacks interpreted as a racist comment. Similarly, many Hispanics say they are treated in racist ways by blacks, some of whom have apparently singled out undocumented immigrants for robbery and worse.

The conflict is growing, as mainly Hispanic immigrants, legal and illegal, pour into neighborhoods that were in many cases previously dominated by blacks.

Many blacks say Hispanics generally will not hire blacks in their businesses, even though many cater to black customers. Many Hispanics say they are being targeted for robbery by blacks who pick on undocumented workers, a group far less likely to report crimes to police. Both groups worry about the implications

"America's older black poor and newer brown poor are on a collision course."

of the nation's trends first take shape, that this disturbing conflict was most obvious.

On Nov. 8, hundreds of black and Latino students got into two separate battles in the streets around Wilmer Amina Carter High School in Rialto. Two days later, another interracial fight broke out on campus, and four days after that a huge battle erupted in the lunchroom, leaving 57 of the hundreds of students involved injured. At around the same time, more than 20 police officers broke up a series of street fights between black and Latino students outside Fremont High School in Oakland that involved as many as 150 participants and bystanders. In San Jacinto, a riot at San Jacinto High School between black and Hispanic students resulted in three arrests, six suspensions and the lockdown of 1,700 students. Some 500 students were involved in the fight, and police reported some arriving parents added fuel to the fire by shouting racial slurs and urging their children to keep up the battle. Similar racial conflicts hit Crenshaw, Manual Arts and Jordan high schools in Los Angeles.

The Presumed Alliance

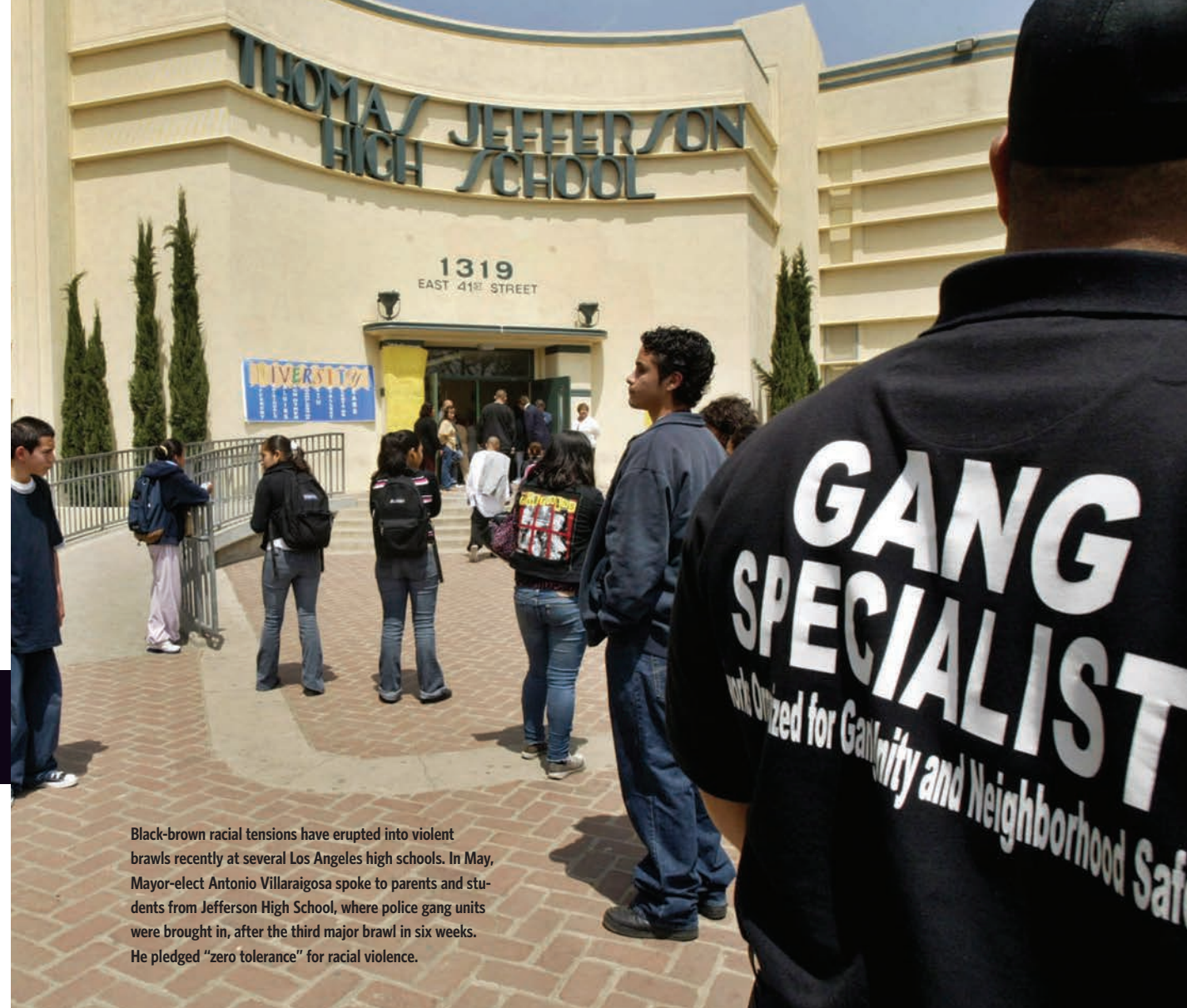
Traditionally, black and brown activists have seen themselves in a natural alliance in a country historically dominated by whites — an alliance of mostly poorer, darker-skinned minorities whose struggles are not dissimilar. But like the civil-rights-era alliance

of blacks' 2002 displacement as the largest minority in America for the first time in history.

Nicolás Vaca, author of *The Presumed Alliance: The Unspoken Conflict Between Latinos and Blacks and What it Means for America*, said black radio talk show hosts have been hot to discuss his 2004 book. "Most thought that it was time that someone spoke about the elephant in the room," Vaca told the *Intelligence Report*.

The elephant reappeared in the halls of Jefferson High School in South Los Angeles this April 14. A minor spat exploded into a lunchtime melée involving about 50 Latino and 50 black students. Four days later, police were sent in for a second time, this time to quell a battle involving some 200 students. Two students were arrested, four detained, and six hurt in minor ways. One broke a hip. Officials changed school schedules to keep the factions more separated. Metal detectors were installed. A Nation of Islam official offered protection to black students. Mayoral candidate Antonio Villaraigosa even addressed a forum called to discuss the strife, begging parents to "model for these young people black and brown unity."

It didn't happen. Less than a week later, a rumor that a violent Hispanic gang would be exacting retribution from black students the next day coursed through the school district. In the end, an astonishing 51,000 students stayed home.



Black-brown racial tensions have erupted into violent brawls recently at several Los Angeles high schools. In May, Mayor-elect Antonio Villaraigosa spoke to parents and students from Jefferson High School, where police gang units were brought in, after the third major brawl in six weeks. He pledged "zero tolerance" for racial violence.

Sizing up the Elephant

Tensions between blacks and Latinos are certainly not new. They have surfaced in major ways in Miami, where a relatively wealthy class of Cuban exiles has won far more political power than the city's blacks, and Houston, where blacks and Latinos have often been on opposite sides of political races. ("There will be a Libertarian in the White House before there is a black-brown coalition in Houston," Orlando Sanchez, who lost a close 2001 mayoral race to a black candidate, wryly told the *Houston Chronicle* this spring.) While the recent school conflicts have brought the issue to the fore, some writers have been trying to point it out for years.

In 1992, Jack Miles wrote a long essay about race in Los Angeles for the *Atlantic Monthly* magazine, "Blacks vs. Browns." He was one of the first to describe competition for jobs, suggesting Hispanics were gaining the upper hand. "America's older black poor and newer brown poor are on a collision course," he wrote.

In 1995, *Dallas Morning News* columnist Richard Estrada, noting conflicts between blacks and Hispanics over hiring practices at a public hospital, warned of "contentiousness" between the two groups "that seems destined to grow."

And three years after that, a book called *Neighborhood Voices* chronicled the feelings of black and Latino residents in Northeast Central Durham, N.C., where Hispanic immigration had transformed a formerly black part of the city. Many of the voices from both communities were remarkably bitter in their assessments.

But it was an article in the *Charlotte Post*, a newspaper in North Carolina that caters to black readers, that may have most starkly described the conflict. Published in March 2001, "When Worlds Collide: Blacks Have Reservations About Influx of Hispanic Immigrants" quoted a whole series of racist comments about Hispanics from blacks in the city. Writer Artellia



Burch dispelled in no uncertain terms notions that blacks necessarily felt empathetic toward the struggles of Latinos.

E-mails and letters poured in. Fox News sent a camera crew. *Post* Publisher Gerald Johnson felt compelled to defend his reporter's story, suggesting it showed that "racism is systemic" and blacks were "no different than anybody else."

That wasn't enough for many. BlackPressUSA.com removed the story from its Web site, saying it didn't condone "stereotyping," Raul Yzaguirre, the president of the National Council of La Raza, called on black leaders to denounce the story "in the strongest possible terms." (Earlier, however, Yzaguirre had co-authored a calmer paper on black-Hispanic relations that concluded that "growing tension between the two communities ... threatens the ability of blacks and Hispanics to develop strong, sustainable coalitions.") Others also attacked the *Charlotte Post* piece.

None of this surprises Nicolás Vaca, author of *The Presumed Alliance*.

Early on in his book project, Vaca learned just how controversial the topic of black/brown relations was, and how incendiary. Merely discussing the project with two attorney friends ended a friendship as one stormed out of a restaurant.

"Why dig up dirt, ruffle feathers, destroy the illusion of unbroken unity between Blacks and Latinos, bleeding the colors of the Rainbow Coalition by giving

Days after a brawl at Jefferson High School, parents and students discussed ways to ease tensions between black and Hispanic students (above). Yet dialogue between blacks and Hispanics on this subject is rare. Even broaching the topic of a book he wrote on the subject, author Nicolás Vaca (right) says, has cost him a friendship.

the dreaded *gringo* the ammunition my former friend told me I was providing?" a dispirited Vaca wrote. "The simple answer is the ethnic landscape has changed."

The *Intelligence Report* found the same reluctance to discuss the issue. Although the magazine contacted numerous black and brown thinkers and scholars to comment on the matter, virtually none would talk about it publicly.

Robbery, Racism and Reaction

Last summer, in the region around Plainfield, N.J., *The New York Times* reported that at least 17 Hispanic men were severely beaten by young black men and, in one case, killed. Some black leaders said they believed the attacks were about money, not bias, and there was no consensus among police as to the motive.

But the violence of the attacks seemed excessive, even when money was taken — a classic hallmark of a hate crime rather than simple robbery. "To hit someone with a baseball bat, you have to hate someone," Michael Parenti, chief of the North Plainfield Police Department, told the newspaper. "To beat a guy for a few dollars never made a lot of sense to me. It looked to me like a bias incident."

Unfortunately, available hate crime statistics are not much help in trying to gauge conflict between blacks and Hispanics. While national figures show around 100 black-on-Hispanic hate crimes for each of several recent years, there is virtually no doubt that that number vastly understates the violence. Moreover, the FBI has no similar statistics that would cast light on Hispanic violence against blacks. The most that can be said is that these types of hate crimes seem anecdotally to be rising.

Last September, a similar series of attacks broke out on the streets of Jacksonville, Fla. Again, it was hard to say definitively if robbery or hate was the main motivation for these crimes. What was clear was that in at least 28 different assaults, the perpetrators were black and the 68 victims Hispanic. Two people were murdered, while another eight people were shot but survived their wounds.

The Hispanic community, about 8% of Jacksonville's population, was outraged. The local Spanish-language paper demanded an investigation. A press conference was held, and rumors of Hispanic retribution ran rampant.

A man named Nicolás is one of the victims.

Last fall, Nicolás and his father were robbed by a black man with a gun who walked into the family restaurant they were preparing to open. Nicolás says he's not a racist, but the steady stream of young black men who walk through his parking lot on their way to and from local low-income housing has him concerned. And after the attack on him, once he got past his depression, he bought a handgun.

"There are good *morenos* [blacks], but there are also some that live off the government, welfare or disability,

up to judge individuals on their merits alone. Studying at a university that in just the last few years has seen its support staff go from all-black to about half Latino, Shaneesha also worries about the possibility of economic competition from Hispanics. "As an African American, I can see how it could threaten me."

In Detroit, politicians decided to do something about that.

African Town

"The issue of immigration is roiling within Black communities and has the potential to soon become a divisive issue of historic proportions," says Claud Anderson, president of the black think tank Harvest Institute and one who does not shy away from expressing disdain for Latinos. In a January 2004 report, Anderson claimed that Hispanic immigrants come to



"It was time that someone spoke about the elephant in the room."

without working," he says. "The vast majority of *morenos* are hard workers, but the rest of them want to live for free."

Several hundred miles to the north, Shaneesha, a black student in Tanya Golash-Boza's class on "Race and Ethnic Relations Between Blacks and Hispanics," suffers from some of the same kinds of suspicions, as seen from the other side. She is studying in Chapel Hill at the University of North Carolina, a state Census figures show had a nearly 700% growth in its Hispanic population between 1990 and 2000.

"I've heard that Latinos don't pay taxes, that they're illegal, that they're ignorant, that they'll stab you," Shaneesha says, although she adds that she was brought

this country for the "public service benefits available to them because of the Black Civil Rights Movement."

Anderson says these Latinos invade black neighborhoods, and then use language and culture as barriers to economic integration. "Immigrants operate their businesses in Black communities, but they will not buy from black businesses and they rarely hire blacks as employees," Anderson writes. For him, these Hispanics are deliberately trying to "push blacks off the upward ladder of success."

Claud Anderson even has a conspiracy theory, claiming that the National Hispanic Party — a party no one else seems to have heard of — "declared a population war on Black Americans in the early 1970s at a

mid-west meeting and crafted plans to numerically surpass and supplant Black Americans by the year 2000.”

No matter that Anderson sounds like a racist.

No matter that he openly advocates racial discrimination.

To many Detroit politicians, Anderson is the man with a plan. Last year, a majority of the city council commissioned a \$112,000 economic development study from Anderson. His recommendation was that the city spend \$30 million to develop something called “African Town” — an inner-city business enclave created for blacks that would keep them from spending money in immigrant businesses.

Anderson and others argued that the city had provided incentives to Mexicantown and Greektown, two neighborhoods marked by ethnic businesses and restaurants. Why shouldn’t it do the same for black businesses? After all, blacks made up 86% of Detroit’s population, and black business needed help. Anderson went further. Hispanics, he said in the kind of comment that lit up many citizens of Detroit, “have surpassed Blacks now and made them third-class citizens.”

In July 2004, the City Council passed a resolution approving African Town and the \$30 million in casino revenues that it planned to disburse as grants and low-interest loans to “historically depressed docu-

“Blacks and Latinos are undergoing a painful period of adjustment.”



AP/WIDEWORLD PHOTOS



Mexican President Vicente Fox (above, right) set off a firestorm among black leaders like the Rev. Al Sharpton (above, left) when he said this May that Mexicans were doing work “that not even blacks want to do in the United States.” Similarly bruised feelings between blacks and Latinos were eased during the Los Angeles mayoral election this spring, when black leaders like Earvin “Magic” Johnson (at podium) endorsed Antonio Villaraigosa, who lost an earlier mayoral campaign because of weak black support.

mented residents of Detroit who are members of the city’s majority under-served population” — blacks, in other words.

The blacks-only funding plan outraged many.

Detroit News columnist Nolan Finley wrote that the Harvest Institute report “mimics the language of the most fascist, right-wing anti-immigration groups, with headings like “A Majority Should Dominate and Act Like a Majority,” and segments that warn of the dangers of Hispanics gaining a political voice. It could have been read on the public squares of Berlin in 1934 or on the Capitol steps of Birmingham, Ala., in 1964.” L. Brooks Patterson, an elected official from a neighboring county, told a reporter that African Town was “one of the dumbest ideas I’ve ever heard about and frankly insulting. How would residents of Detroit feel if I were to propose a Honky Town in [my county]? I would be run out of office, and rightfully so.”

Detroit Mayor Kwame Kilpatrick, who is African-American, vetoed African Town last fall. But the council overrode his veto, although it did ultimately strike the requirement that all African Town subsidies be limited to black applicants.

Unity, Politics and Progress

Nicolás Vaca devoted an entire chapter of his book to the 2001 mayoral race in Los Angeles, which pitted James Hahn, son of a well-known white politician who had very strong ties to the black community, against Antonio Villaraigosa, who was a relative newcomer. Hahn boasted endorsements from Earvin “Magic” Johnson, u.s. Rep. Maxine Waters (D-Calif.) and other important black figures — along with the support of the much more conservative white business community.



Hahn’s black support sunk Villaraigosa. Hahn won with 59% of the overall vote — and a remarkable 80% of the votes from the black community.

It was a different story this year. In his first term, Hahn had fired popular Los Angeles Police Chief Bernard Parks, who is black. Many black leaders felt that Hahn had ignored them, and Johnson, Waters and others who supported Hahn the first time around now threw their support to Villaraigosa. For his part, Villaraigosa worked to build up his ties to black voters. Time after time, he stressed that blacks and Latinos had more to gain by working together than against one another.

It worked. On May 17, Villaraigosa became the first Latino mayor of Los Angeles in a century by a 17-point margin. He did it with half the city’s black votes.

Much divides blacks and Latinos in America. The most recent figures show that median net worth for Hispanic households is \$7,932 — almost \$2,000 more than the \$5,998 median for blacks. But when compared to whites — who, at \$88,651, own more than 10 times either amount — the difference pales into insignificance.

The Detroit City Council recently approved plans to pursue an economic development project called African Town, although in the end they struck provisions that would have limited government subsidies to African Americans. Many black city activists still angrily remember how thriving black business districts were leveled in the 1950s to make room for projects like Interstate 375 (above), near downtown Detroit.

The same could be said about many social issues that divide the black and Hispanic communities of the United States. Earl Ofari Hutchinson, a black Pacifica News Service commentator who wrote a radio editorial about the racial conflicts at Los Angeles’ Jefferson High School this spring, may have said it best. “A couple of days after the Jefferson High clash, several hundred black and Latino parents and students held an anti-violence forum at the school,” Hutchinson said. “Speaker after speaker denounced the fighting and pledged to work for peace. The hard truth, though, is that blacks and Latinos are undergoing a painful period of adjustment. They will find the struggle for power and recognition to be long and difficult. The parents and students who pledged to work for peace made an important start.” ▲



MINUTEMAN PROJECT LEADERS SAY THEIR VOLUNTEERS ARE 'WHITE MARTIN LUTHER KINGS.' BUT THEIR ANTI-IMMIGRATION CAMPAIGN IS MARKED BY WEAPONRY, MILITARY MANEUVERS AND RACIST TALK BY DAVID HOLTHOUSE

ARIZONA SHOWDOWN



COCHISE COUNTY, Ariz. — The predominantly Hispanic towns of Douglas and Naco are connected by the aptly named Border Road, a 20-mile stretch of rocky dirt that runs parallel to a ragged barbed wire fence separating the United States from Mexico.

The night of April 3, armed vigilantes camped along Border Road in a series of watch posts set-up for the Minuteman Project, a month-long action in which revolving casts of 150 to 200 anti-immigration militants wearing cheap plastic “Undocumented Border Patrol Agent” badges mobilized in southeastern Arizona. Their stated goal was to “do the job our government refuses to do” and “protect America” from the “tens of millions of invading illegal aliens who are devouring and plundering our nation.”

At Station Two, Minuteman volunteers grilled bratwursts and fantasized about murder.

“It should be legal to kill illegals,” said Carl, a 69-year old retired Special Forces veteran who fought in Vietnam and now lives out West. “Just shoot ’em on sight. That’s my immigration policy recommendation. You break into my country, you die.”

Carl was armed with a revolver chambered to fire shotgun shells. He wore this hand cannon in a holster below a shirt that howled “AMERICAN BAD ASSES” in red, white and blue. The other vigilantes assigned to Station Two included a pair of self-professed members of the National Alliance, a violent neo-Nazi organization. These men, who gave their names only as Johnny and Michael, were outfitted in full-body camouflage and strapped with semi-automatic pistols.

Earlier that day, Johnny and Michael had scouted sniper positions in the rolling, cactus-studded foothills north of Border Road, taking compass readings and drawing maps for future reference.

“I agree completely,” Michael said. “You get up there with a rifle and start shooting four or five of them a week, the other four or five thousand behind them are going to think twice about crossing that line.”

With a grilled sausage in one hand and a cheap night vision scope in the other, Johnny scanned the brush in Mexico, spitting distance away.

“The thing to do would be to drop the bodies just a few hundred feet into the U.S. and just leave them there, with lights on them at night,” he said. “That sends the message ‘No Trespassing,’ in any language.”

The conversation stopped just short of decapitating Mexicans and putting their heads on pikes, facing south.

“It should be legal to kill illegals. Just shoot ’em on sight. That’s my immigration policy recommendation. You break into my country, you die.”

“I don’t really like violence, but if we did start doing what you’re talking about, it would show we mean business for a change,” said the group’s only woman, and the only person who didn’t carry a gun. “It would say, ‘This is the USA, don’t fuck with us!’”

The woman, who said she was with a Pennsylvania anti-immigration group, had outraged Johnny and Michael that afternoon by reporting for duty with a Star of David pendant dangling below the neckline of her “I Survived the Minuteman Project” t-shirt. She also squabbled with them over the morality of pit bull fighting, and expressed her belief in animal rights and no-kill dog and cat shelters. They started calling her “Jew bitch” behind her back.

She got back on their good side by condoning blood lust.

“Damn, I thought you were one of them,” Michael said.

“One of what?” the woman asked.

“You know, animal rights, pacifism, save the kittens, all that crap.”

“Well, this may sound a little weird, but I just have more respect for the lives of stray cats and dogs than I do illegal aliens.”

“That’s not weird at all,” Michael said. “Not one damn bit.”

Playing Army

Vigilante militias have been capturing, pistol-whipping and very possibly

shooting Latin American immigrants in Cochise County since the late ’90s, when shifts in U.S. border control policies transformed the high desert region into the primary point of entry for Mexico’s two most valuable black market exports, drugs and people.

But the Minuteman Project raised the stakes

with a highly publicized national recruiting drive followed by a campaign of deceitful media manipulation. These maneuvers generated massive and mostly positive nationwide coverage of what in actuality was little more than a relatively small and ineffectual gathering of bigots and weekend warriors, led by a pair of dueling egos. While they played Army in the desert for a few weeks, this slapdash band was transformed by the hype into the elite vanguard of America’s anti-immigration movement.

The Minuteman Project was the brainchild of two fathers: Jim Gilchrist, a retired accountant and Vietnam veteran from Orange County, California, and Chris Simcox, a former kindergarten teacher at a private school in Brentwood, Calif., who left his job and his family, moved to Tombstone, Ariz., and refashioned himself into a brash anti-immigration militant following the 9/11 terrorist attacks.

Before the Minuteman Project began, Gilchrist and Simcox repeatedly claimed they had recruited more than 1,300 volunteers. But when their



plan lurched into action on April Fool’s Day in Tombstone, fewer than 150 volunteers actually showed up, and they were clearly outnumbered on the Wild West movie-set streets by a swarm of reporters, photographers, camera crews, anti-Minuteman protesters, American Civil Liberties Union legal observers, and costumed gunfight show actors.

On the whole, the Minuteman Project’s enlistees were nearly all white. This wasn’t surprising, except that Gilchrist and Simcox also claimed prior to April 1 that a full 40% of their volunteers would be minorities, including,

according to their Web site, “American-Africans,” “American-Mexicans,” “American-Armenians,” four paraplegics and six amputees.

California and Arizona were the most heavily represented states among the Minuteman enlistees, but the volunteers reported from all regions of the country. Many, if not most, were over 50 years old, counting a relatively high percentage of retired military men, police officers, and prison guards. Women made up nearly a third of the volunteers, including a bevy of white-haired ladies from Orange County, Calif., selling homemade Minuteman

Project merchandise like “What Part of ‘Illegal’ Don’t They Understand” T-shirts and the quickly ubiquitous “Undocumented Border Patrol Agent” badges (which, oxymoronically, bore color-copy counterfeits of the official Department of Homeland Security seal).

The keynote speaker at the Minuteman Project’s opening day rally was Tom Tancredo, the Republican Congressman from Colorado who chairs the Congressional Immigration Reform Caucus.

Tancredo addressed a crowd of about 100 inside Schieffelin Hall, an auditorium not far from the OK Corral. Outside

the hall, a phalanx of Arizona Rangers (a state police agency) stood between the hall's entrance and about 40 anti-Minutemen protesters who banged on pots and pans and drums while the vibrantly outfitted performers of a traditional Aztec dance group leapt and whirled to the cacophonous rhythm.

In late March, President Bush had con-



JIM GILCHRIST



CHRIS SIMCOX

demned the Minuteman Project at a joint press conference with Mexican President Vicente Fox. "I'm against vigilantes in the United States of America," Bush said. "I'm for enforcing the law in a rational way."

Tancredo said that Bush should be forced to write, "I'm sorry for calling you vigilantes," on a blackboard one hundred times and then erase the chalk with his tongue.

"You are not vigilantes," he roared. "You are heroes!"

Tancredo told the Minutemen that each of them stood for 100,000 like-minded Americans who couldn't afford to make the trip. He applauded Gilchrist and Simcox as "two good men who understand we must never surrender our right as citizens to do our patriotic duty and defend our country ... and stop this invasion ourselves."

Enemy Territory

While Gilchrist is newly prominent on the anti-immigration front — he recently joined the California Coalition for Immigration Reform, a hate group whose leader routinely describes Mexicans as "savages" — Simcox has been active since 2002, when he founded Civil Homeland Defense, a Tombstone-based vigilante militia that he brags has captured more than 5,000 Mexicans and Central Americans who entered the country without visas.

"These people don't come here to work. They come here to rob and deal drugs," Simcox told the *Intelligence Report* in a 2003 interview. "We need the National Guard to clean up our cities and round them up."

But that was the old Chris Simcox talking, not the new, spiffed-up, buttoned-down, ready-for-primetime Chris Simcox.

The old Simcox described Citizens Homeland Defense as "a committee of vigilantes," and "a border patrol militia."

"They have no problem slitting your throat and taking your money or selling drugs to your kids or raping your daughter and they are evil people."

The new Simcox — the one interviewed for dozens of national TV news programs and major newspaper articles about the Minuteman Project — characterized his new and larger outfit of citizen border patrollers as "more of a neighborhood watch program."

The old Simcox said of Mexicans and Central American immigrants, "They have no problem slitting your throat and

taking your money or selling drugs to your kids or raping your daughter and they are evil people." The new Simcox said he sympathizes with their plight, and sees them as victims of their own government's failed policies.

Gilchrist gave his sound bites an even more extreme makeover by frequently comparing himself and most of his volunteers to "white Martin Luther Kings," and the Minuteman Project to the civil rights movement. He and Simcox both also preposterously declared in interview after interview that they had designed the Minuteman Project to "protect America from drug dealers and terrorists" as much as to catch undocumented immigrants and turn them over to the U.S. Border Patrol.

The mainstream American media largely failed to challenge these flagrant reinventions, even though Gilchrist's militant rhetoric about immigrants "devouring and plundering our nation" was still up on the Minuteman Project's Web site; even though Simcox's statements

are public record (many were published in his own newspaper, the *Tombstone Tumbleweed*), and even though the Minuteman Project's leaders already had a record of lying to the media.

Early this year, white supremacist and neo-Nazi Web sites began openly recruiting for the Minuteman Project. In response, Gilchrist and Simcox proclaimed that neo-Nazi Skinheads and



Tom Tancredo, the Colorado Republican who has become the angriest anti-immigration activist in the U.S. Congress, was treated to a hero's welcome by the Minuteman Project volunteers he addressed on April Fools Day. But he has an enemy in President Bush, who called the Minutemen "vigilantes." Tancredo told the crowd Bush should have to write an apology 100 times, then erase the chalk with his tongue.

race warriors from organizations such as the National Alliance and Aryan Nations were specifically banned from participating. Pressured by journalists to explain exactly how they planned to keep these undesirables out, the two organizers said they were working with the FBI to carefully check the backgrounds of all potential Minuteman volunteers, only to have the FBI completely deny this was the case.

Gilchrist and Simcox then claimed they were personally checking out each and every potential volunteer using online databases. Even if this were true, one of Gilchrist's computers crashed the morning of April 1, wiping out the records of at least 75 pre-registered volunteers. As a result, the registration protocol in Tombstone rapidly degenerated into a free-for-all, and virtually anyone who showed up and gave a name

was issued a Minuteman Project badge and told where to go the next day to be assigned to a watch post.

Gilchrist and Simcox further claimed to the media prior to April 1 that the only volunteers who would be allowed to carry firearms would be those who had a concealed-carry handgun permit from their home states, an indication that they had passed at least a cursory background investigation. In fact, virtually no one was checked for permits.

While most of the Minuteman volunteers were not organized racists, at least one member of Aryan Nations infiltrated the effort, and Johnny and Michael said they were two of six members of the Phoenix chapter of the National Alliance who signed up as Minuteman Volunteers. They said the other four had arrived separately in two-man teams in order to cover more

ground and be less conspicuous. They said the Alliance members came out to support the Minuteman Project, but also to recruit new members, and to learn the remote hot zones for border crossers in Cochise County. They said they intended to return and conduct small, roaming, National Alliance-only vigilante patrols in the fall, "when we can have a little more privacy," as Johnny put it.

The day after the registration meltdown, the Minuteman Project sponsored a protest across the street from the Border Patrol's headquarters in Naco. It drew about 75 demonstrators, including Johnny and Michael, who sat quietly in camp chairs, wearing sunglasses and holding placards.

Michael's sign was decorated with a war-room graphic of arrows that represented armies marching north from



Mexico and spreading throughout the United States.

“Invasion?” it asked. “What Invasion?”

The graphic on Michael’s sign was almost identical to the imagery on a billboard the Alliance paid to put up earlier this year in a predominantly Latino neighborhood of Las Vegas and on Alliance fliers that were tossed onto driveways and lawns in Douglas and Tombstone in late March during a dead-of-night distribution drive.

“Immigration or INVASION?” those fli-

El Paso put in a forced busing program, and I got sent to a middle school that was 95% Mexican. I got my ass kicked about every day. Johnny and I started backing each other up and we’ve been fighting Mexicans ever since.”

Though both have lived in Arizona since the late ’90s, the Minuteman Project marked the first time either has dared come near the border.

“The only way I’d be down here is with a bunch of other white guys with guns,” Michael said. “Whites are the

“The only way I’d be down here is with a bunch of other white guys with guns. Whites are the minority in these border towns, man. They’ve already been taken over. This is enemy territory.”

ers read. “Non-whites are turning America into a Third World slum. They come for welfare or to take our jobs. They bring crime. Let’s send them home now!”

Johnny and Michael offered their last names to no one, and never spoke of their jobs, though Michael said he had fought in the first Gulf War with the 82nd Airborne Division. At the protest, he wore a desert camouflage vest over a black shirt emblazoned with a white fist and combat boots. There were other small clues to the pair’s ideology. Driving to the protest, they blasted the white-power rock band Youngblood. Johnny made several references to the “14 Words,” a white supremacist adage (“We must secure the existence of our race and a future for White children”). Johnny also had a National Alliance symbol tattooed to the back of his neck and “Born in the C.S.A.” (referring to the Confederate States of America) inked below his left jawbone.

“We both grew up in El Paso, and we’ve been racially aware since we were kids,” Michael said. “In the sixth grade,

minority in these border towns, man. They’ve already been taken over. This is enemy territory.”

Lock and Load

The Minuteman Project’s “command and communications center” was located on the campus of Miracle Valley Bible College, a former cult compound just outside Naco. Stained mattresses and dusty junk cluttered the halls of the compound’s dormitory buildings, where 100 Minuteman volunteers slept two to a room.

Another 30 to 40 vigilantes pitched tents on a weedy ball field with a rusted backstop, where tumbleweeds soared and bounced on shrieking desert winds.

The social atmosphere on the desolate compound was saturated with paranoia, military fetishism and machismo. A neatly printed sign posted to the communal shower room announcing “Women’s Shower Hours 7-9 and 3-5” was defaced with a scrawled “NO! MEN ONLY!”

By day two of the Minuteman Project, volunteers had taken to calling the college’s cafeteria the “mess hall,” the dormitories “barracks,” and the boundaries of the campus “the perimeter.” Security was tight. Armed guards patrolled the perimeter and stopped cars at the front gate to check occupants for Minuteman badges.

Minuteman security teams randomly placed trip flares in the desert outside the compound’s structures to alert them at night to the presence of intruders.

Rumors of imminent danger flew through the dorms regularly, along with shouts to “lock and load,” because the notorious Central American street gang MS-13 was about to storm the campus.

MS-13 is a favorite bogeyman of the anti-immigration movement, and in late March unsubstantiated Internet rumors began swirling that MS-13 leaders had issued orders for hundreds of MS-13 members in Los Angeles and Phoenix to converge in Cochise County and “teach the Minutemen a lesson.” The *Washington Times* reported these rumors as fact on March 28 in a front-page article headlined “Gang will target Minuteman vigil on Mexico border.”

The night of April 4, a cry of alarm went up throughout the Miracle Valley compound that “a credible threat” had been received that armed MS-13 gang members were about to lead a charge of hundreds of Mexicans “over the wire” and against the Minuteman posts along Border Road.

Furiously donning body armor and loading weapons, Minuteman Project security officers and citizen volunteers piled into vehicles and raced to the rescue, only to find that, like all the supposedly impending assaults on the Bible college, the MS-13-led attack never materialized.

The Minuteman Project’s culture of fear sprang from the top and then trickled down through the ranks. A towering bodyguard dressed all in black shadowed Gilchrist, and Simcox often donned a bulletproof vest (Simcox is prohibited from carrying a firearm due to his 2004 conviction for illegally packing a pistol in a national park while hunting immigrants).

When Johnny and Michael first arrived at their assigned post on Border Road, they warily eyed a rock formation atop a hill about 250 yards away, in Mexico.

“That’s a perfect MS-13 sniper’s nest,” Michael said. “Keep an eye out for any glints of metal up there.”

Johnny pulled out a pair of vinyl rifle cases from a hiding place in the heap of

Johnny (left) and Michael, who identified themselves as members of the neo-Nazi National Alliance, were among the “racially aware” white supremacists who participated in the Minuteman Project in April. At one point, the men said they were scouting what they described as sniper positions for future projects.

camping and military surplus gear that filled the back of his Toyota 4Runner. Inside the cases were assault rifles, a violation of the Minuteman's weapons policy, which required volunteers to arm themselves with handguns only. "They're loaded, and there are extra clips in there, just in case anything goes down," he said.

Carl found a depression in the earth behind his pick-up truck and called his

about the Minuteman Project, he cruised up and down Border Road, along with several other local residents, snapping photos and chatting up the vigilantes.

"Some of them seem all right, and I do give them credit for putting their money where their mouth is and for bringing a lot of attention to the problem of illegal immigration. But a lot of them are a little too extreme, a little

I'll call Border Patrol if it's a really big group. Other times I just say, 'Oh, what the hell,' and let them be. I do worry that some of them are coming into the country for a welfare free ride, and I'm sure a few of them are criminals, but I talk to these people a lot, and I'll tell you, most of them are



"They were talking to me like they're white supremacists or something, and they were assuming I must be too just because I live here and have to deal with all the illegals. But I don't care too much for those kinds of attitudes. That sort of thinking should have died with Hitler."

squad together.

"This is our fallback position," he said. "If we start taking incoming rounds, everyone dive here and get your head down."

But there were no incoming rounds, and no invading, dark-skinned hordes. Day after day, hour after hour, the Minuteman Project volunteers spaced in seven posts along a mile-long stretch of Border Road sat in lawn chairs and milled around, staring at dirt, cacti, and the occasional jackrabbit.

There was so little action on the Mexican side of the fence that a lone cattle rancher riding his horse just south of the border was enough to spark a flurry of radio traffic: "Station Two, this is Station One, we have a mounted possible hostile coming your way, over."

The rancher smiled, waved, and shouted, "Hola!"

"He's probably scouting our troop strength and positions," said Michael. "I don't trust that guy."

Machine Guns and Minefields

Richard Hodges, lifetime Cochise County resident, lives with his wife on a homestead just off the Naco side of Border Road in the same house his great-grandfather built in 1897. Curious

too racist for my taste," Hodges said. "They were talking to me like they're white supremacists or something, and they were assuming I must be too just because I live here and have to deal with all the illegals. But I don't care too much for those kinds of attitudes. That's just not the correct mentality people need to bring down here. That sort of thinking should have died with Hitler."

Back when he was a kid, Hodges said, the average Mexican didn't have any reason to sneak into the U.S.

"They had it pretty okay in Mexico, so when my daddy found a Mexican on our property, he'd put a shotgun on him, you bet, but it wasn't because he didn't like Mexicans, it was because he knew that Mexican was probably on the run, because their criminals would run to America just the same as our criminals would run to Mexico. My father would order them to take off their pants, then give them a choice: either walk back to Mexico with no pants on, or wait for the sheriff."

Things are different now.

"I see illegals on my property all the time, and I don't point a gun at them. You can tell just from looking at them they're no threat. They don't scare me. They're not out to get me. They just want to go on their way. Sometimes

coming here to work. Pure and simple."

The immigration problem can't be solved in America, Hodges said. It can only be solved in Mexico.

"I was in the Air Force, and I saw how the Soviets did it. Sure, we could build a wall, and put machine-gun towers on top, and create a no man's land with a minefield, and we start machine-gunning people and blowing them to bits, and it might curtail them a bit, but it won't stop them from coming so long as we allow the Mexican government to keep treating its people so poorly. You can put the Marines on the border, you can build all the walls and bring in all the Minuteman Projects you want. They're not going to stop. There are millions and millions and millions of poor, desperate people in Mexico, and hunger is a powerful motivating force."

But no matter how desperate, it was hard to imagine any but the most foolhardy of undocumented immigrants would dare attempting to cross into the U.S. along the mile of Border Road staked out by the Minuteman Project, not when it was so easy for them to just



In a shelter housed in a Catholic church in Agua Prieta, Mexico, would-be immigrants to the United States discussed the Minuteman Project, which they've heard about in "Danger!" fliers circulated by the government. "I'm not coming to America to rob anyone," said Luis (far right). "Please, tell the Minutemen I don't want to fight."

hike an extra mile in either direction and circumvent the vigilante enforcement zone, which was a hive of activity easily spotted a distance.

ing dramatically at absolutely nothing but empty desert through their spotting scopes and binoculars, the Minuteman Project volunteers were themselves under con-

The vigilante blockade was augmented by a constant procession of U.S. Border Patrol agents, Cochise County sheriff's deputies, curious local residents like Hodges, and the omnipresent media. Also, while they posed for the cameras, staring dramatically at absolutely nothing but empty desert through their spotting scopes and binoculars, the Minuteman Project volunteers were themselves under con-

stant watch by roving clusters of American Civil Liberties Union legal observers (see interview, p. 29), who the Minuteman volunteers referred to over their radios as "traitors," "Jane Fondas," and "ACL-Jews."

The Minuteman volunteers were stone-faced toward most of the reporters and camera crews that cruised up and down Border Road, trolling for interviews and footage. But the vigilantes cheered the arrival of Fox News Channel crews ("They're our people," said Michael) and that of anti-immigration CNN anchor Lou Dobbs, whose coverage of the Minuteman Project was particularly supple.

Gilchrist and Simcox had difficulty sharing the spotlight. Cochise County, it turned out, wasn't big enough for both their egos.

Once when Simcox saw Gilchrist surrounded by reporters, he said to himself, but loudly, "There goes Gilchrist, holding down his own fort again."

And to one group of volunteers, Simcox said, "Listen up, I need everybody to understand that while the California people did a good job of getting you here, now that you're here, this is my show, because this is Civil Homeland Defense territory, so just understand that, okay? Thanks."

Of the two, Gilchrist revealed himself to be the more hackneyed media ham.

The afternoon of April 2, a documentary film director posed Gilchrist in front of Johnny, Michael, and Carl standing shoulder-to-shoulder before the border fence, with their backs to the "sniper's nest" they'd been so fearful of scant hours before.

"We are not racists," Gilchrist said on camera. "We don't endorse racism, and we're not a hate group. We've told white supremacists they're not welcome here, and we've kept them out. The only hate group members here are from the ACLU."

Johnny and Michael put on their poker faces.

"The ACLU are no different from white supremacists," Gilchrist said. "They're a clear and present danger. They have the same mentality that murdered Martin Luther King, and they want to kill us. Literally the ACLU wants to kill us by invoking violence. We've been vilified and castigated as ghoulish monsters, as gun-toting, baby-killing war machines."

"We are not in favor of violence, and we don't hate immigrants. We don't have any problem with Mexicans. If they come into the country legally, we want them here. We want America to be a melting pot of all different kinds of people, where every race, color and creed is blending together."

The two neo-Nazis bristled. Melting pot? Was he serious?

"We are a peaceful demonstration. We're doing this peacefully, the way our founding fathers wanted us to. We don't need baseball bats and tire irons and guns and flamethrowers and bulldozers to wipe people out and level villages. We



Minutemen sheltered from the sun behind a sign that explains some of their fears. Many extremists believe the Mexican government and American-born Hispanics are in a secret conspiracy to "reconquer" the southwestern United States and rename it Aztlan.

cross about the Minuteman Project, and thousands of immigrants either walked around the vigilantes or simply hunkered down in the Mexican border city of Agua Prieta and waited for the vigilantes to go home at the end of April.

The governor of the Mexican border state of Sonora, Eduardo Bours Castelo, ordered 44 members of the Sonora State Preventative Police Force to patrol a huge cattle ranch opposite the Minuteman sector of Border Road, in order to intercept unwary migrants before they reached the vigilante posts.

The Mexican federal border patrol agency Grupo Beta, which is assigned to protect immigrants from bandits and to search for those who have succumbed to the scorching sun, also bolstered their forces.

"We're trying to scare them. We tell them they may be shot by the Minutemen," said Enrique Palafox, the Grupo Beta commander in Agua Prieta. Both the state and federal patrols informed the immigrants of the Minuteman Project watch post locations and offered to give them rides back to Agua Prieta so they could either wait out the vigilantes or at least re-supply with food and water before setting out again on an alternate route.

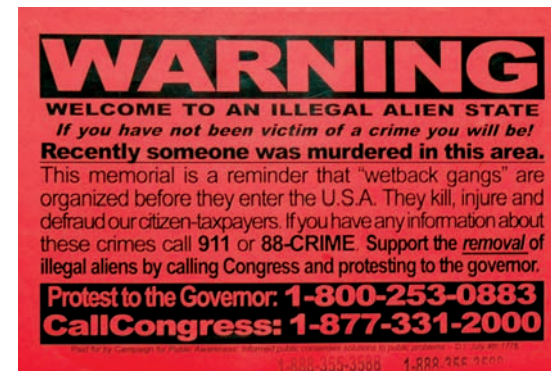
The streets of Agua Prieta were posted throughout April with bright red fliers that warned in Spanish: "Danger! Publications in the United States and Mexico are reporting that during the month of April, hundreds of vigilantes from the United States will form patrols along the border from Agua Prieta to Naco. It's possible these individuals will have guns. They are not part of the Border Patrol or the government of the United States. Avoid them! They're dangerous!"

One night during the second week of the Minuteman Project, at Centro de Atención al Migrante Exodus, or CARE, a temporary shelter for immigrants housed in a Catholic church a couple miles from the border in Agua Prieta, a group of nine men in their late teens and early 20s from Vera Cruz sat around a long table, hungrily downing soup and tortillas. They said they were determined to get into America so they could make 50 dollars a day as laborers, instead of the 50 pesos (about \$5) they earned for ten hours of cutting sugar cane at home.

"I'm not coming into America to rob anyone," said the group's apparent leader, a 20-year-old farm kid named Luís. "If I wanted to rob for a living, I could do that in Mexico. Please, tell the Minutemen I don't want to fight."

By the end of the Minuteman Project, its organizers claimed to have assisted in the

capture of 336 undocumented immigrants from Mexico and Central America. In addition to the posts along Border Road, the Minuteman Project set up a chain of camps 40 miles east of Border Road and 35 miles north of the border. There, volunteers staked out a series of dry washes and culverts around a highway that serve as "lay-up spots" where exhausted immi-



grants stop to sleep and wait for rides after hiking two or three days over mountains and through open desert.

Judging by Minuteman Project radio traffic, the vigilantes patrolling the lay-up spots busted far more immigrants than those on the higher profile Border Road, but their final tally of 336 is impossible to verify because the U.S. Border Patrol does not record the identity or affiliation of citizen informants.

Border Patrol officials did say the Minuteman volunteers were more hindrance than help because they so frequently called in false alarms and set off ground sensors.

"The Border Patrol didn't want them, my community didn't want them here, and I didn't want them here," said Douglas Mayor Roy Borane. "All they succeeded in doing was creating hard feelings and spreading a racist message. The amount of media attention they received has been totally out of proportion to their actual impact. The Mexicans have a saying that I think applies quite well to the Minuteman Project: 'It was all song and no opera.'"

Brown and White

Chris Simcox bounded onto the stage in Washington D.C.'s Lafayette Square. With the White House in the background,



Camp of the zealots: Minuteman volunteers were housed at the Miracle Valley Bible College, a building that once belonged to a religious cult.

he grinned ear-to-ear and gave the cheering crowd a double thumbs up.

It was the morning of Monday, April 25. The Minuteman Project had less than a week to go, and Simcox had left his troops in the field — by then their numbers had dwindled to fewer than 50 — in order to be received as a champion in the nation's capital by the “immigration reform army” gathered there for “Hold Their Feet to the Fire,” a week of rallies and lobbying sponsored by the Federation for American Immigration Reform, or FAIR.

FAIR Executive Director Dan Stein had personally invited Simcox. “For many Americans, the Minuteman Project looks more like Lexington and Concord,” Stein stated. “It represents the escalation of action required to face down the arrogance and contempt of selfish greed. In my view, those who see it differently mistake the matter entirely.”

Standing above an adoring audience, Simcox said the Minuteman Project in Arizona was just the beginning. “This has been a dream come true for citizens,” he said. “We were bold enough to stand up and tell the federal government that it's not securing our borders. But our efforts will continue in the future with a multi-state campaign. There will be no compromise!”

Simcox left the stage to a chant of “Thank you, Chris! Thank you, Chris!”

The Minuteman volunteers and the FAIR enthusiasts draw their inspiration from the same cauldron of seething resentment. They're fed up with being asked their language preference by automated operators, with hearing Spanish on their radio, seeing it on billboards, and with struggling to be understood by busboys and hotel maids who “speak Mexican.”



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

“I think they’ve done a terrific job. It just shows that it works when you go and make an effort and when you work hard. It’s a doable thing.

It’s a shame that the private citizen has to go in there and start patrolling our borders”

The news that Los Angeles had just elected its first Latino mayor in 100 years was just another foul omen that America really is being conquered, one fake green card and one minimum wage job at a time. They don't care to discuss the complexities of global economics. They don't want to hear about international trade policies or economic migration.

They see the world in brown and white.

“Thanks to the gross malfeasance of our government, Americans are going to

be fighting for their nation on the streets of their own cities,” wrote Glenn Spencer, a prominent anti-immigration activist, Minuteman Project volunteer and repeat “Lou Dobbs Tonight” guest, in a May 2 essay publicized on his America Border Patrol Web site. “Many are not going to survive this conflict alive. Thousands will die.”

Already, imitation groups waving the Minuteman banner have formed in California and Texas. The same week that Simcox appeared in D.C., California Gov. Arnold

Schwarzenegger praised the Minuteman Project in a radio show, saying he'd welcome border vigilantes in his state.

“I think they've done a terrific job,” he said. “It just shows that it works when you go and make an effort and when you work hard. It's a doable thing. It's a shame that the private citizen has to go in there and start patrolling our borders.”

Gilchrist and Simcox have both announced they're forming separate splinter vigilante groups. In May, Simcox claimed that “over 15,000” people had

already joined his new organization, the Minuteman Civil Defense Corps.

“We are now undertaking the task of recruiting, training and deploying thousands of U.S. citizens to the four southern border states with Mexico,” he said.

“We have a mandate from the citizens of the United States who are no longer just demanding better border security, they are now willing to participate in securing the borders themselves,” Simcox said. “Our intentions are to follow the will of the people.” ▲

THE WATCHER



A young law student describes his experiences monitoring the anti-immigration vigilantes of the Minuteman Project

Ray Ybarra's office is a decrepit brick storefront six blocks from Mexico in Douglas, Ariz., the historic border town where Ybarra was born. Now 26, Ybarra took a sabbatical from his final year of law school at Stanford University to come back to Douglas to work for the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) monitoring anti-immigration militants in the southeastern Arizona badlands. Inside Ybarra's sparse workspace, mounted on a wall like a trophy, is a blown-up copy of a letter to the FBI, dated March 25 and signed “James W. Gilchrist, Minuteman Project coordinator.” Co-organized by Gilchrist, a Vietnam veteran from Orange County, Calif., and by Tombstone, Ariz.-based anti-immigration extremist Chris Simcox, the Minuteman Project was a nationwide call to arms for private citizens with guns to mass along the border in Arizona's San Pedro Valley throughout the month of April to “provide a blocking force against entry into the U.S. by illegal aliens, drug dealers, and potential terrorists.” In the months leading up to the Minuteman Project, Ybarra harshly and repeatedly criticized the effort, describing it as a fundamentally racist action with a high potential for human rights abuse. In early March, the ACLU announced that he was organizing teams of “legal observers” to follow, photograph,

and videotape Minuteman volunteers, gathering evidence for possible lawsuits or even arrests. Gilchrist's letter begins "Dear FBI" and then accuses Ybarra of masterminding a "witch hunt" of "malicious harassment and intimidation," including "pejorative references to 'vigilantes'" that has "effectively and illegally suppressed the constitutional rights of U.S. citizens to peaceably assemble." The Intelligence Report interviewed Ybarra in April, while the Minuteman Project was under way.

INTELLIGENCE REPORT: The first time you read Gilchrist's letter to the FBI, how did you react?

RAY YBARRA: Oh, I laughed hysterically. It cracked me up because he's basically pleading for the feds to protect his civil liberties from the ACLU. My favorite part is where he compares me to McCarthy.

The second time I read it, I thought, "Good, maybe we're starting to get to these guys." I think Gilchrist has a huge ego and, like a lot of people with huge egos, he likes to think he has a lot of enemies who are out to get him. Well, I'm not out to get him and I'm not trampling on anyone's rights. The only truthful thing about me in that letter is my calling the Minutemen 'vigilantes.'

IR: Why use that word?

YBARRA: Because that's exactly what they are. By their own definition, they're taking the law into their own hands.

IR: How many legal observers have you managed to muster, and who are they, in terms of age and profession?

YBARRA: We have about 130 volunteer observers, and believe me when I say that's a far more accurate estimate than the number of volunteers the Minuteman organizers were claiming. They said at one point they had more than 1,000, which I'd say was an exaggeration of at least three to four times their actual strength.

Most of the observers on my teams are college students from all over the country or human rights activists and religious workers from Arizona and California. Some of my law school friends and professors from Stanford came down as well.

IR: Before the start of the Minuteman Project, you told the media that wherever their volunteers went, your teams would follow. You said, "If they go hiking through the desert, we'll hike with them. If they sit in lawn chairs, we'll sit in lawn chairs next to them." How has that played out in reality?

YBARRA: Well, we haven't wound up sitting right next to them, because it's more effective for us to place one of our teams on a high point some distance away so we can watch three or four of their teams at once.

IR: Have you seen or heard of any Minuteman volunteers pointing guns or committing acts of violence?

YBARRA: No, we haven't. Of course, it's impossible to know how they'd be acting if they didn't know we're watching. But I think that more than anything, the Minuteman Project has turned out to be a staged media event. So they're on their best behavior.

IR: What's your opinion of the media coverage of the Minuteman Project?

YBARRA: It's mostly lies, and very obvious lies. The biggest of these is that the Minuteman Project has closed a big stretch of the Arizona border. That just isn't true. The Mexican government has gone to great effort to warn migrants about the vigilantes, to alert them to the danger, tell them where the vigilantes are located, and direct them to cross in different areas. So while it's true that the U.S. Border Patrol's

"Future generations will look back upon the Minuteman Project, and this period on the border as a whole, with outrage and with wonder."

apprehension numbers have dropped significantly along a small stretch of the border during the Minuteman Project, that's only because the majority of the migrants who have crossed during this time have simply walked an extra two to three miles in either direction. The Minuteman Project has temporarily closed two to three miles of the border at most.

The other really frustrating untruth that has been perpetuated in the media

is the idea that the Minuteman Project was designed to protect America from terrorists and drug smugglers. That's what Gilchrist and [co-organizer] Chris Simcox have said in interview after interview. But that was absolutely not the sort of hateful, racist rhetoric they used to recruit Minuteman volunteers in the first place. The language on their Web site in the months before was not, "Come save America from Al Qaeda." It



was [although not literally], "Come save America from the invading brown hordes who are plundering our nation."

But that's not what they're saying to [CNN news anchor] Lou Dobbs. That's not how it's getting spun on Fox [News Channel].

IR: But you have to admit their strategy has worked. They have generated huge momentum for the extremist faction of the anti-immigration movement.

YBARRA: They may have momentum on their side at the moment, but they don't have history. And what's happening on the border with immigration is simply history repeating itself. It's always been true that a majority of immigrants to America come to our country in search of economic opportunity. They come in pursuit of the American dream. And

that's just as true of migrants from Latin America in the 21st Century as it was for immigrants from Europe in previous centuries. The only difference is the color of their skin.

IR: How will history judge the Minuteman Project?

YBARRA: My hope is that like slavery and racial segregation, future generations will look back upon the Minuteman Project, and this period on the border as a whole, with outrage and with wonder.

They will think, "How could this have been allowed, let alone condoned? How could it have been acceptable for so many people to needlessly suffer, just in order to find work, walking four or five days through a harsh desert environment? How could it have been acceptable

for hundreds of these people to die every year of thirst, for them to die slowly, like animals that can't fend for themselves anymore? How could it have been acceptable for armed vigilantes to stand in their way, taking the law into their own hands, and illegally imprisoning them?"

IR: You said the Minuteman Project volunteers aren't using violence. How are they illegally imprisoning anyone?

YBARRA: Think of it this way: Let's say you're an anti-immigration extremist, but instead of being a border vigilante, you live in Chicago or New York. You're out to dinner one night, and you see a person back in the kitchen washing dishes, and you think maybe they're in the country without papers, judging by the color of their skin. So you call up five

or six of your friends, and you all dress up in commando uniforms, and you strap guns on your hips, and you set up a post and wait for this person from the kitchen to get off work. And when they do, you position yourself physically between them and wherever they're trying to go, and you bark orders at them to stop where they are and wait until a federal agent arrives.

When you place the scenario in a different setting, it's sounds ridiculous. Yet this is exactly what's going on every day with vigilantes on the border — both with the Minuteman Project, and with the even more aggressive local vigilante militias such as Ranch Rescue and Civil Homeland Defense. And it is clearly illegal, because the law on “false imprisonment” in Arizona is very clear. You don't have to slam somebody to the ground or use handcuffs or draw a gun in order to be guilty [of false imprisonment].

IR: How so?

YBARRA: The law says that [using] physical force or the threat of physical force is only one way that you can be found guilty of illegal imprisonment. You can also be found guilty if you commit, and this is the exact language, “restraint without consent through intimidation or deception.” And that's where the vigilantes most often violate the law — not with violence, but with intimidation and deception.

Put yourself in the mindset of a migrant from rural Mexico. Most likely,

agents. You're going to be intimidated into doing what they want.

IR: When you've talked to immigrants during the Minuteman Project, and you've told them that some of the men with guns are not actually border patrol agents, what's their reaction?

YBARRA: Astonishment. Just utter shock that private citizens would take the time away from their lives and jobs to come down to the border to prevent them from crossing. They all ask me, “Why? Why are they doing this?”

IR: And what do you say?

YBARRA: I say, “They're afraid of you because they don't know you. If they met you and heard your motives for getting over, they wouldn't hate you so much.” And that's what the optimist in me would like to believe. I would like to believe that if the vigilantes met the migrants on a human level, if they would share a meal with them and just hear their stories, then they would lose their desire to be a part of this terribly misguided segment of white America. They wouldn't want to put on a gun and wait in the night on the other side of a barbed-wire fence between their two countries. That's the optimist in me.

There's another part of me that knows that a lot of the people participating in the Minuteman Project would never share a meal with a migrant from Latin America, because they see these people as beneath them, as lesser forms of human

seven Minuteman vigilantes, who were celebrating while they waited for Border Patrol to show up. As usual, my team got between the vigilantes and the migrants, and we started asking questions. The migrants said they had been walking for four days, the last day without food or water, and they were in bad shape. It was freezing cold that night. I had on two big jackets, and they only had wind-breakers, and they were so out of it that they couldn't even put together complete sentences. To see that sort of suffering and misery right in front of my face was horrible enough, but 10 feet away there was a group of my fellow Americans, and instead of offering these two men a drink of water, or an extra jacket, or even a candy bar, they were celebrating like a bunch of fishermen who just caught a big one. I think that was probably my saddest moment as a U.S. citizen. I was ashamed of my countrymen.

IR: The night of April 10 was also when a young Army reservist, Sgt. Patrick Haab, pulled a gun and made a “citizen's arrest” of a vanload of unarmed Mexicans at a highway rest stop in Arizona. Haab wasn't part of the Minuteman Project. But do you see any connection between his case and their mission?

YBARRA: Absolutely, especially since the deputy who showed up at the rest stop correctly arrested Haab for aggravated assault. But then a prosecutor dropped all the charges, which is a scary sign, because the prosecutor's decision was clearly based on public opinion and the political climate in Arizona in the midst of the Minuteman Project, instead of actual state law, which is pretty clear about the fact that it's not okay to go around pointing guns at unarmed people just because you think they might be in the country without papers. This decision serves the same purpose as the Minuteman Project, which is the mainstreaming of violent hate.

The Minuteman Project spread the message that it's a good thing to wear a gun when you're dealing with migrants. The Patrick Haab case spread the message that it's okay to actually point those guns at people. And I think a lot of vigilantes are just waiting for the signal that it's okay to go ahead and start pulling triggers. ▲

“A lot of vigilantes are just waiting for the signal that it's okay to go ahead and start pulling triggers.”

you have no idea what a U.S. Border Patrol agent wears for a uniform, and you come from a country where it's illegal for private citizens to carry guns. So when you're surprised in the desert by a group of men dressed in army fatigues, with pistols on their hips, wearing red-white-and-blue hats and utility belts with radios and flash lights and extra ammunition for their guns, you're automatically going to be deceived into believing these men are legally authorized Border Patrol

beings that deserve to be hunted.

IR: You've spent hundreds of hours watching the Minuteman Project volunteers in action. Is there any one event that stands out in your mind as particularly symbolic of their intent?

YBARRA: The defining moment for me occurred on April 10. It was a Sunday night, about 11 o'clock, and my team of legal observers came upon two migrants sitting on the side of the road, surrounded by a group of about five to

TEROR FROM THE RIGHT

SINCE THE 1995 OKLAHOMA CITY BOMBING, ABOUT 60 RIGHT-WING TERRORIST PLOTS HAVE BEEN UNCOVERED IN THE UNITED STATES

Ten years after the Oklahoma City bombing left 168 people dead, the guardians of American national security seem to have decided that the domestic radical right does not pose a substantial threat to U.S. citizens. A draft internal document from the U.S. Department of Homeland Security that was obtained this spring by The Congressional Quarterly lists the only serious domestic terrorist threats as radical animal rights and environmental groups like the Animal Liberation Front and the Earth Liberation Front. But for all the property damage they have wreaked, eco-radicals have killed no one — something that most definitely cannot be said of the white supremacists and others who people the American radical right. In the 10 years since the April 19, 1995, bombing in Oklahoma City, in fact, the radical right has produced some 60 terrorist plots. These have

BY ANDREW BLEJWAS, ANTHONY GRIGGS & MARK POTOK

included plans to bomb or burn government buildings, banks, refineries, utilities, clinics, synagogues, mosques, memorials and bridges; to assassinate police officers, judges, politicians, civil rights figures and others; to rob banks, armored cars and other criminals; and to amass illegal machine guns, missiles, explosives, and biological and chemical weapons. What follows is a list of key right-wing plots of the last 10 years.

1995

July 28, 1995

Antigovernment extremist Charles Ray Polk is arrested after trying to purchase a machine gun from an undercover police officer, and is later indicted by a federal grand jury for plotting to blow up the Internal Revenue Service building in Austin, Texas. At the time of his arrest, Polk is trying to purchase plastic explosives to add to the already huge arsenal he's amassed. Polk is sentenced to almost 21 years in federal prison, with a projected release date in 2009.



October 9, 1995

Saboteurs derail an Amtrak passenger train near Hyder, Ariz., killing one person and injuring scores of others. An antigovernment message, signed by the "Sons of Gestapo," is left behind. The perpetrators remain at large.

November 9, 1995

Oklahoma Constitutional Militia leader Willie Ray Lampley, his wife Cecilia and another man, John Dare Baird, are arrested as they prepare explosives to bomb numerous targets, including the Southern Poverty Law Center, gay bars and abortion clinics. The three, along with another suspect arrested later, are sentenced to terms of up to 11 years in 1996. An appeals court upholds Lampley's



December 18, 1995

An Internal Revenue Service (IRS) employee discovers a plastic drum packed with ammonium nitrate and fuel oil in a parking lot behind the IRS building in Reno, Nev. The device failed to explode a day earlier when a three-foot fuse went out prematurely. Ten days later, tax protester Joseph Martin Bailie is arrested. Bailie is eventually sentenced to 36 years in federal prison.



sentence the following year. Baird is released in August 2004, while Ray Lampley — who wrote letters from prison urging others to violence — is slated to be freed in January 2006.

An officer examines Larry Wayne Shoemake's arsenal.



1996

January 18, 1996

Peter Kevin Langan, the pseudonymous "Commander Pedro" who leads the underground Aryan Republican Army, is arrested after a shootout with the FBI in Ohio. Along with six other suspects arrested around the same time, Langan is charged in connection with a string of 22 bank robberies in seven Midwestern states between 1994 and 1996. After pleading guilty and agreeing to testify, conspirator Richard Guthrie commits suicide in his cell. Two others, Kevin McCarthy and Scott Stedford, enter plea bargains and do testify against their co-conspirators. Eventually, Mark Thomas, a leading neo-Nazi in Pennsylvania, pleads guilty for his role in helping organize the robber-

ies and agrees to testify against Langan and other gang members. Shawn Kenny, another suspect, becomes a federal informant. Langan is sentenced to a life term in one case, plus 55 years in another. Thomas is sentenced to eight years in prison, and is released in early 2004.

April 11, 1996

Antigovernment activist Ray Hamblin is charged with illegal possession of explosives after authorities find 460 pounds of the high explosive Tovex, 746 pounds of ANFO blasting agent and 15 homemade hand grenades on his property in Hood River, Ore. Hamblin is sentenced to almost four years in federal prison, and is released in March 2000.

April 12, 1996

Apparently inspired by his reading of a neo-Nazi tract, Larry Wayne Shoemake kills one black man and wounds seven other people, including a reporter, during a racist shooting spree in a black neighborhood in Jackson, Miss. As police close in on the abandoned restaurant he is shooting from, Shoemake, who is white, sets the restaurant on fire and kills himself. A search of his home finds references to "Separation or Annihilation," an essay on race relations by National Alliance leader William Pierce, along with an arsenal of weapons that includes 17 long guns, 20,000 rounds of ammunition, several knives and countless military manuals.

April 26, 1996

Two leaders of the Militia-at-Large of the Republic of Georgia, Robert Edward Starr III and William James McCranie Jr., are charged with manufacturing shrapnel bombs for distribution to militia mem-



bers. Later in the year, they are sentenced on explosives charges to terms of up to eight years. Another Militia-at-Large member, accused of training a team to assassinate politicians, is later convicted of conspiracy. Starr is released from prison in 2003, while McCranie gets out in 2001. The last member, Troy Allen Kayser (alias Troy Spain), draws six years in prison and is released in early 2002.

July 1, 1996

Twelve members of an Arizona militia group called the Viper Team are arrested on federal conspiracy, weapons and explosive charges after allegedly surveilling and videotaping government buildings as potential targets. All 12 plead guilty or are convicted of various charges, drawing sentences of up to nine years in prison. The plot participants are all released in coming years, with Gary Curds Baer, who drew the heaviest sentence, freed in May 2004.

July 27, 1996

A nail-packed bomb goes off at the Atlanta Olympics, which is seen by many extremists as part of a Satanic “New World Order,” killing one person and injuring more than 100 others. Investigators will later conclude the attack is linked to 1997-1998 bombings of an Atlanta-area abortion clinic, an Atlanta gay bar and a Birmingham, Ala., abortion facility. Suspect Eric Robert Rudolph — a reclusive North Carolina man tied to the anti-Semitic Christian Identity theology — flees into the woods of his native state after he is identified in early 1998 as a suspect in the Birmingham attack, and is only captured five years later. Eventually, he pleads guilty to all of the attacks attributed to him in exchange for life without parole.

July 29, 1996

Washington State Militia leader John Pitner and seven others are arrested on weapons and explosives charges in connection with a plot to build pipe bombs for a confrontation with the federal government. Pitner and four others are convicted on weapons charges, while conspiracy charges against all eight end in a mistrial. Pitner is later retried on that charge, convicted and sentenced to four years in prison. He is freed from prison in 2001.

October 8, 1996

Three “Phineas Priests” — racist and anti-Semitic Christian Identity terrorists who feel they’ve been called by God to undertake violent attacks — are charged in connection with two bank robberies and bombings at the two banks, a Spokane newspaper and a Planned Parenthood office. Charles Barbee, Robert Berry and Jay Merrell are eventually convicted and sentenced to life terms. Brian Ratigan, a fourth member of the group arrested separately, draws a 55-year term.

October 11, 1996

Seven members of the Mountaineer Militia are arrested in a plot to blow up the FBI’s national fingerprint records center, where 1,000 people work, in West Virginia. In 1998, leader



Floyd “Ray” Looker is sentenced to 18 years in prison. Two other defendants are sentenced on explosives charges and a third draws a year in prison for providing blueprints of the FBI facility to Looker, who then sold them to a government informant who was posing as a terrorist.



1997

bomb the federal building in Battle Creek, the IRS building in Portage, a Kalamazoo television station and federal armories. But they recommend leniency on his explosives conviction after Blaszc renounces his antigovernment beliefs and cooperates with them. In August, he is sentenced to more than three years in federal prison. Blaszc is released in early 2000.

April 22, 1997

Three Ku Klux Klan members are arrested in a plot to blow up a natural gas refinery outside Fort Worth, Texas, after local Klan leader Robert Spence gets cold feet and goes to the FBI. The three, along with a fourth arrested later, expected to kill a huge number of people with the blast — authorities later say as many as 30,000 might have died — which was to serve, incredibly, as a diversion for a simultaneous armored car robbery. Among the victims would have been children at a nearby school. All four plead guilty to conspiracy charges and are sentenced to terms of up to 20 years. Spence enters the Witness Protection Program. Carl Jay Waskom Jr. is released in June 2004. Shawn and Catherine Adams, a couple, are expected to be freed in 2006, and Edward Taylor Jr. in early 2007.



January 16, 1997

Two anti-personnel bombs — the second clearly designed to kill arriving law enforcement and rescue workers — explode outside an abortion clinic in Sandy Springs, Ga., a suburb of Atlanta. Seven people are injured. Letters signed by the “Army of God” claim responsibility for this attack and another, a month later, at an Atlanta gay bar. Authorities later learn that these attacks, the 1998 bombing of a Birmingham, Ala., abortion clinic and the 1996 Atlanta Olympics bombing, were all carried out by Eric Robert Rudolph, who is captured in 2003 after five years on the run. Rudolph avoids the death penalty by pleading guilty in exchange for a life sentence, but simultaneously releases a defiant statement defending his attacks.

January 22, 1997

Authorities raid the Martinton, Ill., home of former Marine Ricky Salyers, an alleged Ku Klux Klan member, discovering 35,000 rounds of heavy ammunition, armor piercing shells, smoke and tear gas grenades, live shells for grenade launchers, artillery shells and other military gear. Salyers was discharged earlier from the Marines, where he taught demolitions and sniping, after tossing a live grenade (with the pin still in) at state police officers serving him

with a search warrant in 1995. Following the 1997 raid, Salyers, an alleged member of the underground Black Dawn group of extremists in the military, is sentenced to serve three years for weapons violations. He is released from prison in 2000.

March 26, 1997

Militia activist Brendon Blaszc is arrested in Kalamazoo, Mich., and charged with making pipe bombs and other illegal explosives. Prosecutors say Blaszc plotted to

April 23, 1997

Florida police arrest Todd Vanbiber, a member of the neo-Nazi National Alliance’s Tampa unit and the shadowy League of the Silent Soldier, after he accidentally sets off pipe bombs he was building, blasting shrapnel into his own face. He is accused of plotting to use the bombs on the approach to Disney World to divert attention from a planned string of bank robberies. Vanbiber pleads guilty to weapons and explosives

charges and is sentenced to more than six years in federal prison. He is released in 2002. Within two years, Vanbiber is posting messages on neo-Nazi Internet sites boasting that he has built over 300 bombs successfully and only made one error, and describing mass murderer Timothy McVeigh as a hero.

April 27, 1997

After a cache of explosives stored in a tree blows up near Yuba City, Calif., police arrest Montana Freeman supporter William Robert Goehler (below, far right). Investigators looking into the blast arrest two Goehler associates, one of them a militia leader, after finding 500 pounds of petrogel explosives — enough to level three city blocks — in a motor home parked outside their residence. Six others are arrested on related charges. Goehler, with previous convictions for rape, burglary and assault, is sentenced to 25 years to life in prison.



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

May 3, 1997

Antigovernment extremists set fire to the IRS office in Colorado Springs, Colo., causing \$2.5 million in damage and injuring a firefighter. Federal agents later arrest five men in connection with the arson, which is conceived as a protest against the tax system. Ringleader James Cleaver, former national director of the antigovernment Sons of Liberty group, is eventually sentenced to 33 years in prison, while accomplice Jack Dowell is sentenced in a separate trial to serve 30 years. Both are ordered to pay \$2.2 million in restitution. Dowell's cousin is acquitted of all charges, while two other suspects, Ronald Sherman and Thomas Shafer, plead guilty to perjury charges in connection with the case.

July 4, 1997

Militiaman Bradley Playford Glover and another heavily armed antigovernment activist are arrested before dawn near Fort Hood, in central Texas, just hours before they planned to invade the Army base and

slaughter foreign troops they mistakenly believed were housed there. In the next few days, five other people are arrested in several states for their alleged roles in the plot to invade a series of military bases where the group believes United Nations forces are massing for an assault on Americans. All seven are part of a splinter group of the Third Continental Congress, a kind of militia government-in-waiting. In the end, Glover is sentenced to two years on Kansas weapons charges, to be followed by a five-year federal term in connection with the Fort Hood plot. The others draw lesser terms. Glover is released in 2003, the last of the seven to get out.

December 12, 1997

A federal grand jury in Arkansas indicts three men on racketeering charges for plotting to overthrow the government and create a whites-only Aryan People's Republic, which they intend to grow through polygamy. Chevie Kehoe (right), Daniel Lee and Faron Lovelace are accused of crimes in six states, including murder, kidnapping, robbery and conspiracy. Kehoe and Lee will also face state charges of murdering an Arkansas family, including an 8-year-old girl, in 1996. Kehoe ultimately receives a life sentence on that charge, while Lee is sentenced to death. Lovelace is sentenced to death for the murder of a suspected informant, although in early 2005 he will be up for resentencing because of court rulings. Kehoe's brother, Cheyne, is convicted of attempted murder during a February 1997 Ohio shootout with police and sentenced to 24 years in prison, despite his key role in helping authorities find his fugitive brother in Utah in June 1997 after the shootout. Cheyne went to the authorities after Chevie began talking about murdering their parents and showing sexual interest in Cheyne's wife.



1998

January 29, 1998

An off-duty police officer is killed and a nurse terribly maimed when a nail-packed, remote-control bomb explodes outside a Birmingham, Ala., abortion facility, the New Woman All Women clinic. Letters to media outlets and officials claim responsibility in the name of the "Army of God," the same entity that took credit for the bombings of a clinic and a gay bar in the Atlanta area. The attack also will be linked to the fatal 1996 bombing of the Atlanta Olympics. Eric Robert Rudolph, a loner from North Carolina, is first identified as a suspect when witnesses spot his pickup truck fleeing the Birmingham bombing. But he is not caught until 2003. He ultimately pleads guilty to all four attacks in exchange for a life sentence.



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

February 23, 1998

Three men with links to a Ku Klux Klan group are arrested near East St. Louis, Ill., on weapons charges. The three, along with three other men arrested later, had formed a group called The New Order, patterned on a 1980s terror group called The Order (a.k.a. the Silent Brotherhood) that carried out assassinations and armored car heists. New Order members plotted to assassinate a federal judge and civil rights lawyer Morris Dees, blow up the Southern Poverty Law Center that Dees co-founded and other buildings, poison water supplies and rob banks. In the end, all six plead guilty or are convicted of weapons charges, drawing terms of up to seven years in federal prison. Wallace Weicherding, who came to a 1997 Dees speech with a concealed gun but turned back rather than pass through a metal detector, is freed in 2003. New Order leader Dennis McGiffen is released in July 2004, the last of the six to regain his freedom.

March 18, 1998

Three members of the North American Militia of Southwestern Michigan are arrested on firearms and other charges. Prosecutors say the men conspired to bomb federal buildings, a Kalamazoo television station and an interstate highway interchange, kill federal agents, assassinate politicians and attack aircraft at a National Guard base — attacks that were all to be funded by marijuana sales. The group's leader, Ken Carter, is a self-described member of the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations. Carter pleads guilty, testifies against his former comrades, and is sentenced to five years in prison. The others, Randy Graham and Bradford Metcalf, go to trial and are ultimately handed sentences of 40 and 55 years, respectively. Carter is released from prison in 2002.

May 29, 1998

A day after stealing a water truck, three men shoot and kill a Cortez, Colo., police officer and wound two other officers as they try to stop the suspects during a road chase. After

the gun battle, the three — Alan Monty Pilon, Robert Mason and Jason McVean — disappear into the canyons of the high desert. Mason will be found a week later, dead of an apparently self-inflicted gunshot. The skeletal remains of Pilon are found in October 1999 and show that he, too, died of a gunshot to the head, another apparent suicide. McVean is not found, but most authorities assume he died in the desert. Many officials believe the three men intended to use the water truck in some kind of terrorist attack, but the nature of their suspected plans is never learned.

July 1, 1998

Three men are charged with conspiracy to use weapons of mass destruction after threatening President Clinton and other federal officials with biological weapons. Officials say the men planned to use a cactus thorn coated with a toxin like anthrax and fired by a modified butane lighter to carry out the murders. One man is acquitted of the charges, but Jack Abbot Grebe, Jr., and Johnnie Wise — a

72-year-old man who attended meetings of the separatist Republic of Texas group — eventually are sentenced to more than 24 years in prison.

July 30, 1998

South Carolina militia member Paul T. Chastain is charged with weapons, explosives and drug violations after allegedly trying to trade drugs for a machine gun and enough C-4 plastic explosive to demolish a five-room house. The next year, Chastain pleads guilty to an array of charges, including threatening to kill Attorney General Janet Reno and FBI Director Louis Freeh. He is sentenced to 15 years in federal prison.

October 23, 1998

Dr. Barnett Slepian is assassinated by a sniper as he converses with his wife and children in the kitchen of their Amherst, N.Y., home. Identified as a suspect shortly after the murder, James Charles Kopp flees to Mexico, driven and disguised by friend Jennifer Rock, and goes on to hide out in Ireland and France. Two fellow anti-abortion extremists, Loretta Marra and Dennis Malvasi, make plans to help Kopp secretly return. Kopp,



also suspected in the earlier sniper woundings of four other physicians in Canada and upstate New York, is arrested in France as he picks up money wired by Marra and Malvasi. He eventually admits the shooting to a newspaper reporter — claiming that he only intended to wound Slepian — and is sentenced to 25 years in prison. Marra and Malvasi go to prison for almost three years after pleading guilty to federal charges related to harboring a fugitive.

1999

June 10, 1999

Officials arrest Alabama plumber Chris Scott Gilliam, a member of the neo-Nazi National Alliance, after he attempts to purchase 10 hand grenades from an undercover federal agent. Gilliam, who months earlier paraded in an extremist T-shirt in front of the Southern



Poverty Law Center's offices in Montgomery, tells agents he planned to send mail bombs to targets in Washington, D.C. Agents searching his home find bomb-making manuals, white supremacist literature and an assault rifle. Gilliam pleads guilty to federal firearms charges and is sentenced to 10 years in prison. He is expected to be released in 2008.

July 1, 1999

A gay couple, Gary Matson and Winfield Mowder, are shot to death in bed at their home near Redding, Calif. Days later, after tracking purchases made on Mowder's stolen credit card, police arrest brothers Benjamin Matthew Williams and James Tyler Williams. At least one of the pair, Matthew Williams (both use their middle names), is an adherent of the anti-Semitic Christian Identity theology. Police soon learn that the brothers two weeks earlier carried out three synagogue arsons in Sacramento, along with the arson of an abortion clinic there. Both brothers, whose mother at one point refers in a conversation to her sons' victims as "two homos," eventually admit their guilt — in Matthew's case, in a newspaper interview. But Matthew, who at one point badly injures a guard in a surprise attack, commits suicide in jail in late 2002. Tyler, who pleads guilty to an array of charges in the case, is not expected to be eligible for parole for some 50 years.



Matthew and Tyler Williams

July 2, 1999

Infuriated that neo-Nazi leader Matt Hale has just been denied his law license by Illinois officials, follower Benjamin Nathaniel Smith begins a three-day murder spree across Illinois and Indiana, shooting to death a black former college basketball coach and a Korean doctoral student and wounding nine other minorities. Smith kills himself as police close in during a car chase. Hale, leader of the World Church of the Creator, at first claims to barely know Smith. But it quickly emerges that Hale has recently given Smith his group's top award and, in fact, has spent some 16 hours on the phone with him in the two weeks before Smith's rampage. Conveniently, Hale receives a registered letter from Smith just days after his suicide, informing Hale that Smith is quitting the group because he now sees violence as the only answer.



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

August 10, 1999

Buford Furrow, a former member of the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations who has been living with the widow of slain terrorist leader Bob Mathews, strides into a Jewish community center near Los Angeles and fires more than 70 bullets, wounding three boys, a teenage girl and a woman. He then drives into the San Fernando Valley and kills Filipino-American mailman Joseph Ito. The next day, Furrow turns himself in, saying he intended to send "a wake-up call to America to kill Jews." Furrow, who has a history of mental illness, eventually pleads guilty and is sentenced to two life terms without parole, plus 110 years in prison.

November 5, 1999

FBI agents arrest James Kenneth Gluck in Tampa, Fla., after he wrote a 10-page letter to judges in Jefferson County, Colo., threatening to "wage biological warfare" on a county justice center. While searching his home, police find the materials needed to make ricin, one of the deadliest poisons known. Gluck later threatens a judge, claiming that he could kill 10,000 people with the chemical. After serving time in federal prison, Gluck is released in early 2001.

December 5, 1999

Two California men, both members of the San Joaquin Militia, are charged with conspiracy in connection with a plot to blow up two 12-million-gallon propane tanks, a television tower and an electrical substation in hopes of provoking an insurrection. In 2001, the former militia leader, Donald Rudolph, pleads guilty to plotting to kill a federal judge and blow

up the propane tanks, and testifies against his former comrades. Kevin Ray Patterson and Charles Dennis Kiles are ultimately convicted of several charges in connection with the conspiracy. They are expected to be released from federal prison in 2021 and 2018, respectively.

December 8, 1999

Donald Beauregard, head of a militia coalition known as the Southeastern States Alliance, is charged with conspiracy, providing materials for a terrorist act and gun violations in connection with a plot to bomb energy facilities and cause power outages in Florida and Georgia. After pleading guilty to several charges, Beauregard, who once claimed to have discovered a secret map detailing a planned UN takeover mistakenly printed on a box of Trix cereal, is sentenced to five years in federal prison. He is released in 2004, a year after accomplice James Troy Diver is freed following a similar conviction.

2000

March 9, 2000

Federal agents arrest Mark Wayne McCool, the one-time leader of the Texas Militia and Combined Action Program, as he allegedly makes plans to attack the Houston federal building. McCool, who was arrested after buying powerful C-4 plastic explosives and an automatic weapon from an undercover FBI agent, earlier plotted to attack the federal building with a member of his own group and a member of the anti-government Republic of Texas, but those two men eventually abandoned the plot. McCool, however, remained convinced the UN had stored a cache of military materiel in the building. In the end, he pleads guilty to federal charges that bring him just six months in jail.

April 28, 2000

Immigration attorney Richard Baumhammers, himself the son of Latvian immigrants, goes on a rampage in the Pittsburgh area against non-whites, killing five people and critically wounding a sixth. Baumhammers had recently started a tiny white supremacist group, the Free Market Party, that demanded an end to non-white immigration into the United States. In the end, the unemployed attorney, who was living with parents at the time of his murder spree, is sentenced to death for targeting his victims because of their race.



2001

March 1, 2001

As part of an ongoing probe into a white supremacist group, federal and local law enforcement agents raid the Corbett, Ore., home of Fritz Springmeier, seizing equipment to grow marijuana and weapons and racist literature. They also find a binder notebook entitled “Army of God, Yahweh’s Warriors” that contains what officials call a list of targets, including a local federal building and the FBI’s Oregon offices. Springmeier, an associate of the anti-Semitic Christian Patriots Association, is eventually charged with setting off a diversionary bomb at an adult video store in Damascus, Ore., in 1997 as part of a bank robbery carried out by accomplice Forrest Bateman Jr. Another 2001 raid finds small amounts of bomb materials and marijuana in Bateman’s home. Eventually, Bateman pleads guilty to bank robbery and Springmeier is convicted of the same charges, and both are sentenced to nine years.

April 19, 2001

White supremacist Leo Felton and girlfriend Erica Chase are arrested following a foot chase that began when a police officer spotted them trying to pass counterfeit bills at a Boston donut shop. Investigators quickly learn Felton heads up a tiny group called Aryan Unit One, and that Chase and Felton, who had already obtained a timing device, planned to blow up black and Jewish landmarks and possibly assassinate black and Jewish leaders. They also learn another amazing fact: Felton, a self-described Aryan, is secretly biracial. Felton and Chase are eventually convicted of conspiracy, weapons violations and obstruction, and Felton is also convicted of bank robbery and other charges. Felton, who previously served 11 years for assaulting a black taxi driver, is sentenced to serve more than 21 years in federal prison, while his one-time sweetheart draws a lesser term.

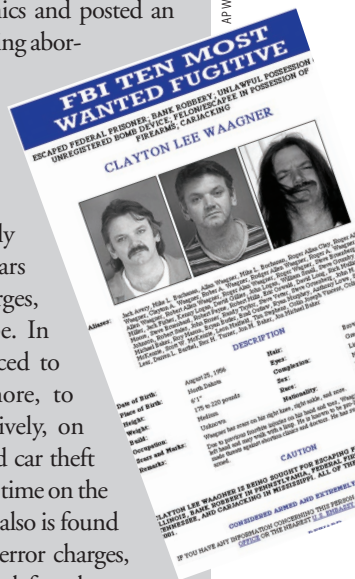


Oct. 14, 2001

A North Carolina sheriff’s deputy pulls over Steve Anderson, a former “colonel” in the Kentucky Militia, on a routine traffic stop as he heads home to Kentucky from a white supremacist gathering in North Carolina. Anderson, who has issued violent threats against officials for months via an illegal pirate radio station and is an adherent of racist Christian Identity theology, pulls out a semi-automatic weapon and peppers the deputy’s car with bullets before driving his truck into the woods and disappearing for 13 months. Officials later find six pipe bombs in Anderson’s abandoned truck and 27 bombs and destructive devices in his home. In the end, Anderson apologizes for his actions and pleads guilty. He is sentenced on a variety of firearms charges to 15 years in federal prison.

Dec. 5, 2001

Anti-abortion extremist Clayton Lee Wagner, who nine months earlier escaped from an Illinois jail while awaiting sentencing on weapons and carjacking charges, is arrested in Cincinnati, Ohio. Wagner’s odyssey began in September 1999, when he was stopped driving a stolen camper in Illinois and told police he was headed to Seattle to murder an abortion provider. He escaped in February 2001 and, while on the lam, mailed more than 550 hoax anthrax letters to abortion clinics and posted an Internet threat warning abortion clinic workers that “if you work for the murderous abortionist, I’m going to kill you.” Wagner is eventually sentenced to 30 years on the Illinois charges, including his escape. In Ohio, he is sentenced to almost 20 years more, to be served consecutively, on various weapons and car theft charges related to his time on the run. In late 2003, he also is found guilty of 51 federal terror charges, but his sentencing is deferred.



Dec. 11, 2001

Jewish Defense League chairman Irving David Rubin and a follower, Earl Leslie Krugel, are arrested in California and charged with conspiring to bomb the offices of U.S. Rep. Darrel Issa (R-Calif.) and the King Fahd Mosque in Culver City. Authorities say a confidential informant taped meetings with the two in which the bombings were discussed and Krugel said the JDL needed “to do something to one of their filthy mosques.” Rubin later commits suicide in prison, officials say, just before he is to go on trial in late 2002. Krugel pleads guilty to conspiracy in both plots, and testifies that Rubin conspired with him. Krugel faces a mandatory 10-year sentence, and could receive up to life in federal prison.

Jan. 4, 2002

Neo-Nazi National Alliance member Michael Edward Smith is arrested after a car chase in Nashville, Tenn., that began when he was spotted sitting in a car with a semi-automatic rifle pointed at Sherith Israel Pre-School, run by a local synagogue. In Smith’s car, home and storage unit, officials find an arsenal that includes a .50-caliber rifle, 10 hand grenades, 13

2002

pipe bombs, binary explosives, semi-automatic pistols, ammunition and an array of military manuals. They also find teenage porn on Smith’s computer and evidence that he carried out computer searches for Jewish schools and synagogues. In one of his e-mails, Smith wrote that Jews “perhaps” should be “stuffed head first into an oven.” In the end, Smith is sentenced on weapons and explosives charges to more than 10 years in prison.

Feb. 8, 2002

The leader of a militia-like group known as Project 7 and his girlfriend are arrested after an informant tells police the group is plotting to kill judges and law enforcement officers in order to kick off a revolution. David Burgert, who has a record for burglary and is already wanted for assaulting police officers, is found in the house of girlfriend Tracy Brockway along with an arsenal that includes pipe bombs and 25,000 rounds of ammunition. Also found are “intel sheets” with personal information about law enforcement officers, their spouses and children. Although officials are convinced the Project 7 plot was real, Burgert ultimately is convicted only of weapons charges and draws a seven-year sentence; six others are also convicted of or plead guilty to weapons charges. Brockway gets a suspended sentence for harboring a fugitive.



July 19, 2002

Acting on a tip, federal and local law enforcement agents arrest North Carolina Klan leader Charles Robert Barefoot Jr. for his role in an alleged plot to blow up the Johnson County Sheriff’s Office, the sheriff himself and the county jail. Officers find more than two dozen weapons in Barefoot’s home. They also find bombs and bomb components in the

der of a former associate. Police say the murder may have been related to the alleged bombing plot.

Aug. 22, 2002

Tampa area podiatrist Robert J. Goldstein is arrested after police, called by Goldstein’s wife after he allegedly threatened to kill her, find more than 15 explosive devices in their home, along with materials to make at least 30 more. Also found are homemade C-4 plastic explosives, grenades and mines, a .50-caliber rifle, semi-automatic weapons, and a list of 50 Islamic worship centers in the area. The most significant discovery is a three-page plan detailing plans to “kill all ‘rags’” at the Islamic Society of Pinellas County. Eventually, two other local men are also charged in connection with the plot, and Goldstein’s wife is arrested for possessing illegal destructive devices. In the end, Goldstein pleads guilty to plotting to blow up the Islamic Society and is sentenced to more than 12 years in federal prison.

Oct. 3, 2002

Officials close in on long-time antigovernment extremist Larry Raugust at a rest stop in Idaho, arrest him and charge him

with 16 counts of making and possessing destructive devices, including pipe bombs and pressure-detonated booby traps. He is accused of giving one explosive device to an undercover agent, and is also named as an unindicted co-conspirator in a plot with colleagues in the Idaho Mountain Boys militia to murder a federal judge and a police officer, and to break a friend out of jail. A deadbeat dad, Raugust is also accused of helping plant land mines on property belonging to a friend whose land was seized by authorities over unpaid taxes. He eventually pleads guilty to 15 counts of making bombs and is sentenced to federal prison. Raugust is expected to be released in 2008.

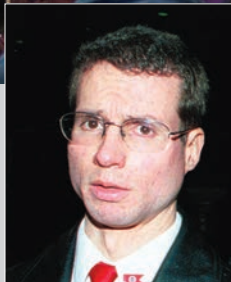
2003



AP/WIDEWORLD PHOTO

Jan. 8, 2003

Federal agents arrest Matt Hale, the national leader of the neo-Nazi World Church of the Creator (WCOTC), as he reports to a Chicago courthouse in an ongoing copyright case over the name of his group. Hale is charged with soliciting the murder of the federal judge in the case, Joan Humphrey Lefkow, who he has publicly vilified as someone bent on the destruction of his group. (Although Lefkow originally ruled in WCOTC's favor, an appeals court found that the complaint brought by an identically named church in Oregon was legally justified, and Lefkow reversed herself accordingly.) In guarded language captured on tape recordings, Hale is heard agreeing that his security chief, an FBI informant, should kill Lefkow. Hale is eventually found guilty and sentenced to serve 40 years in federal prison.



JENNIFER WARBURG

Jan. 18, 2003

James D. Brailey, a convicted felon who once was selected as "governor" of the state of Washington by the antigovernment Washington Jural Society, is arrested after a raid on his home turns up a machine gun, an assault rifle and several handguns. One informant tells the FBI that Brailey was plotting to assassinate Gov. Gary Locke, both because Locke was the state's real governor and because he was Chinese-American. A second informant says that Brailey actually went on a "dry run" to Olympia, carrying several guns into the state Capitol building to test security. Eventually, Brailey pleads guilty to weapons charges and is sentenced to serve 15 months in prison. He is released in February 2004.

Feb. 13, 2003

Federal agents in Pennsylvania arrest David Wayne Hull, imperial wizard of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and an adherent of the anti-Semitic Christian Identity theology, alleging that Hull has arranged to buy hand grenades to blow up abortion clinics. The FBI says Hull also illegally instructed followers on how to build pipe bombs. In addition, Hull published a newsletter in which he urged readers to write Oklahoma bomber Tim McVeigh "to tell this great man goodbye." Hull eventually is found guilty of weapons violations and sentenced to 12 years in federal prison.

April 3, 2003

Federal agents arrest antigovernment extremist David Roland Hinkson in Idaho and charge him with trying to hire an assassin on two occasions in 2002 and 2003 to murder a federal judge, a prosecutor and an IRS agent involved in a tax case against him. Hinkson, a businessman who earned millions of dollars from his Water Oz dietary supplement company but refused to pay almost \$1 million in federal taxes, is convicted in 2004 of 26 counts related to the tax case. In early 2005, a federal jury finds him guilty in the assassination plot as well.

April 10, 2003

The FBI raids the Noonday, Texas, home of William Krar and storage facilities he rented in the area, discovering an arsenal that includes more than 500,000 rounds of ammunition, 65 pipe bombs and remote-control briefcase bombs, and almost two pounds of deadly sodium cyanide. Also found are components to convert the cyanide into a bomb capable of killing thousands, along with white supremacist and antigovernment material. Investigators soon learn Krar was stopped earlier in 2003 by police in Tennessee, who found in his car several weapons and coded documents that seemed to detail a plot. Krar refuses to cooperate, and details of that alleged plan are never learned. Eventually, he pleads guilty to possession of a chemical weapon and is sentenced to more than 11 years in prison.



AP/WIDEWORLD PHOTOS

June 4, 2003

Federal agents in California announce that former accountant John Noster, in prison since November 2002 for car theft, is under investigation for plotting a major terrorist attack. Noster was first arrested as part of a car theft ring investigation, but officials who found incendiary devices in his stolen camper continued to probe his activities. Eventually, they find in various storage facilities three pipe bombs, six barrels of jet fuel, five assault weapons, cannon fuse, a large amount of ammunition and \$188,000 in cash. Law enforcement officials, who describe Noster as an "antigovernment extremist," allege at a press conference that he "was definitely planning" on an attack, but they do not elaborate.

Oct. 10, 2003

Police arrest Norman Somerville after finding a huge weapons cache on his property in northern Michigan that includes six machine guns, a powerful anti-aircraft gun, thousands of rounds of ammunition, hundreds of pounds of gunpowder, and an

underground bunker. They also find two vehicles Somerville calls his "war wagons," and on which prosecutors later say he planned to mount machine guns as part of a plan to stage an auto accident and then massacre arriving police. Officials describe Somerville as an antigovernment

extremist enraged over the death of Scott Woodring, a Michigan Militia member killed by police a week after Woodring shot and killed a state trooper during a standoff. Somerville eventually pleads guilty to weapons charges and is sentenced to six years in prison.

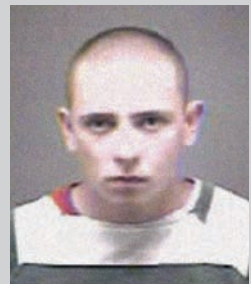
2004

April 1, 2004

Neo-Nazi Skinhead Sean Gillespie videotapes himself as he firebombs Temple B'nai Israel, an Oklahoma City synagogue, as part of a film he is preparing to inspire other racists to violent revolution. In it, Gillespie boasts that instead of merely pronouncing the white-supremacist "14 Words" slogan ("We must secure the existence of our people and a future for White children"), he will carry out 14 violent attacks. A former member of the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations, Gillespie is found guilty of the attack and faces a minimum 35-year sentence without parole.

Oct. 13, 2004

Ivan Duane Braden, a former National Guardsman discharged from an Iraq-bound unit after superiors noted signs of instability, is arrested after checking into



a mental health facility and telling counselors about plans to blow up a synagogue and a National Guard armory in Tennessee. The FBI reports that Braden told them he'd planned to go

to a synagogue wearing a trench coat stuffed with explosives and get himself "as close to children and the rabbi as possible," a plan Braden also outlined in notes found in his home. In addition, he intended to take and kill hostages at the Lenoir City Armory, before blowing the armory up. Eventually, Braden, who also possessed neo-Nazi literature and reportedly hated blacks and Jews from an early age, pleads guilty to conspiring to blow up the armory. He faces a mandatory 10-year minimum prison sentence on two separate charges.

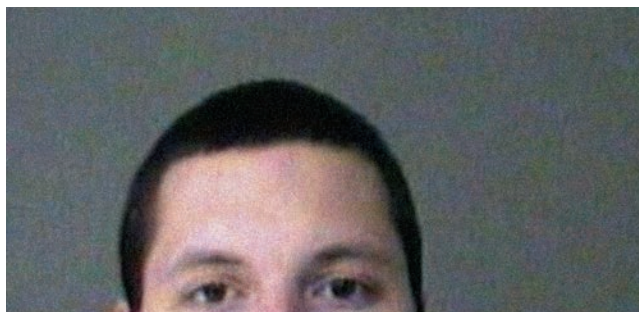
Oct. 25, 2004

FBI agents in Tennessee arrest farmhand Demetrius "Van" Crocker after he allegedly tried to purchase ingredients for deadly sarin nerve gas and C-4 plastic explosives from an undercover agent. The FBI alleges that Crocker, who local officials say was involved in a white supremacist group in the 1980s, tells the agent that he admires Hitler and hates Jews and the government. He allegedly also says "it would be a good thing if somebody could detonate some sort of weapon of mass destruction on Washington, D.C." Crocker is charged with trying to get explosives to destroy a building and other charges, and faces more than 20 years in prison if convicted.

2005

May 20, 2005

Officials in New Jersey arrest two men they say asked a police informant to build them a bomb. Craig Orler (below, left), who has a history of burglary arrests, and Gabriel Garafa (below, right), said to be a leader of the neo-Nazi World Church of the Creator and a member of a racist Skinhead group called The Hated, were charged with illegally selling 11 guns to police informants. Carafa allegedly gave one informant 60 pounds of urea to use in building him a bomb, but never said what the bomb was for. Police say they moved in before the alleged bombing plot developed further because they were concerned about the pair's activities. They taped Orler saying in a phone call that he was seeking people in Europe to help him go underground. ▲



UNCIVIL WAR

After several twists, the Sons of Confederate Veterans is back in the hands of extremists. This time, it may be permanent BY HEIDI BEIRICH & MARK POTOK

Right-wing radicals in the Sons of Confederate Veterans (scv) have at least temporarily won their three-year battle for control of the nation's largest Southern heritage group, culminating months of complex legal and parliamentary maneuvers. As a result, thousands of scv members appear to be leaving the organization.

"I have no desire to be associated with neo-Nazis and white trash," Henry Seale, a local "camp" leader from Texas, wrote to colleagues in the scv this spring. "With great sadness, I concede that this is what the scv has become."

The scv has been convulsed by an internal civil war since the run-up to 2002 elections, when Ron Wilson, a radical closely aligned with racist scv elements, was chosen as the group's commander in chief. During his two years in office, Wilson appointed racists to key leadership posts, and some 300 members, most from North Carolina, were suspended for publicly criticizing racism within the group.

The struggle for the scv is important. The scv has some 30,000 members, about \$5 million in reserves and a number of very prominent members. It has real political pull in some places, a fact that makes it a tempting prize for racists.

Last summer, Wilson was succeeded as national leader by Denne Sweeney, a man who has continued Wilson's policies and pursued the permanent expulsion of the 300 men suspended by Wilson. As a result, the internal battle between moderates and extremists has continued apace, with a dizzying series of jabs and parries.

In December, Sweeney called a special meeting of the scv's governing board, the General Executive Council (GEC), allegedly without informing several of its moderate mem-



After radicals stripped SCV leader Beau Cantrell of his position on the heritage group's governing council, an angry exchange of words resulted in Cantrell's arrest. He was released without charges a short time later.

bers. Sweeney was able to ram through measures favoring radicals — like removing the right of most former commanders in chief to vote on the GEC — even though moderates had won most posts in last summer's scv elections.

But the moderates, led partly by Oklahoma City attorney Jeff Massey, filed a lawsuit against Sweeney in Maury County

Chancery Court in Tennessee, near the group’s antebellum Elm Springs headquarters. In an affidavit, former Commander in Chief William Earl Faggert claimed that Sweeney had violated the scv constitution at his special GEC meeting and in pursuing expulsion of the 300 men, many of them associated with an antiracist rump group, Save the Sons of Confederate Veterans.

Faggert also said that Sweeney and two of his closest allies, Wilson and white supremacist attorney Kirk Lyons, were taking the scv in a “fatal” direction. Sweeney’s ultimate goal, Faggert testified, was “one-man rule of the scv.”

Thrust and Parry

The chancery court listened. In mid-February, Chancellor Robert Jones granted a temporary restraining order to the plaintiffs that temporarily removed from the GEC Sweeney and several key allies — Adjutant in Chief James Dark, Chaplain in Chief Ron Rumburg, and Editor in Chief Frank Powell. Jones ordered Sweeney replaced as top commander by Lt. Commander Anthony Hodges, a moderate. Other radical GEC members were also replaced by moderates, including Jeff Massey.

But it didn’t end there. In a day-long status hearing in March, Sweeney’s lawyers argued that the moderates, too, had held an illegal meeting a month earlier — they had convened a telephonic GEC meeting to suspend Sweeney that his lawyers said was just as unconstitutional. The chancellor reinstated Sweeney and his allies, but admonished Sweeney to stop “exceed[ing] his powers,” warning him he did not have the power to suspend GEC members, temporarily or permanently.

Sweeney promised to comply. “I never had suspensions on the brain,” he told a reporter. “The judge says we can’t suspend people, and I won’t suspend people.”

But he managed to pull off the same thing anyway. Once Sweeney and his allies were back in power, they began soliciting signatures requesting a special convention to amend the scv constitution. Sweeney claimed authority for this maneuver in Mississippi, not Tennessee, law — a law that allows private groups like the scv to call constitutional conventions when 5% of the group’s membership signs a petition. (Although the scv files its annual reports and is chartered in Tennessee, it is also chartered in Mississippi.) Before long, the radicals had gathered enough signatures to call the constitutional convention.



Radical North Carolina SCV official Jim Pierce taunts Beau Cantrell (at right with white hat) during a furious argument between radicals and moderates.

Just 40% of the scv membership was represented through their camp commanders at the convention, which was held on April 23 in Concord, N.C. It soon became clear that that segment was almost entirely composed of supporters of Sweeney, who had strongly urged allies to attend. The 1,701 delegates, representing 379 camps, passed two key changes. The first, passed 96%-4%, removed all past scv commanders, save the three most recent, from the GEC. The second, passed 93%-7%, removed from a non-voting GEC position the commander of the Military Order of the Stars & Bars (MOSB), a sister organization of the scv for descendants of Confederate officers. The MOSB had recently been headed up by Massey, lawyer for the moderates, and was a source of moderate opposition to Sweeney.

The Purge, Renewed

That wasn’t all. Now that moderate voting power on the GEC had been undermined — technically, Sweeney hadn’t suspended GEC members but instead had eliminated their *ex officio* positions in the scv constitution — Sweeney led a move that same day to eject Hodges as scv lieutenant

commander. Sweeney replaced Hodges with an ally, Chris Sullivan, editor of neo-Confederate *Southern Partisan*.

Also stripped of their elected posts were key moderates including Thomas Tarry Beasley, commander of the Army of Tennessee (one of the scv’s three geographic divisions), Beasley deputy John French, and Beau Cantrell, commander of the Army of the Trans-Mississippi. Beasley and Cantrell lost their posts on the GEC as a result, leaving only staunch Sweeneyites on the governing board.

New elections to these posts are to be held at the scv national convention this July in Nashville. Already, several hate group members have said they will run.

Sweeney’s purged GEC also voted to negotiate a formal break with the MOSB. It removed Louisiana leader Ed Cailleteau and Beau Cantrell, whose GEC membership had just been stripped, as co-chairs of the July convention. At the same time, the GEC donated \$10,000 in scv funds to Lyons’ law firm, the Southern Legal Resource Center (SLRC). The SLRC is tied tightly to the scv radicals — a tie illustrated by the fact that Ron Wilson’s daughter, Allison Schaum, has worked for SLRC for years. And Lyons has known Sweeney

since the 1990s, when he helped him fight the removal of Confederate plaques from the Texas Supreme Court. Tempers flared frequently during the day. Toward the end, ex-GEC member Beau Cantrell made a profane hand gesture after being taunted by Jim Pierce, a key scv radical who has circulated racist caricatures of blacks and has taken lately to signing his E-mails “Uncle Remus.” Another scv member asked a deputy sheriff to arrest Cantrell, and he was taken in. He was later released without charges.

The events of April 23 left moderates throughout the scv furious, and key leaders denounced what they saw as Sweeney’s devious tactics. “In the Missouri division,” state commander John Christensen wrote in an e-mail addressed to Sweeney, “we believe we can disagree on an issue without being vile. ... We believe that with free speech and assembly, discussion affords protection against the spread of noxious doctrine. ... The personal vendettas, purges, recriminations and rancor sown by your administration are not good for any organization and may become the seeds of destruction for our beloved Sons of Confederate Veterans.”

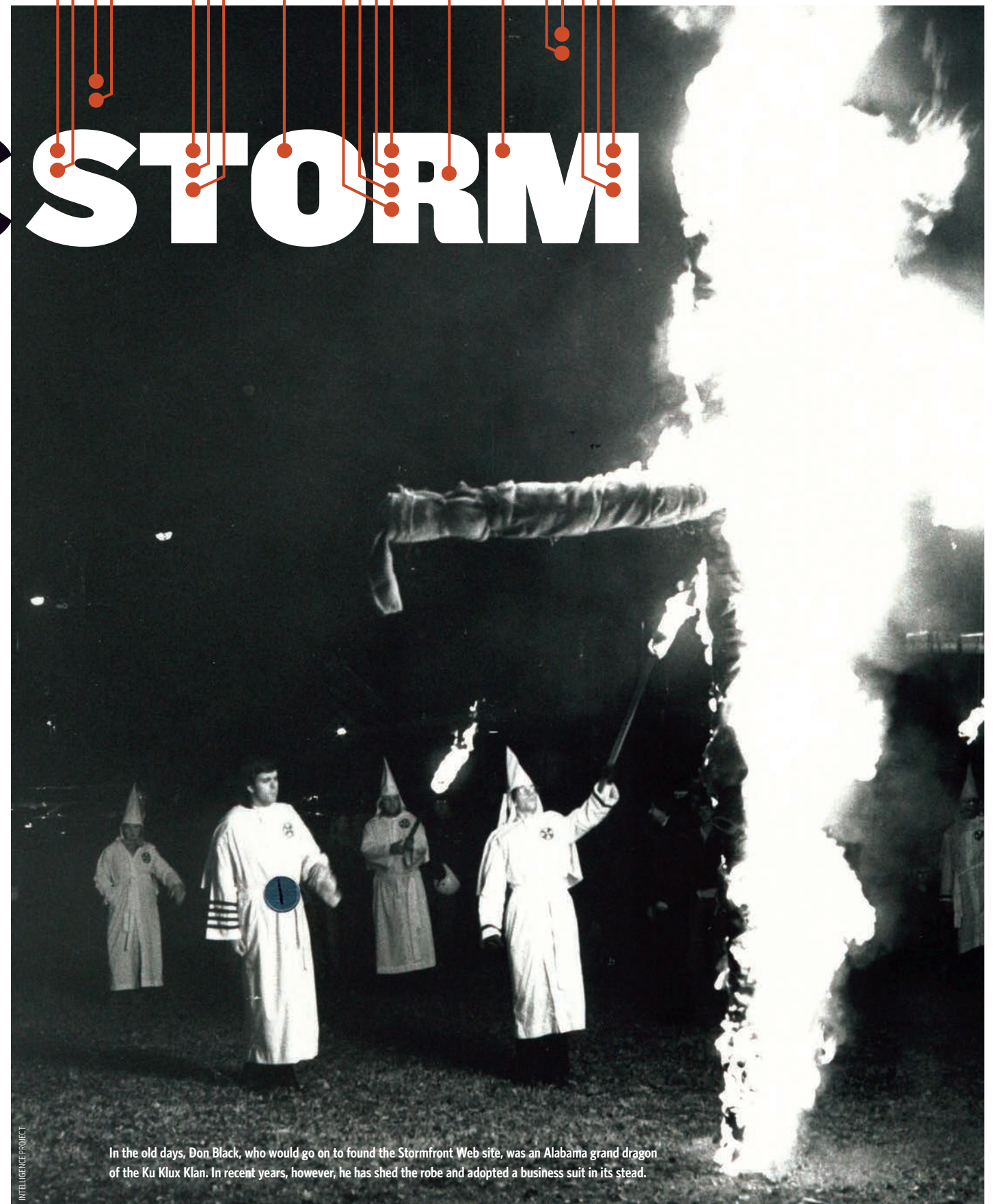
The battle within the scv has already cost the organization — which recently had some 36,000 members — “several thousand members,” according to Faggert’s affidavit. Many have started new groups, including several “Robert E. Lee societies” in North Carolina, that are meant to be non-racist history clubs. In April, a new group called the United Sons of Confederate Veterans also was chartered by Robert Murphree in Mississippi. In the weeks that followed, it appeared that John French — one of those stripped of their elected scv posts — was taking a leadership role. French had a warning for those who remain behind, saying in a farewell message that they “will awaken one morning to [find] nothing left of the scv. All assets will be gone and the once proud organization left to rot.” French signed his e-mail, “Mississippi Commander, United Sons of Confederate Veterans.” ▲

ELECTRONIC STORM

At age 10, the oldest hate site on the Internet has used tact and political savvy to grow a thriving neo-Nazi community **BY T.K. KIM**



On most days, the man once labeled a “near genius” in a *Time* magazine article spends the bulk of his time in an office of the Mandeville, La., home of infamous white supremacist David Duke. ¶ There, Jamie Kelso whips across Duke’s hardwood floors on a wheeled office chair as he attends to his work: monitoring the burgeoning community of the racist Stormfront Web site on one of six different computers. ¶ To the thousands of white supremacists who regularly visit Stormfront and its forum, Kelso is best known by his e-moniker, “Charles A Lindbergh.” He signs off all his posts with a quote from Lindbergh, a well-known racist and anti-Semite: “We can have peace and security only as long as we band together to preserve that most priceless possession, our inheritance of European blood.”



In the old days, Don Black, who would go on to found the Stormfront Web site, was an Alabama grand dragon of the Ku Klux Klan. In recent years, however, he has shed the robe and adopted a business suit in its stead.

“I admire the aviator so much, “ Kelso says.

The aviator, were he still alive, might well admire Kelso. As Stormfront celebrates its 10th birthday — the first major hate site on the Internet, it was created by former Alabama Klan leader Don Black in 1995 — Kelso has much to be proud of. In the three years he’s been a senior moderator of the site, it has grown from fewer than 10,000 registered users to, as of mid-June, an astounding 52,566. And while many thousands of that ever-growing total probably haven’t visited in years, independent Web monitors recently ranked Stormfront the 338th largest electronic forum on the Internet, putting it easily into the top 1% of all sites on the World Wide Web.

Black and Kelso have created something more than just another hate site that draws people for a few months, then fades for lack of interest. Using everything from good man-



ners to “white scholarships” to such catchy gimmicks as highlighting its members’ birthdays, these two men have built something that very few people on the entire Internet have — a genuine and very large cyber-community. That they did it at a time when major neo-Nazi groups are on the decline is merely icing.

“Without a doubt,” Bob DeMarais, a former staff member of the neo-Nazi National Alliance (see related story, p. 6), wrote recently, “Stormfront is the most powerful active influence in the White Nationalist movement.”

Want to find the latest headlines on black-on-white crime? Go to Stormfront. New developments in the National Alliance’s leadership woes? Go to Stormfront. Details of yet another nefarious Jewish conspiracy? Go to Stormfront.

Stormfront’s recent growth spurt is only the beginning, Kelso says. He and Black share a larger goal, one that their friend Duke also tried with a fair measure of success — establishing real legitimacy in the realm of public opinion.

Fade to Black

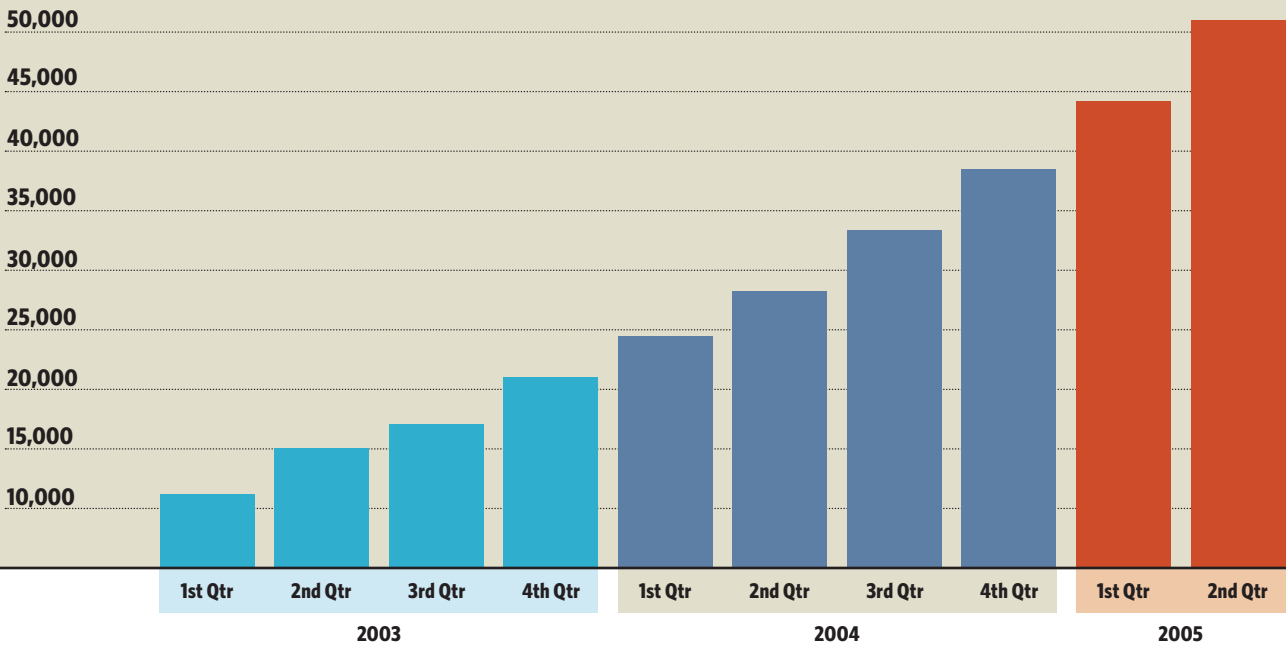
It began with Don Black.

Going back to high school, Black had always been one of the more enthusiastic proponents of white power. One of his first forays into the organized movement was in the 1970s, when he volunteered for the late white supremacist J.B. Stoner’s unsuccessful run for governor of Alabama.

That was until Stoner’s campaign manager, Jerry Ray, the brother of Martin Luther King Jr. assassin James Earl Ray, shot him in the chest. The shooting apparently stemmed from accusations that Black had broken into Stoner’s office to steal a mailing list for the National Socialist White People’s Party.

Stormfront.org Membership

2003-2005



After recovering, Black went on to join the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, the group headed by Duke in the 1970s. Working on Duke’s unsuccessful campaign for Louisiana state senate, Black won Duke’s trust, moving up to become his mentor’s right-hand man. When Duke left the group amid allegations that he’d tried to sell its membership list to another Klan group for \$35,000, Black took over.

But Black quickly got into trouble himself. In 1981, he and nine other white supremacists were arrested as they prepared to board a yacht with which they intended to invade the tiny Caribbean island of Dominica, oust its black-run government, and transform it into a “white state.”

Black’s resulting three-year prison sentence was time well spent. He took classes in computer programming that would provide the basis for his future.

Not long after his release, Black launched an abysmally unsuccessful campaign for a U.S. Senate seat from

Alabama. He wound up marrying Duke’s ex-wife, Chloe, and moving to West Palm Beach, Fla. Once there, he began dabbling with his computer, eventually setting up a dial-up bulletin board service for the radical right. By March 1995, that service evolved into Stormfront, the Net’s best-known hate site.

Black saw clearly that with this new technology, white supremacists might finally bypass the mainstream media and political apparatus, getting their message out to people who otherwise would never hear it — people who now could listen in the privacy of their own homes without fear of embarrassment or reproach. “The potential of the Net for organizations and movements such as ours is enormous,” Black told the *Philadelphia Inquirer* in 1996. “We’re reaching tens of thousands of people who never before had access to our point of view.”

Being the first of its kind helped Stormfront win enormous publicity. Black and his site were written up in newspapers around the country and the

world, and he frequently appeared on major network news shows like ABC’s “Nightline,” where, clad in suit and tie, he talked politely about allowing people access to information not filtered by the “media monopoly.” Though he undoubtedly turned off many viewers, each major TV appearance led to a spike in visitors to Stormfront.

This Just In

Like a morning roll call, the posts pour in each day. Below the Stormfront motto, “White Pride World Wide,” links to news stories with a racial angle light up the page, complete with headlines home-crafted by the members.

“Mestizo Rapes White Woman in Elevator,” shouts one.

“Negro Man Stabs Elderly Woman, Shoots Detective, Negroes Screaming ‘Police Brutality,’” another breathlessly reports.

And the list goes on.

But one thing you won’t normally find on Stormfront are racial slurs. In

STORMCHATTER On Dating

SouthWest Whitey: I’m good mates with this girl in my year, she’s got an awesome personality and is gorgeous, too. ... Thing is, I’m 100 percent white British, and she’s a mix of Irish, Ukrainian and English. ... I’m not sure of her heritage, as Ukrainian could be gypo or anything. ... So am I worrying about nothing?

Stormtrooper88: Just ask, my friend. ... But don’t make it blatant.

NewEraSoldier: Don’t be picky to the point where it could cost you a great relationship with a gorgeous White woman. White is White.

Thesicilian: Well, if it is 25% or less nonwhite blood then go with her.

Whitemale.ie: You can say (with some element of truth) that family history is an interest of yours.

MK: True Slavs, not Jews or Gypsies that have adopted Slavic surnames, are White. Period.

THE FORUMS

Radical-right forums on the Internet, which first appeared in 1996, offer a window into some of the most important ideological and other discussions going on in the racist movement. While some forums have come and gone, others, like Stormfront and Resistance, are old stalwarts. Numbers of registered users, tabulated for this list in early June 2005, can be deceptive – they grow constantly as new people join up, but also include large numbers of people who no longer participate actively. The dozen radical forums listed represent a tiny fraction of the hundreds that exist.

Aryan Nations

www.agentofchaos.invisionzone.com/
With 869 registered members, this neo-Nazi forum has had relatively light traffic up to now. It is run by a splinter group that broke away from the original, Idaho-based Aryan Nations and is headed by August Kreis of Sebring, Fla. Kreis and another top leader, James Wickstrom, have made much of the idea of neo-Nazi partnerships with Muslim extremists – this site includes an “All Things Islamic” and a members-only “Aryan Jihad” section – against what is seen as a common enemy, the Jews.

Free Your Mind Productions

www.freeyourmindproductions.com/forum/
This forum, run by a new white power music distributor, replaced one owned by now defunct Panzerfaust Records. The new forum was started after Panzerfaust’s founder was denounced for being secretly

Hispanic. The Panzerfaust site was then hijacked and thousands of posts from Panzerfaust’s old message board are now on Free Your Mind. With 4,800 members (counting old Panzerfaust users), this is a relatively busy forum, partly due to a large selection of photos of Skinhead women. It is operated by members of Hammerskin Nation, a violent Skinhead group.

Hammerskin Nation

www.hammerskins.net/cgi-bin/ik-hsn/ikonboard.pl
Started up in late 2002, this forum mostly serves members of the Hammerskins, a particularly violent neo-Nazi Skinhead group. But it’s not uncommon to see posts from members of other racist Skinhead groups, including Volksfront and Blood and Honour/Brotherhood 28. The forum’s 1,160 members, dominated by members of the Northwest Hammerskins, Confederate Hammerskins and Midland Hammerskins, share talk

about music, events and ideology, along with a stream of racial jokes.

Konfederation of Klans

www.konfederationklans.com/forum/index.php
This forum, serving the Mississippi White Knights, the United Knights, the Empire Knights and a few other Klan groupings, was originally started in 2002. But it was shut down in fall 2004, when it had 151 members, and only restarted in April 2005, beginning with a mere eight members. The forum is run by Ralph Viola, also known as Rob Vitter, the imperial wizard of the Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

Resistance

www.resistance.com/forum
Organized by the Resistance Records white power music label of the neo-Nazi National Alliance, this forum was once one of the most important on the radical right, with 3,727 generally very active members. But it lately has been confined to the dwindling number of neo-Nazis who still support the Alliance (see story, p. 6). As a result – and because forum messages are often censored by its moderators – those who post here are staunch defenders of the Alliance. Some, in fact, have recently posting the closely guarded real names of Alliance defectors.

Skinhead Forum

www.skinheadz.com/forum/index.php
With 1,154 registered members, this forum is run by Richard Barrett, who leads a racist group called the Nationalist Movement out of Learned, Miss. Barrett, who is often critical of the

violence advocated by other radical right groups, is not taken seriously by many in the movement. As a result, despite a total of 4,100 postings over several years, the Skinhead Forum is seen as relatively unimportant.

Stormfront

www.stormfront.org/
Appearing in early 1995, the Stormfront site was the first major Internet hate site; its forum, inaugurated in late 1996, was one of the first of its kind. Run by Don Black, a former Klan leader under David Duke, Stormfront is the leading radical-right forum on the Web (see story, p. 50), with an astounding 52,566 members. Although its moderators have censored some posts critical of the National Alliance, it generally has been relatively non-sectarian. Stormfront has been more successful in creating a sense of virtual community than any other radical-right forum on the Web.

Tightrope

www.tightrope.cc/forum/
Administered by former National Alliance staffer Bryant Cecchini, alias Byron Calvert, Tightrope has 857 members and has been very popular at times. It features threads about politics, history, crime, and education, but also includes a whole variety of commentaries about various sports and leisure activities. The site of which the forum is a part also has photographs, music, jokes and products for sale.

White Power Forum

www.whitepowerforum.com/forum/index.php
This forum, with 1,630 registered members, is not connected to any particular group but attracts mostly racist Skinheads and other neo-Nazis. It is clearly not one of the more popular forums, although it has sections for music, events and activism.

White Revolution Forum 14

www.whiterevolution.com/forum14/
This online neo-Nazi community is mostly peopled by supporters of White Revolution, a group headed by Arkansas Billy Roper, a former official of the National Alliance who was ejected from that group in 2002. Although the forum, moderated by Roper and Tom Martin of West Virginia, has only 748 members, they are active, posting a total of 14,403 messages since the forum was started.

Vanguard News Network

www.vnnforum.com/
Similar in many respects to Stormfront, this forum has sections on news, events, movies, family issues, and other matters. In the last year or so, it has become a gathering place for critics of the National Alliance, particularly when they were being censored in the Resistance and Stormfront forums. The site was created in 2003 by Alex Linder, and now boasts 3,287 registered users. VNN has fallen into disrepute because of Linder’s recent partnership in the forum with Glenn Miller, a formerly important racist leader who testified against erstwhile comrades.

Volksfront Bulletin Board

www.volksfrontinternational.com/forum/
Most of this forum’s 354 registered members are supporters of Volksfront, a neo-Nazi Skinhead group based in Portland, Ore., and run by long-time white supremacist Randall Krager. But the forum also allows members of other groups to join, so it’s common to find postings from members of the Creativity Movement, Hammerskin Nation and other groups, including a sprinkling of European neo-Nazi outfits. The message board also serves as the forum for Blood and Honour USA, a Skinhead group.

fact, new members are explicitly warned not to use such language, and also not to post violent threats or anything describing illegal activity. Black clearly has modeled his site on some of the tactics used by Duke, who famously urged his Klan followers to “get out of the cow pasture and into hotel meeting rooms.” As Black once told a reporter, “We don’t use the ‘nigger, nigger’ type of approaches.”

When New Jersey neo-Nazi Hal Turner began posting incendiary comments this March about a federal judge whose family was murdered, he was rapidly excommunicated. “[T]hey are so afraid of rocking the zOG [Zionist Occupation Government] boat that they scurry around behind the scenes censoring posts of folks who are strong enough to speak the plain truth,” Turner fumed later.

It’s not that Stormfront is about moderation — hardly. The talk is all about the evils of African Americans, homosexuals, non-white immigrants, and, above all, Jews, who are blamed for most of what’s wrong in the world.

As pointed out by Cass Sunstein, the University of Chicago law professor who wrote the 2001 book *repubic.com*, “Extremists and hate-filled sites tend to attract likeminded people who, if isolated, could come to their senses.” Likeminded people talking to one another, Sunstein says, “tend to become more extremist.”

But it’s all done with a tone of simmering civility. “One of the things that Don Black does very well is he doesn’t fit the stereotype of an angry man,” Kelso proudly told the *Intelligence Report* in a lengthy interview recently. “Don is the most under-recognized giant in the whole white nationalist movement.”

Kelso, who was featured in a 1960s *Time* article about teenagers in the Los Angeles suburbs, personifies the approach. Animated and cordial, he happily offers to set up a Stormfront account for an *Intelligence Report* writer.

He exudes a kind of grandfatherly charm — the same charm that he exhibits in some of his postings, and in his tireless welcoming of new members to the Stormfront community. It is, Kelso says, “a positive spiritual approach.”

Building Community

Stormfront — along with the many lesser radical forums on the Internet (see list, p.54) — has always done better than the much more numerous hate Web pages.

STORMCHATTER
On Blacks

AryanWill: The blacks that I see around my area and school are a total disgrace. Seeing them go out with amazing white girls.... It's true, I've heard them bragging.

FuriousD: I don't have any black friends, but I think that some are good but a lot are bad. I hate niggers (Snoops Dogg, 50 Cent), but black people (Gary Coleman and such) don't bother me.

eRiC1488: I hate all Blacks.

GuyverSS: I hate them all. I seriously would like to hang a couple of them. I'm not a violent person at all and the sight of gore makes me sick, but I could really like seeing them suffer. ... They will make jokes about me as I pass just because I am a kind and well-dressed person.

Heritage_Not_Hate: I don't hate them, I just don't want them around!

Annihilate: I would definitely have to say that blacks do not work hard and want everything given to them. ... As for Hispanics, I hate them more than anything. ... They try to take white women and our jobs, too.

Whereas typical hate sites function as one-way transfers of information — rather like a brochure posted in a grocery store that can be read but cannot be responded to — Stormfront has always been organized as a message board. Members can post opinions, listen to others respond, then post more feedback for all to read. The potential for dialogues to develop was built in — and, therefore, so was the potential to develop a genuine white supremacist cyber-community.

“The great power of the Internet is it allows people who don't know each other ... to connect with people with shared

interests,” says Howard Rheingold, an Internet theorist and author. “The shared interests might be that ‘I have a kid with leukemia.’ Or, ‘I'm a Nazi.’ It gives marginalized people more power.”

Black and Kelso, both men who could put up a relatively clean-cut and civilized front, saw eye to eye on the possibilities.

So when Jamie Kelso joined Stormfront about three years ago, he successfully began pushing for leading movement writers — men like Sam Dickson, a leader of the white supremacist Council of Conservative Citizens, and Willis Carto, publisher of the Holocaust-denying journal *The Barnes Review* — to start posting.

That was just part of an effort to make the site more inclusive.

Although the forum has recently censored some posts critical of the National Alliance — a major neo-Nazi group undergoing an internal civil war — it generally has tried to maintain a relatively non-sectarian stance, making people from different sectors of the radical right feel welcome to join in. As Black once told a reporter for Newhouse News Service, “Anyone can work to promote our ideas without being a member of any organization. I used to be annoyed by people who didn't join my organization, but I see the advantage now.”

Black and Kelso take care to avoid appearing dictatorial. One result is that the forum, within the bounds of the radical right, feels very democratic — a gathering of people with similar interests in what increasingly looks like a community.

Every member gets to choose a graphic to accompany their postings.

Little smiley faces and other signs abound. It's not unusual to spot two members using an animation where the faces toast with mugs of beer.

There is a list of birthdays of members on the main page. Birthday greetings are frequently exchanged, along with notes of consolation or encouragement.

There are essay contests and \$2,000 scholarships for white kids.

And, to encourage the shy, Kelso frequently starts innocuous threads to get people to start joining in the conversation. “Where is Your Home?” Kelso asks at the head of one. Or, atop another, “What inspired your screen name?”

The results have been fairly spectacular. In January 2002, Stormfront had a mere 5,000 members. A year later, membership reached 11,000; and a year after that, in early 2004,



The Stormfront Web site has grown dramatically by emphasizing its white supremacist forum. Joe Trippi, who used the Internet to deliver voters and money to the Howard Dean presidential campaign, says success is all about two-way communication.

STORMCHATTER
On Babies

DaughterOfScotland: With the blessings of the ORIGINATING founder of the ARYAN BABY DRIVE, White Nationalist Baby will now be sponsoring the WN Aryan Baby Drive. To date we have sent over 18 donations to families world-wide. ... We are here to help our WN [white nationalist] brethren.

Schneewittchen88: When my new baby grows out of all his things, I'll donate the like new items for Aryan Baby Drive. Also, I have a car that we don't need any more, since we bought the new Jeep, and I could very well donate that, too, if there is a way, that is.

DaughterOfScotland: A big thanks to a National Alliance member (you know who you are) for your donation of wonderful baby items.

Valkyrie88: I love this drive and if you ever need any help let me know!

DaughterOfScotland: A big thank you to everyone who has sent baby items so far. We have so much as of now, the response has been overwhelming from SFers [Stormfronters] and NA [National Alliance] members who remember the Aryan Baby Drive... Your generosity has shown true loyalty to our race's expansion.

it had 23,000. By January 2005, membership hit about 42,000, and it finally topped 52,000 this June. In the last year, a Kelso analysis showed, the site has been gaining an average of almost 500 new members every week.

That doesn't include the large numbers of those who simply read Stormfront postings without joining up (becoming a member allows one to post messages and also to view personal information posted by other members). All together, total traffic to the site gave it an Alexa Web monitor ranking this June of the 8,682nd most visited site on the Internet — a rank well above that of most civil rights sites.

Bob DeMarais, for one, sees Kelso as integral to Stormfront's success. “Jamie Kelso did much of the marketing and promotion responsible for Stormfront's recent growth spurt,” DeMarais wrote recently. “Kelso has a knack for making new people feel welcome and getting them to start posting.”

STORMCHATTER
On Guns

Borknagar: If you had one choice, save the money you were going to waste on that AK and work toward purchasing a real American rifle for White Aryans.

Das Bruce: I have both, just to be on the safe side.

Cimbri: Why choose between a Dodge and a Yugo, when you could have a Mercedes or a Jaguar? I have handled, fired, cleaned, upgraded many of both of the above. I say thumbs down to both of them. If you want a real rifle, you should consider a HK91 ... or a FN/FL.

Vince: I have a Romanian AK-47, and it's a good semi-auto rifle. It's inexpensive, durable, and I've noticed that it scares some people, probably because they associate this rifle with terrorists. I like it.

SMG3000: The AR 15 is a ladies' rifle.

9mmLuger: The AK is a reliable assault rifle, no more, no less. ... If you want a serious combat rifle, .308 is your best bet.

Das Bruce: An M1 Garand would suit your needs. Eight rounds of semi-automatic goodness.

view. “It’s the bond, to be able to talk to each other about you, that is important.”

David Weinberger, who served as senior Internet advisor under Trippi and is now a fellow at the Berkman Center, agreed. “The left and the right can do the same thing,” he told the *Intelligence Report*. “The Net can do the same thing for racists as it did for the Dean campaign. Treating your readers not as readers but as participants is a really good way of creating community and getting supporters.”

There are already some signs that Stormfront’s cyber-community may be developing, at least in some places, into physical community. Earlier this year, a group of members got together in San Diego for the first time.

“We just talked about whatever came to mind for three and a half hours or so,” one wrote afterward. “We all want to start doing this on a regular basis in order to foster camaraderie and group cohesion. ... We wish to have larger and larger numbers of people coming out with each successive get-together.”

The event, another wrote back, “is only the beginning for bigger and better things to come. Eventually, there will be political organization and activity.”

All this is music to Jamie Kelso.

“You always want to paint your opponents in the worst possible light,” Kelso said of antiracist activists and other Stormfront detractors. “That becomes hard to do when an organization reaches large numbers. It’s not plausible to say hundreds of thousands of people are nuts. We’re striving to be seen as our own kind of mainstream, and that we’re not kooky.”

The recent successes of Stormfront have been, as Trippi would say, “viral.” More than 70 people a day are joining the forum, and although some are mere tourists or even antiracist researchers, huge numbers are potential true believers. If Black and Kelso continue to succeed — if Stormfront members increasingly come out from behind their computer monitors and get into the streets — it could turn out that the forum becomes one of the real pillars of American radicalism. Kelso, always the optimist, predicts reaching a membership of 500,000 by 2010.

That is probably unrealistic. But the possibility has veterans of the Internet and the world of real competitive politics worried. “I’d hate to think,” Trippi says, “what Hitler could’ve done with the Internet.” ▲

BOOKS ON THE RIGHT

Defending Truth

A scholar recounts her titanic legal battle with Holocaust denier David Irving. She won in court, but the struggle continues

History on Trial: My Day in Court with David Irving

By Deborah Lipstadt

NEW YORK: HARPERCOLLINS PUBLISHERS, 2005, \$25.95 (HARDBACK)

In her new memoir *History on Trial*, Deborah Lipstadt, a renowned Emory University professor of Modern Jewish and Holocaust Studies, tells a captivating tale of the British libel trial that she was forced into when the English Holocaust denier and Third Reich “historian” David Irving foolishly sued her. Irving claimed Lipstadt had ruined his reputation by describing him as a Holocaust denier and Nazi admirer in her 1994 work, *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory*. The trial, which began in January 2000, proved Irving was indeed as Lipstadt had written, and that he was a mean-spirited, racist buffoon and shoddy historian to boot.

History on Trial is peopled with somewhat eccentric characters whose dedication to defending the truth about the Holocaust is inspiring. And Irving — who, in one of the greatest Freudian slips of all time, actually referred to the judge as “Mein Fuhrer” — adds troubling color to the story. The book is a real page-turner, holding the reader until the end, even when the outcome of the trial is already known.

The book has some interesting tidbits about Irving. He comes across as a truly vile human being who likes to mock Holocaust survivors and hang out with neo-Nazis. The most telling anecdote describes how

Irving approached former Nuremburg prosecutor Robert Kempner in 1969 to say that he intended to go to Washington to prove that the official record of the Nuremburg trial was falsified. Kempner noted at the time in a recently unearthed memo to J. Edgar Hoover that Irving made “anti-American and anti-Jewish statements.” It seems Irving dedicated himself to Nazi views long, long ago.

Memory, Scholarship and the Law

There is a disturbing aspect to the memoir. Although the trial ended in a total legal victory for Lipstadt — and Irving will forever be tagged, as he was by Judge Charles Gray, as a slipshod researcher, a “racist” and an “anti-Semite” — the victory outside the courtroom was less than complete.

This is partly due to the nature of British libel law, which puts the burden of proof on the defendant, rather than on the plaintiff who is claiming to have been libeled (which is how the American system works). As a result, publishers are often reluctant to release controversial books in Britain. Indeed, as Harvard University law

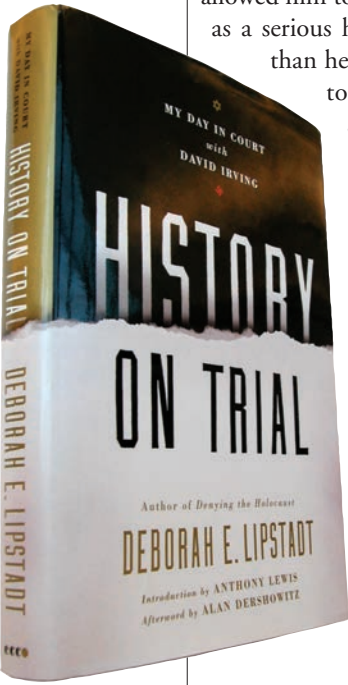
professor Alan Dershowitz points out in his afterword to Lipstadt’s book, British libel law has led to a “chilling of free speech” and a stifling of academic inquiry. A case in point: The publication in Britain of John Lukac’s *The Hitler of History* was delayed three years because of threats from Irving. When it was finally distributed — even though that wasn’t until after the absolutely decisive verdict in Lipstadt’s favor — Lukac’s publisher, Weidenfeld & Nicholson, had toned down the sections on Irving for the British market.

Another result of the British system is that defending even a flawless book can cost a fortune in legal fees. Indeed, the Lipstadt case might not even have seen the inside of a courtroom if it hadn’t been for the willingness of Penguin Books, Lipstadt’s publisher, and several donors to absorb the enormous costs of a drawn-out trial. Up to that time, Irving’s skillful employment of libel threats had allowed him to maintain a reputation as a serious historian for far longer than he should have been able

to. The trial was necessary for the truth about Irving to come out.

Another distressing aspect of this tale is the considerable academic cowardice that Lipstadt had to contend with when Irving sued. Lipstadt writes that a leading Holocaust historian suggested that she simply let Irving win. When she replied that that would effectively validate Irving’s denial of the Holocaust, the reply

was, “So what?” Others thought that going to court would transform Irving into a celebrity or free-speech martyr, as if that unlikely possibility





AP WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

Battle royale: Deborah Lipstadt, Holocaust studies professor from Emory University in Atlanta, arrives at London High Court with her publisher, Penguin CEO Anthony Forbes Watson. Lipstadt's accuser, David Irving (right), sued her and Penguin for calling him a Holocaust denier, but in the end the court agreed — completely vindicating Lipstadt despite the legal obstacles presented by British libel law.

mattered more than proving that his writings on the Holocaust are deeply flawed and animated by virulent anti-Semitism. And still others warned that Lipstadt was cheapening herself by becoming a media personality. It is unsettling that prominent historians would find defending the truth about the Holocaust so unimportant.

Truth and 'Fairness'

It is downright scandalous that a Hitler apologist like Irving could be taken seriously for so long by so many distinguished historians. For decades, Irving was publishing works on World War II to great applause, even though many falsified parts of the Nazi record. As the historical research presented at the trial made clear, Irving's obvious aim was to cleanse Hitler of his crimes. Irving was intent on dismissing the reality of the Holocaust, thereby relieving the Nazis of responsibility for their crimes, and he also used his research to legitimate Nazis lies about Jews.

The celebrated British military historian, Sir John Keegan, is Exhibit No. 1 of this problem. He praised Irving's

book *Hitler's War* even though it falsely argued that Hitler did not know about the Final Solution — and Keegan was not alone in his praise. Even after Irving lost his libel case, Keegan criticized Lipstadt in an editorial, writing that the trial “will send a tremor” of fear through historical circles. Keegan also wrote that Irving's denial of the Holocaust was only “a small but disabling element of his work.” Historians like Keegan have protected Irving's reputation over the years — even though Irving's work is sub par, something revealed by the in-depth examinations of his work and documentation undertaken by the defense team's assemblage of leading experts. Those studies, compiled by notable Holocaust historians such as Christopher Browning, will now stand permanently as a rebuttal to the disturbing farce that Holocaust denial “research” represents.

But the idea that Holocaust denial is merely the “other side of the story” persists in sometimes remarkable quar-

ters. Just this March, the American cable channel C-SPAN was planning to televise a speech by Lipstadt about her memoir. In the interests of what a C-SPAN producer described to Lipstadt as “fairness and balance,” C-SPAN decided to air a presentation by David Irving as well that would represent “the opposing view.” C-SPAN apparently thought there was some kind of legitimate historical debate over the existence of the gas chambers and Hitler's knowledge of the Final Solution — a complete and utter misreading of contemporary historical scholarship. In fact, C-SPAN's bizarre position drew an angry letter of protest signed by more than 200 historians from around the world.

Lipstadt's memoir is a powerful reminder that truth needs to be vigilantly defended. If Irving and his ilk had their way, the largest state-ordered mass murder in history would actually disappear from the record. ▲

— Heidi Beirich



LEGAL BRIEF

Threats.com

Radical animal rights activists set the stage for a First Amendment showdown over harassment on the Internet

BY CATHERINE E. SMITH

In 2002, Kevin Jonas, president of the extremist animal rights group Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty USA (SHAC USA), told the *Intelligence Report*, “[W]hen push comes to shove, we're ready to push, kick, shove, bite, do whatever to win” (see “From Push to Shove,” *Intelligence Report*, Fall 2002).

But after a series of SHAC USA-sponsored harassment campaigns resulted in substantial property destruction and threats of personal injury, the federal government is now doing the shoving.

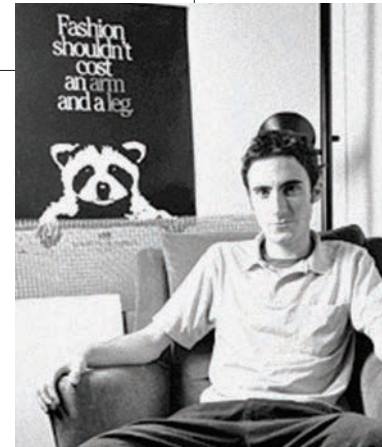
On May 27, 2004, SHAC USA, Jonas and six other members of the radical group were indicted for engaging in a conspiracy to violate the Animal Enterprise Protection Act [18 U.S.C. § 43] and other federal laws. The “SHAC Seven” are accused of using the Internet to terrorize the employees and business associates of Huntingdon Life Sciences (HLS), a pharmaceutical research company that uses animals to test drugs and chemicals.

As the SHAC Seven head to court, so too does the First Amendment. The ultimate question: Does the First Amendment shield individuals from criminal liability for Web site postings that encourage third parties to engage in campaigns of harassment?

SHAC Attack

Over the past four years, SHAC USA activists have harnessed the power of the Internet to harass Huntingdon's employees and its business associates across the country. But the online campaigns have made life difficult for SHAC USA as well. The group faces civil actions in at least two states and the federal criminal indictment naming the SHAC Seven.

Catherine E. Smith is an assistant professor at the University of Denver Sturm College of Law. Her article “The Intentional Infliction of Emotional Distress: An Old Arrow Targets the New Head of the Hate Hydra,” 80 DENVER UNIV. LAW REV. 1 (2002), discussed harassment on the Internet.



AMIRALLIRASSNIA

Kevin Jonas, president of SHAC USA

A New Jersey state court has enjoined SHAC USA, its officers and “all persons acting in concert with it” from engaging in harassing tactics against HLS business associate TEVA Pharmaceuticals and one of its employees. Meanwhile, thousands of miles away, the California Court of Appeals has permitted a suit against SHAC USA for trespass and harassment to proceed to trial. [See *Huntingdon Life Sciences, Inc. v. Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty USA* (Cal. Ct. App. June 1, 2006).] SHAC USA's criminal prosecution in federal court only adds to the radical group's mounting legal woes.

According to the federal government's lengthy criminal indictment, the SHAC USA Web site encouraged members and sympathizers to engage in “direct action” — activities that “operate outside the confines of the legal system.” SHAC USA suggested “top 20 terror tactics,” including threatening to injure or kill a person's family members, assaulting a person by spraying cleaning fluid in their eyes, vandalizing or flooding a person's home, firebombing a person's car, breaking the windows of a person's home while family members are inside, and sending e-mail “bombs” to crash computers.

And for SHAC USA activists' convenience, the Web site provided nifty features called “Target of the Week” and “Ongoing Targets.” With a click of a mouse, Web site visitors could find addresses for HLS employees and executives, telephone and fax numbers and, in some instances, the names and ages of the targets' children and where they attended school.

True Threats and the Internet

The SHAC Seven certainly have a First Amendment right to be free from government censorship of their political viewpoints. But this right is not absolute. [See *Virginia v. Black*, 538 U.S. 343, 358 (2003); *R.A.V. v. City of St. Paul*, 505 U.S. 377, 382 (1992).] If the words on the SHAC USA Web site constitute “true threats,” as the government argues, the SHAC Seven will find no First Amendment refuge from criminal prosecution. [See *Watts v. United States*, 394 U.S. 705, 705 (1964).]

The best-known case to address threats over the Internet is *Planned Parenthood of Columbia/Willamette, Inc. v. Am. Coalition of Life Activists*, 290 F.3d 1058 (9th Cir. 2002) (en banc). In 1994, the American Coalition of Life Activists (ACLA), an anti-abortion extremist group, released a “Deadly Dozen” poster, designed in a wanted-style format with “GUILTY” captioned at the top and a list of names and addresses of 13 abortion providers. In 1997, a pro-life activist affiliated

CONTINUED ON PAGE 64

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 2005 (additional listings may be found on the Southern Poverty Law Center's Web site, www.intelligenceproject.org.)

ARIZONA

Douglas • March 26, 2005

Literature from the neo-Nazi National Alliance was distributed in a neighborhood.

Tempe • Feb. 14, 2005

A leaflet from the National Alliance was left at a residence.

Tucson • March 29, 2005

David A. Higdon, 22, was sentenced to life in prison for the beating death of a gay man, Philip Walsted.

CALIFORNIA

Davis • Feb. 27, 2005

Racist messages were left on an Asian student's answering machine.

Elk Grove • Jan. 31, 2005

Two 16-year-old high school students admitted conspiring to commit murder in a hate crime attack planned at their school for February 2004. A hate crime enhancement acknowledged that they planned to target blacks and other racial minorities, including one particular black student.

Elk Grove • March 21, 2005

Derogatory language, the letters "KKK" and a swastika were scrawled on the residences of two black families, a white family and an Asian-American family.

Lodi • Feb. 11, 2005

Racist literature was left at a residence.

Paradise • Jan. 17, 2005

Fliers from the neo-Nazi White Aryan Resistance were left at residences and businesses.

Riverside • Jan. 7, 2005

Ramon Meza Rabago, 21, was sentenced to nine years in prison for his involvement in a fight that led to the death of a gay man in June 2002.

Riverside • Jan. 28, 2005

Arturo Martinez Plasencia, 26, was sentenced to 83 years to life in prison for the attempted murder of two black men in 2002.

Riverside • Feb. 18, 2005

Dorian Lee Gutierrez, 21, was convicted of second-degree murder for the June 2002 stabbing death of a gay man outside a downtown bar.

Riverside • March 26, 2005

Dorian Lee Gutierrez, 22, was sentenced to 25 years to life in prison for fatally stabbing a gay man outside a bar in 2002.

Roseville • Feb. 14, 2005

Fliers from the neo-Nazi National Alliance were dropped on the lawns of residences throughout a neighborhood.

Simi Valley • Jan. 4, 2005

One of three Simi Valley teenagers charged in a December 2004 attack on a 17-year-old black newspaper vendor was found guilty of committing a hate crime.

Simi Valley • Jan. 19, 2005

Two 16-year-olds convicted of beating an African-American newspaper vendor in December 2004 were sentenced to serve time in juvenile hall. One teen was sentenced to 270 days and the other to 240 days.

Simi Valley • Feb. 4, 2005

Patrick Rea, 17, was ordered to spend

nine months in a Los Angeles County probation camp for participating in the December 2004 assault on a black teenager in Simi Valley.

Ventura • Jan. 19, 2005

Kyle Lofton and Chad Alvis, both 16, were ordered to serve time for beating a black teenager in December 2004 because of his race. Lofton was ordered to serve nine months in juvenile detention for being the first of four teens to attack the teen because of his race. Alvis was ordered to spend eight months in custody for his part in the attack.

COLORADO

Boulder • March 28, 2005

Racist stickers were found on cars, light poles and mailboxes throughout a neighborhood.

CONNECTICUT

Bristol • March 31, 2005

Copies of the white supremacist publication "The Truth At Last" were left in driveways of residences.

Manchester • Jan. 21, 2005

Christopher Rec, 19, was ordered to spend the next 12 months in prison for his role in the attack of a black teenager in January 2004.

Middletown • Jan. 19, 2005

Richard Cox, 49, was charged with intimidation based on bigotry or bias in the second degree as well as threatening in the second degree after he allegedly used racial slurs and threatened to attack several Asian customers in a store.

Trumbull • March 25, 2005

Racist fliers were left in driveways of residences.

Waterbury • Feb. 12, 2005

Fliers from the white supremacist European-American Unity and Rights Organization were distributed in neighborhoods.

FLORIDA

West Palm Beach • March 30, 2005

Literature from the neo-Nazi White Aryan Resistance was left in the driveways of residences.

GEORGIA

Covington • March 24, 2005

Racial slurs and swastikas were spray-painted on a black man's truck, the truck's windows were smashed and the tires were slashed.

HAWAII

Kealahakua • March 3, 2005

Henry "Puka" Bell, 23, was sentenced to five years in prison for taking part in a racially linked nighttime attack on campers at a beach in 2004.

IDAHO

Post Falls • Feb. 24, 2005

Literature from the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations was distributed throughout a neighborhood.

ILLINOIS

Belleville • Feb. 26, 2005

Fliers from the neo-Nazi National Alliance were tossed on lawns throughout a neighborhood.

Belleville • Feb. 28, 2005

Fliers from the National Alliance were left on the lawns and doorsteps of residences throughout a neighborhood.

Joliet • Feb. 10, 2005

A flier from the neo-Nazi Creativity Movement, formerly known as the World Church of the Creator, was posted in front of a home for sale.

IOWA

Des Moines • March 7, 2005

Pamphlets from neo-Nazi National Alliance were left on doorsteps of residences.

KENTUCKY

Louisville • March 20, 2005

Ku Klux Klan applications were inserted in newspapers.

MARYLAND

Bowie • Jan. 4, 2005

Racial slurs, a Klan symbol and a crude swastika were drawn on an African-American family's home.

Waldorf • March 31, 2005

Racist graffiti and the letters "KKK" were spray-painted at an elementary school.

Washington • Jan. 13, 2005

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

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston • Feb. 21, 2005

A cross was burned outside a church.

Needham • Feb. 23, 2005

A racial slur was spray-painted on the car of a white woman who has interracial children.

Westwood • Jan. 16, 2005

Fliers from the Knights Party, a Klan group, were left on front lawns.

Wilmington • March 19, 2005

A swastika made of plastic cups was placed on a fence.

MICHIGAN

Grand Rapids • Jan. 31, 2005

Fliers from the neo-Nazi National Alli-

ance were distributed throughout a neighborhood.

MINNESOTA

Minneapolis • Jan. 13, 2005

Fliers from the neo-Nazi National Socialist Movement were left on car windshields and mailboxes throughout a neighborhood.

MISSOURI

Lee's Summit • March 24, 2005

Swastikas and anti-Semitic slurs were spray-painted on a residence of a man who is not Jewish but used to fly an Israeli flag in front of his home.

St. Louis • Feb. 22, 2005

A swastika and the words "white power", "KKK" and "southside pride" were painted on a historically black college.

MONTANA

Helena • March 30, 2005

Literature from the neo-Nazi group National Alliance was left near a school.

NEBRASKA

Omaha • Jan. 17, 2005

Fliers from the neo-Nazi National Alliance were left in neighborhoods.

NEVADA

Reno • March 28, 2005

Steven J. Holten, 40, former Nevada leader of the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations, was sentenced to four months in federal prison after pleading guilty to sending threatening E-mails to newspaper employees and government workers.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Concord • Feb. 26, 2005

The words "Go back to Mass Jew" and "Get out Jew be gone or die" were painted on the sliding doors of a Jewish family's residence.

NEW JERSEY

Clifton • March 10, 2005

An anti-Semitic epithet was scrawled on the garage door of a Jewish-owned

business and the windshields of two of the company's vans were smashed.

Newark • March 5, 2005

Richard McCullough, 30, pleaded guilty to aggravated manslaughter for fatally stabbing a 15-year-old lesbian in May 2003. The case was one of New Jersey's first bias-crime murder cases.

Sicklerville • Jan. 17, 2005

Fliers from the neo-Nazi National Alliance were left in driveways.

Tabernacle Township • Feb. 2, 2005

Albert Leo Boyson Jr., 18, and Michael Thomas Dugan, 22, were indicted on one count each of bias intimidation and criminal mischief for allegedly painting racial, ethnic and anti-Semitic slurs on a stone memorial in May 2004.

Winslow • Jan. 17, 2005

Fliers from the National Alliance were left in yards of residences.

NEW MEXICO

Albuquerque • Feb. 15, 2005

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

NEW YORK

Ballston Spa • March 9, 2005

Michael S. Robinson, 27, was sentenced to six months in jail for writing "KKK" and a racial slur on the car of a neighbor who was involved in an interracial relationship.

Centereach • Feb. 10, 2005

A 13-year-old was charged with a hate crime for allegedly spray-painting ethnic slurs on an Asian homeowner's fence.

Manhattan • Jan. 16, 2005

Jose Liriano, 18, was charged with second-degree assault and harassment after he allegedly used anti-gay epithets and hurled a glass at two men.

Wantagh • March 2, 2005

Matthew Lewis, 18, and Peter Cochikas

and Frank Montalbano, both 17, were charged with criminal mischief for beating a teen with a bat and spray-painting hate symbols at several area high schools.

NORTH CAROLINA

Chapel Hill • March 2, 2005

A gay student was attacked at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; police are investigating the incident as a possible hate crime.

OHIO

Akron • Jan. 15, 2005

Hate graffiti and threats were spray-painted on a residence that was ransacked and then set afire.

OREGON

Springfield • March 27, 2005

Racial epithets were written on the inside of a black woman's garage.

PENNSYLVANIA

Bethlehem • Jan. 1, 2005

Harold James Knight III, 54, was charged with making terroristic threats, harassment and ethnic intimidation after he allegedly threatened a couple by telling them the Ku Klux Klan would come after them if they didn't move.

Boyertown • Feb. 9, 2005

Richard D. Rick Sr., 42, was charged with ethnic intimidation, terroristic threats, arson, attempted criminal mischief, criminal trespass, disorderly conduct, loitering, and prowling after he allegedly attempted to burn a cross in a Caribbean-American family's yard in 2004.

Cranberry • Feb. 15, 2005

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

Douglas Township • Jan. 19, 2005

Three swastikas were drawn on the snow-covered driveway of a residence.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Columbia • Feb. 13, 2005

A flier from the neo-Nazi National Alliance was left at a residence.

Rock Hill • Feb. 10, 2005

Two 14-year-old boys were charged with malicious damage to property for allegedly spray-painting racist graffiti on the

car of the police chief, who is black.

Spartanburg • March 22, 2005

Fliers from the National Alliance were

left in yards.

St. Andrews • Feb. 12, 2005

Fliers from the National Alliance were distributed throughout the city.

TENNESSEE

Louisville • March 13, 2005

Fliers from the neo-Nazi National Alliance were left on the front steps of a local church.

Newport • Jan. 15, 2005

About 30 members of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, the Cleveland Knights, the Knights of Bedford Forest and the Knights of Yahweh held a rally.

TEXAS

San Antonio • Feb. 28, 2005

Thomas C. Carroll, 33, was sentenced to 30 years in prison for setting arson fires at three convenience stores run by Muslims in 2003 and 2004.

UTAH

West Valley City • March 24, 2005

A Ku Klux Klan flier was left in a black teacher's school mailbox.

VIRGINIA

Charles • Jan. 11, 2005

Fliers from the neo-Nazi National Alliance were distributed in two communities.

Danville • Feb. 4, 2005

The letters 'KKK' were spray-painted on a local building for the second time in less than a month.

Vienna • Jan. 19, 2005

Fliers from the National Alliance were left on the driveways of several residents, including a mixed-race couple.

WASHINGTON

Seattle • March 30, 2005

Vadim Samusenko, 21, David Kravchenko, 20, and Yevgeniy Savchak, 18, were found guilty of a felony hate crime malicious harassment for the June 2004 beating of a gay man. ▲

Hate on Trial

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 61

with *ACLA* gave a much longer list of more than 200 “abortionists” to anti-abortion hardliner Neal Horsley, who then posted them on a section of his Christian Gallery Web site labeled “Nuremberg Files.” Horsley highlighted the names of those doctors and others murdered by anti-abortion terrorists by striking through their names on the list; those who were merely wounded had their names grayed out [*Planned Parenthood*, 290 F.3d at 1065.]

Several abortion providers listed on the posters and the Nuremberg Files site sued *ACLA* and twelve anti-abortion activists. A jury later found that the defendants violated the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act, awarding the plaintiffs \$107 million in actual and punitive damages. The judge enjoined the posters and restricted the content on the Web site. [See *Planned Parenthood*, 290 F.3d at 1058.]

On appeal, the defendants argued that the content of the posters and Web site were protected speech under the First Amendment. But the full Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals upheld *ACLA*'s liability, finding that the content on the posters and Web site constituted an unprotected true threat.

The court defined a true threat as a statement made when a “reasonable person would foresee that the statement would be interpreted by those to whom the maker communicates the statement as a serious expression of intent to harm.” [See *Planned Parenthood*, 290 F.3d at 1074, 1088.] The test is an objective one; the defendant does not have to actually intend to, or be able to, carry out the threat. [*Id.* at 1076.] In the *Planned Parenthood* case, the Ninth Circuit found that it was reasonable for *ACLA* members to foresee that the named abortion providers would interpret the posters and Web site postings as a serious expression of *ACLA* members' intent to harm them.

In a more recent case, a panel of the Ninth Circuit took a more restrictive view of the true threats doctrine when dealing with criminal

prosecutions. [See *United States v. Cassel*, 2005 WL 1217387 (9th Cir. May 24, 2005).] In *Cassel*, the defendant was convicted of interfering with a federal land sale after he threatened to burn down any home built on federal property adjacent to his home. The court held that in order to prove that a true threat is unprotected by the First Amendment, the prosecution must show that the defendant subjectively intended the speech as a threat, something not required by the *Planned Parenthood* case.

Whether the *SHAC* Seven face the objective true threats test from *Planned Parenthood* or the more restrictive subjective test from *Cassel*, it is likely that the Web postings will be deemed true threats. In the California civil case against the *SHAC* Seven for harassment of an *HLS* employee, the state Court of Appeals found that the Web postings, as described in the complaint, “would [likely] intimidate [the plaintiff] and cause her to fear [Jonas, the *SHAC* USA president] and other persons affiliated with *SHAC* USA ... and indeed [Jonas] knew as much and that was the desired result.” [See *Huntingdon Life Sciences, Inc. v. Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty USA*, at 27-28.]

In the federal criminal case, *SHAC* USA's “targets” suffered real-life, off-line consequences as a result of the online threats. Shortly after the Web site postings, the identified targets' homes, cars and personal property were vandalized — rocks thrown through windows, the exterior of homes spray-painted with slogans, cars and boats vandalized, and, in one instance, a target's car overturned in his driveway. *HLS* and its business associates' facilities also experienced vandalism and smoke bombs, while online attacks shut down computer systems. To make matters worse, the *SHAC* USA Web site reported many of these harassing acts after they occurred, fueling the fire. By the time the criminal trial begins, the jury is likely to find it hard to believe that the *SHAC* Seven didn't intend to intimidate their targets. ▲

THE LAST WORD

Terror Tunes

A California composer honored the Oklahoma City bomber and a key neo-Nazi. Now he's promoting a Paraguayan ‘Aryan’ colony

BY T.K. KIM

They wanted their very own settlement — a place where they could create a kind of miniature Aryan utopia, raising their children in a Jew-free society and ensuring for all time the racial purity of their descendants.

Inspired by an anti-Semitic essay by Bavarian composer Richard Wagner, this group of German families in 1886 joined Elisabeth Nietzsche-Förster, sister of the famous philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche, in inaugurating an all-white society as part of their quest for “purification and rebirth of the human race.” And where did they plant the seeds of their brave new world? The malarial jungles of Paraguay. They called their “promised land” Nueva Germania.

Fast forward some 120 years, and the promised land isn't much. Illness, snake bites, the oppressive heat and monsoon-like rains drove many of the original settlers scurrying back to Germany. Nietzsche-Forster returned home, too, after her husband committed suicide. Today, the descendants of Nueva Germania residents who stayed live in squalor, many of them dark-skinned as a result of intermarriage.

But that hasn't turned off David Woodard.

A composer from San Francisco — and the music director of the Los Angeles Chamber Group, which specializes in memorial services — Woodard wrote and conducted a paean to Oklahoma City bomber Timothy McVeigh, who, he told a reporter in 2001, “deserves some kind of tribute.” The next year, Woodard wrote an “original memorial suite” to honor William Pierce, leader of the neo-Nazi National Alliance, after Pierce died unexpectedly that summer.

Now, Woodard is into Neuva Germania.

Upon arriving in the settlement for a visit last year, Woodard reportedly found most of the colony's 100 or so German-speaking descendants living in homes with no indoor plumbing or electricity. He wants to see the Aryan dream rebuilt.

“As an artist who is fed up with



David Woodard poses with the Schweikhart brothers, descendants of original settlers who arrived in Nueva Germania with Elisabeth Nietzsche-Förster.

much of the pretentious nonsense that has come to define Western culture,” he told the *San Francisco Chronicle*, “I am drawn to the idea of an Aryan vacuum in the middle of the jungle.”

To fulfill his quest, Nueva Germania's would-be Messiah is seeking help from philanthropic groups and at least one high-ranking politician — Vice President Dick Cheney. He got one humanitarian group to donate \$12,500 in medicines, the *Chronicle* reported. One of his Web sites, which opens to music by Wagner, offers Woodard-guided tours of “the forgotten fatherland.” And Woodard already

has written a musical tribute to Neuva Germania, “Our Jungle Holy Land.”

Woodard has told reporters that he's no white supremacist and that McVeigh's murder of 168 people was a “horrible crime.” But the name of his tribute, a part of which was performed as a “requiem” shortly before McVeigh was executed, is “Ave Atque Vale” — translated literally, “Hail and Farewell,” but named by Woodard in English as “Onward, Valiant Soldier.” McVeigh wrote Woodard shortly before his execution to say the composer was the only person he knew of who understood McVeigh's attitude toward those he murdered. “Maybe,” McVeigh wrote in response to a Woodard letter, “there is hope yet for this species!”

Woodard did not respond to requests for comment.

Woodard has toyed with unconventional ideas for years, and he was friendly with Beat Generation writer William Burroughs before his 1997 death. Woodard has promoted Burroughs' “Dreamachines” and similar imagination-boosting gadgets like so-called “Wishing Machines” and “Feraliminal Lycanthopizers,” and

he says he is interested in immortality, divination and teleportation. At least one critic has suggested that his performances seem to be “elaborate pranks.”

Is Woodard serious about the Aryans? In a July 31, 2002, e-mail to National Alliance leaders, he certainly seemed to be. It was “with the most profound regret,” he wrote in the communication, that he had learned of the passing of Pierce, a man who has called for locking Jews into railroad cattle cars and sending them to the bottoms of abandoned coal mines. Pierce's death, Woodard said, was a “tragedy.” ▲

Promoting Tolerance, Monitoring Hate, Seeking Justice

Teaching Tolerance

The Teaching Tolerance program is designed to ensure that every classroom in America is equipped with the tools teachers need to help children learn to live together in harmony.

Newsweek magazine called it “a winner [among] programs providing moral education.”

All of our tolerance education materials are sent free of charge to educators and schools across the nation. *Teaching Tolerance* magazine is sent, twice each year, to more than 500,000 educators to give them practical ideas for promoting an appreciation of diversity and the values of democracy. Our curriculum kits, which include award-winning videos, are in more than 80,000 schools.

Intelligence Project

The Intelligence Project is currently tracking more than 750 hate groups in 47 states and over 400 hate websites — many of which are aimed at recruiting young people into the movement.

Comprehensive updates on extremist activity are provided to law enforcement, the media and the general public through our quarterly magazine, *Intelligence Report*.

Law enforcement can rely on the Center to respond to its inquiries with

The Intelligence Project tracks the activities of neo-Nazi and other hate groups.



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information stored in our powerful database and provide training to its officers.

Seeking Justice

Since the Center was founded in 1971, its legal department has filed cases that changed the social landscape, set legal precedent and resulted in landmark rulings. Innovative trial strategies to shut down white supremacist organizations and combat injustice are part of the Center's ongoing legacy.

As part of its legal agenda, the Center continues to combat the forces of extremism while working to protect the powerless in our society.

But this work is clearly far from over. In the words of co-founder and chief trial counsel Morris Dees, “As long as injustice and intolerance continue to exist, Center lawyers will

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“If it weren't for an organization such as yours informing officers of [extremist] activity, I feel many more tragic events would have transpired.” — Chief of Police in Michigan

The Center “has cracked cases even the FBI couldn't solve.” — CBS News



Morris Dees, Founder and Chief Trial Counsel pioneered the courtroom strategies that shut down white supremacist organizations.

be in the courtroom, fighting for those who need assistance.”

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