

FEDS MOVE AGAINST ARYAN BROTHERHOOD



Intelligence Report

FALL 2005 • ISSUE 119

End of Watch

**15 WHO DIED
AT THE HANDS
OF EXTREMISTS**

**PLUS: A Neo-Nazi Leader
Emerges from the Shadows**





EDITORIAL

The Blame Game

BY MARK POTOK, EDITOR

The winds of Hurricane Katrina blew away the flimsy veil that long has shielded most Americans from the ugly reality of our nation's continuing problems with race, class and poverty.

Across the radical right, the hurricane and its aftermath were used to depict blacks as savages, people who immediately turned to looting and worse the moment that the power of the state collapsed.

Jared Taylor, editor of American Renaissance magazine and a relatively cosmopolitan purveyor of race hate, described New Orleans as "Africa in our midst, that utterly alien Africa of roadside corpses, cruelty, and anarchy."

From there, it went downhill. The comments oozing from the racist right gave one the unmistakable feeling of wading through sewage on flooded streets.

Blacks were described as "animalistic," "abominable savages," "Negro beasts" and worse. White supremacists posted hundreds of messages on the Internet expressing hopes that blacks in New Orleans would be wiped out, along with the "sodomites" who inhabit that "Southern Babylon."

'Cartridges for Katrina'

Then there were the calls for fatal violence. An Arkansas-based neo-Nazi group called White Revolution boasted almost immediately of helping out by setting up a "whites-only" tent camp for refugees in Wiggins, Miss.

"For those of you who stand your ground against the looters, White Revolution is offering our support through the 'Cartridges for Katrina' program. For every black looter you shoot, and provide proof of a clean kill, White Revolution will provide reimbursement of all expended ammunition, at no cost. That's our guarantee, to you."

A similarly bloodthirsty rant came from Hal Turner, the rabidly racist shortwave host of "The Hal Turner Show." Turner, who has repeatedly advocated violence in recent months (see story, p. 2), claimed to have gone "down South," where he had "a killer of a time" and "personally scored 91, confirmed."

Lying About Racism

Some of the more eyebrow-raising comments came from groups that claim angrily not to be racist at all. The League of the South, a neo-Confederate group that says it wants to see blacks and whites "work for authentic harmony," started up a relief project for its own members without mentioning race.

A particularly amazing statement came from Scott Morris, the Ohio leader of the Sons of Confederate Veterans, a Southern "heritage" group that claims not to be racist. In an e-mail that went to hundreds of scv members, Morris said that black Katrina victims were "vile criminals" and "pestilent vermin," and warned that "these leeches will go on to pollute the communities [where] they're relocated."

Most Americans reacted with shock, horror and sympathy to the incredible devastation in Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama. But for the American radical right, it was just one more chance to unleash truly disgusting attacks on their fellow citizens.



ED SUBA / AGRON BEACON JOURNAL

On The Cover In the 10 years since Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols blew up the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, domestic extremists have murdered a total of 15 law enforcement officers across America.



8 The Wannabe

Kevin Alfred Strom was for years an oddball house "intellectual" for the National Alliance, laboring in back offices of the neo-Nazi movement. Now that Strom has been kicked out, he's doing his best to lead his own new group to prominence.



19 Smashing the Shamrock

Imprisoned leaders of the Aryan Brotherhood have long laughed off authorities' attempts to prevent them from running a criminal enterprise from prison. Now, a huge capital case seeks to silence the so-called "shot callers" — permanently.



50 California Conflict

Driven from Los Angeles and San Diego by soaring home prices, blacks, Hispanics and Asians are heading east to the state's Inland Empire, where whites have become a minority. With the changes has come a frightening spike in hate crimes.

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

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A woman's recent murder, allegedly carried out by a black race warrior in New York state, is a grim reminder that hate is an equal opportunity employer.

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Four years after being released from a Florida prison, a former neo-Nazi Skinhead describes her life in the movement and how she came to see the world anew.

42 Playing Rough

Inspired by the Minuteman Project, a vigilante action held in Arizona last spring, more than 40 similar groups have formed around the country since early May.

57 'Heritage' for Sale

At a small shop in South Carolina, the League of the South offers up a vast array of "Confederate" memorabilia. Behind the counter, one shop clerk is a neo-Nazi.



Intelligence Project Director MARK POTOK • Deputy Director HEIDI BEIRICH • Staff Writers SUSY BUCHANAN, DAVID HOLTHOUSE, T.K. KIM • Design Director RUSSELL ESTES • Designers VALERIE DOWNES, CRYSTAL PHILLIPS • Production Manager BETTY RUFF • Chief Investigator JOSEPH ROY, SR. • Senior Intelligence Analyst LAURIE WOOD • Information Manager MICHELLE BRAMBLETT • Researchers ANTHONY GRIGGS, NIA HIGHTOWER • Data Specialists ANGELA FREEMAN, KARMETRIYA JACKSON, CYNTHIA SIGLER, JANET SMITH • Web Production LAURA MASCHAL • Technology Information CHRISTOPHER NORRIS • Administrative Assistant LA'TONYA PENN • Southern Poverty Law Center President RICHARD COHEN • Chief Trial Counsel MORRIS DEES • The Intelligence Report is compiled by the Intelligence Project of the Southern Poverty Law Center. It is published quarterly. ©2005 Southern Poverty Law Center. All rights reserved. Permission to reprint text and maps (but not photographs or illustrations) is granted to law enforcement and other government agencies as well as to schools and universities for educational and research purposes on the condition that the Southern Poverty Law Center's Intelligence Report is credited. Contact Mark Potok, Intelligence Report editor, with requests. The Southern Poverty Law Center is supported entirely by private donations. No government funds are involved. Law enforcement inquiries should be sent to Joe Roy, Chief Investigator, at the following address: Southern Poverty Law Center, P.O. Box 548, Montgomery, AL 36104-0548. Printed in the USA.

RADICAL RADIO

New Jersey Radio Racist Calls for Violence

The American radical right has produced more than its share of violence. Nonetheless, the last few years have seen key groups making pronouncements in favor of legality. David Duke’s latest organization has pledged to use nonviolence. Groups like Mississippi’s Nationalist Movement routinely lecture others on



the perils of violence. Even the current leaders of the National Alliance, a neo-Nazi group whose founder spoke of murdering Jews by the thousands, have said that theirs is a legal struggle. Not Hal Turner. Always given to racist histrionics, the New Jersey shortwave radio talk show host has in the last year come to openly advocate murder. Turner’s descent seemed to really begin after the husband and mother of Joan Lefkow, a federal judge in Chicago, were murdered in February, not long after neo-Nazi leader Matt Hale was convicted of soliciting Lefkow’s murder. While many right-wing extremists cowered, fearful of the federal agents who were investigating the possibility that a Hale follower had carried out the killings, Turner went on the air to say that murdering judges could be a very good thing for America. He was quickly denounced in neo-Nazi Web forums as a provocateur, and two of them actually kicked him out. In July, Turner gave listeners of “The Hal Turner Show” a lesson on his views, and an offer. “There is a leadership vacuum in the pro-white movement and it looks like I’m going to have to step up and fill the position,” he said. “I’m ready if you’ll have me. Because the people who have been saying, ‘Oh violence, you can’t talk violence,’ you’re fags. You have achieved nothing. Get out of the way. “If you want social change in this country, if you want the homos shoved back in the closet, if you want the border with Mexico sealed, if you want the illegal aliens rounded up and

deported out of the country, if you want the niggers and the spics to stop beating up, raping, robbing white people; well, guess what folks, it’s going to take violence. . . . That’s the reality. It is going to take violence.” Does Turner mean what he says? Answering a recent e-mail from an activist criticizing his pro-violence rhetoric, Turner declared that he had walked the walk. “I advocate what I am willing to do,” he wrote as he defended his statements about murdering judges. “What keeps me out of jail is that I do things alone and, unlike so many others, I don’t tell anyone I’ve done something illegal.”

INTO THE MAINSTREAM

N.C. Candidate Quits After Racist Postings Exposed

Doug Hanks, one-time Republican candidate for the City Council of Charlotte, N.C., says he’s no racist. True, he did post some 4,000 messages to Stormfront, the most popular neo-Nazi forum on the World Wide Web. True, he did describe blacks there as “rabid beasts.” And true, he recruited people on Stormfront to join in his protests against the city’s removal of a Confederate battle flag in a local cemetery — and even made the papers in January, when he climbed a flagpole to reattach that flag. But don’t let that fool you. Even though Hanks quit his council race on Aug. 4, right after the local *Rhinoceros Times* broke the story of his Stormfront postings, it actually was all an elaborate act. Hanks told the *Charlotte Observer* that he was merely “playing” a racist as part of research for a novel. “I’m an author,” Hanks said, “and an author is nothing but an actor that acts through the pen.” Meanwhile, in Las Vegas, the leader of the brand-new White People’s Party, which intends to run candidates in 2006, didn’t bother to deny his racism. Michael O’Sullivan, a real estate broker, filed paperwork in July starting the party, whose constitution says all policies will be decided strictly based on what’s good for “non-Jewish people of wholly European descent.” O’Sullivan is also state leader for National Vanguard (see story, p. 8), a national neo-Nazi group. That frankness apparently has come with a price tag. Nevada authorities are now considering an investigation of the three halfway houses O’Sullivan owns in Clark County. The homes, which provide housing to recovering alcoholics, are, by O’Sullivan’s description, “full of minorities.” But unlike the party he is working to create, O’Sullivan says his businesses do not discriminate against anyone.

PRISON GANGS

‘Aryan’ Gang Leader Sentenced for Racketeering

The founder and self-appointed “general” of the Soldiers of Aryan Culture (SAC), a white supremacist gang based in the Utah state prison system, pleaded guilty in August to racketeering and was sentenced to 20 years in federal prison. Prior to his sentencing, Tracy Swena admitted that he started SAC in 1997 and oversaw the gang’s operations, including drug dealing and orchestrated attacks upon prison guards. Under his leadership, SAC members rose through the ranks by committing violence against Hispanic and black inmates chosen at random. Modeled after the Aryan Brotherhood (see story, p. 19), the Soldiers of Aryan Culture gradually established criminal syndicates outside prison walls as its members were released. In 2002, Utah police uncovered and averted a plot by SAC members to murder Jewish athletes at the Winter Olympics in Salt Lake City. Security for Swena’s sentencing hearing was extraordinarily high. Its date and time were kept secret, and Swena appeared from an undisclosed location via remote camera. A spokeswoman for the U.S. Attorney’s Office said the precautions were deemed necessary given the SAC’s recent history of death threats and courthouse violence. Last March, the federal prosecutor leading the racketeering case against a dozen members of the SAC received a letter that read, “You

stupid bitch! It is because of you that my brothers are in jail. We will get you.” The letter was signed, “Til the casket drops.” After the same prosecutor received a second death threat by mail last December, the federal judge presiding over the case called all 12 defendants together into the same courtroom and informed them that their family visits and telephone privileges were suspended indefinitely. In an apparently coordinated assault, the defendants, who were shackled and handcuffed, jumped up from their seats and began kicking, head butting and spitting on federal marshals and bailiffs. It was the last time authorities allowed the SAC defendants to occupy the same room. But even alone they’re dangerous. In July, SAC member Lance Vanderstappen pleaded guilty to racketeering and was sentenced to five years. Immediately after he was sentenced, Vanderstappen was taken to a temporary holding cell inside the U.S. District Courthouse in Salt Lake City. There, he allegedly pulled out a three-inch homemade knife he’d secreted in a body cavity and repeatedly stabbed a Hispanic prisoner who shared the cell. The man was a stranger to Vanderstappen, who was subsequently indicted for attempted murder. He pleaded innocent.

CHRISTIAN IDENTITY

For His Wife, Authorities Say, He Wanted a Head

Adherents of Christian Identity follow a theology that is admittedly bizarre. The Bible, to them, is the history of the white race. Jews are the biological descendants of Satan, who impregnated Eve in the Garden of Eden. But Identity practitioners also hold to a highly mainstream view of adultery: It’s wrong. So it’s not hard to understand the feelings of Keith Eugene Kallstrom, a long-time Christian Identity preacher from Broken Arrow, Okla. Two years ago, an old Kallstrom pal, Michigan Identity pastor James Wickstrom, ran off with Kallstrom’s wife after meeting her during one of his sermons. The couple eventually moved to the area around Rhodes, Mich., where Wickstrom, the “world chaplain” of a splinter group from the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations, insisted to others on the radical right that Kathleen Kallstrom was merely his “nanny” and “housekeeper.” Now Keith Kallstrom, a friend of Wickstrom’s for 30 years, didn’t just fall off the turnip truck. After his wife left, he wrote her letters begging her to come home and condemning Wickstrom. “The wages of sin are death,” he roared. He fumed about the “fornication” that he said God prohibited between unmarried people. Kathy Kallstrom responded by obtaining a restraining order. Her husband came unglued. A year after her departure, Keith

Kallstrom was so angry that he talked about it to the *Intelligence Report*. “You do not stand behind a pulpit and preach the Tenth Commandment, ‘Thou shalt not covet,’ and then take another man’s wife,” Kallstrom fulminated. “You do not twist the word of God. You do not covet other people’s blessings!” This summer, Kallstrom apparently boiled over. On July 5, federal officials allege, he said that he was going to cut Wickstrom’s head off and place it on his mantle. On Aug. 2, he was arrested in Michigan, after driving all the way from Oklahoma in a pickup that contained four homemade hand grenades, an assault rifle, a shotgun, a 9 mm pistol, a ski mask and a pair of handcuffs. A customer at a gas station saw Kallstrom locking and unlocking the handcuffs on his own wrists and called police to report what seemed to be suspicious activity. Authorities say Kallstrom came to murder Wickstrom and fetch his wayward wife. Kallstrom denied any intended violence. For his part, Wickstrom, widely known for his apoplectic exhortations to murder Jews and government officials, had a rather uncharacteristic response to the arrest, showering grateful praise on the FBI and the Michigan State Police, who, the two-time felon enthused, “have done an outstanding job.”



NEO-CONFEDERATES

Memphis SCV Books, Then Backs Away From Blackface Minstrels Show

When the Forrest Historical Society and the local Sons of Confederate Veterans (scv) teamed up to celebrate the rooth anniversary of the dedication of a Memphis statue of Confederate Gen. Nathan Bedford Forrest last July, they booked a band they advertised as “Snowflake’s Minstrels” as part of the festivities.

That might have been enough to raise some eyebrows, given the historical connection of minstrel shows to racist stereotypes of blacks — not to mention the fact that Forrest, in addition to his storied career as a cavalry general, was a slave trader who became the first grand wizard of the Ku Klux Klan after the Civil War.

But the ads for Snowflake’s Minstrels appeared innocuous, and the matter likely would never have been publicly noticed — if not for a July 8 message sent to hundreds of scv members on the Southern Herald e-list. The note, from one “Tom Williams,” let readers in on a little secret “NOT being publicized anywhere” except in a few selected venues like the Southern Herald — that the “wildly entertaining Snowflake’s Minstrels” would be giving a “grand black-face performance.”

“You’ll be rolling in the aisles,” Williams promised.

Later that day, an e-mail reply that apparently came from white supremacist attorney Kirk Lyons scolded Williams for leaking this potentially embarrassing fact to the Southern Herald list. Lyons, an scv member closely connected to the recent takeover of the scv by racial extremists, later denied sending the e-mail. But it was signed “Kirk” and came from an address Lyons is known to use.

“By putting this here, you have broadcast this to the world,” it said. “Some snitch will pass it on. ... I love the minstrel legacy as much as anyone (I was part of a historical minstrel show at Vicksburg National Military Park back in the ’80s), but you could likely get burned, esp [sic] in Memphis. Is this really a good idea?”

Wendi Thomas, a columnist at Memphis’ *Commercial Appeal*, didn’t think so. Provided with the e-mails by the *Intelligence Report*, she wrote a scath-

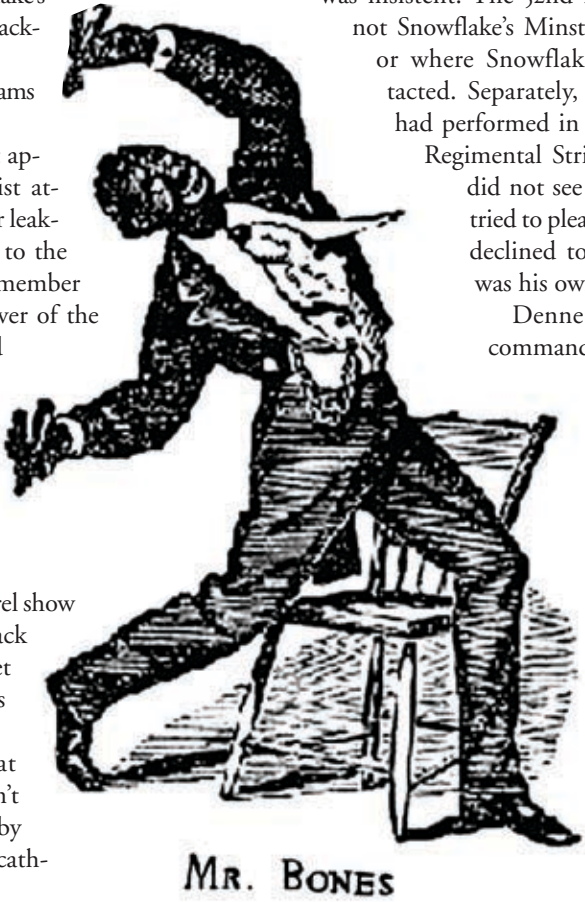
ing column about the plans for a blackface event. Because his name was listed as a contact in the ads for Snowflake’s Minstrels, Thomas called Lee Millar, lieutenant commander of the Tennessee scv and also a member of the Forrest Historical Society. Millar is the computer network manager for the Shelby County Sheriff’s Department.

Millar told Thomas that although he was listed in ads for the event as the band contact, he was not a member. He said he had no idea who had booked Snowflake’s Minstrels. And he said that in any event the band had called him to cancel.

The funny thing is that Millar is a musician who plays guitar and sings for the 52nd Regimental String Band, which specializes in Civil War era music. That band, which also includes Greg Todd, a regional scv leader in Tennessee, regularly plays scv events. Most remarkably, the band has recorded “The Minstrel Skit,” featuring the well-known black minstrel caricatures “Mr. Bones” and “Mr. Tambo.”

But, in an interview with the *Intelligence Report*, Millar was insistent: The 52nd Regimental String Band was not Snowflake’s Minstrels. He declined to say how or where Snowflake’s Minstrels could be contacted. Separately, Todd acknowledged that he had performed in blackface as part of the 52nd Regimental String Band, but added that he did not see that as racist — he had only tried to please his customers, he said. Todd declined to say if Snowflake’s Minstrels was his own band.

Denne Sweeney, the scv’s national commander in chief and a close ally of Lyons and other extremists, said that the scv “does not condone black-faced minstrel shows” and that the 52nd Regimental String Band had been, in any case, the scv’s “second choice” to play its July national convention. He said in an e-mail that he was launching an investigation into whether or not the string band had, in fact, performed in blackface. If so, he said the scv would no longer hire it.



STRANGE BEDFELLOWS

Disgraced Holocaust Denier Hosted by Alabama Atheist



David Irving, a writer whose Holocaust denial activities caused a British judge to label him “a right-wing, pro-Nazi polemicist,” has been repeatedly hosted by the largest neo-Nazi group in America. David Duke, the famous former Klan leader, has organized talks and book sales for him. Others who’ve tried to help Irving sell his wares — the judge called them “deliberate” falsifications designed to slander Jews and hold Hitler up as a hero — include a host of other white supremacists.

And then there is Larry Darby.

Darby is not your typical host for Holocaust deniers. He is president of the Alabama-based, nonprofit Atheist Law Center, as well as the state director for the

group American Atheists. The bespectacled Darby is normally a lonely voice in supremely conservative Alabama, arguing against religion in all forms.

But in early July, Darby hosted Irving — who he described as “an expert on World War Two, the Nazi era and the erosion ...

of free speech” — and about a dozen atheists at a meeting in the Holiday Inn of Prattville, Ala. Most of those who attended seemed to know little about Irving’s background. Others, who heard about the appearance by e-mail, expressed their shock privately.

Darby will hear none of it. To him, he is the victim of “semantic terrorism” that is destroying free speech in America. After all, he told the *Intelligence Report*, racism originated with Jews’ description of themselves as the “chosen” people. “I think it’s easy in this country to speak out on Christianity and even Islam,” Darby said. “I think it’s more difficult to speak out on things of a Jewish nature.”

For his part, Irving told those who assembled in Prattville of the case that

ruined his career as a purported historian. Irving had sued Deborah Lipstadt, a well-known Holocaust scholar who had accused him of pro-Nazi sympathies and false reporting in his books. At the conclusion of a hugely publicized libel trial in London, the court found that Lipstadt was justified in her published criticisms.

In Prattville, Irving emphasized the brilliance of his failed defense, and complained about how he’d been ordered to pay some \$5 million in court costs for Lipstadt and her publisher, Penguin Books. Darby — whose ad for the Irving event said that Lipstadt’s defense was funded “by the usual enemies of Free Speech” (Jewish groups helped pay for the defense) — listened without comment.

Darby acknowledged to the *Report* that many atheists had been appalled when they heard of his Irving event. But he found that utterly unreasonable.

“If they have questions, why not ask him?” Darby asked. “Why exhibit hatred for a man they do not know? When people are so brain-warped to have knee-jerk reactions like that, it makes me want to get to know him more.”

DOMESTIC TERRORISM

Former Klansman Admits Plot to Bomb Migrants

When Daniel Schertz sold five pipe bombs that he thought were going to be used to murder Mexican workers headed for Florida, the former Tennessee Klansman had one special request of his customers: Schertz wanted to help the two men “take care of” another group of Hispanic immigrants.

Instead, the 27-year-old from the Chattanooga area is facing more than 70 years in federal prison after pleading guilty in August to six federal weapons charges. Schertz is expected to be sentenced in November.



the informant as well. Schertz demonstrated how to attach the bombs to cars before selling the informant two bombs that he expected would be used to attack Haitians in Florida.

The following month, the informant set up another deal with Schertz to sell five pipe

Officials say that Schertz, a former member of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, was at a March Klan event in Dunlap, Tenn., when he began talking to a person who turned out to be a government informant. Schertz said he knew how to make pipe bombs and could teach

bombs that were to be used to attack Mexican agricultural workers on a bus to Florida. This time, the man Schertz sold the bombs to was an undercover agent with the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms who accompanied the informant.

Schertz was arrested in May and later pleaded guilty.

Schertz’s former Klan boss, White Knights Imperial Wizard Billy Jeffery, claimed to The Associated Press that Schertz had been “banished” from the Klan in mid-May for disobedience that was not related to the bomb plot. ▲



HUES OF HATE

A racially motivated murder this summer in New York state is a reminder that hate is an equal opportunity employer

BY SUSY BUCHANAN

Gripping a steak knife as he crouched in a parking garage stairwell, Phillip Grant was on a mission. Grant was determined to start a race war, and his devotion to his cause was such that he lurked in his hiding place for hours, watching and waiting for the right kind of victim to cross his path.

But Phillip Grant was a different kind of race warrior.

“The first person I see in this mall that looks white I’m killing,” Grant, who is black, said in a videotaped confession that shocked the community of White Plains, N.Y., this summer. “As long as she has blond hair and blue eyes, she was going to die.” The woman he allegedly murdered on June 29 would have been the first of many, Grant boasted, if police hadn’t caught him so quickly.

As news spread of the slaying of Concetta Russo-Carriero — and the motivation behind it — the town of White Plains was outraged. The crime even drew commentary from black firebrand Rev. Al Sharpton, who called Grant’s targeting of whites “a sick and racist mentality that cannot be tolerated in our society.” At the same time, Sharpton also condemned a recent white-on-black attack in Howard Beach, N.Y., reminding his listeners that “whether the assailants are white, black or Latino, none of us is safe unless all of us are safe.”

Sharpton had a point.

“People are surprised and even shocked to learn that minority Americans, especially black Americans, who have suffered such profound discrimination, would actually commit hate crimes against whites,” said Jack Levin, director

of the Brudnick Center on Violence and Conflict at Northeastern University and co-author of *Why We Hate*. But according to an analysis of 2003 hate crime statistics — the latest of the admittedly shaky state hate crime statistics that are compiled annually by the FBI — blacks are actually slightly more likely to lash out against whites for reasons of race than the reverse, Levin said.

Of course, white supremacists like *American Renaissance* Editor Jared Taylor and former Klan leader David Duke routinely claim that blacks commit vastly more hate crimes than whites. And they are wrong. Taylor, Duke and the others typically describe all violent black-on-white crimes as hate crimes — a gross statistical error, as most crimes have quite different motives. But it is a fact that members of all ethnic groups commit hate crimes.

“In every group there are hate-mongers, ethnocentricity and bigotry,” Levin said. “Whites don’t have the monopoly.”

From the Zebra killings in San Francisco in the 1970s, when radical black Muslims kidnapped, raped, robbed and murdered 23 white victims, to Colin Ferguson’s 1993 rampage on a Long Island commuter train in which 25 people were shot and six died, to Grant’s solitary victim in White Plains, there are plenty of black-on-white crimes that appear to be motivated by race hate.

In the White Plains case, Grant had been released from prison in 2003, after serving the maximum 23-year sentence for raping three women at knifepoint in 1979. During his imprisonment, he attacked another inmate with a pitchfork and was denied parole nine times before finally regaining his freedom.

Grant claims that white men raped his mother when he was a child and that every white he befriended over the years turned out to be racist at heart. “There are a lot of white people that really need to die,” he allegedly told police. “I don’t give a fuck what public opinion is about that. ... These people are sick, and they are getting away with it.”

Grant was arrested four minutes after police discovered Concetta Russo-Carriero bleeding and clinging tenuously

to life in a municipal parking garage next to a mall in White Plains. The 56-year-old receptionist and mother of two had been on her way to her car after lunch. Her two sons told reporters she had been so afraid of crime that she refused to watch murder movies. The terror she must have felt in her final moments haunts them, they said.

Grant told police that he was angered when Carriero-Russo opened her car door quickly. He said he grabbed her by the arm, holding the blade of the steak knife to her throat. Carriero Russo didn’t scream when Grant stabbed her twice in

the chest, then took off running. She died from her wounds less than an hour later.

Grant was indicted in July on charges of second-degree murder with a hate crime penalty enhancement. The hate crime designation would add five years to his minimum sentence if he is convicted. It is the first time New York’s hate crime statute has been used in a murder case since its enactment in 2000.

Grant expressed no remorse, except to lament that his race war had only one white casualty. “My only regret is that I don’t know anything about biological weapons,” Grant said. ▲

Wave of Anti-Gay Hate Crimes Reported

That homosexuals are the group most targeted by violent hate criminals is no secret to those who study such matters. Nor is it a surprise that many such criminals have reacted to things like gay civil unions and the striking down of state sodomy statutes with fury. But recent evidence from New York City suggests that anti-gay hate crimes may now be even more widespread and vicious than before.

New Yorkers in recent months have been shocked by the murder and dismemberment of Rashawn Brazell, whose mutilated body was left in a subway tunnel on Valentine’s Day, and the brutal beating of Dwan Prince, who was attacked outside his apartment building on June 9 and beaten into a coma as his assailants shouted anti-gay slurs. Anti-gay hate crimes were up by 32% in the city from 2004, even as other kinds of hate crime dropped. And the New York City Gay and Lesbian Anti-Violence Project says reports of anti-gay violence are up 24% in the last two years, with reports of anti-gay assaults now averaging one each 36 hours.

The trend does not seem to be limited to New York. A sampling:

- On May 6, the body of Amancio Corrales, a Yuma, Ariz., female impersonator, was found in the Colorado River, bludgeoned to death.
- On July 9, five days after St. John’s Reformed United Church of Christ in Middlebrook, Va., endorsed same-sex marriages, someone wrote “UCC Sinners” and “Gays Lovers” in the church before setting it afire.
- On July 24, the Heart Rock gay nightclub in Brownsville, Texas, was vandalized and set on fire.
- On July 25, a gay couple returned to their home near Orlando, Fla., to find it in flames and the words “Die Fag” spray-painted on the steps.

“Gays have increasingly challenged the status quo, most recently with their support and encouragement of gay marriage statutes around the country,” said Northeastern University Professor Jack Levin, an expert on hate crimes. “The result has been to infuriate homophobic Americans who believe that marriage is, by definition, a union of husband and wife and who are convinced that the legalization of gay marriage weakens the traditional marital bond.”

— Susy Buchanan

the wannabe

Kevin Strom has been a neo-Nazi underling for decades. Now the former National Alliance ‘intellectual’ wants to be a boss

BY T.K. KIM



Kevin in the early 1990s with his new wife Kirsten and William Pierce, who introduced them.

On a hot Saturday in the middle of June, a crowd of white supremacists gathered in a town near Tampa to celebrate the arrival of a new summer and the emergence of a would-be leader in their movement — Kevin Alfred Strom.

With his thick black glasses and disheveled, graying hair, Strom resembled a middle-aged Harry Potter as his distinctive, nasal voice blared through a cheap PA system. He lectured those who’d come on the “real” reason the United States fought in both world wars — to facilitate the building of a Zionist state at the expense of foolish “American cattle” who didn’t understand that their government was selling them out to Jewish interests.

The event, the Summer Solstice Festival, marked a special moment in Strom’s long and dreary career as a professional racist and anti-Semite. He was finally coming out of the shadows after decades of thankless labor in the musty back offices of the neo-Nazi movement.

Strom had long played a key but subservient role to William Pierce, founder of the National Alliance — until recently the most important neo-Nazi group in the country — and then to Erich Gliebe, who was anointed over Strom as Pierce’s successor, even though it was Strom, not Gliebe, who had created the Alliance’s well-known weekly radio show; Strom who convinced Pierce to venture into the white power music business; and Strom who edited the Alliance’s flagship publication in his role as the group’s in-house “intellectual.”

Now, at long last, it was Strom’s turn to shine, to be shown respect, to be treated like a leader.

Last spring, Strom and other disgruntled Alliance principals were summarily expelled from the Alliance after they

tried but failed to overthrow or curtail the power of the Alliance’s current leaders. Soon after he was ejected, Strom formed his own group, National Vanguard, lifting the name from the Alliance magazine he had edited for years. When Strom left the Alliance, hundreds of other members left with him, most of them at least temporarily joining National Vanguard (NV). The Alliance’s old Tampa unit, now an NV chapter loyal to Strom, organized the Summer Solstice Festival.

At this early stage, things seem to be going Strom’s way, although Strom did not respond to requests from the *Intelligence Report* for comment. In its first three months, NV set up 15 chapters, even as the Alliance’s membership rolls continued to decline. Strom has received clear support from other movement leaders, including neo-Nazi David Duke and Don Black, operator of the infamous Stormfront hate site. NV units from Boston to Denver have rented billboards and bombarded Internet message boards with propaganda, winning both attention and publicity. Disillusioned and angry over Gliebe’s perceived failures as a chairman, several Alliance unit coordinators have defected to NV with their entire chapters. High-profile former Alliance member April Gaede, whose young twin daughters are the fastest rising act in white power music, has also signed on with Strom. Performing white supremacist folk songs under the name Prussian Blue, Lynx and Lamb shared a stage with Strom at the Tampa gathering.

Considering the NV’s rapid growth spurt, Strom’s powerful alliances with leaders like the charismatic Duke, and his long-standing reputation within the movement as a thinking man’s neo-Nazi, it seems possible, even likely, that Strom may soon



Kevin Strom was always at home in a radio booth like the one from which he long hosted “American Dissident Voices.”

pick up where his one-time mentor Pierce left off as one of the most influential leaders of the racist radical right.

High School Fascist

Born in 1956, Strom grew up near Washington, D.C. His childhood and adolescence were set against the historical backdrops of the civil rights movement and the Cold War. Strom was raised a devout Lutheran, according to his ex-wife, Kristen Kaiser. His nickname was “St. Kevin the Good.”

Strom decided when he was a teenager that communism was evil and that anyone who hated communism was good. One of Strom’s high school teachers, who happened to be an extreme right-winger, discovered Strom’s political leanings and recruited him into the John Birch Society, Kaiser said. It was in that far-right organization that Strom reportedly was first introduced to the National Alliance by Birchers who also belonged to the Alliance.

Strom began attending the Alliance’s weekly Sunday night meetings in Arlington, Va., soon after William Pierce began holding them in 1975. Pierce had a Ph.D. and burned with hatred for communists and also for Jews and blacks. Strom admired him and was quickly indoctrinated with conspiracy theories about evil agents of the Zionist Occupation Government slowly destroying America.

After graduating from high school, Strom paid the bills by working as a broadcasting engineer while he continued to labor for Pierce. When Pierce acquired and moved onto some rural property in West Virginia in 1985, Strom used his technological prowess to help set up the compound’s telephone and alarm system.

Strom ascended to the role of right-hand man. According to Kaiser, his favored status within the Alliance was a source of great pride to Strom, who clearly looked up to the Alliance founder. Kaiser said that Strom was never close to his own father, a verbally abusive alcoholic who hanged himself when Strom was in his 20s. “I think Dr. Pierce became his father figure,” Kaiser told the *Intelligence Report*.

Kaiser first met Strom in 1987. Pierce played match-maker, introducing her to Strom even though she was married at the time to a man named Joseph McLaughlin. By 1988, her marriage to McLaughlin had disintegrated, and Strom helped her move out. Kaiser and Strom were married in 1990. Pierce conducted the ceremony.

That same year, when Nelson Mandela came to Washington in a highly publicized visit, Strom was arrested outside the South African Embassy for assaulting a police officer during a pro-apartheid rally. The officers who searched Strom found detailed sketches of Techworld, a downtown office building

that happened to be adjacent to the Washington Convention Center, where Mandela was scheduled to speak.

Nothing ever came of the sketches. Pierce hired a lawyer for Strom and the assault charge was dropped.

In 1991, Strom and his wife moved into a home near the National Alliance compound in West Virginia and took their places in Pierce’s court.

Veggies and Mozart

Strom was a strict vegetarian, Kaiser said, who never drank or used drugs. But he did have some Howard Hughes-like qualities. When he ate, he would only eat one food at a time and would never allow the different foods to touch each other or mix in any way, much like his philosophy on interracial dating. Strom was an extremely controlling husband, said Kaiser, who forced her to abstain from meat, forbade her to wear blue jeans, and predetermined her favorite music — Mozart.

There was no point in debating Strom on any issue, she said.

“If you disagreed with him, he’d literally keep you awake until you agreed with him,” Kaiser said.

According to his ex-wife, Strom was a packrat who kept stacks and newspapers and magazines scattered throughout their home.

“You couldn’t walk through his living room,” Kaiser said.

For all his quiriness, Strom proved invaluable to Pierce and the Alliance. Strom hatched the idea in 1991 to launch a weekly talk radio show called “American Dissident Voices.” Strom produced and hosted the shows and negotiated with AM stations across the country to air the program. In the pre-Internet early ’90s, “American Dissident Voices” provided a major vehicle for the Alliance to spread its message and drum up support. Every week, thousands of white supremacists across the country — and later, via the Internet and shortwave, around the world — listened to Strom’s diatribes on the evils of Jews and minorities.

The same year he got the show going, Strom ingratiated himself to Revilo Oliver, a classics professor at the University of Illinois who, like Pierce, was considered an intellectual heavyweight within the neo-Nazi movement.

One of the founding members of the John Birch Society, Oliver once wrote, “Aryans are a small and endangered minority on this planet, but how many members of our race seem to have even an inkling of that fact?”

Trouble in Paradise

Strom and Kaiser first met Oliver in March of 1991, when the couple paid homage to him in a visit to his home in Illinois. Strom took his first-born son to visit the aging racist again in 1993, and Oliver put Strom in charge of archiving his academic writings on race. Then in 1994, Oliver killed himself.

“Hitler shot himself, [neo-Nazi leader Ben] Klassen shot himself, and Oliver shot himself,” Kaiser noted in an Aug. 10, 1994, entry in her diary, right after Strom told her Oliver

was dead. “Kevin’s father killed himself. It seemed to be the suicide rate was high amongst people Kevin admired.”

Just prior to Oliver’s suicide, Kaiser said, Strom had sunk into a depression that only deepened with the death of his hero. At first withdrawn, Strom eventually began openly voicing his growing displeasure with Pierce. He felt underappreciated and underpaid.

In his biography of Pierce, *The Fame of a Dead Man’s Deeds*, University of Vermont professor and white nationalist sympathizer Robert Griffin wrote that Strom often appeared to have “worked more under Pierce than alongside him, and never really with Pierce in a truly bonded way.”

“From what I have picked up from Pierce,” Griffin wrote, “his relationship with Strom was more akin to that of like-minded colleagues than fused brothers.”

For her part, Kaiser found Pierce arrogant and condescending. Still, despite their growing bitterness, the couple continued until 1995 living on Pierce’s West Virginia compound, where they’d moved after a period living in a nearby town. Strom first started talking openly about leaving several weeks before the Oklahoma City bombing in April 1995, Kaiser said.

The day after the bombing, Strom was really worked up, she recalls. He made her help him take several boxes of papers and tapes to Stanton, Va., where they threw



Mark Cotterill, a British white supremacist who founded the American Friends of the British National Party, joined Kevin Strom at the West Virginia headquarters of the National Alliance.

away the materials at various Dumpsters at different retail stores in the town.

Not long after the bombing, Strom told Pierce that he wanted to leave the compound. Pierce, needless to say, was displeased.

Strom and Kaiser relocated to Rochester, Minn., in November 1995. Strom chose the city because its population was 95% white. Kaiser found that once she was off the compound and was no longer forbidden to read



Before Kevin Strom was ejected from the National Alliance, he edited the Alliance's *National Vanguard* magazine and ran its Web site. After hijacking both the name and the Web site, Strom's new National Vanguard group has benefitted from Alliance efforts like this billboard in Florida.

newspapers or watch television, she began having doubts about the white supremacist movement as well as her marriage to Strom.

In 1997, Kaiser, who had begun work as a real estate agent, was fired from her job on her birthday, when her employer found out “just who and what Kevin Strom is,” according to one of her diary entries. His letter to the editor of a local newspaper had been published that day.

That same year, the second of the Stroms’ three children was diagnosed with autism — a genetic weakling, according to the neo-Nazi code. Strom blamed Kaiser for their son’s disorder and left her, taking their first son and the baby born in 1996 with him. He also stopped working for Pierce, claiming the Alliance founder owed him money. Strom was initially granted custody of his children, moved to Texas and began home schooling them. But Kaiser eventually won full custody.

Return to West Virginia

During his years away from West Virginia, Strom’s only visible connection to the movement came through his personal Web site and his frequent postings on various Usenet groups. Strom used his Web site in this period to promote Oliver’s essays by posting them for the masses to read. He also displayed some of his more controversial interests in a section of the site labeled “feminine beauty,” where Strom posted pictures of attractive white teenage girls, many in bikinis. Heavily favored were photos of a fresh-faced Brooke Shields astride horses.

“The beauty of the women and girls of our race has inspired our greatest poets, artists, and writers throughout history,” Strom wrote. “It should also inspire our senses of chivalry and of honor, for if anything is sacred, our girls and women are, and they must be protected from the degradation and degeneracy that is inherent in multiracialism. Girls and women of all ages will be presented here from time to time.” Strom solicited the site’s visitors to offer their own soft-core submissions.

Three years after Strom’s marriage failed, Pierce welcomed his prodigal lackey back to the West Virginia compound.

Soon enough, Strom remarried, though his taste in women, or at least the women Pierce approved for him, had apparently changed. Where Kirsten Kaiser was meek, docile and obedient, Elisha is outspoken, assertive and combative. She is the closest thing to a feminist that exists within the white power movement. Unlike Kaiser, whose wardrobe was dictated by Strom, she wears whatever she wants, including tight jeans. She long ran her own Web site, “A Woman’s Voice.” Soon after Strom’s remarriage, the pin-up shots of young girls on his Web site were removed and replaced with pictures of ancient sculptures.

With his new wife at his side, Strom pushed the Alliance to delve into new areas. Pierce soon approached Todd Blodgett, a Washington consultant who controlled shares of the white power record label Resistance Records, and offered to buy him out. Blodgett, who agreed to sell and also to broker shares held by others, now says that it was

clear from his discussions with Pierce that the idea of getting into the white power music business originated with Strom, who saw a ripe moneymaking opportunity for the Alliance as well as a way to reach out to the next generation of racists.

The Alliance’s investment in Resistance Records turned out well, at least initially. Resistance soon became a quite profitable and, as a result, the future of America’s leading neo-Nazi organization had never seemed brighter. But it quickly darkened with Pierce’s unexpected death in July 2002. With their famed founder gone, the Alliance’s principals passed the torch to Erich Gliebe, a former boxer who had fought as “The Aryan Barbarian.” Kevin Strom, despite his important ideas and his years in the trenches of the neo-Nazi movement, had been bypassed.

The Dalliance Ends

In the initial days after Gliebe took over, Blodgett said Gliebe and Strom seemingly got along. Although they were far from friends, Gliebe was smart enough to know that he needed Strom’s help in leading the Alliance.

That’s not to say that Strom’s initial agreement to help Gliebe with the Alliance was based strictly on loyalty. Blodgett believes that part of Strom’s motivation owed to a promise he said Gliebe made to the Alliance’s board of directors that if they didn’t have confidence in him after his first year, he would step down. That would have opened up the position for Strom to step in.

But despite his alleged promise and the board’s rapidly deteriorating faith in his leadership abilities, Gliebe refused to step down. His egotism and financial mismanagement drove away dues-paying Alliance members in legions.

As prominent members such as David Pringle resigned and criticism mounted against Gliebe, Strom remained strangely quiet. The only hint of any disapproval prior to his coup attempt came in the form of a message he posted to Stormfront in 2004. Responding to a series of attacks on Gliebe, Strom replied: “The concerns that prompted this affair are most certainly not ‘BS’ — and they cannot be refuted. Efforts are being made by responsible parties to set things right.”

As time moved on, Gliebe also began demonstrating contempt for Strom. Shaun Walker, the group’s chief operating officer and a man deeply loyal to Gliebe, was given the green light to dock Strom \$1,000 for being late with getting out the *National Vanguard* magazine in 2004.

Then came the coup attempt. In April 2005, Strom launched a petition drive among Alliance members demanding that Gliebe step down. Gliebe and Walker immediately cast him out. The Gliebe-Strom era was over.

New Vanguard?

Ironically, just days after Strom was expelled, Gliebe stepped down from his chairman position and appointed Walker in his place. By that time, Strom was well on his

way to launching National Vanguard. In a crafty move, two days before he was fired, Strom had legally transferred ownership of the Alliance’s Web site, www.nationalvanguard.org, to Elisha Strom’s publishing company. He immediately began luring Alliance defectors.

Strom isn’t the only expelled Alliance member to start his own group. Former Alliance official Billy Roper launched White Revolution. But Roper’s outfit has nowhere near matched the burgeoning popularity of National Vanguard.

Blodgett gives Strom roughly even odds for long-term success. “I don’t know what [Strom’s] chances are to succeed,” he said. “He’s not as personable [as Gliebe].” But still, Blodgett allowed, “I think if there’s anybody in the movement who could make a go of it, he could do it.”

Strom, the only member of Pierce’s inner circle who was considered close to Pierce in intellectual ability, shares Pierce’s ability to impress followers with sheer bombastic intellectualism. But unlike Pierce, the author of the highly influential *Turner Diaries*, Strom may have trouble earning the admiration of the white racist movement’s more hard-core, radical elements. Some have criticized Strom for being too effeminate and yielding to his strong-willed wife. His detractors have nicknamed him “weenie.”

In contrast to Pierce, who more or less openly called for the extermination of Jews, Strom seems to be at least superficially taking a less militant approach with National Vanguard. When a church in Virginia was torched in July after it endorsed gay marriage, Strom wrote an e-mail to a newspaper condemning the attack: “The arson ... hurt the cause of those who, like National Vanguard, believe that we should lawfully, intelligently, and responsibly advocate a return to healthy values.”

It’s not clear whether this approach will prove to be an effective strategy for Strom and National Vanguard in the long run. Strom’s emergence as a leader is certainly partly due to the disarray that is afflicting the neo-Nazi movement in general, and the National Alliance in particular. A measure of how tenuous Strom’s hold on power may be is clearly visible at the new National Vanguard Web site. At the very top of Strom’s site, spotlighted in a way that might befit a Caesar or a Stalin, is a portrait of Alliance founder William Luther Pierce. At least for the moment, Strom’s legitimacy still rests on the reputations of other men. ▲





STEVE WILLIAMS

THE PENITENT

Four years after emerging from a Florida prison, a former neo-Nazi Skinhead describes the odyssey of her life

Angela King is now 30 years old and determined to make up for the years she spent as a violent, neo-Nazi Skinhead. As an increasingly unhappy teen, King was drawn into the Skinhead lifestyle in Florida and ultimately became involved in a series of crimes, the worst of which was acting as a lookout during the armed robbery of an adult video store in which the store owner was badly beaten. When she emerged from prison at the conclusion of a three-year sentence, King had changed greatly and was now determined to make something of her life. In the four years since she was released, King has studied business education and earned an associate's degree, and she is now enrolled at the University of Central Florida, where she is working toward a bachelor's degree. She also has begun speaking publicly to college and community groups about her experiences. The Intelligence Report interviewed Angie King about her migratory Skinhead life, the influences she fell under, some of the groups she was a part of, and how, in recent years, she came to see the world in entirely new ways.

INTELLIGENCE REPORT: Angie, was there something about your childhood that you feel influenced some of your early decisions? What was your early family life like?

ANGELA KING: When I was younger, pre-school and elementary school age, my parents were very strict while they were still married. My father was Baptist and my mother was Catholic, so I was forced into both religions — I went to Baptist school as well as Catholic school. I have a younger sister and a younger brother. My younger brother wasn't born until I was about 11, but once he was my parents started having problems. Around that time, I started feeling really lost.

IR: What do you think was going on?

KING: Now that I'm older, I think I was trying to get the attention of my parents. It started out just like they say, smoking, then alcohol, then experimenting with drugs and then sex. I was really going through an identity crisis. A lot of things were really mixed up. And there was something I don't know if you want to put in.

IR: What was that?

KING: I felt like I was gay.

IR: Did you feel like you could talk to your parents about that kind of thing?

KING: My parents were both very prejudiced. My mom had bad experiences when she was younger, and it just carried over into her interpretations of things once she was an adult. My father was prejudiced, too. Growing up, I was always told that I could do anything I wanted and they would support me — except bring home someone

black or a woman. So I kind of had those things hanging over my head.

IR: What was school like for you growing up?

KING: I grew up in Florida, way out west in South Florida, where there are barely any minorities at all. My parents had the money to put us in private school — they didn't feel that public school was something they wanted for us. But when I got into the 6th grade, we moved closer in to town, to Cooper City, and they put us into public schools. Not long after that, when I was 13 or 14, my parents finally split up. That was something I had a really hard time with. Also, we had gone from living in nice neighborhoods to living in really bad neighborhoods and apartments.

IR: When do you feel like things really started to go wrong for you?

KING: I think the first time I really got into trouble I was 14. I had gone to a movie with a friend and we tried to sneak in and got kicked out instead. So we went to a little corner store and bought wine coolers. A policeman driving by caught us drinking those, so they sent us to counseling.

It started out kind of small like that. But I just kept progressing. When I went to Cooper City High School, the area we lived in was the only real apartment complex around, so there were a lot of kids that sold drugs. It was mostly single-parent households, where even that parent wasn't home a lot. I really started getting heavily into stuff. I would run away from home. I was hanging out with a bad group of kids, and I

kept getting attention. I was like, “Wow, I’m really cool, ’cause I keep getting in trouble and they all like me.”

IR: Is this about when you ran into your first Skinheads?

KING: I was in 9th or 10th grade when



I met some Skinheads at Cooper City High. When I first started there, I just went around from clique to clique, trying to fit in. That really didn’t work. Then I met the Skinheads, and they were so willing to take me in, telling me, “We care about you.” They started pounding stuff into me, giving me pamphlets and books to read. They were younger than me by a year or two, but through them I met the older ones, the adults, who lived by themselves and were in organized groups.

IR: What organized groups are you talking about?

KING: In the beginning, they weren’t national groups. The first one I got involved in was one that we kind of made up ourselves called Strike Force. We would take other people’s propaganda and cut it up and make our own fliers. We would post them all over, drink beer, hang out and get into fights.

There was all kinds of literature, from the Aryan Nations to the Church of the Creator [both well-known neo-Nazi groups]. The very first large-scale group I got involved in was [Idaho-based] Aryan Nations.

By the time I was 17, I had dropped out of school and ended up moving to Palm Beach into a house full of Skinheads. They were all members and had regular

mail contact with Aryan Nations. The guy who owned the house had bought it when his parents died and he got an inheritance. We’d fly Nazi flags and Confederate flags from the roof.

IR: The police must have been aware of you. Were there confrontations?

KING: Yeah. And there were a lot of guns. One of the skins had a lot of guns and he was always going into the woods, camping and burying stuff and all kinds of weird things. So if the police would come

“He came running back and threw something in the back seat. Once we got back home, I realized what he had. It was a crowbar.”

to the door, the skins wouldn’t answer — they would shut off the lights and give everybody a gun and tell them to go to a window.

One night, they didn’t have any money and they wanted beer, so they went to a gas station and sent one of the younger kids in to steal beer. He went in, ran out and jumped in the car and they drove to the house. Of course, the cops got the license plate and they ended coming to the house. I wasn’t there, but I think they threw the beer out of the car on the way home. I don’t think anything ever came of that.

Usually, when something like that happened, there were no arrests made. Any time law enforcement came to the door, they would make me or the other girl there answer the door, because we were never in trouble and they always were.

IR: It sounds frightening.

KING: I didn’t stay up there long. I was only 17, and there was so much trouble at the house all the time. I just didn’t want to be in trouble. The guy I was dating was much, much older — he was about 27 at the time — and I had become pregnant. He was very, very violent, very abusive. He would hit me. He was in the Gulf War, and I think it did something to him. He was not right at all.

We went out one night and he was just driving around and around. We pulled into the parking lot of a big shopping center, and a guy we were with and his

wife were in another car with a couple of other people. It was nighttime, and my boyfriend got out of the car, got something out of the trunk, and said stay in the car, but not in such nice terms. Soon, he came running back and threw something in the back seat and started screaming at me because I had gotten out of the car. Once we got back home, I realized what he had. It was a crowbar. From what I understood, he hit someone from what I now know was a gay club.

IR: It had blood on it?

KING: Yeah, but they washed it off once we got home. Later, some detectives came to the house looking for me. I just told them I didn’t know anything about it. And they didn’t actually charge me then. That wasn’t until about two years later.

IR: Did you stay in Palm Beach?

KING: I ended up moving back south, to Hollywood again. I still had friends down there. I started getting involved in the Church of the Creator. I wrote to Rick McCarty [then, briefly, the COTC leader] and told him I was down here, but that I was the only one who was then actually a member. He ended up offering to let me write an article for their paper — *Racial Loyalty*. But he just used initials instead of my name, and used a fake picture of an actress or someone that he said was me.

IR: What initials?

KING: Women of the COTC. I was the one that started that. But it didn’t last long. When I was 18, I moved to Iowa, where I had a best friend. When I moved in with her, she wasn’t involved and had very different views than I did. But I kept forcing literature on her and she finally became a Skinhead and a member of the Church [COTC], too.

I didn’t even stay a year. I ended up moving to North Carolina with other Skinheads we met. We rented a trailer in a place called Maggie Valley and stayed there a while. We opened up P.O. boxes

for the Church of the Creator there and wrote letters to different organizations, keeping up contacts. We were in contact with some Confederate Hammerskins [a particularly tough racist Skinhead group] who said if you ever make it to Tennessee, look us up. We did visit, a very, very small town in Johnson County, and I ended up in jail there.

IR: What happened?

KING: We’d been drinking all day and the guys that we were with went to this grocery store parking lot and started harassing everybody there. The local county cops came and gave everybody a sobriety test. I didn’t quite pass mine, and I was underage. They arrested me and we had some words. I ended up charged with destruction of city

property, public intoxication and assaulting an officer. They called me some names when I was in the back of their car, so I took off my boot and started beating on the glass partition until I broke it. I was in jail there a couple of weeks. Once I got out, I packed up and moved back to South Florida, to Hollywood.

On my 19th birthday, I was back in jail again, for disorderly conduct and warrants for traffic citations and an aggravated battery charge from when I was 17, in Palm Beach. When I was arrested, I was drunk again and making racial slurs. I had an African-American judge who really tried to help me. She gave me community service at an African-American church and a Jewish

community center in hopes of helping me actually get to know other people. But I didn’t complete it. I left Florida for South Carolina instead.

About a year later I came back to Florida and ended up in the Leesburg area. Somehow or other, the cops got called to the apartment one night and ran everybody’s name. I was extradited back down for violating parole. I saw the same judge, and she reinstated the probation.

It was right around this time that I went to court in Palm Beach for aggravated battery, for the crowbar attack. I figured I didn’t really do it, but I was found guilty. The judge declared a mistrial for some reason, though, and I took a plea bargain. I was under house arrest for about two years.

IR: Wasn’t it around this time that you got together with Ray Leone [a COTC member five years her junior]?

KING: Yeah. I had heard of Leone, but did not actually meet him until late ’97, when he moved to Hollywood with me. I met Jules [Fettu, then COTC’s Florida leader] earlier, but met up with him, too, around this same time. And Matt Hale [COTC’s national leader, now serving a 40-year sentence in a federal prison for soliciting the murder of a federal judge in Chicago] came down that New Year’s.

Honestly, he struck me as kind of feminine. I never really believed he was what he said. He seemed very much like he had ulterior motives.

Anyway, this was a time when we were recruiting heavily. I lived near the beach, so we would go down and look for young kids, teenagers, out drinking, and we would bring them literature and tell them, “Don’t you wanna be something, be proud of what you are?” We’d get them right in, just like I was brought right in. We actually recruited whole families, not just teenagers. At the same time, we were going out and getting into all kinds of trouble, drinking and getting into fights.

IR: The next spring, on March 29, 1998, you and Ray and three others robbed Exotic Video in Hollywood, and Ray pistol-whipped its owner. Can you describe that night?

KING: Most of us were drinking heavily and we ended up in a huge fight at



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this club. Everybody was pumped up and the adrenaline was flowing, and the guys started talking about *The Turner Diaries* [the same neo-Nazi novel, about a future race war, that inspired Timothy McVeigh]. We all started discussing the book, and then we went looking for places we thought would fit the description of what should be robbed in the book — any kind of sex stores, liquor stores, anywhere debauchery was going on.

We drove past an adult video store and we all said that's the perfect place, I bet somebody Jewish owns it or runs it. We pulled alongside and we all sat in the car. A black man actually walked by, and Ray said something like, "Maybe I should shoot him because he could say we were here." Thank God he didn't.

"I just opened my eyes and saw what I wasn't seeing before. It started to make an impact on me that somebody could have died."

Then Ray went in the store with a mask made out of a shirt sleeve and ran out a couple of minutes later. We went to our apartment and split the money and everybody left.

It wasn't long before the cops started making arrests in another incident, and we heard they were trying to find Ray. Ray and I left and went to Kentucky, where some Skinheads I'd met in South Carolina had moved.

IR: Did things calm down in Kentucky?

KING: It was around this time that I really started thinking this isn't the life that I want to lead. The relationship I had with Ray was abusive, too, and certain things just started becoming a lot clearer to me. I was about 23 and I was thinking, "What if I want to have a family? Is this the kind of life I want, being on the run and always scared?" I can't even count how many times I packed my bags and went to the bus station and just sat there, trying to get up enough courage to just leave him. But I never did it. I ended up going right back.

At one point, Ray and I were visiting Illinois, where his mother lived, and

we heard that one of the Skinheads who was with us during the robbery had been arrested. We decided to leave. We made it to Chicago, but we ended up getting pulled over and Ray got arrested [on a Florida warrant related to an attack on a black man and his son outside a concert in the town of Sunrise]. They let me take our truck and I drove straight to Florida. I was arrested there for the robbery about three weeks later. At first, I really didn't understand the severity of it.

IR: You were ultimately sentenced to about six years in prison, although a judge reduced that to three years after you began to cooperate with prosecutors. What was your prison experience like in those years, from 1998 to 2001?

KING: I just thought if I was going to do

anything with myself, this was definitely the time. I was kept in solitary confinement at first, because at this point I had tattoos all over me, including four swastikas. Finally, they put me in the population. I would wear as long shorts as I could find and wear socks so nobody saw the tattoos. It took me months before I would even talk to anybody that I was incarcerated with and tell them anything about myself. I think some people knew I was a Skinhead, but nobody really picked on me and I actually started making friends.

In there it was a little hive, with people giving you legal advice, telling you how things worked, how you can be allowed to call your lawyer, everything. It was amazing, because my entire life I had never been around such a mix of people. They were people from all over the world, every race and ethnicity.

IR: And you began cooperating with state and federal law enforcement?

KING: Yeah. Once I actually sat down with some detectives and agents, I really realized the magnitude of the whole picture. It was almost as though I just opened my eyes and saw what I wasn't seeing before. It started to make an impact on

me that somebody could have died. Somebody could have been hurt real bad.

Meeting the different people I was incarcerated with also had a really big impact on me, although it took me a long time to actually sit with somebody who was black and say, "This is what I used to be." It really made me open up to actually have somebody sit there and tell me, "You know, when I grew up I never met white people and I always hated them." I saw everything I'd been missing all these years.

IR: What happened between you and Ray Leone?

KING: When I was first incarcerated, we actually almost got married. I thought maybe I could get him to have the same kind of change of heart that I was having. But he was a very, very angry person. At one point, we were put on a van together to go to court and they were nice enough to seat him right behind me. He got hold of my arm and squeezed it pretty good — he left some bruises — and threatened me. So I did have some problems with him. Later, I let him know that I wasn't straight.

IR: You had come to terms with those feelings by then?

KING: When I was an adolescent I liked girls, and I always had the thought in my head that I'm sick, something is wrong with me. I didn't know what I was looking for. But when I was in prison I started to meet gay women, and a lot of things started coming out of me. I really had nothing but time to think about why I was the way I was — why I was so angry and so mean — and I came to the simple realization that I think I'm gay and I don't think I have ever liked myself very much. Once I started cooperating with law enforcement, I started to feel so much better inside.

The people that I grew closest to in prison were all Jamaican girls. They became the best friends I ever had. I did everything I could to make a change. I took a business vocational course and got certified in business education and actually taught people to read. It changed my entire life. It was a true epiphany. I could wake up in the morning and look in the mirror and even though I was incarcerated I actually liked who I was looking at. ▲

SMASHING THE SHAMROCK

A massive federal indictment names the senior leadership of America's most frightening prison gang. But will it work?

BY DAVID HOLTHOUSE

SANTA ANA, Calif. — Within the Ronald Reagan Federal Building and United States Courthouse here is a courtroom called the “Nuremberg room” for its resemblance to the famous chamber in which 22 leaders of the Third Reich were tried in 1945 and 1946 for crimes against humanity.

Both halls of justice have three-tiered docks where multiple high-profile defendants are shackled to anchors in the floor by chains hidden from view behind tables and podiums. Like the docks in Germany’s Palace of Justice 60 years ago, the docks in Santa Ana this year have filled with self-avowed Nazis, Aryan warriors, and followers of Hitler.

But the Nazis standing accused in California are Nazis of a wholly different strain than Nuremberg War Crimes Tribunal defendants like Hermann Goering and Rudolf Hess. They are white supremacist pimps, drug dealers and backstabbing shower-stall killers, glorified thugs with swastika tattoos. They covet power and oversee a criminal empire, but they are motivated less by furthering their die-hard racist ideology than satisfying their crude greed. They are the leaders of the Aryan Brotherhood (AB), the most notorious, powerful, and violent prison gang in America. Also known as the Brand or the Rock — a reference to the Shamrock tattoos AB members favor in addition to Nazi insignia — the gang in recent years has established criminal networks outside prison walls in cities, small towns, and suburbs across the country.

Their nicknames are worthy of professional wrestlers — Super Honky, The Baron, Lucifer — but the blood they have spilt by the bucketful has been all too real. Aryan Brotherhood members make up less than one-tenth of one percent of the nation’s prison inmate population, yet the white power gang is responsible for 18% of all prison murders, according to the FBI.

The AB’s carnage has spanned four decades. In 1981, two members of the Brotherhood who were incarcerated at the federal prison in Marion, Ill., murdered the leader of a rival gang, the D.C. Blacks, by sneaking up behind him in the shower and then brutally stabbing and slashing him 67 times. They then dragged his bloody, mutilated corpse through a cellblock while white inmates cheered and chanted racial slurs.

“I have walked over dead bodies,” one of the AB assassins in that case later boasted in court. “I’ve had guts splattered all over my chest from the race wars.”

The Last Arrow

Law enforcement authorities and prison officials have until now been unable to destroy the Aryan Brotherhood mainly because so many top leaders of the gang are serving life or multiple life sentences with no possibility of parole. These men laugh at criminal penalties that only add more time to their already infinite sentences.

Isolating the gang’s leaders in solitary confinement hasn’t worked either, because they always find way to communicate with each other and to transmit and receive reports, requests, and orders from prison to prison and down through the ranks,



Michael “Big Mac” McElhiney (second row, far right), who was recently charged with conspiracy to commit murder, was co-leader of the Aryan Brotherhood at the Marion, Ill., penitentiary when this 1995 photo was taken. He was transferred to solitary confinement in Los Angeles after being charged, and faces a possible death penalty if convicted.

whether by bribing guards, subpoenaing each other to appear at court hearings where they employ hand signals and speak in code, or writing letters in a form of invisible ink made with their own urine.

These methods are time consuming. But time is one luxury the leaders of the Aryan Brotherhood possess in abundance. One sure way to stop them is to kill them, which is exactly what the federal government is threatening to do in a sweeping racketeering indictment that has drawn a rogue’s gallery of 40 Aryan Brotherhood members and associates, including virtually all of the gang’s veteran leaders, or “shot callers,” to the Nuremberg room in Santa Ana.

solicited 32 murders and attempted murders in order both to promote the gang’s stature in prison and to maintain the AB’s iron-fisted control of narcotics trafficking, male prostitution, gambling, and extortion among white inmates.

In one example, the indictment alleges that in 1997, AB leaders responding to an outbreak of racial violence inside the federal penitentiary in Marion issued a “formal declaration of war” on black inmates throughout the federal prison system by using coded phone calls and messages written in a secret double alphabet invented by Sir Francis Bacon in 1652. When they received their orders, AB operatives in the federal pen in Lewisburg, Penn., executed a carefully coordinated, simultaneous attack on black inmates, killing two and severely wounding four.

“My brothers and I have went to war, (make no mistake it is war) with all of mongoloid races at one time or another, using knives, pipes, locks/rocks in socks,” a member of the Aryan Brotherhood in Oklahoma who identified himself as “TREE 1488” posted to a forum on prison gangs on the white supremacist Stormfront Web site in June. (The numbers 14 and 88 are both common white supremacist identifiers.) “At the end of some of these confrontations somebody is needed to be medi-flighted out, nearly always someone has had to go to medical. I carry my scars/badges of battle. Death is a very real possibility.”

The racketeering indictment further alleges that Aryan Brotherhood leaders in prison have contracted killings and other violence by operatives in the free world to collect debts, silence witnesses, and crush competition. Wives and girlfriends of incarcerated AB commonly help smuggle drugs into prison, and deliver messages back to AB members and minions in the free world. Four women are named in the current federal racketeering indictment for acting as couriers of information, drugs, and money.

While the precise number of Aryan Brotherhood members and associates is not known, the gang has chapters in virtually every major state and federal prison in the country. Estimates of AB’s total strength vary widely, but nearly all exceed 15,000 members and associates nationwide, with roughly half in prison and half out.

“Brothers grow as close as vets do when they go into battle fighting for a common cause. We are there for each other even on the outside.”

Twenty-one of the defendants are eligible for the death penalty, making the Aryan Brotherhood indictment the largest death penalty case in the history of the American justice system. It is a decapitation attack.

“Capital punishment is the one arrow left in our quiver,” said Assistant U.S. Attorney Gregory Jessner, who is spearheading the Aryan Brotherhood prosecution. “I think even a lot of people who are against the death penalty in general would recognize that in this particular instance, where people are committing murder repeatedly from behind bars, there is little other option.”

The indictment alleges that over the past quarter century, Aryan Brotherhood members either personally committed or

“You gain ranks by battles, by ‘missions,’ not all of it locked up,” explained TREE 1488. “Brothers grow as close as vets do when they go into battle fighting for a common cause. We are there for each other even on the outside. I have a high ranking it has taken me nearly seven years of missions to earn.”

The Oklahoma Aryan Brotherhood member went on the explain to the white nationalists on Stormfront that when he was first released from prison, “my neighbors on the outside were taken aback by my tattoos at first — sleeved out arms with shoulder caps that read ‘Aryan Honor,’” but that he gradually won them over with his gardening and baking acumen. “I give them fresh vegetables when they are in season, cakes and

so forth. I clue them in to white nationalism if they show an interest. Aryan Honor is the credo I live by.”

Through the Past, Darkly

Most prisons were racially segregated until the 1960s. When they were desegregated, racial violence flared and inmates formed

gangs along color lines. In 1964, white inmates at San Quentin Maximum Security Prison in San Quentin, Calif., founded the Aryan Brotherhood. From the beginning, the gang was steeped in racial hatred and neo-Nazism. The founders adopted swastikas and Nazi SS lightning bolts as the Aryan Brotherhood’s identifying symbols and tattoos. Recruits were ordered to read *Mein*

BEING A BROTHER

Secret Aryan Brotherhood documents unearthed in a raid detail the rules for members of the notorious prison gang

When agents from the Mississippi Bureau of Narcotics raided the former residence of Aryan Brotherhood member Bartow Usry in October 1994, they found two file folders hidden in a bookshelf. The folders belonged to Usry, who had carelessly left them behind when he moved out a few weeks before the raid. To the great delight of law enforcement and prison officials in Mississippi and beyond, the folders contained a mother lode of information about the inner workings of the Mississippi chapter of the prison gang, including hand-written copies of the AB’s secret constitution and membership oath, an interview questionnaire for prospective members, a decoder, and a chart detailing the gang’s organizational structure.

Usry had joined the AB while serving a 17-year sentence at Parchman Farm, a Mississippi state penitentiary, for armed robbery. Usry’s own files identified him as the AB’s head of recruitment inside Parchman, and outlined his efforts to organize AB members on the street after he was freed in 1993. Interviewed by *The* (Jackson, Miss.) *Clarion-Ledger* after his files were discovered, Usry disputed a statement by a Bureau of Narcotics spokesman characterizing the Aryan Brotherhood as a “potentially violent” white supremacist gang.

“I’m not trying to get me an army together to go killing blacks and Jews like people think,” Usry said. “The only problem we have with blacks and Jews is crossbreeding. ‘White Pride’ means that if you had a Rottweiler dog, you would not breed it with a poodle.”

What follows are a few more pearls of AB wisdom, extracted from Usry’s accidentally discovered files.

From an AB questionnaire

If you become a brother...

- 1) What do you feel you would be representing?
- 2) Why do you want to represent this?
- 3) If asked what you represent, what would you say?
- 4) If you see a Brother in a fight, do you... a) Immediately help, b) Ignore the situation, c) Jump in if he’s losing, d) Jump in if someone else does, e) Alert all other Brothers
- 5) If someone calls you a “bitch,” what do you do?

From the AB Constitution

TO ALL Brothers who have been chosen to stand, lead, follow, and obey, as one in sincere unity with all the laws and ways of the supreme Aryan Brotherhood of the state of Mississippi the following is our law, code, and orders:

(1-A) An ARYAN BROTHER is one who shows, gives, and demands his respect where it is due and upholds every moral principle and value of and for all the Elite White Aryan Race...

(2-B) Once a chosen prospect has become a full Brother to the brand he will hold that title until his very death. Whether his death be of honor and loyalty to the Brotherhood, or of Dishonor and without loyalty. It is of his own choosing. For that very dishonor and un-loyalty may be the very cause of his death...

(7-A) The Aryan Brotherhood constitution will be read by all prospects at the time of becoming a Brother. Under no circumstances shall the A.B.’s constitution be ignored, neglected, disrespected or used in slander by anyone for any insult is certain of IMMEDIATE DEATH !!!

From a list of AB ‘characteristics’

- a) Awareness of your surroundings and environment at all times
- b) Belief in and of the racial purity of the white race
- c) Mental stability
- d) Efficiency in acquiring further knowledge
- e) Family oriented for your race
- f) Genetically of European ancestry
- g) Honest in any and all Aryan Business
- h) Valuable to the Brotherhood
- i) Willingness to be supportive of the Brotherhood outside prison
- j) Pact-Bound
- k) Strong Willed
- l) Obedient of all known Aryan Laws
- m) Noble and superior in Nature
- n) Keeper of information

Kampf and to “earn their badge” of membership by attacking — and often killing — black inmates.

In 1973, no less a reputed mad-dog killer than Charles Manson was rejected by the Aryan Brotherhood when he asked to join but then refused to murder for skin color alone. “The AB want Manson to kill a black because black is black,” Manson’s lieutenant Lynette “Squeaky” Fromme wrote in a letter. “He will not do this and they are against him.”

Throughout the 1970s, as the gang expanded, the AB constantly battled with black and Hispanic prison gangs in slow-burning wars of attrition fueled by racial hatred but truly fought over territory and profits. Then as now, the Aryan Brotherhood was both a white supremacist organization and a criminal syndicate.

“There’s no doubt the Aryan Brotherhood are a bunch of racists, but when it comes to doing business, the color that matters most to them isn’t black or brown or white — it’s green,” said prison gang expert Tony Delgado, Security Threat Group Coordinator for the Ohio Bureau of Rehabilitation and Correction.

Whereas the Order — a high-profile gang of hardened white power criminals who in the early 1980s robbed armored cars, counterfeited currency and machine-gunned to death a Jewish radio host — killed and robbed mainly to further the cause of white supremacy, the Aryan Brotherhood reverses that formula. The AB uses the white supremacy movement to further its criminal endeavors.

“The white power thing is mostly just a good recruiting tool and a way to maintain structure and discipline,” said Delgado. “These guys are more about making money than starting any kind of white revolution. They sell heroin to white people all the time. That’s not very Aryan or brotherly of them.”

Joining the Movement

In 1980, the Aryan Brotherhood split into two separate but cooperative factions, one for gang members in federal custody and the other for gang members in state prisons, who had by then proliferated to Colorado, Arizona, Missouri and New Mexico. The federal faction of the gang formed a three-man “commission” to supervise and direct all Aryan Brotherhood actions inside federal prison. In 1982, the state prison AB faction followed suit.

Initiates to both factions swore lifelong allegiance to the gang with the same blood oath: “An Aryan brother is without a care/He walks where the weak and heartless won’t dare/For an Aryan brother, death holds no fear/Vengeance will be his, through his brothers still here.”

Also in the 1980s, the imprisoned leaders of the Aryan Brotherhood began to cultivate relationships with the leaders of neo-Nazi and white supremacist organizations outside prison, most notably Aryan Nations. AB members in Missouri unsuccessfully challenged that state’s ban on inmates receiving Aryan Nations literature, and AB members all over the country joined Aryan Nations under its alter-ego name, Church of Jesus Christ Christian. This “church” is a purveyor of the “Christian Identity” religion preached by late Aryan Nations founder and



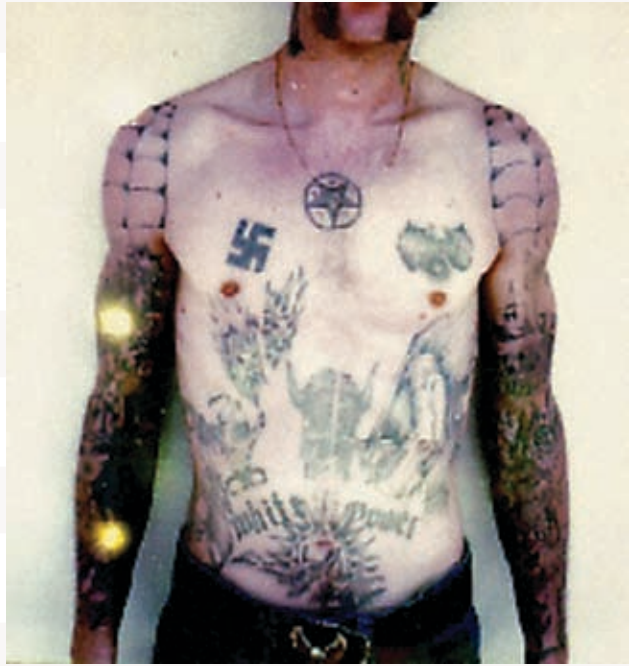
One of the first racially based prison gangs in America, the Aryan Brotherhood was founded at the San Quentin prison in California in 1964.

head pastor Richard Butler, whose “prison ministry” for decades promoted the doctrine that non-whites are “mud people” and Jews are the literal descendants of Satan.

Very few Aryan Brotherhood members are sent to prison originally for hate crimes. Typically they’re sent up on robbery or drug charges and then join the gang for protection. But once they’re members of the AB, white prisoners are indoctrinated into the virulent ideology of race war.

“We do what we have to do to make it in prison. If any of you ever have to go there you will fully understand. Until then you won’t,” a member of the Aryan Brotherhood posted in June to a Stormfront forum on which white supremacists were debating whether the Aryan Brotherhood should be embraced or shunned by white power activists.

“My name is Michael but all my brothers call me ‘tattoo.’ I am an overseer for the Alabama Aryan Brotherhood. I am currently incarcerated in Bibb County Correctional Facility



Tattoos and other artwork are very much part of the Aryan Brotherhood life. Those who appropriate them without permission are subject to extreme retaliatory measures.

in Brent, Alabama. I want to set the record straight on a few things I've head on this forum. The Aryan Brotherhood, my family, will always be a big part of the White Nationalist movement! We are under a blood and honor oath to live by the 14 words 'We must secure the existence of our people and a future for white children.' Any true soldier not only lives by these words but they would be embedded in his heart and soul. Rahowa! [Racial Holy War]."

Once they're released, some Aryan Brotherhood members commit terrible hate crimes in the name of Rahowa. The most infamous racially motivated murder since the civil rights era occurred in 1998, when three white men, two of them ex-cons, tied a black man, James Byrd Jr., to the back of their pickup truck with a logging chain, dragged him to death over three miles of country roads outside Jasper, Texas, and then deposited his shredded remains in front of a predominantly black cemetery. One of the ex-cons testified at his trial that he and one his accomplices had both joined the Aryan Brotherhood of Texas for protection from black inmates while they were incarcerated. When he rejoined society, his arms were covered with Aryan Brotherhood tattoos, including one depicting a black man being lynched. "You look at his arms," the trial prosecutor said, "and you see what's in his heart."

In October 2001, another member of the Aryan Brotherhood of Texas who was enraged by the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks gunned down a Bangladeshi gas station attendant simply because the victim "looked Arab."

The AB has reportedly toyed with terrorist plots of its own. In 2000, a longtime Brotherhood member and explosives expert-turned-government informant told federal investigators he had been approached by AB leaders inside Colorado's Supermax federal prison who asked him to provide them with technical information on making bombs in preparation for a series of attacks on federal buildings and officials across the country.

"It's become irrational," he said, according to an FBI report. "They're talking about making car bombs, trucks bombs, mail bombs."

In Ohio, Another Case

Just before dawn this June 23, a strike force of more than 125 federal and local law enforcement officers, including six SWAT teams, mustered at a mobile command center in Painesville, Ohio, a suburb of Cleveland. After a briefing, the force divided into no-knock search teams that surrounded and then raided six houses spread across four counties in northeastern Ohio. According to indictments released later, the houses contained stashes of illegal weapons and drugs belonging to the Order of the Blood, a criminal network financed and managed by the Aryan Brotherhood and the Pagans, an outlaw motorcycle gang.

The pre-dawn raids resulted in the seizure of 60 weapons, including 13 fully automatic machine guns, plus large amounts of methamphetamine, cocaine, heroin, and the prescription painkiller Oxycodone. Thirty-four members

and associates of the Aryan Brotherhood were arrested, and warrants were issued for 10 still at large. The sweep came after a 20-month undercover investigation that shifted into high gear earlier in June, when police in Willowick, Ohio, arrested two members of the Aryan Brotherhood for possessing illegal machine guns and found in their vehicle a file containing detailed personal information about two police officers in nearby Eastlake whose lives had been threatened two years ago by members of the Pagans.

"This case has all the elements of organized crime and has tentacles spread over a wide area," said Lake County Sheriff Daniel Dunlap. "These were not informal gang bangers flashing gang signs. These were hardened criminals operating in our midst."

Polishing the Rock

There are roughly 550 members of the Aryan Brotherhood in prison in Ohio, said Tony Delgado, the Ohio prison gang expert, and another 500 members on the streets who, like AB members everywhere, are bound by the gang's blood-and-honor code to follow the orders of their incarcerated leaders.

"This case has all the elements of organized crime and has tentacles spread over a wide area. These were not informal gang bangers flashing signs. These were hardened criminals operating in our midst."

According to a recently declassified FBI report on the Aryan Brotherhood, "The rule of thumb is that once on the streets, one must take care of his brothers that are still inside. The penalty for not doing so is death." This practice is known within the gang as "polishing the rock."

The rock is getting polished all over the country, even in Fairbanks, Alaska, a city of 30,000 deep in the interior of the Last Frontier. Sgt. William Hathaway, a security officer at the Fairbanks Correctional Center, said that an Aryan Brotherhood associate, or "Peckerwood," from the gang's Arkansas faction arrived in Fairbanks last year and began actively recruiting other Peckerwoods among the city's methamphetamine users and dealers to help set up an AB-financed drug ring. (Inside and outside prison, Peckerwoods are Aryan Brotherhood wannabes who do the gang's bidding in exchange for some degree of prestige, profit, and protection; occasionally a Peckerwood will become a full-fledged member, usually after carrying out a "hit" on an AB enemy.)

"He professes the Peckerwoods to be a 'white power gang,' and he is fairly successful in his efforts," said Sgt. Hathaway. "I have noticed several t-shirts lately with a woodpecker riding a motorcycle and the wording, 'Peckerwoods, this wood don't burn,' in our community this summer where none were noticed before."

Sgt. Hathaway said the Arkansas Peckerwood was imprisoned in Fairbanks after being convicted on a drug charge and is currently awaiting trial for plotting an escape in which he and 11 accomplices planned to murder correctional officers and Fairbanks patrolmen.

"He is continuing his recruiting within our facility," said Sgt. Hathway. "He corresponds with the local leader of the Aryan Brotherhood and counts several of the incarcerated Hell's Angels as his friends. He seems to be getting a large following within our prison."

Lightning Storm

There is no way to precisely estimate the number of Aryan Brotherhood members and associates in the United States. But there is little question about how far and wide the AB's lightning bolts strike. When the U.S. attorney's office in Santa Ana released the multiple death-penalty indictment, 30 of the 40 accused were already in prison, but the remaining 10 were arrested in simultaneous raids in California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Nebraska, New York, Pennsylvania and Washington.

And in January, in a dragnet similar to the Ohio bust, more than 70 federal, state and local officers swarmed three suspected AB haunts, including a motorcycle shop in Ruidoso Downs, N.M., a small town in the Rocky Mountains where newly released members of the Texas Aryan Brotherhood were allegedly setting up a burglary and methamphetamine-dealing ring. The

month before in the nearby town of Cloudcroft, N.M., a local deputy was killed (see story, p. 41) in a shootout with AB member Earl Flippen, whose arms were adorned with tattoos of Iron Eagles, dragons, skulls, and the motto "White Pride." Flippen was wounded in the initial exchange of gunfire, then finished off with a single shot to the heart by the slain deputy's partner, a 33-year law enforcement veteran who subsequently pleaded guilty to voluntary manslaughter. Flippen had been out of prison less than six months.

By early September federal prosecutors had obtained guilty pleas from all 19 of the AB racketeering defendants who are not eligible for the death penalty. The remaining 21 defendants are scheduled to stand trial later this year. The final and lasting effect of the federal government's decapitation strike against the Aryan Brotherhood is unknown for now. But even if it deals a lethal blow to the gang's leadership, with thousands of rank-and-file members due for release from prison in the next decade, the death throes of the Aryan Brotherhood might be long and nasty.

"Someday most of us are finally going to get out of this hell," the AB hit man who murdered the leader of the D.C. Blacks in 1981 recently declared from solitary confinement. "And even a rational dog after getting kicked around year after year after year attacks when his cage door is finally opened." ▲



ED SUBA / AKRON BEACON JOURNAL

Flag for a widow: Eric Bradford Taylor, a 31-year-old police officer in Massillon, Ohio, was shot to death by a “sovereign citizen” with a Czech semi-automatic handgun. Like other law enforcement officers killed by violent extremists, he left behind a grieving family and an unrealized future.

END OF WATCH

Since the Oklahoma City bombing, domestic extremists have murdered 15 law enforcement officers. Each of their deaths was a unique tragedy

BY SUSY BUCHANAN

One of them, a man who had recently been honored for rescuing two people from a burning building, was machine-gunned to death by a tattooed neo-Nazi. Another was murdered by remote control as he leaned over a hidden bomb. A third, who was black, was pitilessly finished off by a black militant famous for standing up for the rights of African Americans. Others died as they tried to talk infuriated fanatics into standing down. Two were murdered by a family enraged to the point of insanity by a highway project that was going to take a couple of feet of their lawn. Still another was cut down by a man whose well-being he had come to check up on.

They were law enforcement officers — one constable, three state troopers and 11 police officers from across America — and each of them was slain by political extremists during the last 10 years. Their names were compiled by Mark Pitcavage, director of fact-finding for the Anti-Defamation League and a long-time student of extremism, and they are among the 17,000 officers who have lost their lives in the line of duty — men and women who abruptly reached their “end of watch.”

These 15 men were our guardians — part of the “thin blue line” that is supposed to protect the rest of society from violence and wrongdoing — but they were also human beings. They left parents, wives, children and friends. Behind them remained homes half built, children half raised, vacations never taken and retirement dreams never realized — so much left undone, unsaid, lost forever. As the years pass, their stories fade but their contributions endure, if only as a fragile memory in the human mind.

These, then, are the stories of 15 who died.



LESLIE GEORGE LORD, 45
SCOTT EDWARD PHILLIPS, 32
NEW HAMPSHIRE STATE POLICE (COLEBROOK)
AUG. 19, 1997



Nestled in the Great Northwoods of New Hampshire, Colebrook's 2,300 residents are more like a big family than a small

town — a quiet northern hamlet formerly best known for its annual Moose Festival.

That all changed one August afternoon in 1997, when an eccentric, government-hating loner and the area's longtime black sheep, Carl Drega, exploded in a violent rage. Drega's antigovernment views finally pushed him over the edge, transforming a loud-mouthed extremist into a rampaging murderer.

The first sign that came in was a 911 call at 2:38 p.m. On the line was a grocery store manager witnessing a horrific scene unfold outside his store. "There's somebody shooting in the parking lot!" the manager exclaimed. "Somebody is shooting at the state trooper!"

The man under fire was trooper Scott Phillips. Phillips, 32, had been on his way to get a haircut when he spotted Drega's decrepit pickup — a truck in such poor shape that Phillips decided to cite Drega for excessive rust.

Scott Phillips graduated from high school in 1984 and served as a military policeman in Panama before his discharge in 1989. He'd been with the state police ever since. Like many young fathers, Phillips was struggling to balance his love of the outdoors with family responsibilities. He had recently cut back on a serious skiing habit to spend more time with his young sons, Keenan and Clancy. An avid jogger, Phillips often took his boys with him when he ran, pushing them in baby strollers as he loped through Colebrook's serene streets. Family, it seemed, was everything to Phillips. Friends say he was the kind of man who would wake up early to start and warm up his wife's car on frigid winter mornings.

Phillips called for backup as he followed Drega into the grocery store's parking lot. But before reinforcements could arrive, Drega stepped out of his truck and shot Phillips with an AR-15 rifle. Phillips fell to the pavement wounded, and crawled for cover just as trooper Leslie Lord arrived on the scene.

Lord, married and the father of two teenage sons, was nearing the end of his career. Fellow officers describe him as jovial, a kind of Santa Claus in uniform. Leslie Lord was also an avid snowmobiler,

hunter and fisherman who had been chief of police in the nearby town of Pittsburgh until leaving in 1987 to become a state trooper. He lived next to a car repair shop on Main Street and could often be found tinkering with cars, offering advice to mechanics and clients with a smile on his face that easily segued into a notoriously infectious laugh.

Drega shot Lord in the head before he could step out of his cruiser. Then he walked over to the fallen Phillips and shot him several more times with a 9mm pistol.

Drega snatched Scott Phillips' trooper hat and took off in his cruiser. At a building housing the local newspaper and some law offices, he shot dead a judge and a newspaper editor who tried to tackle him. Then he drove home, changed clothes and set his house on fire. Heading out again in the cruiser, he crossed the nearby border into Vermont before leaving the car by the roadside and clambering up a forested ridge. From there, he managed to ambush police officers searching for him, wounding three more before finally being shot to death himself.

It was the worst day Colebrook had ever known, but it soon became clear that it could have been even worse. Drega had been converting his house to a fortress, complete with concrete bunker and close to 200 homemade M-79 grenades and 86 pipe bombs, along with 400 pounds of ammonium nitrate and 61 gallons of diesel fuel — the components of a bomb like the one used in Oklahoma City.

More than 4,000 law enforcement officers, some from as far away as Alaska, came to mourn state troopers Scott Phillips and Leslie Lord. So many men and women flocked to little Colebrook that they were put up in locals' homes and on cots in public buildings after the town's 100 hotel rooms had filled.

The funeral was a scene of public anguish. "On Tuesday afternoon, a rock was dropped in the pond of our life," State Police Col. John Barthelmes told the crowd as hundreds quietly wept. "The waves washed all over us."

BRUCE VANDERJAGT, 47
DENVER, COLO., POLICE DEPARTMENT
NOV. 12, 1997



Terrence Bergh describes his late friend Bruce Vanderjagt as a "Renaissance man" who dabbled in poetry, art, literature, bodybuilding, psychology and more. With an off-the-charts IQ and such varied interests, Bergh says it was "astounding" that Vanderjagt was a police officer. His was a life lived to the fullest, writes Bergh, "without fear, with a sense of wonder and excitement, greeting the unknown as a new opportunity."

The strikingly handsome Vanderjagt — who bore a considerable resemblance to Mel Gibson — was born in Grand Rapids, Mich. His father commanded a destroyer

in World War II and Vanderjagt followed his father into the service, joining the Marines when he graduated from high school.

Vanderjagt was sent to Vietnam as a machine-gunner, but his stint was cut short when an explosion maimed his foot. He came back home and moved to Denver in 1972, cutting meat at grocery stores for two years before taking a job driving for the *Rocky Mountain News*, where he worked a graveyard shift to accommodate a busy class schedule. He would go on to earn two masters degrees, in philosophy and psychology, and receive his doctorate in psychology shortly before he was killed.

But he had other interests, too. Vanderjagt became a campus police officer in 1979, the same year he met Anna, the woman he would eventually marry. He finally became a Denver police officer in 1986, at the age of 36.

He was an almost instant success. Vanderjagt earned two Distinguished Service Crosses for his police work, one for disarming a man with a gun in 1989, the second for pulling two people out of a burning building a few months before he was killed.

"That's the way Bruce was," Lt. Jim Ponzi told the *Rocky Mountain News*. "I couldn't get him to write a traffic ticket, but anytime there was a serious situation he was the first one in."

Vanderjagt came to fatherhood late, waiting until he was 45 to have Hayley, the little girl who lit up his life.

A teenager who waited on Vanderjagt every morning at Einstein Bagels when he brought his daughter in for breakfast remembered him doting on young Hayley. "You could just see how much he loved her. He didn't have to say anything," she said at the funeral.

The end came for Bruce Vanderjagt on Nov. 12, 1997. He was murdered by by Matthaeus Jaehnig, 25, a racist Skinhead whose body was covered with neo-Nazi tattoos.

Jaehnig was a high school dropout who grew up in affluence, the son of two educators who didn't seem to object to their son carving "KKK" into Halloween pumpkins and setting them out in front of their 6,000-square-foot brick mansion. Jaehnig developed a fondness for pit bulls, guns and fights, and he soon began associating with the Denver Skins, a crew of around 30 racist Skinheads. He quickly racked up a lengthy police record, including arrests for illegal weapons, drugs and vehicular assault.

Jaehnig and Vanderjagt were not strangers. They had met at around 1 a.m. on a hot July night in 1993, when Vanderjagt and his partner were patrolling near Jaehnig's home. Jaehnig was throwing a boisterous party, and when the officers pulled up to ask the revelers to quiet down, Jaehnig sicced his dogs on them. Vanderjagt arrested him for excessive noise and keeping dangerous dogs.

Their paths would cross one more time. Jaehnig and a friend, Lisl Auman, were spotted as they broke into the apartment of a former boyfriend of Auman's, supposedly to retrieve some of her belongings. The high-speed police

chase that ensued, marked by hot exchanges of gunfire, led from a suburb some 30 miles from Denver to an apartment building downtown, where Jaehnig fled the car and took refuge in an alcove. VanderJagt led a small team of officers that advanced on the young Skinhead. As VanderJagt peered around a corner, Jaehnig squeezed off a fatal blast of automatic weapons fire, hitting Bruce VanderJagt 15 times. He died on the spot.

Jaehnig then grabbed VanderJagt's service revolver and killed himself with a shot through the chin. Auman, meanwhile, had been arrested even before the shooting began. Still, she was ultimately convicted of felony murder and sent to prison — a conviction that sparked a campaign, highlighted by the efforts of the late “gonzo journalist” Hunter Thompson, to win her freedom. Ultimately, the state Supreme Court reversed her conviction and Auman pleaded guilty to lesser charges in an agreement that will result in her release in the fall of 2005.

ROBERT “SANDE” SANDERSON, 34
BIRMINGHAM, ALA., POLICE DEPARTMENT
JAN. 29, 1998



Robert “Sande” Sanderson was moonlighting as a security guard at the New Woman All Women Health Care clinic in Birmingham, Ala., on Jan. 29, 1998, when he was torn apart by an explosion of dynamite and nails, the first fatal abortion clinic bombing in the United States.

Sanderson had just come off the night shift at the Birmingham Police Department, where he had been working with a rookie cop.

Smart and capable, Sanderson could easily have moved up the chain of command, his colleagues say. But he seemed happy to stay right where he was, playing to his greatest strength — mentoring young officers.

In his recent book, *Hunting Eric Rudolph*, author Henry Schuster describes Sanderson as “the prototypical Officer Friendly,” a man who volunteered often and had a soft spot for kids. Even the abortion protesters perennially outside the clinic had respect for Sanderson, a man who was not only cordial with them but also as protective of their safety as he was of that of the clinic workers and their patients.

Sanderson's last shift as a police officer was relatively uneventful, with a few pot busts and a lot of talk about football and Green Bay's recent Super Bowl victory. Then he headed over to the clinic, where he began his shift at 7 a.m. He was trying to earn enough money to buy his teenage stepson a car.

The work didn't bother Sande Sanderson. Although he personally did not believe in abortion, he firmly believed in upholding the law.

That winter morning, Sanderson noticed something askew near the entrance to the clinic, a package of some

sort, half-buried in the dirt. He bent over to investigate, probing it with his police baton.

Bomber Eric Robert Rudolph, wearing a wig and watching from nearby, detonated the package with a remote control device. Sanderson's keen eye spoiled what many believe was Rudolph's plan to explode the bomb later in the day, when the clinic would be full of patients. But it couldn't save the officer.

The bomb blast blew a crater into the ground and killed Sanderson instantly, hurling part of his body over a fence. A nurse arriving at work, Emily Lyons, was horribly injured, losing an eye and enduring years of operations to patch her body back together. Sanderson's body, which took the brunt of the blast, had protected her from even worse.

But for Sanderson's widow, Felecia, it could hardly have been more catastrophic.

Sanderson was the one who made perfectly smooth gravy at Thanksgiving, the one who brought home the tree at Christmas, she remembers. These kinds of small, family traditions were too painful for her to continue after his death.

“It's hell on earth that I am living,” Felecia told the *Intelligence Report* about a year after Sande Sanderson died. “I miss every little thing about him. I think about him all the time. Sande is what was meant for me.”

Rudolph was identified almost immediately after the Birmingham bombing, but managed to elude authorities in the North Carolina woods for five years despite a massive federal manhunt. Distraught, Felecia Sanderson repeatedly traveled to North Carolina to encourage the federal task force searching for the fugitive — men and women who came to love her for steady, unrelenting efforts. In the same way, although their views on abortion could hardly have been more different, Felicia became Emily Lyons' friend and quiet confidante.

When Rudolph was finally captured, he struck a plea bargain that saved him from a federal death sentence. At his sentencing earlier this year, Felecia, standing with her back to Rudolph, told the court that she would “never forget the look on my son's face when I told him Sande was gone.”

“I want to tell you there is no punishment in my opinion great enough for Eric Rudolph,” she said. But she declined to say what his ultimate punishment should be. “I'm going to leave the final judgment in God's hand.”

DENNIS WARREN FINCH, 52
TRAVERSE CITY, MICH., POLICE DEPARTMENT
MAY 13, 1998



“Let the good times roll,” Dennis Finch was fond of saying. “The bad times will take care of themselves.”

Sgt. Finch was murdered by John Clark on the porch of a home in Traverse City,

Mich., on May 12, 1998, after a two-hour standoff. Finch tried his best to talk Clark into putting his gun down while Clark expounded upon his right to bear arms and his perception that mafiosos were running rampant in the small town on the shores of Lake Michigan. Clark ended the argument with gunfire.

Deputy Scott Heller was the first to reach Finch as he lay on his stomach on the porch where he had fallen. Heller said Finch's final words before losing consciousness were, “I can't die, I don't want to die.” Dennis Finch called for his wife as he slipped away, a spreading pool of blood soaking his uniform.

Heller grabbed Finch under the arms and pulled him to an ambulance. Finch was taken to the hospital where he died the next morning.

Finch died in front of the large Victorian house Clark had inherited. Inside, investigators would find 58,000 rounds of ammunition, plastic explosives, a number of semi-automatic rifles and handguns and even an anti-tank gun.

Prosecutors argued that given Clark's animosity toward police and government and his vast inventory of weapons, the death of an officer was just about inevitable. That's not much comfort to his widow, Agnes.

Agnes, who has remained in Traverse City, says she still suffers from frequent flashbacks to the hospital after Dennis was shot. Driving by the house where it happened — since converted into a bed and breakfast — Agnes says she can see her husband's blood on the carpet. Still, it's getting better.

“It took me three years to get through and go through everything I had to go through and get to the other side,” Agnes says.

But she remembers her man well.

Dennis Finch was born the fourth of twelve children into a family that struggled financially. Dennis moved around a lot as a kid, wherever his father could find work, and quickly learned to be industrious. By the time Dennis was 8, he was selling blueberries and blackberries he'd picked for extra money.

The young couple met when they were 17. He was the only man she ever dated, then or since.

Agnes also remembers a few conversations with Dennis that would come back to haunt her. On the way to Dennis' funeral, Agnes told her daughters that their father had had a premonition that his life would be cut short. “He would say things like ‘I'm going to die young,’ or, ‘I have a feeling I'm going to die tragically,’” she told the *Intelligence Report*. “Well, when you're 17 or 18 and your boyfriend says something like that, you think about a car accident.” Murder was beyond her imagination.

They were married in 1965, both of them 19. He was drafted soon after, and joined the Marines just five months after the wedding. Their first daughter was born on the last day of boot camp, and Dennis shipped out

the next day to Vietnam. He wouldn't see his new family for another 18 months.

When Dennis became a police officer, money was always tight, although the family did manage several vacations. But some of the best times were much simpler outings, camping in the summers near a lake, fishing, swimming, laughing and lazing about with a family they were close to. Agnes' children remember those camping trips well, she says, and that comforts her some.

Clark was sentenced to life in prison. At sentencing, Agnes addressed him directly, telling him she hoped he would burn in hell. “What have you done with your life, John Clark? Where have you worked? Who have you helped?”

“You were born into a family of wealth. You had money, you spent it on guns,” she told her husband's murderer. “You took my dream for a retirement with my husband. I have to find a way to build a new life now without the man I've known and depended on for 33 years.”

DALE DEWAIN CLAXTON, 45
CORTEZ, COLO., POLICE DEPARTMENT
MAY 29, 1998



Sue and Dale Claxton grew up in Colorado and were high school sweethearts. Dale liked fast cars and living on the edge. Sue was fiercely independent. “We had a real passionate kind of relationship,” Sue says now, laughing, “more than just the passion of youth.”

After high school Dale wanted to get married, but Sue had other plans. She wanted to make something of herself and continue her education, while he didn't plan to attend college. Sue went away to college and, as a result, the couple lost each other for a decade. Dale married someone else and had two children.

When Sue and Dale met up 10 years later, he was going through a divorce. Sue had hoped the encounter would be civil at best. It turned out to be life-changing. The passion of their earlier relationship came roiling to the surface during their first conversation together. They were married four months later.

Dale worked for a tire company, then did construction work during the first years of their marriage. Consequently, the family traveled the country, Sue tending to the kids while Dale built homes in Colorado, Nevada and Missouri. But when their oldest reached school age, Sue told Dale she wanted their children to grow up somewhere other than Missouri, and suggested moving back to Cortez.

They did, and Dale continued working construction there but also joined the volunteer sheriff's posse. One day, part of his training with the posse involved hand-to-hand combat. The man was hooked.

“He came home for lunch that day and said, ‘I gotta do this,’” Sue remembers. It was the first time in 25



Dale Claxton was memorialized outside Cortez, Colo., on the lonely highway where he was gunned down by three survivalists in 1998.

years she had ever heard him utter those words. That summer, Dale entered the police academy. Afterward, at 40, he was nervous about competing for two openings on the Cortez Police Department with men 15 years his junior, but he did well on the tests. Waiting to start work, Sue recalls, “He was like a kid waiting for Christmas to happen.”

Dale “looked like this fierce, serious, no-nonsense guy,” Sue says, but “he was a very shy person inside.” Becoming a cop helped him out of his shell. Now, Sue says, “He had a purpose.”

Their life was a happy one. They’d ride horses together. He loved to cook Cajun recipes, whipping up hot and spicy dishes he would eat until he got hiccups, making a milder batch for Sue and the kids.

They were living in a house more than 100 years old that Dale was endlessly remodeling.

On the morning of the last day of school and the last day of his life, Dale came by the classroom where Sue taught for a visit. “He stopped by my room and made plans to have lunch with me. We had a big kiss and I watched him walk down the hall.”

Dale left the school and hopped into his cruiser. A few minutes later, he tried to pull over a water truck that had been reported stolen a day earlier.

Dale Claxton never made it out of his car. A gunman in a flak jacket leaped from the water truck and saturated his cruiser with gunfire, killing Dale instantly. He died with his seat belt fastened and his service revolver in its holster.

Three men were in the water truck, which authorities suspect was to be used in some kind of terrorist attack. The men were survivalists, and reportedly had attended meetings of an underground militia known as the Four Corners Patriots. They were reported to hate the federal government and its agencies, and were also caught up in millennial “Y2K” paranoia about the turn of the century.

A huge manhunt followed. Two of the men were eventually found in the desert, dead of apparently self-inflicted gunshot wounds. The third, Jason McVean, has never been found. Many officials believe that he, too, died in the desert, although Sue is convinced he’s still out there and on the run.

With a mixture of laughter and tears, Sue Claxton remembers how her lover used to stand her up on dates in high school, and then she thinks of the lunch they planned on his very last day. “He stood me up on our last date, too,” she says with a sigh.

JAMES ARLAND ROWLAND JR., 30
PALMER, ALASKA, POLICE DEPARTMENT
MAY 15, 1999



Palmer is a small town of 10,000 or so, home to the Alaska State Fair and 100-pound monster cabbages fed by the summer’s almost continuous sunlight and the Matanuska Valley’s fertile soil. It is also the place James Rowland and his devoutly religious family moved to in 1978, when Rowland was 10. He grew up among the Sitka spruce and cottonwood, enduring the harsh darkness of winter and the brilliant light of summer, as he matured into a young man. He left for a while to seek his fortune in North Pole, a forlorn town south of Fairbanks, joined the Navy for six years, and finally became a Palmer police officer in 1996.

Rowland was stocky and friendly and known for being exceedingly polite even while under duress. “Even people he arrested said he was a good guy,” Sgt. Thomas Remaley remembers.

Rowland was also industrious, a man from a family of builders who was always embarking on one construction project or another. He was building a house for his wife and infant son when he was killed in a Palmer supermarket parking lot on a spring day in 1999.

The Palmer Police Department is small, just eight patrol officers, two sergeants and a chief. Drunk driving, juvenile vandalism and drug offenses are the order of the day for the Palmer PD, as was the 1 a.m. call for a welfare check. Someone was reporting a man slumped over his steering wheel in a local lot. With a firefighter friend riding in the cruiser’s passenger seat, Rowland headed out to make the sure man was all right.

Rowland knocked on the door of the vehicle and roused the man, then ran his identification through

dispatch. The dispatcher came back over the radio with a 1092, meaning Rowland was being asked if he was clear to receive confidential information: The man Rowland had stopped, Kim Cook, was known as an antigovernment “constitutionalist” and had shown up at the University of Alaska in Anchorage some time before bleeding profusely from the head. It turned out that Cook had just shaved his head with a knife inside a university rest room.

Somehow, Cook overheard the dispatcher going over his history. Panicking, he ran for his truck, then suddenly wheeled and fired at Rowland from inside his jacket pocket with a .22-caliber Derringer. Rowland fell back against the car door, collapsing onto the pavement. He died a short time later.

The tiny police department was devastated. The murder so rocked the town that a local reporter says it was referred to simply as “the catastrophic event” for years at City Council meetings and in general conversation.

One day, spontaneously, a man showed up near the spot where Rowland had died with a dump truck full of topsoil. Another brought decorative garden blocks. Trees and shrubs soon followed. A memorial to James Rowland went up virtually by itself.

Six years later, Rowland’s loss is still painful. “His death affected all of us greatly,” says Sgt. Remaley, his voice heavy with grief.

RICKY LEON KINCEN, 35
FULTON COUNTY, GA., SHERIFF’S DEPARTMENT
MARCH 17, 2000



Ricky Kinchen was born in Orlando, Fla., but soon moved to Tifton, Ga., a town of 15,000 people set amid peanut and cotton fields off the interstate about 180 miles south of Atlanta. Kinchen’s grandfather was a preacher there.

One of five children born to his groundskeeper father and nurse mother, Kinchen was an inquisitive child, growing to love Toni Morrison’s fiction, books like *The Bluest Eye*. He learned to value education at an early age, uncle Elijah Jacobs told a reporter, recalling the time Kinchen saw him behind the wheel of a Cadillac and wanted to know how he could get one himself. “You need money for that, and you need an education, and you need to go to school,” his uncle admonished.

Kinchen grew into a decent student, earning Bs and participating in ROTC in high school. He was known for his industriousness as well as his charity, delivering food to nursing homes during the holidays. He worked after school at local fast-food restaurants and did chores for an aunt. After graduating from high school, he joined the Army, then earned a degree in criminal justice.

In 1990, Ricky Kinchen finally landed a job with the Fulton County Sheriff's Department. He also moonlighted for years as a security officer in order to afford the "dream home" that he finally moved his family into in 1999.

A year later, Kinchen and partner Aldranon English were assigned to arrest a man known as Jamil Abdullah Al-Amin on charges of driving a stolen vehicle, impersonating a police officer and failure to appear in court — charges that all stemmed from an earlier traffic stop. Al-Amin was no anonymous lawbreaker. He had been famous as a militant civil rights activist and Black Panther under the name of H. Rap Brown, and was known for statements like, "I say violence is necessary. It is as American as cherry pie." Brown also served five years in prison after his 1971 conviction on aggravated assault, robbery and weapons charges. He converted to Islam in prison, changing his name in the process.

Clad in bulletproof vests, Kinchen and English pulled up in front of the store Al-Amin ran in Atlanta's West End just as Al-Amin was arriving in a black Mercedes. When they asked him to show them his hands, Al-Amin pulled out a .223-caliber semi-automatic rifle and began to shoot. He fired 24 bullets that hit both men. English was seriously injured, shot in the hip, arm, both legs and back. One of the bullets ruptured a gas canister he had strapped to his belt, which temporarily blinded him as he tried to return fire.

It was worse for Kinchen. He was hit in the abdomen, below the vest. Another shot struck his hand and the pistol he was gripping, ejecting the magazine. Kinchen collapsed on the street. Al-Amin walked over to him and shot him three times in the groin, then got into his Mercedes and drove off. Al-Amin would be captured in Alabama several days later, and sentenced to life in prison in 2002.

The irony was that Kinchen and English were black. Ricky Kinchen had been murdered by a black man who purported to champion blacks in a racist America.

"Some days I just sit and cry," Kinchen's widow testified at Al-Amin's sentencing. "It's hard, but I have to wipe my tears and try to be strong for my children, because I know that they are hurting, too."

JOHN C. BOHACH, 35

RENO, NEV., POLICE DEPARTMENT

AUG. 22, 2001



Mike Davis met John Bohach in junior high school. Davis was the new kid in class. Bohach was a big, popular kid who Davis describes as a little intimidating. Some might have considered him a bully, Davis concedes, but beneath the gruff exterior was a kind heart. "You always knew where you stood with him," Davis told the *Intelligence Report*.

Those first few days of school were hard for Davis, who started to get picked on by other classmates. Bohach noticed and took him aside one day. "He realized I wasn't fitting in and he pulled me aside and said, 'You seem like a nice kid. I'm going to be your friend. If anyone picks on you, let me know.'" Bohach was true to his word, and Bohach and Davis grew to be best friends.

Two decades later, death separated them at last.

Bohach was 35 and a Reno police officer when the blast of a .306 ripped into his chest and ended his life. The man behind the rifle was Larry Peck, a mechanic who had fled police after being pulled over in a traffic stop just before 8 a.m. on Aug. 22, 2001. Peck raced away, driving to his home, just across the street from a church in a residential area of Reno, and holing up inside during a five-hour siege.

Bohach was hit in the first five minutes, shot through the engine compartment of the delivery van he was sheltering behind. Reno detectives ran through a barrage of gunfire to reach Bohach and they got to him while he was still breathing. But Bohach, a husband and a father, had died just minutes later. The next year, the detectives would be honored with the National Association of Police Organizations' Top Cops Award for their bravery in trying to rescue their fallen comrade.

Some said they had seen it coming.

"He said he wanted to kill a cop," a witness testified at Peck's 2003 trial. "He said he would take a cop down before he would go back to prison."

"The guy was prepared to go to war," Deputy Chief Jim Weston told a reporter at the time. "He hated cops. He hated the government. He was deathly afraid someone would come and take his guns away."

Police described Peck's 800-square foot home as a compound complete with cyclone fencing and video surveillance equipment. Inside, they found an SKS assault rifle, a 12-gauge shotgun, a 30/30 rifle and a 9 mm handgun, along with body armor. They also found antigovernment videos and propaganda from Scriptures for America, an anti-Semitic hate group out of Laporte, Colo., and led by Christian Identity minister Pete Peters. Peters has suggested that when government "protects evil and punishes the good, Christians have the right, indeed, the undeniable duty to resist this tyranny."

In the end, Peck, who had a 17-year record of drug offenses, received two life sentences for Bohach's murder.

John Bohach had been an officer for 13 years. He worked as a detective on the sex crimes unit and was known for his ability to wrest confessions from child predators during interviews — as well as making children feel comfortable enough to reveal the horrific details of their abuse. "He was charged to protect the very young against things no one wants to talk about," says his brother, Mark Bohach. "Ironically, he leaves behind two young daughters with no one to call daddy and protector."

Still, his memory is alive in the minds of his friends and former colleagues. He was known for his mischievous "up-to-something" grin. He was a movie junkie who would watch two or three features a day when he could. He loved playing practical jokes on fellow officers and wasn't above brawling with a bar full of cowboys. He was a man of large appetites. His ability to put away sushi, which he considered a healthy vice, was legendary. "I remember he told me he was giving up snowmobiling because it was much too dangerous," recalls Sgt. Jerry Tone. "In the same breath he told me he had decided to buy an airplane."

Bohach was described at his funeral as a devoted father who'd stocked up on gifts for his youngest daughter's birthday in the days before he was killed. His toddler turned 3 the day after he died.

Instead of cake and ice cream and laughter, the Bohach home filled with grieving adults. At one point, the adults went quiet as they listened to the little girl playing with a toy phone. When it rang, she picked it up and answered clearly: "Hello, Daddy." That was followed by a conversation of toddler gibberish, but ended with the girl speaking clearly into the plastic receiver.

"Goodbye," she said. "I love you, Daddy."

ERIC BRADFORD TAYLOR, 31

MASSILLON, OHIO, POLICE DEPARTMENT

AUG. 9, 2002



Years before he murdered Eric Taylor, Donald Matthews was an ardent Ohio "constitutionalist" who had openly expressed his hatred of police officers — a rage against government and law enforcement that he boldly stated on several occasions he would be willing to kill and die for.

Matthews, a so-called "sovereign citizen," was president of a group calling itself the National Constitutional Academy. He said he had memorized the Bible and the Constitution, and he refused to have his picture taken or put on a seat belt.

On Aug. 9, 2002, at around 8:30 p.m., Matthews was doing 72 in a 60 mph zone when a state trooper pulled him over. He refused to roll down his window more than a slight crack, and launched into a tirade on 13th Amendment rights before speeding off and leading law enforcement officers on a 12-mile chase that ended in the town



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

A Reno police officer tries to comfort Barbara Bohach after a jury sentenced her son's murderer to life without parole.

of Massillon. There, Matthews' leaped out of his vehicle as it traversed a gravel pit and opened fire with a Czechoslovakian CZ-762X25 semi-automatic military handgun. Eric Taylor, a Massillon police officer who had joined a brief foot chase, was shot by Matthews in the pancreas, aorta, heart and lungs before Matthews was himself fatally wounded by other officers' fire.

Perhaps it shouldn't have been a surprise. Four years earlier, Matthews warned another officer who pulled him over for speeding that the next time he was stopped he would be ready to kill: "I have lived a full life and I am willing to die and will shoot any officer who attempts to take me into custody."

In court documents he filed around the same time, Matthews clearly saw himself under siege by government. Law enforcement, he wrote, "joined in coercion, intimidation, kidnapping, and conduct becoming a military occupation force, and were engaged in warfare against me." Matthews also told the owner of a local gun club that he'd kill police should he be arrested or pulled over. Two years later, he said much the same thing to an owner of a catering business.

Donald Matthews might have had enough of living, but that was surely not true of Eric Taylor. Taylor was only 31 when he was murdered, the father of a 2-year-old boy and 1-year-old girl. His life and career were ahead of him, a wealth of unrealized potential.

"I was one of the first officers in our department to officially meet Eric Taylor when I conducted his employment background investigation," writes fellow Massillon police officer Kenneth Hendricks on an Internet memorial page for Taylor. "After he was hired he fast became known for his being ornery,



An officer at Eric Taylor's funeral struggles to control her emotions.

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dedicated to the job and wanting to make a difference in the city he patrolled and lived in. He was to join our tactical unit ... the Wednesday before his death and would have been a great addition to the team."

"Eric was courageous, quick witted, and one of the fastest men on two feet I've ever seen," added officer Paul Covert. "I'd love going on high risk calls with him because if the suspect was ever stupid enough to run, Eric was going to catch him. If there was a fight, I wanted Eric to be there."

DAVID FRANK MOBILIO, 31

RED BLUFF, CALIF., POLICE DEPARTMENT

NOV. 19, 2002



The city of Red Bluff perches serenely on the banks of the Sacramento River, a quiet California country town of square dance festivals, pygmy goat shows, rodeos and the occasional appearance of a monster truck. But Red Bluff has been under a cloud for nearly three years, coping with the murder of popular police officer David Mobilio on Nov. 19, 2002, and the subsequent trial, which ended last spring with a conviction and death sentence for Mobilio's killer.

Police Chief Al Shamblin and Mobilio had worked together since Mobilio first became an officer in Red Bluff, and Shamblin was the commanding officer on the night that Mobilio was killed. Shamblin said he got the call just after 2 a.m. that night that Mobilio had been shot at a gas station. The dispatcher, overcome by emotion, could hardly get the words out.

Andrew Mickel, a disturbed former student at Evergreen State College in Olympia, Wash., who decided killing a cop would provide a platform for his antigovernment political views, had chosen the town, and Mobilio, at random. Mickel had staked out a position near a gas station Dumpster not far from the police station, lying in wait. He murdered Mobilio as the Red Bluff officer pumped gas into his cruiser, shooting Mobilio twice before disappearing into the night. Mickel would be caught soon after bragging of the murder on the Internet.

"Hello everyone my name is Andy," Mickel boasted. "I killed a police officer in Red Bluff, CA in a motion to bring attention to, and halt, the police-state tactics that have been used throughout our country."

On the night of the slaying, Chief Shamblin had the difficult task of breaking the news to Linda, Mobilio's wife. He remembers searching for the

remote house where she lived with their 2-year-old son on darkened country roads near 4 a.m.

"It was one of the hardest things I've ever had to do," Shamblin says quietly. "I didn't say a whole lot. She saw me and it was one of those things where we didn't say much. But I had to tell her he was dead."

David Mobilio had been a bear of a man. His love of weightlifting had turned his arms and legs into tree trunks. He was also exuberant and loved riding quad ATVs and picking up new pastimes like hunting wild pigs or fishing — the last of which he did poorly but with great, and characteristic, enthusiasm, Shamblin says.

Mobilio was fearless on the streets he worked as a patrol officer for three years. But like a scene out of the movie "Kindergarten Cop," he found himself fighting a bad case of nerves when he began working as a D.A.R.E. officer for a year, talking to elementary school students about drugs. Mobilio's initial stage fright was understandable. "Cops can go in front of guns every day but classrooms can be nerve-wracking," Shamblin says.

Mobilio needn't have worried, Shamblin says. "The kids loved him."

Robust in appearance, Mobilio had a sense of humor that endeared him to the school children as well as to fellow officers. His pranks were legendary and included handing out phony lottery tickets at a Christmas party and getting a sergeant to believe, for a few precious minutes, that he had won \$10,000. Then there was the time Mobilio applied honey to the door handle of a patrol car at shift change. The sticky mess was discovered not by Mobilio's intended victim, but a humorless veteran sergeant. Mobilio endured quite a lecture for that one.

"What I miss most," Shamblin says, "was his ability to tease people, to make a room light-hearted. That's starting to return, but it has been quite a long while."

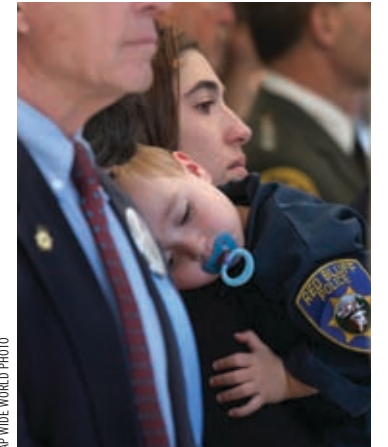
KEVIN MICHAEL MARSHALL, 33

MICHIGAN STATE POLICE (FREMONT)

JULY 7, 2003



Kevin Marshall was 33 when a member of the Michigan Militia and follower of hard-line Christian Identity leader James Wickstrom shot him to death in the midst of a 2003 standoff in the small town of Fremont, Mich.



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Linda Mobilio, holding her son Luke, 2, listens as her husband is memorialized in Sacramento.

Marshall was married to his high school sweetheart and had two small children. He had been with the state police for eight years, and just months before had been awarded the Michigan State Police Bravery Award for helping to prevent a suicidal woman from stabbing her boyfriend or hurting herself.

Scott Woodring was a different kind of man. Notorious around town for being a bit of a strange character, Woodring worked at the Gerber baby food factory in town and had a well-known obsession with trains.

But he was far from harmless.

Years earlier, local law enforcement officers were cautioned by their superiors not to talk to Woodring unless there was a specific need — it was just too dangerous. By the time of Woodring's encounter with Marshall, rumors were rampant around town that he had built bunkers and an extensive array of tunnels underneath his house. And indeed, officers would later find the dwelling stocked with gas masks, survival gear, silver coins, backpacks full of food and an array of weapons.

On July 7, 2003, Kevin Marshall was part of an emergency response team called after officers tried to serve Woodring with a warrant for sexual solicitation of a minor. A heavily armed Woodring had responded by barricading himself inside his house.

The standoff was entering its second day when police decided to force an end. Armored vehicles were used to approach Woodring's home and percussion grenades were lobbed inside, igniting the carpet. Marshall, wearing body armor and carrying a shield, led the four-man response team into the house.

Smoke from the grenades clouded the air as the officers stayed in tight formation. According to news reports at the time, the team was just 10 feet into the house when Woodring started shooting. The officers behind Marshall attempted to return fire but couldn't see where the shots were coming from. Officers fired ahead into the hall and then, suspecting Woodring was firing at them from the basement, unloaded several shots through the floorboards and into a stairwell. It was a scene of chaos and confusion. Quickly, the decision was made to leave.

As they retreated, Marshall took several shots to the shield and then was hit in the right hand. One investigator believes this occurred as Marshall reached around the shield to return fire, and that the impact of the bullet to his hand spun his body around to the right, allowing two subsequent bullets to pierce his back despite the body armor he was wearing. Kevin Marshall died from those shots, even as Woodring's entire house went up in flames.

At first, officers assumed Woodring had died in the fire. But then a backpack with survival gear was found nearby, indicating that he'd escaped after killing Marshall. Woodring eluded capture for another week before he was



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

found sleeping in a car about four miles from his home. Stepping from the car with a rifle in his hand, Woodring was shot and killed by approaching police.

DONALD MCMURRAY OUZTS, 63
ABBEVILLE COUNTY, S.C., MAGISTRATE'S OFFICE

DANNY WILSON, 37
ABBEVILLE COUNTY, S.C., SHERIFF'S OFFICE
DEC. 8, 2003



"Danny Boy" is what Danny Wilson's friends liked to call the perennially smiling, 37-year-old sergeant who served the Abbeville County Sheriff's Office for seven years before he and Abbeville Constable Donnie

Ouzts were gunned down in an afternoon that rocked the historic South Carolina town.

Wilson was a former high school football player, father to four daughters and one son, and a member of the National Guard for 19 years when he was murdered in late 2003. He had hoped to spend much of 2004 in preparation for deployment to Iraq. When it came time to say goodbye to Danny Wilson, the crowd at his memorial service was too great for the church where it was held to contain.

"I thank God for the time Danny shared with us," Abbeville County Sheriff Charles Goodwin told the mourners at Wilson's funeral. Goodwin also described Wilson as a natural leader. "I would often hear the officers saying 'Danny outdid us today — but we'll get him tomorrow.'"

Wilson's last day of work began just after 9 a.m. on Dec. 8, when he knocked on the door of a well-

known father-and-son pair of extremists, Arthur and Steven Bixby. The Bixbys, who were steeped in the conspiracy theories and antigovernment hysteria of the militia movement, were adamantly opposed to the planned widening of the highway running by their home, which would slice off a tiny ribbon of their front yard. Wilson knew the family — he had arrested Steven for threatening a former friend in the past — and was hoping to calm them down before the highway crew showed up later that day. Instead, Wilson was shot in the chest through the Bixbys' closed front door with a 7mm magnum pistol. Then the Bixbys dragged him inside and handcuffed him as he lay in an expanding pool of his own blood.

A short time later, as Wilson's cruiser idled outside the house, Constable Ouzts, a warm-hearted man known around town as "Smiley," made his way to the Bixbys' door.

Hundreds of police officers salute as the coffin of Kevin Marshall — shot during a standoff with a Michigan Militia member — is carried into a church.

The remains of Danny Wilson, murdered by government-hating extremists upset that a highway project would take a sliver of their front yard, are carried by fellow officers in South Carolina.



AP WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

Ouzts, 63, was nearing retirement and had recently recovered from heart surgery. Like Wilson, Ouzts had been a sheriff's deputy before becoming a constable eight years earlier. His duties now involved serving papers for the Abbeville County Magistrate's Office.

Ouzts' first great-grandchild was three months old. His son Chris later described his father to the local *Independent-Mail* as "a wonderful family man and a good Christian man. He loved everybody, and anybody will tell you he always had a smile." Ouzts was

close to his wife, and had made a habit of visiting her at her workplace every morning. On the morning of his death, Smiley Ouzts had stopped by to bring her the mail before heading over to the Bixby home.

It was over almost before it began. Unaware of all that had happened, Ouzts approached the Bixbys' front door when a local resident yelled a warning. As Ouzts turned to edge away, a shot rang out. Constable Ouzts was dead.

With responding officers uncertain as to whether Wilson was alive or dead inside the house, law

enforcement spent the day trying to negotiate with the Bixbys to no avail. Armored vehicles were sent in to ram the Bixbys' porch, and a robot equipped with a camera was dispatched into a hole in the house, sending back footage of Wilson handcuffed, lying on his stomach in a pool of blood. A SWAT team eventually entered and retrieved Wilson's lifeless body. Thirteen hours after it began, and after a three-hour gun battle, the Bixbys surrendered.

ROBERT WALTER HEDMAN, 49
OTERO COUNTY, N.M.
SHERIFF'S DEPARTMENT
DEC. 18, 2004



Forty-nine-year-old sheriff's deputy Robert Hedman had been patrolling the mountainous area of Otero County, N.M., just west of El Paso, for five years. The communities he policed were small, places like Cloudcroft, which clings to the mountains above Alamogordo at an elevation of 9,000 feet.

Hedman lived nearby with his wife Cheryl. The couple had met at the Alamo Rosa truck stop and restaurant where she worked about three years earlier and married after a quick courtship. Now, Hedman was dividing his free time between visiting her at the Alamo Rosa and building a home in the mountains.

Hedman was born in Cooperstown, N.Y., and served 21 years in the Army, where he earned a bronze star for his bravery in the Viet Nam war. He served as a military police officer and member of the Special Forces before finally retiring at the rank of staff sergeant in 1994 and making his way to New Mexico. A dispatcher who worked with him at the Otero County Sheriff's Department described Hedman as "a vibrant human being who never left dispatch without giving each of us a hug and a loving word of departure."

On the night of Dec. 18, 2004, snow covered the ground around Cloudcroft, where Hedman was mingling with other guests at a Christmas party. Although he didn't know it yet, not far from the party, in a rented, one-story log cabin, all hell was breaking loose.

The cabin's tenants were Earl Flippen, Flippen's pregnant girlfriend Deborah Rhodes, and her 3-year-old daughter. Flippen, an ex-con with a lengthy rap sheet in Texas and New Mexico, was new to the area. He was also a full-blown member of the Aryan Brotherhood gang (see related story, p. 19), with a body covered in tattoos of skulls, dragons and topless women, as well as the words "White Pride."

Flippen and Rhodes had a difficult relationship. Flippen had been arrested two months earlier, in Texas, and charged with assault and evading arrest after allegedly beating Rhodes. He'd skipped his court date and was on the run.

This night, something set Flippen off once again. But this time, he killed his girlfriend, shooting her in the head and dragging her body into a closet. Neighbors heard gunshots and called the authorities.



Robert Hedman got the call around 7 p.m. The Christmas party was over. Hedman and partner Bill Anders, who was said to be Hedman's closest friend, drove to Flippen's cabin, noticing a car backed up to the front door with the hatchback open as they pulled up. As they approached, Flippen opened the cabin door for the officers but then would not let them enter. He seemed nervous and shut the door on them. But Hedman and Anders had spotted blood on the floor. Anders went back to the cruiser to radio for backup, while Hedman walked to the back of the house.

Flippen was lying in wait. Ambushing the deputy, Flippen unloaded his .357-caliber handgun into Hedman's head.

Anders discovered his best friend's body just moments later, and a gunfight between him and Flippen broke out. Flippen was wounded and Anders got him into handcuffs before shooing the dead woman's unhurt 3-year-old into the cabin. Then the distraught deputy shot Flippen in the chest at point blank range. In August 2005, Anders pleaded guilty to voluntary manslaughter and was awaiting sentencing at press time. ▲

Cheryl Hedman accepts the flag that was draped over the coffin of her husband, who was slain by an enraged member of the Aryan Brotherhood.



PLAYING ROUGH

The anti-immigration Minuteman Project set off an avalanche of imitators. Some of them are downright frightening

BY SUSY BUCHANAN & DAVID HOLTHOUSE

“Trigger happy,” Goliad County, Texas, Sheriff Robert DeLaGarza thought to himself. It was early July and DeLaGarza was meeting with members of the Texas Minuteman Corps, a new vigilante border patrol outfit that started recruiting in DeLaGarza’s county in June.

“They kept talking a lot about shooting illegals, and what they could and couldn’t do to make it self-defense of life or property,” DeLaGarza said. “One woman kept asking, ‘Well, what if they reach for a rock, can we shoot them then? What if they’re on private land? Can we shoot them for trespassing?’”

DeLaGarza gave the vigilantes a stern warning: “My community doesn’t tolerate racism or racist violence in any form. I told them that if they step one inch out of

line, I’m going to hammer their ass.”

Later that month in California, two Mexicans were wounded in separate shootings the same night along a 14-mile stretch of the border between Campo and Tecate, Calif., that was being patrolled by the California Minutemen, another new vigilante border patrol group.

Both shootings occurred in the early hours of Saturday, July 23.

The first victim told investigators he was leading a group of illegal immigrants through the desert and was about 200 yards inside the United States when he heard a distant rifle shot and was struck in the buttocks by a single bullet. The second shooting took place one hour later. A group of eight adults and two children said they were huddled about 20 yards south of the border when a man wearing a mask and carrying a rifle suddenly appeared. When they ran, he fired a single shot, striking one of the men in the back of the leg.

Interviewed in the hospital by *The San Diego Union-Tribune*, the victim in the second shooting, 32-year-old Jose Humberto Rivera Perez of Guadalajara, disputed the claim by American and Mexican police that the gunman was most likely a bandit.

“If he were a bandit, he would have grabbed us and taken everything,” Perez said. “He only shot at us and ran.”

Humberto Garcia, the Tijuana-based regional coordinator for the Mexican government’s National Human Rights Commission, said he feared the attack was either carried out or instigated by members

of the California Minutemen, who he called *cazamigrantes* — “immigrant hunters.”

“With this kind of operation, they are feeding feelings of hatred,” Garcia said. “These feelings of hatred can inspire acts of violence like this. It’s very strange that these acts are occurring in this context. We’re not discarding any possibilities until the authorities find out who did this, one way or the other.”

The identity of the shooters may never be known. But this much is certain: a chaotic army of *cazamigrantes* is on the march.

Immigrant Hunters

Inspired by the Minuteman Project, the month-long, much-hyped vigilante action held in Arizona last April, more than 40 anti-immigration “citizens border patrol” and “internal vigilance” groups have formed since early May. The original Minuteman Project’s leaders, Jim Gilchrist and Chris Simcox, have little or no control over most of these splinters, spin-offs and imitators.

Some are based in states with no Mexican borders to patrol. In Alabama, a group calling itself the Alabama Minutemen Support Team has pledged to recruit and train 125 “undocumented border patrol agents” for an October mission in New Mexico led by former antigovernment militia commander Mike Vanderboegh. Other Minuteman groups in non-border states seem less focused on patrolling the border than generalized immigrant bashing. In Tennessee,

members of a group calling itself the Tennessee Volunteer Minutemen has been staking out day labor sites, harassing workers. The Utah Minutemen recently protested outside a bank in Salt Lake City that accepts Mexican consular identification cards for check-cashing purposes. And the Colorado Minutemen in July sponsored a demonstration outside the Denver Public Library to demand the removal of Mexican comic books from the shelves.

Minuteman groups have also formed in Maine, Michigan and Washington, and have announced plans to patrol the Canadian border this fall to protect America from invaders from the north. In Mobile, Ala., one Minuteman has taken it upon himself to ensure the Gulf waters are clear of invaders — by patrolling the seas armed with a Glock and an M-16.

But it is clearly along the southern border where Minutemen have the highest numbers of participants and the most militant supporters. Five of these spin-off groups are among the most important.

CALIFORNIA MINUTEMEN

Also dubbed California Border Watch and United States Border Patrol Auxiliary, the California Minutemen was founded by James Chase, a Vietnam veteran who says he was wounded six times



in combat, then worked for the United States Postal Service until a nervous breakdown forced him to retire in 1997.

Chase was a prominent member of the original Minuteman Project in Arizona until he was injured in mid-April by a fall off a cliff. After recovering from his injuries, Chase launched California Minutemen with a Web site seeking “all those who do not want their family murdered by Al Qaeda, illegal migrants, colonizing illegal aliens, illegal alien felons, alien barbarians, Ninja-dressed drug smugglers” and “cowardly Aztlan punks and Che Guevara pink pantied wimps lower than whale dung who should be fed to the chupacabra!” Chase declared that unlike Gilchrist and Simcox, who at least articulated a handguns-only policy during their Arizona Minuteman Project (though it would be barely enforced), he would allow his recruits in California to openly carry hunting rifles, assault rifles

and shotguns, though he also recommended bringing “baseball bats, stun guns, and machetes.”

Gilchrist and Simcox quickly disowned Chase’s group.

“Mr. Chase has no authority to use the Minuteman Project name,” Gilchrist declared in a June statement. “Neither does Mr. Chase have permission to trade upon the Arizona Minuteman Project’s April record in any future border watch initiatives.”

Says who? Gilchrist and Simcox had no legal grounds to dictate Chase’s actions. They had no copyright on the concept of strapping on firearms and heading to the border for a migrant hunt. The movement they’d created had quickly slipped its leash, and Chase refused to obey their commands to heel.

“I keep hearing all these things: I’m a rogue. I’m a Rambo. I want to shoot the heads off people,” Chase retorted in a June interview with *The San Diego*

Volunteer Robert Crooks holds a scoped rifle, which he says he will use only for self-defense, as he searches for illegal migrants under the stars near Campo, Calif., this July. Crooks patrolled with the California Minutemen, led by a Vietnam vet who also recommended bringing “baseball bats, stun guns and machetes.”

Union-Tribune. “I’m a flower child compared to Gilchrist and Simcox.”

Simcox has continued to distance himself from Chase. But when the California Minutemen launched their first operation near the tiny border town of Campo on July 16, Gilchrist was there to show his support. Chase’s headquarters was the Campo vfw hall. It was laid siege to twice that day by a mob of unruly anti-Minutemen protesters who surrounded the building. When Chase and Gilchrist came outside, the protesters stood nose-to-nose with them and shouted in their faces, “Go home, racists!”

That night, a heavily armed band of Minutemen threatened to shoot a group

of protesters on a hill overlooking their watch post who flickered the vigilantes with a spotlight and then called out mocking greetings over a bullhorn. The protesters, who were armed only with a video camera, captured the confrontation in eerie night-time footage reminiscent of the “Blair Witch Project.” First, a Minuteman shouted from the darkness: “Let me make this very clear to you! We are armed and we will defend ourselves! You come down here and you will be engaged in a firefight if necessary! Get the fuck out and go home!”

One of the protesters shouted out a sarcastic comment, to which a Minuteman yelled back a hot response: “I will shoot your motherfucking ass!”

A protester asked, “So are you threatening us?”

“Listen assholes, you wanna play? Let’s play, motherfucker, let’s go!”

At the sounds of men jumping in trucks, slamming doors and starting engines, the protesters retreated from the high ground.

Two days later, Gilchrist issued a nationwide “emergency call for reinforcements in Campo” that rapidly circulated on anti-immigration and white supremacist Web sites. “Be warned that roving gangs of belligerent, death-threatening, anti-American adversaries engaging the California Minutemen WILL physically attack you if they outnumber you. I repeat, they WILL physically attack you,” Gilchrist wrote. “Stay in groups and stay LEGALLY armed.”

On July 23, the same night the two Mexicans were wounded by rifle shots along the u.s. border, one band of five California Minutemen reported being fired upon by two unseen snipers positioned on a hill just south of the border who called out in English, “We’ll kill you, assholes!” before unleashing two volleys. A reporter from the *Orange County Register* who was “embedded” with the vigilante patrol confirmed their account, though whether the shooters were actually aiming for the Minutemen is highly questionable since the AK-47 bullets struck the high border fence nearby.

Even with Gilchrist’s call for reinforcements, the California Minutemen at their peak numbered fewer than 100. By the time they wrapped up their first opera-



GETTY IMAGES

California Minutemen founder Jim Chase oversees his project to keep “alien barbarians” from crossing the U.S.-Mexico border fence.

tion in early August, they had managed to snare only three illegal immigrants, two of whom Chase picked up hitchhiking.

But Chase is far from finished. The next California Minutemen event was scheduled to begin Oct. 9, coinciding with Simcox-sanctioned citizen patrols in New Mexico and Texas.

“If you are not a racist and have no desire to harm the harmless migrants, come and sign up,” Chase posted to his Web site in August. “Remember: We are harmless as doves.”

FRIENDS OF THE BORDER PATROL

Founded by Andy Ramirez, a former minor league hockey goalie who ran unsuccessfully for the California state assembly twice in the 1990s, this San Diego, Calif.-based group is supposed to begin operations along the Southern California border on Sept. 16, which is Mexico’s Independence Day.

Ramirez’s rhetoric is considerably more humanitarian than the language used by other citizen border patrol organizers, who routinely refer to Mexican and Central America immigrants as “invaders” and “the enemy.” On his Web site, Ramirez states: “Mexico’s elite must now reform their nation and share their wealth and reform their economy so their citizens can find hope and prosperity at home, without being enslaved and exploited after they illegally enter our country.”

But despite his professed sympathy for his neighbors to the south, Ramirez has actively recruited Friends of the Border Patrol (FBP) volunteers from the ranks of the California Coalition for Immigration Reform, a hate group whose president, Barbara Coe, has repeatedly described

Mexicans as “savages.” Ramirez also has announced that FBP is joining forces with anti-immigration extremist and conspiracy theorist Glenn Spencer, another hate group leader, who in May predicted that illegal immigration will soon lead to race war. “Thanks to the gross malfeasance of our government, Americans are going to be fighting for their nation on the streets of their own cities,” Spencer said. “Many are not going to survive this conflict. Thousands will die.” According to Ramirez, Spencer will support FBP in September with Spencer’s unmanned aerial reconnaissance vehicle “BorderHawk” and “other of his high-tech devices.”

This summer, Ramirez engaged in a public feud with Joe Turner’s Save Our State anti-immigration group, accusing Turner of advocating violence and failing to denounce repeated neo-Nazi appearances at his rallies (see story, p. 48).

Ramirez originally had planned to lead the California Minutemen along with Jim Chase. But in May, Ramirez said he was disassociating himself from Chase because Chase condoned the use of violence and had suggested they secretly deploy snipers along the border. Chase has denied that accusation, saying it was a miscommunication. Ramirez insists he heard Chase correctly.

NEW MEXICO MINUTEMAN CORPS

This group, which is one of three officially authorized by Chris Simcox, is scheduled to begin operations in October simultaneously with the Texas Minuteman Corps. Based in Farmington, N.M., the

THE FRANCHISE

The Minuteman Project wasn’t the first to organize a vigilante border patrol. That honor belongs to the Ku Klux Klan

Although Chris Simcox and Jim Gilchrist are seen as the fathers of the Minuteman movement, citizen vigilante border patrols are not a new concept. Simcox and Gilchrist are following in the footsteps of other anti-immigrant activists before them, and it is well-trodden ground.

Klansmen were on the Mexican border 28 years before the Minutemen co-opted the concept. And they were talking about the Hispanic immigration threat more than five decades before that.

In 1926, Klan Imperial Wizard H.W. Evans warned that “to the South of us thousands of Mexicans, many of them Communist, are waiting a chance to cross the Rio Grande and glut the labor marts of the Southwest.”

In an article that traces the history of the Klan in San Diego from the 1920s through the 1970s, *The Journal of San Diego History* describes an atmosphere of fear that persisted for decades. “Any Mexican worker who challenged authority or appeared suspicious of one thing or another would forfeit his life,” Mercedes Acasan Garcia, a maid during the 1920s, said in a 1979 interview. Garcia tearfully recalled lynchings, whippings and burnings of Hispanics. “Since they were ragged wetbacks, nobody cared who they were and nothing was done about it.”

With such a history of anti-immigrant violence, Klan boss David Duke and his California leader, Tom Metzger, had little trouble directing the energies of their followers to the Mexican border a half century later.

In 1977, after shoring up their ranks with Marines from nearby Camp Pendleton, the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan kicked off its Klan Border Watch. Klansmen were supposed to drive the border from Texas to the Pacific Ocean in a caravan, instructed to report suspicious people to the Border Patrol. Media attention was huge, and cameras at times outnumbered Klansmen eight to one. The event wasn’t much more than a publicity stunt, although Metzger boasted of leading 500 volunteers from four states.

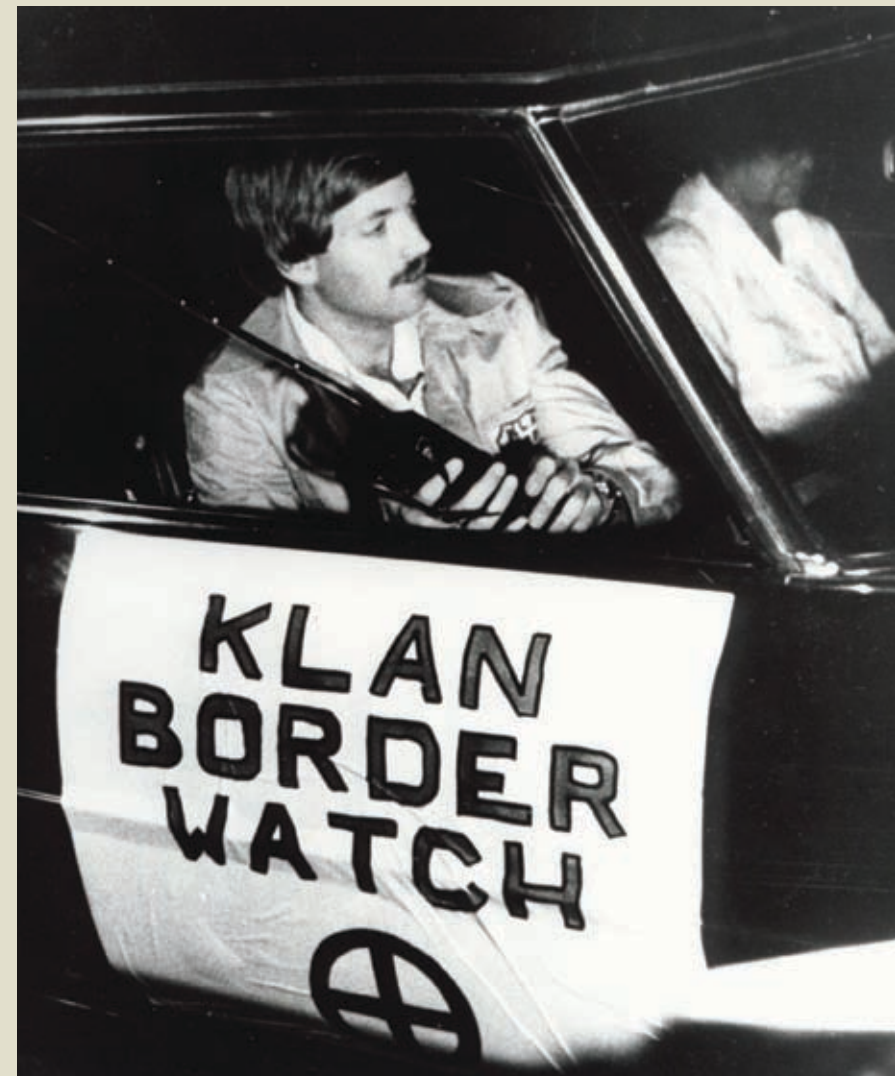
Metzger split with Duke in 1979, critical of what he saw as Duke’s showmanship and inveterate womanizing. But, in the spring of 1980, Metzger formed his own rogue Klan chapter and led a “security force” of around 40 Klansmen to John Landes Park in Oceanside, vowing to rid it of Mexicans. Metzger’s followers carried black shields emblazoned with “KKK” in white letters. They wielded bats, chains and nightsticks and wore hockey masks and helmets. Some brought attack dogs. Protesters met the Klansmen at the park and pelted them with rocks. Seven people were injured.

That same year, Metzger parlayed the attention he had gained, along with growing anti-immigrant sentiment, into a victory in the Democratic primary

for his local congressional district. He got some 33,000 votes, although he lost the general election handily.

Today, Metzger is dismissive of the staying power of the Minutemen. “They remind me of the big splash about the militias a few years ago,” he told the *Intelligence Report*. “When the Murrah Building in OKC went up they all disappeared. The Minutemen are similar and when the blood really flows on the border, most will be long gone. They go out of their way to claim not to be racist. They are hypocrites of the worst order. They go on and on that they want no racists among them. What a joke.”

— Susy Buchanan and David Holthouse



In 1977, David Duke and a handful of his Knights of the Ku Klux Klan got tremendous media attention when they inaugurated their “Klan Border Watch.” The patrol turned out to be little more than a publicity stunt.

SIDE BY SIDE

In California, 'mainstream' anti-immigration rally organizers say they simply can't stop neo-Nazis from joining in

Anti-immigration activist Joe Turner may be one of the best things to happen to the Southern California white power community in years — a man whose group is seen as a “Trojan horse” allowing radical infiltration of mainstream politics.

Turner, a Ventura, Calif., man who founded the immigrant-bashing Save Our State organization in late 2004, insists that he's no racist, even though his self-described “aggressive activism” includes claims that undocumented Mexican workers are turning California into “a third world cesspool” and his Web site vilifies a variety of prominent Hispanic officials in a “Racist Hall of Fame.”

But neo-Nazis have found in Turner a tolerant master of ceremonies. In rally after rally this year, Turner and other SOS officials have failed to turn away racist Skinheads and likeminded white supremacists who have joined their protests.

Swastikas and Sieg Heils aren't usually welcome on the streets of Southern California, but Turner's followers, including SOS spokesman Don Silva, have been photographed standing alongside Skinheads clad in high black boots with red laces. Most recently, swastika pennants and Confederate battle flags were hoisted alongside Turner's own picket signs during a July 30 protest outside a day laborer center in Laguna Beach. One group in the crowd Sieg-heiled repeatedly.

Turner has told members of his Web site's forum that he opposes white supremacists joining his protests, and he wrote to the *Intelligence Report* that “there seems to be very little we can do to keep them from piggybacking off our activism. ... [W]e are unable to really do anything about it.”

He has also banned a few white supremacists from his forum. But many others have posted racist attacks on Hispanics — attacks that are left on his Web site as long as they don't directly advocate violence.

SOS forum member “Chris 2005,” for instance, offered this up on July 25: “Mexicans are like pigs. They are by far the filthiest f-ing animals. I have also felt like I needed to get into a hot bathtub of water and soap and just soak until the filth comes

off me after being near any of them. I hate them, I hate them, I hate them!”

Nine days later, the statement was still there.

And then there are Turner's own statements in his forum. “I am sick and tired of all the white bashing that goes on through the use of political correctness as an indoctrinating tool,” he wrote on July 16. “I am sick and tired of multiculturalism, meaning, let's celebrate every culture as long as it isn't a European/white culture.” During the same exchange, Turner also wrote that “just because one believes in white separatism that does not make them a racist.”

All in all, white supremacists are delighted.

Posting on the neo-Nazi Stormfront Web site forum, one person described Turner's operation as a “Trojan horse” that radical racists can use to infiltrate more mainstream political discourse.

“The tide is turning in our favor in the movement against illegal aliens,” this poster wrote in March. “The grass roots sentiment against this invasion is finally making its voice heard and [at] many different levels. This is a movement every WN [white nationalist] should support and be active in. It moves in our direction even as it does not even acknowledge, or even know, that the WN movement exists. Anti-alien activism is a no-loose [sic] for WN.”

— Susy Buchanan and David Holthouse



Chris Simcox, posing here with fellow vigilantes in Tombstone, Ariz., helped set off a movement that has spawned more than 40 “citizens border patrol” groups since early May.

TODD BICELOW

New Mexico Minuteman Corps is headed by anti-immigration activists Mike Faddy, William Norris and Bob Wright. Earlier this year, Wright announced the formation of The Minuteman Rough Riders, a vigilante cavalry contingent that has been conducting patrols in the region of southern New Mexico near the historic mining town of Hachita. Wright's Web site states the Rough Riders will take part in the New Mexico Minuteman Corps operation in October and claims the mounted unit has already “assisted in the capture of 202 illegal border crossers.”

NEW MEXICO BORDER WATCH

Closely affiliated with Jim Chase's California Border Watch, this group formed in early June as New Mexico Minutemen, then changed its name when Simcox announced the New Mexico Minuteman Corps as the “official” Minuteman patrol in New Mexico.

New Mexico Border Watch director “Chief Dr. Sir” Clifford Alford explains the rift between his group and Simcox, echoing the sentiments of others in the Minuteman movement who have been critical of Simcox and his arrogance.

“Chris gets a bit high handed from time to time, as though groups should be ‘sanctioned’ by him,” said Alford, who claims to be a Cherokee shaman, Wiccan sorcerer, Reiki master and newly ordained Templar knight, among other dubious titles. “Well, [Simcox] is not almighty God, and he is also not the Grand Prior of the Knights Templar, so pardon me if I don't give a flip.”

A self-proclaimed (and highly paranoid) expert on the occult, Alford has conducted law enforcement training seminars on Satanism and “Ninja death cults” he said were being secretly trained to spearhead a mass slaughter across the globe. In a training pamphlet he authored, Alford advises police officers that even innocent-looking children and old people under the influence of satanic forces will attack without warning. “When you approach an occult crime suspect,” he tells them, “always have your holster strap or flap undone and your hand around the grip with your thumb over the hammer ready to draw and fire.”

In late June, the American Civil Liberties Union of New Mexico indefinitely suspended its Las Cruces chapter when it was revealed that Alford had joined the chapter and been appointed to its board of directors. Alford later suggested on national television that he had deliberately infiltrated the ACLU.

The ACLU was embarrassed, to say the least. “We will not tolerate racism and vigilantism in the leadership structure of our organization,” said Ruidoso, N.M., attorney Gary Mitchell, president of the ACLU board of directors.

New Mexico Border Watch began conducting weekend operations near Columbus, N.M., in August.

TEXAS MINUTEMAN CORPS

In early June, Chris Simcox appointed Goliad County, Texas, petroleum engineer Bill Parmley to be president of the Texas Minuteman Corps. Two months later, Parmley resigned, citing widespread racism among the group's volunteers, who Parmley said were more anti-Hispanic than anti-illegal immigration. Parmley alleged that many of the volunteers hatched a plot to force all the Hispanic elected officials in Goliad County from office and replace them exclusively with Caucasians.

“I don't know of any other word to describe it than racism,” Parmley later told the *Fort Worth Weekly*. “They had a secret agenda before the organization ever got started. They rolled it into the Minutemen.”

One of the Hispanic officials the Minutemen were out to get, Goliad County Sheriff DeLaGarza, said that after he met with the citizen border patrol members and fielded their eager questions about the legal use of deadly force, he did his best to dampen their trigger happiness with his threat to “hammer their ass.”

The left-wing Brown Berets also recently sent the Texas Minutemen Corps a warning of their own. “Think twice before you come here,” Brown Berets leader Pablo Delgado said at a July 28 news conference. Delgado said members of the militant Chicano organization are forming their own civilian border patrols, and will be active on the Texas border in October when Texas Minutemen Corps is scheduled to begin operations at the same time as Simcox-sanctioned outfits in Arizona and New Mexico.

“We will be armed,” Delgado said, “and we will use whatever force is necessary to defend the lives of immigrants.”

Running Against Immigrants

The first to use Minutemen tactics were Klansmen.

In 1977, Ku Klux Klan leaders David Duke and Tom Metzger formed Klan Border Watch, a KKK vigilante border patrol in southern California (see story, p. 47). Like this April's Minuteman Project in Arizona, Klan Border Watch was primarily a media stunt designed to fan the flames of anti-immigration sentiment in America and to generate publicity for its ambitious leaders.

Three years later, Metzger ran for Congress in California on the promise that he would militarize the border. Running openly as a Klansman, Metzger, who was then Duke's California state leader, would garner 33,000 votes, although he lost the election.

Taking a page from Metzger's playbook, three Minuteman group founders are running for state office, and Jim Gilchrist has declared himself a Constitution Party candidate for the special congressional election in his Orange County, Calif., district to fill the seat vacated when President Bush appointed former Congressman Chris Cox to head the Securities and Exchange Commission.

Simcox, meanwhile, has hired a public relations specialist and is hinting at a congressional campaign of his own. Lauded as a hero at anti-immigration rallies across the country, Simcox also benefited from glowing coverage provided to millions of Fox News Channel viewers in a three-night special report from the border hosted by conservative pundit Sean Hannity that screened like a recruitment infomercial for the Minuteman movement.

Despite being decried by President Bush, border vigilantism has already been endorsed by sitting Republican congressmen, including Tom Tancredo of Colorado, who is almost certain to run for president on an anti-immigration platform, and by John Culberson of Texas, who on July 28 introduced legislation that would allocate \$6.8 million in federal funds to established armed citizen militia in border states. The militias' members would be empowered to arrest illegal immigrants using “any means and force authorized by state law.”

Forty-seven lawmakers have already agreed to co-sponsor the “Border Protection Corps Act.”

But the leaders of the Minuteman movement aren't waiting for federal authorization. In late June, addressing a crowd of 300 new Minuteman recruits in Goliad, Texas, Simcox delivered this ultimatum: “If we don't see the National Guard and the U.S. military on the border by October, we're going to patrol the border with 20,000 citizens. That will be a warning. In six months, if we don't see the military on the border, you might be faced with an army of 100,000 citizens.” ▲

CALIFORNIA CONFLICT

Endless summer: Inside the sprawling, cookie-cutter neighborhoods of the Inland Empire, race troubles are brewing.

As minorities move into the region known as the Inland Empire, white supremacists unleash a hate crime backlash

BY DAVID HOLTHOUSE

CHINO HILLS, Calif. — Despite all their big talk of honor, pride and the Aryan warrior's code, neo-Nazi Skinheads don't like a fair fight. Cowards by nature, they prefer to travel in packs and gang up on hate crime victims. The trio of Nazi skins laying in wait near a playground in a park here the morning of May 1 proved no different.

Around 11 a.m. that Sunday, a 21-year-old black man from the nearby city of Diamond Bar arrived at the park with a group of foster children from a group home where the man volunteered as an activities coordinator. He'd brought the kids to play basketball. As the players divided into teams, according to witnesses and police reports, the Skinheads swaggered over. They called the foster home worker a "nigger." They told him he'd made a big mistake by showing up in their park that morning with a bunch of mongrel brats.

The subject of their taunts and threats hastily tried to gather his charges to leave, but the Skinheads surrounded him and then attacked. They thought the odds were three to one. But they were wrong. Several of the kids jumped into the fray. Seconds later, two more adult employees of the group home arrived in a separate vehicle and heard the intended victim yelling for help. They also joined the combat. The Skinheads suddenly found themselves badly outnumbered in a fight they'd started.

One of them ran for their car, jumped in, gunned the engine, and promptly crashed into a park bench, then a metal exercise station, then a concrete barrier, and then, at last, a tree. Unfortunately, the damage did not disable the vehicle, and the Nazi at the wheel was able to throw it in reverse then roar across a field and toward the cluster of kids and adults from the group home, who by then had beaten one of the remaining Skinheads to the ground and were physically restraining the other while they waited for the police to arrive (several bystanders had called 911 on mobile phones).

The first officers on the scene found the enraged driver of the battered car wheeling erratically around the park, chasing the kids and group home workers in a deadly game of tag. They immediately blocked his vehicle with their own and arrested him for attempted murder. The other two Skinheads were taken into custody on charges of aggravated assault (one of them escaped from a local hospital that night

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

after being treated for his injuries). A spokesman for the Chino Hills Sheriff's Department described the 20-year-old Skinhead driver as "a known white supremacist" who had previously been arrested for several racially motivated attacks in San Bernardino County. "He places himself in places where minorities will be and makes slurs," the spokesman said. Police found neo-Nazi pamphlets, stickers, and patches inside his car.

The attack in Chino Hills, a suburban city with about 70,000 residents, was no isolated incident. It occurred in the heart of the Inland Empire, a booming region of Southern California where tract homes are cheap, the air is filthy, and white power violence is on the rise.

The New Minority

Made up of an area stretching from western Riverside County to the southwest corner of San Bernardino County, the Inland Empire used to be a sparsely populated, rural area of ranches, vineyards and farms, where whites were the clear and dominant majority.

All that has changed.

Driven from Los Angeles and San Diego by soaring housing prices, middle- and working-class black, Hispanic and Asian families have migrated to the Inland Empire in massive numbers, drawn by a surplus of comparatively affordable, big homes in sprawling, suburban-style developments. The rolling, high-desert terrain of the Inland Empire is now studded with more than 50 small to mid-sized cities containing a combined population of roughly 3 million. This continuing exodus inland from Southern California's expensive coastal cities has fueled large-scale residential, commercial and industrial development in the region. Horse pastures and orange groves have been paved over for strip malls and chain restaurants. Simultaneously, the Inland Empire has experienced rapid demographic shifts as more and more minorities move into a region that has long been a hotbed of white supremacist activity. Between 1990 and 2000, the Inland Empire's white population increased only 7%, while the number of blacks grew 61%, Asians 62% and Latinos 82%.

Whites are now a minority in the Inland Empire.

These seismic changes in the region's racial make-up have corresponded with a steady rise in hate crimes, including a particularly vicious spike in racially motivated violence and harassment in the past two years. During that period, as hate crimes dropped 10% statewide in California, the number of reported hate crimes in the Inland Empire shot up 20%. Last year, there were 148 hate crimes reported in the Inland Empire, most of them committed by racist Skinheads and other white supremacists.

This year, this disturbing trend has shown no signs of abating.

In January, in just one example, a gang of 10 neo-Nazi Skinheads attacked three Hispanic men outside a topless bar in Redlands, yelling racial slurs while they knocked the men to the ground then kicked them mercilessly. One of the victims suffered a broken arm. All three were hospitalized.

"The unfortunate reality is that the Inland Empire is California's own northern Idaho," said John Ruiz, assistant



A taste of the future: Los Angeles-style gridlock is extending to areas like the Inland Empire, where morning commutes have become a nightmare. The traffic has brought new residents and, with them, new interracial strife.

AP WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Riverside County district attorney, who has successfully prosecuted several high-profile hate crimes, including one in 2002 when he sent five members of the neo-Nazi Western Hammerskins to prison for stomping a black man with combat boots and cutting him with razor blades. With that case, Ruiz basically ran the Hammerskins out of town. The gang subsequently moved its base of operations to Mesa, Ariz.

"A lot of people are moving out here, and some of them don't like rubbing elbows with ethnic minorities," Ruiz said. "It's a small but very vocal segment of our society."

And, too often, a very violent one.

Cow Hands Wanted

The brochure reads, "Welcome to the City of Lake Elsinore, among the fastest growing cities in Riverside County. Picturesque mountains, Southern California's largest natural lake and a strategic location along the booming I-15 corridor make Lake Elsinore unique. Value for industrial expansion and new businesses are cornerstones of our economic gardening strategy. Discover what over 38,045 residents already know—Lake Elsinore's got more!"

Lake Elsinore's also got neo-Nazis.

In September 2003, three students were suspended from Lake Elsinore High School for hoisting a swastika banner up the school's flagpole during a patriotic assembly to commemorate the second anniversary of the 9/11 terrorist attacks. One of the students told a local newspaper, "I don't like black people."

And last June, on the second-to-last day of school, two Nazi Skinheads — who were not students at Lake Elsinore High — accosted two black male students who were walking across the school's parking lot with a white female friend who was also a student. One of the Skinheads pulled up his shorts to display tattoos on his legs of a swastika and an Iron Cross. When the targets of his scorn just kept walking, the Skinhead drew an ice pick, ran after them, and stabbed one of the males repeatedly while shouting, "Die, nigger!" The second Skinhead threatened the other two students with a claw hammer when they tried to come to their wounded friend's aid. The stabbing victim, a starting linebacker on the school's football team, was seriously injured but survived.

The Skinhead who wielded the ice pick, 19-year-old Armando Perez, appears Hispanic but insisted to police that he was white. He later pleaded guilty to aggravated felony

hate crime assault. When the judge asked him if his crime was motivated by racial hatred, Perez replied, "It definitely was."

The Lake Elsinore assault took place 10 months after a comparable hate crime at a high school in Murietta Valley, a similarly sized, practically identical city that's just a short drive south on Interstate 15. In that case, a black basketball player at Murietta Valley High School was violently fouled by a white opponent in a game during which white fans yelled racial slurs from the stands. The next day, two white students attacked the ball player outside the high school principal's office, severely beating him while yelling more racial slurs. The attackers, then aged 14 and 17, pleaded guilty to assault and making racial threats, and served short sentences in a juvenile detention center.

At many Inland Empire high schools, racial conflicts arise when large numbers of incoming black and Hispanic students accustomed to urban environments undergo a clash of

"A lot of people are moving out here, and some of them don't like rubbing elbows with ethnic minorities"

cultures with their new white classmates in semi-rural locales like Norco, a city of about 24,000 located 50 miles southeast of Los Angeles that still calls itself "Horse Town USA." Norco's official Web site plays "Ghost Riders in the Sky" as theme music, greets visitors with "Howdy, Partner!" and proclaims, "We are dedicated to providing a high quality of life while keeping our rural lifestyle." City jobs are listed under the header, "Cow Hands Wanted."

At Norco High School, two black female students who sat for lunch at a table in the shade that a group of white students told them was designated "Whites Only" last September were hit in the face with burritos and then punched in the face by two white males. A few days later, a group of white students beat another black student unconscious. Racist graffiti appeared on the school's walls. Yet another black student found song lyrics about shooting blacks placed on her desk.

"People of color move their families out here because they can get a house for the price of an apartment in the big cities on the coast, and because they think it's safer out here than the neighborhoods they can afford there. But a lot of times they get here and they find a different kind of danger, a different kind of tension," said Lorraine Watts, president of the NAACP in Lake Elsinore. "Truth is, they have second thoughts once they're here, and if they could afford housing elsewhere, a lot of them would leave."

'Forced Integration'

From his home in Fallbrook, just south of the Inland Empire, notorious racist Tom Metzger has a front row seat to the rising racial hatred in his part of the world.

He likes what he sees.

“The chemistry out here is perfect for more and more racism,” said Metzger, the leader of the white supremacist hate group White Aryan Resistance. “You’ve got all these non-whites moving here from Orange County and Los Angeles, trying to flee the crime perpetrated on them by their own kind in their

ghettos, and when they come out here they’re basically shoving forced integration down the throats of the whites who have traditional claim to

“The chemistry out here is perfect for more and more racism.”

this area, and that is provoking a negative racist reaction among whites, as it damn well should. It’s great!”

Most locals don’t share Metzger’s enthusiasm.

Several Inland Empire school districts have formed diversity coalitions in hopes of curbing

racial tension among students. Anti-racism community meetings in the Riverside County city of Hemet have drawn as many as 400 people, and last November more than 7,000 residents in Lake Elsinore — nearly a fifth of the city’s population — marched down the city’s main street to protest against racial violence in their community.

Not all such violence in Lake Elsinore or elsewhere in the Inland Empire is committed by whites. In 2003, four racially motivated fights between blacks and Hispanics broke out on campus at Hemet High School, resulting in mass suspensions, and last May, shouted racial slurs between black and Hispanic students at Temescal Canyon High School in Lake Elsinore escalated into a brawl involving 200 students. And this May, three Hispanic youths chased down a 15-year-old high school freshman and stabbed him to death outside his home in Corona in what prosecutors have termed a racially motivated homicide. The three made racially derogatory statements while their victim lay dying.

But by far most of the hate crimes in the Inland Empire are white-on-black or white-on-Hispanic. The most recently reported of these crimes occurred July 10, when four Skinheads with “White Power” tattoos and swastika patches repeatedly drove past a Hispanic family’s home in Hemet, shouting slurs

and threats while brandishing knives. After the family called for help, police officers tracked down the Skinheads and arrested them for making terrorist threats with a hate crime enhancement. According to an investigative report, the Skinheads denied being members of any organized white power gang. They told the officers they were “just proud about being members of the Aryan race.”

Public Enemies

In November 2003, the FBI formed a task force with the Riverside and San Bernardino County sheriff’s departments that was designed to crack down on neo-Nazi Skinhead and other white power gangs in the Inland Empire, including the

High Desert Freak Boys and the Angry Nazi Soldiers.

Since then, the task force has arrested more than 60 individuals associated with white power hate groups on charges including illegal weapons possession, drug dealing, and hate crime violence. The task force has also seized more than 15,000 rounds of ammunition; more than 75 firearms, many of which had been illegally converted to fully automatic; a half-dozen stolen cars; bulletproof vests; a pharmacopeia of methamphetamine, hallucinogenic mushrooms, steroids and marijuana; and enough swastika flags, Hitler youth banners, knock-off SS daggers, WWII German army helmets, and white supremacist propaganda to fill a Dumpster.

“Sixty years after the discovery of Auschwitz, I’m amazed we’re still fighting this garbage in our country,” said San Bernardino County Sheriff’s Department spokesman Tom Freeman.

Last November, one of 19 alleged white supremacists arrested on drugs and firearms charges was an assistant football coach at Paloma Valley High School in Menifee, which is near Hemet. According to investigators, the coach had supplied players with steroids and had recruited several of them, along with other Menifee and Hemet teenagers, to join a heavily armed white supremacist group affiliated with the growing neo-Nazi Skinhead prison gang Public Enemy Number One. The football coach is a convicted felon and has a prison tattoo of a swastika on his stomach below the letters S.W.P., for “Supreme White Power.” He said the arsenal of rifles and handguns police found in his house were for hunting rabbits and coyotes. Prosecutors charged him with illegal possession of firearms anyway, perhaps swayed from leniency by the numerous photos also discovered at the coach’s house. The pictures appeared to have been taken at a series of neo-Nazi rallies held at rural locations in Riverside County. In one, two 12-year-old girls salute a swastika flag.

Riverside County Sheriff Bob Doyle said the amount of white power literature seized from the coach’s house is the most he’s seen in three decades of law enforcement.

“Hate groups such as these endanger lives,” he said. “These types of people are trying to find a refuge here, and we’re trying to stop it.” ▲

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 occur annually. This listing carries a selection of incidents from the second quarter of 2005 (additional listings may be found on the Southern Poverty Law Center’s Web site, www.intelligenceproject.org.)

CALIFORNIA

Gardena • May 4, 2005

Ernesto Diaz, 24, was charged with assault with a deadly weapon, brandishing a gun from a vehicle and possession of a controlled substance for allegedly threatening a black man while yelling a racial slur.

Mill Valley • May 4, 2005

The phrase “die fag” was scrawled on the car of a 17-year-old girl who belongs to a gay and lesbian organization.

Rancho Bernardo • April 26, 2005

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

Rancho Palos Verde

April 16, 2005

Racial slurs, threats and obscenities were spray-painted on an Asian family’s home.

Rancho Santa Margarita

April 20, 2005

A 16-year-old boy was arrested for allegedly pouring gasoline in a 4-foot swastika design and trying to set it on fire.

San Diego • April 26, 2005

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

San Jose • May 18, 2005

Swastikas were burned in several yards in a neighborhood.

San Jose • June 11, 2005

Matthew Baptista, 18, and a 17-year-old were charged with suspicion of using a chemical to burn swastikas and racial

epithets in yards and vandalizing two elementary schools.

Santa Rosa • April 16, 2005

Swastikas and white power symbols were scrawled over a synagogue’s sign.

Ventura • April 18, 2005

Skinhead David Ziesmer, 32, was found guilty of fatally stabbing a teenage girl in 1998 who he believed was a police informant.

COLORADO

Boulder • April 2, 2005

Fliers from the neo-Nazi National Alliance were left throughout a college campus.

Boulder • June 19, 2005

Racist fliers from the neo-Nazi National Vanguard were left on cars parked at a mall.

Colorado Springs • June 7, 2005

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

CONNECTICUT

Manchester • April 5, 2005

Steven J. Jankowski, 26, was charged with breach of peace, threatening, and second-degree intimidation based on bigotry for allegedly yelling racial slurs at two black men.

Somers • June 21, 2005

Nazi graffiti and profanities were spray-painted at a school, a library, a school bus garage and a car dealership.

Torrington • April 22, 2005

Tyler Kallenbach and Samuel Stiles, both 17 years old, were charged with

second-degree criminal mischief and disorderly conduct for allegedly spray-painting racial and anti-religious epithets on a Catholic social organization’s building.

Torrington • June 23, 2005

Pamphlets from the white supremacist European-American Unity and Rights Organization were distributed throughout a neighborhood.

FLORIDA

Bartow • May 9, 2005

Shane Russell Desalvo, 32, was sentenced to four years of probation for yelling racist remarks and threatening his black neighbors in March 2004.

West Palm Beach • May 1, 2005

Fliers from the neo-Nazi White Aryan Resistance were left in driveways and on lawns in a neighborhood.

GEORGIA

Dalton • May 17, 2005

A cross was burned in a biracial couple’s yard.

ILLINOIS

Palatine • May 9, 2005

Jeffrey J. Travis, 34, was charged with a felony hate crime for allegedly entering a neighbor’s apartment and shouting racial slurs at him during an argument.

Springfield • May 27, 2005

Christopher J. Howdeshell, 24, was charged with a hate crime and assault for allegedly attacking two teenage boys while yelling anti-homosexual slurs.

INDIANA

Indianapolis • June 9, 2005

Five members of a gang called 2-1 FATAL allegedly set fire to a home to prevent a black family from moving in. Michael Litel, 40; Doris Litel and Dennis Craig, both 29; Richard D. Hacker, 22; and James Holwager, 25, were charged with gang activity, arson and criminal recklessness.

IOWA

Des Moines • June 2, 2005

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

KENTUCKY

Louisville • April 18, 2005

Racist fliers were inserted inside local newspapers.

MARYLAND

Anne Arundel • June 7, 2005

Racist fliers were distributed throughout a neighborhood.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston • April 29, 2005

An openly gay student at Harvard University was assaulted by a man who allegedly yelled epithets at the student and his companion before attacking the student.

Hingham • May 9, 2005

Scott Richardson, 19, was charged with assault and battery and committing a civil rights violation with an injury for allegedly using a slur against a gay man and punching him in the face.

Plymouth • June 3, 2005

Erin Monaghan, 25, was charged with a hate crime after she allegedly punched

a 14-year-old girl who was dressed in the traditional plain clothing of her fundamentalist Christian sect.

Somerville • May 7, 2005

About two dozen supporters of the neo-Nazi group White Revolution rallied in a parking lot and prepared to stage a demonstration outside a Holocaust memorial in downtown Boston the next day.

Tewksbury • April 15, 2005

Literature from the neo-Nazi National Alliance was left in yards.

MICHIGAN

Howell • May 20, 2005

Two ninth-grade students were suspended for painting an anti-gay message on a rock in their school's courtyard.

MINNESOTA

South St. Paul • April 27, 2005

Anthony A. Pierpont, 38, former owner of the racist record company Panzerfaust Records, was sentenced to 10 days of electronic home monitoring, placed on probation for three years and fined \$300 for cocaine possession.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Bow • June 22, 2005

A swastika and the phrases “KKK” and “I am racist” were spray-painted on a fence at the residence of a white couple that often employs black and Hispanic workers.

NEW JERSEY

Newark • April 20, 2005

Richard McCullough, 30, was sentenced to 20 years in prison for fatally stabbing a 15-year-old lesbian.

NEW MEXICO

Sante Fe • April 26, 2005

Four teenage boys were charged with spray-painting swastikas and racial slurs, burning a cross and leaving a noose on a tree at a black woman's residence.

NEW YORK

Brooklyn • April 9, 2005

Swastikas were scrawled on two cars in a predominantly Jewish neighborhood.

East Hampton • April 27, 2005

A white man allegedly assaulted a Hispanic man.

Haverstraw • April 20, 2005

A 15-year-old teenager was charged with a hate crime, fourth-degree criminal mischief as a hate crime and making graffiti after he allegedly spray-painted swastikas and racial epithets on buildings in two areas.

Wilson • June 27, 2005

A racial slur was scratched on a black man's car.

Yonkers • April 2, 2005

Fliers from the neo-Nazi White Aryan Resistance were found in the mailboxes of residents throughout a neighborhood.

NORTH CAROLINA

Durham • May 25, 2005

Three large crosses were burned in separate incidents throughout the city.

OHIO

Cleveland • June 24, 2005

Thirty-two people were arrested on drug, gun, and racketeering charges linked in part to the white supremacist prison gang Aryan Brotherhood.

OREGON

Ashland • May 27, 2005

Anti-gay fliers were distributed on a college campus.

McMinnville • April 2, 2005

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

Monroe • April 17, 2005

Two students, one 13 years old and one 14 years old, were charged with intimidation for allegedly spray-painting

swastikas, racial slurs and profanities on school windows, a wall and buses.

Portland • April 20, 2005

Fliers from the neo-Nazi Nationalist Socialist Movement were distributed throughout a neighborhood.

PENNSYLVANIA

Claysville • June 3, 2005

Phillip Breese, 18, was charged with spray-painting swastikas and a racial slur on a sign and damaging a mailbox at a youth home.

Schnecksville • May 18, 2005

Racist fliers from the Christian Identity group Kingdom Identity Ministries were distributed.

TENNESSEE

Maryville • May 8, 2005

Swastikas and the letters “WP” were spray-painted on a Mexican store.

TEXAS

Cleburne • June 13, 2005

Billy Calahan, 19, was sentenced to two years' probation for attacking a man because of his perceived sexual orientation. Calahan was also ordered to undergo anger-management counseling and random drug screening, perform 200 hours of community service and pay a \$1,000 fine and court costs.

Dallas • June 3, 2005

Racist stickers were distributed throughout the city.

Dayton • June 11, 2005

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

Vidor • May 21, 2005

The words “White Pride” and the letters “KKK” were scrawled on a biracial family's garage and their home was set afire.

VERMONT

Rutland • May 2, 2005

Daniel Streeter, 19, was charged with two counts of aggravated assault with a deadly weapon, with both of the counts charged as hate crimes, for allegedly firing a BB gun and striking two Asian members of a high school track team running through the city.

VIRGINIA

Yorktown • June 25, 2005

About 150 members of the neo-Nazi National Socialist Movement rallied.

WASHINGTON

Arlington • June 9, 2005

Racial slurs directed at tribal members were spray-painted on several signs.

Monroe • April 21, 2005

A white 17-year-old who dangled a noose in front of a black student in October 2000 was ordered to interview three adults of color and write an essay.

Seattle • May 14, 2005

Vadim Samusenko, 21, was sentenced to two years and eight months in prison for attacking a gay man in June 2004.

Tacoma • May 19, 2005

Darnell Colquitt, a 21-year-old black man, was charged with malicious harassment for allegedly threatening two white news reporters while yelling racial slurs.

WISCONSIN

Fond du Lac • June 21, 2005

Reported white supremacist Nathaniel E. Pickart, 28, was charged with allegedly manufacturing and selling pipe bombs to an undercover agent.

THE LAST WORD

‘Heritage’ for Sale

The ‘Confederate’ shirt was made in Haiti. One clerk is a long-time neo-Nazi. Welcome to the League of the South’s Southern Patriot Shop

BY DAVID HOLTHOUSE

On the bumper sticker, a rebel battle flag flies over the White House. Under it, the slogan reads, “I Have a Dream.”

“I get a kick out of that one,” said David Sutter, manager of the Southern Patriot Shop. He then pointed to another favorite, “NAACP: National Association of Always Complaining People.”

“Those are two of our top sellers,” Sutter said. “We do real well with those.”

Situated near a busy strip mall in Cayce, S.C., the Southern Patriot Shop is owned by the League of the South, a neo-secessionist hate group of which Sutter is a prominent member. Its inventory includes Confederate Army replica swords; episodes of the 1959-1961 TV show “The Rebel” (about a Confederate army private who roams the Wild West after the Civil War like a knight without a king); rebel flag switchblades and boot knives; pro-slavery, anti-Lincoln revisionist history tomes; copies of *Little Black Sambo*; and a veritable Stars-and-Bars cornucopia of “Free the South” rebel flag stickers, “Go Home Yankee” rebel flag beer cozies, and “Made in the Confederate States of America” rebel flag T-shirts which, ironically enough, are made in Haiti.

Formerly a Huddle House restaurant and then a pawn shop, the 1,800-square-foot brick building the LOS purchased last year for \$158,000 is in a prime retail location, just off a major state highway and two interstates. Nearly 60,000 motorists per day pass by the store and its gargantuan Confederate flag, which at 20 by 30 feet is bigger than the footprint of most studio apartments. It’s mounted atop a 90-foot pole.

“We applied for the same permit as those car dealers that fly the huge American flags,” Sutter said. “We just didn’t tell them exactly what kind of flag we were planning to fly. They made their own assumptions, and now there’s nothing they can do. We’ve had pilots tell us they can see our flag when they’re coming in for a landing.”



The Confederate battle flag doesn't only flutter over the Southern Patriot Shop. Inside, a clerk busily covers up Lincoln's face on five-dollar bills with a rebel flag stamp.

The Southern Patriot Shop doubles as a clubhouse for local LOS members like Eddie, whose cell phone rings “Dixie.” Eddie stopped by on a Sunday afternoon in late July to help Sutter mow the grass. Taking a break, he leaned back in a chair inside the shop and held forth on slavery.

“People today misunderstand what slavery was all about,” he said. “Slavery is a natural part of man. It explains that in the Bible. And that’s what really separated the North from the South, is that the South recognized the Bible as the true word of God when it came to slavery.”

Behind the counter, Sutter took all the five-dollar bills out of his cash drawer and methodically stamped over Lincoln’s face on each of them with a red Confederate flag.

David Sutter alternates shifts at the Southern Patriot Shop with his 24-year-old son, Joshua Caleb Sutter, who’s better known in the neo-Nazi underworld as Wulfran Hall, the High Counsel of Aryan Nations.

Josh Sutter is not the only Aryan Nations enthusiast to live in the Cayce area. In May, the group’s “national director” August Kreis moved its “world headquarters” from Sebring, Fla., to a doublewide trailer in semi-rural Lexington, roughly 15 miles from the Southern Patriot Shop. Kreis purchased his trailer and the land it sits on for \$24,000.

It’s unclear what role—if any—Josh Sutter played in Kreis’ relocation. Sutter’s current status within Aryan Nations is equally murky.

Shortly after Kreis moved, he removed all of Sutter’s writings from the Aryan Nations Web site, along with a photo of Sutter posing as Wulfran Hall in a black turban and face mask. Earlier that month, Aryan Nations

Pastor Morris Gullett had accused Sutter of being a government snitch. In a letter, Gullett wrote, “Brother Charles Thornton from Alabama and myself are in federal custody here in Louisiana charged with Conspiracy to Commit Armed Bank Robbery. We were set up by one of the church’s oldest members, Joshua Caleb Sutter.”

Kreis did not respond to repeated interview requests from *Intelligence Report*. Reached by phone at the Southern Patriot Store, Josh Sutter declined to comment.

“I have customers,” he said. ▲

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.



Children across the country learn acceptance from the Teaching Tolerance resources.

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

PRAISE FOR THE CENTER’S PROGRAMS

“I simply cannot believe you are able to offer [Teaching Tolerance] for FREE since it is entirely more valuable than most of the resources I pay for. Please know that by supporting me as a teacher, you are touching the lives of the fourth-graders in my care.” — A New Jersey teacher

“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

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.



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.”

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

Southern Poverty Law Center
400 Washington Ave
Montgomery, AL 36104

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