

INSIDE THE MINUTEMEN: CHRIS SIMCOX'S TROUBLED PAST

Intelligence Report

SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER | WINTER 2005

PRAIRIE FIRE

As the Anti-Immigration Movement Catches Fire, A New Generation of Activists Fans the Flames



— PLUS —
The Fabulist

ANTI-GAY ACTIVIST'S
JUNK SCIENCE PROLIFERATES

Tell the Truth

BY MARK POTOK

PERHAPS *Teen People* magazine isn’t the periodical one should look to for an embodiment of journalistic professionalism. Maybe hifalutin ethical standards don’t really matter when you’re writing about



adolescent pop stars, cool electronic gizmos for kids, or makeup tips for acne. But *Teen People* reaches 1.5 million young Americans, and, with an audience like that, it really is important to tell the truth.

So it was quite an embarrassment to the magazine and its owner, Time Warner, when it came out in November that someone at *Teen People*, trying to wrest an exclusive away from a competing magazine for young girls, had cut a particularly unsavory deal. In return for exclusive access to twin 13-year-old neo-Nazi singers from California, *Teen People* promised not to use the words “hate,” “supremacist” or “Nazi.”

The thing is, Lynx and Lamb Gaede, daughters of long-time neo-Nazi activist April Gaede, really do embody those words. On a recent television news show, they wore smiley-face Hitler T-shirts, praised

the Führer, and suggested that the World War II Holocaust was an “exaggeration.” But you wouldn’t know that from the Web story *Teen People* put up in advance of a planned February feature in the magazine. The story said only that these “aspiring musicians” were into “white pride.”

The planned magazine profile was killed shortly after a protest attended by well-known politicians in front of Time Warner’s New York offices. The Web story came down a little while later, after the David S. Wyman Institute for Holocaust Studies publicly complained that a “sanitized” story was still on *Teen People*’s site.

Truth matters. It’s important that people know the Gaede twins are more than “white separatists” — that they have, for instance, performed tributes to terrorist Bob Mathews, who led a murderous gang in the 1980s. It can be even more important when the falsehoods being transmitted are relatively difficult to uncover.

Take Paul Cameron. In this issue, the *Intelligence Report* dissects the false claims that this anti-homosexual crusader has been shamelessly publishing for some 25 years now. In 1982, for instance, Cameron made up a story about a 4-year-old boy being castrated in a mall bathroom by a gay man. But what is most shocking is where Cameron’s fake “research” is still turning up — in television news stories, on the podium with the Texas governor, in a Massachusetts Supreme Court opinion.

Not all falsehoods are lies of commission. Also in this issue, the

Report takes a look at Lou Dobbs, a well-known CNN anchorman who has relentlessly focused on the issue of immigration for two years now. It’s not so much that Dobbs says things that are untrue; it’s that he has refused, even in the face of mounting evidence, to report on the anti-immigration movement and its leaders’ ties to organized racism.

Those leaders are examined in some depth in this issue as well. It’s hard to say whether or not these men and women believe some of the stories they tell. What is certain is that many of those tales are completely false. They range from the myth of a secret Hispanic conspiracy (the “Plan de Aztlán”) to reconquer the Southwest for the benefit of Mexico, to the idea, expressed by U.S. Rep. Tom Tancredo (R-Colo.), that illegal aliens “are coming here to kill you and to kill me and our families.”

The best response to such assertions in a democracy is the forceful presentation of the truth. The alternative is disastrous. Speaking of Paul Cameron, *Report* writer David Holthouse put it like this: “Cameron had learned an important lesson: The more sensational a falsehood about homosexuals is, the more it will be repeated, and the more it’s repeated, the less it matters whether or not it’s true.” ▲

Mark Potok is Editor of the Intelligence Report and Director of the Intelligence Project, a division of the Southern Poverty Law Center dedicated to tracking and curbing hate and extremism.

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The junk “research” of gay-basher Paul Cameron was discredited long ago. The incredible thing is the people who still regularly cite it. In a **related interview (p. 16)**, a real scientist dissects Cameron’s bogus methodology and conclusions.

ON THE COVER

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One of them says he’d like to bring nuclear weapons to the border. Others warn of horrible diseases, “barbaric” practices and a secret Mexican plot to “reconquer” the American Southwest. They are the nativists — a crop of hard-line anti-immigration activists that has sprung up in the last few years. Now, a worrying mixture of their rhetoric, weapons and conspiracy theories threatens to explode into violence.



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The *Intelligence Report* is published quarterly by the staff of the Intelligence Project of the Southern Poverty Law Center and provided free of charge to law enforcement officials, journalists, scholars and others. The Southern Poverty Law Center is supported entirely by private donations. No government funds are involved.

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43 Broken Record

For two years, CNN’s Lou Dobbs has railed on about the dangers posed by illegal immigration. What he won’t report on is mounting evidence of racism in the anti-immigration movement. A slew of **radio hosts (p. 46)** is following in his steps.

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At a conference held in Oregon last October, an extremist minister called for the reclamation of the courts from Satan. Bob Dylan was only one small part of the plot.

SPLC HOTLINE INAUGURATED

The Intelligence Project of the Southern Poverty Law Center has launched a new, after-hours hotline — for law enforcement use only — for emergency requests regarding cases involving extremism. The toll-free number is **(866) 285-6413**. Regular requests should be made during normal business hours through the Center’s main switchboard, (334) 956-8200.

MARKETING EXTREMISM

Neo-Nazis Use Actors’ Stock Photos as Propaganda

An attractive couple admires their darling infant. A mother and daughter paint pictures in a lovely park. A handsome man works at a desk. The videotaped images of these good-looking white people are accompanied by the reassuring voice of a male narrator. “There’s a growing feeling in white America that something is missing. What happened to us?” the voiceover asks. “Where can white Americans go to understand the changing world around us? ... White America, spend some time with us. See how bright the future can be. NationalVanguard.org.”

As corny as the images are, this is no ordinary 30-second commercial. It was created last April as propaganda for a Web site called National Vanguard that was run by Kevin Strom and the National Alliance, America’s best-known neo-Nazi group. A few months later, when Strom quit the Alliance, he hijacked the Web site and the ad. Today, Strom uses the ad — and offers a downloadable version on the site — to advertise his new neo-Nazi group, called, conveniently, National Vanguard.

There’s just one problem. Some of the same images used in the propaganda film appeared in a recent promotion for an Alabama TV station. Station officials confirmed that they were not of neo-Nazis at all — they were stock video bought from an Ocala, Fla., firm called Digital Juice, which bills itself as the “world leader in royalty-free professional animations, stock footage, music, layered graphics, clip art and templates.” It turns out that almost all of the images in the film came from Digital Juice, and were used in apparent violation of its end user agreement, which says images may not be used in a “defamatory” or “scandalous” manner.

Digital Juice declined any comment on the use of its footage. It also declined to identify the nine actors who now star

in a neo-Nazi propaganda film. It seems clear that none of the actors know of the way their images are being used.

This was not the only time that white supremacist groups have used stock photos in apparent violation of rules laid out by agencies that provide them. This November,

Dutch photographer Maartje van Caspel’s photograph (left), marketed by iStockphoto, has been altered to insert the name of a violently anti-Semitic tabloid. Meanwhile, stock footage from Digital Juice (inset) is being used to market a neo-Nazi group.

a Web posting announced that long-time extremist Ed Fields had left the National Alliance and joined up with Strom’s National Vanguard. Accompanying the posting was a photo of a middle-aged white man reading Fields’ anti-Semitic publication, *The Truth at Last*. The caption claims that Fields is the source of the picture, but it was actually sold by iStockphoto of Calgary, Canada. That company’s end user agreement requires that its images not be used in a “defamatory” way or to discuss “potentially sensitive” social issues. Taken by Dutch photographer Maartje van Caspel, the photo was electronically altered to insert Fields’ publication.

IN THE PRISONS

Jewish Extremist Murdered in Penitentiary

A key member of the racist Jewish Defense League (JDL), serving time for a 2001 plot to bomb a California mosque and the office of a Lebanese-American congressman, was killed in a Nov. 4 assault at a federal prison in Phoenix.

The killing, reportedly carried out by an inmate who struck Earl Krugel on the head with a cement block, came three years to the day after JDL leader Irv Rubin, imprisoned in the same plot, allegedly committed suicide while in federal detention. His family and the JDL have said they believe Rubin was murdered.

The JDL issued a press release immediately after Krugel’s death suggesting an Islamic or even government conspiracy to murder Jewish activists.

Both Rubin and Krugel were implicated in a plot to bomb the King Fahd Mosque in Culver City, Calif., and an office of Republican Congressman Darrell Issa. Rubin died in 2002, before going to trial. Krugel pleaded guilty the next year to conspiracy and explosives charges, and was sentenced



Jewish Defense League leader Irv Rubin (left) and follower Earl Krugel both died in prison after being implicated in a mosque-bombing plot.

to 20 years in prison.

Founded in 1968, the JDL has a long track record of political violence and anti-Arab hatred. Given Krugel's role in the JDL, it would be extraordinary if prison officials failed to segregate him from the rest of the prison population. Krugel, 62, was killed just three days after he arrived at the Phoenix penitentiary.

INTO THE MAINSTREAM

Academic Racists' Work Inching Toward Legitimacy

J. Philippe Rushton is best known for his dubious work as a race scientist, proposing such theories as an inverse relationship between brain and penis size and the general notion that blacks are not as smart as whites. Recently, the venomous psychology professor at the University of Western Ontario in Canada — a man who heads up and also is subsidized by the racist Pioneer Fund — unleashed yet another attack, saying "Toronto the Good" had been wrecked by "black people."

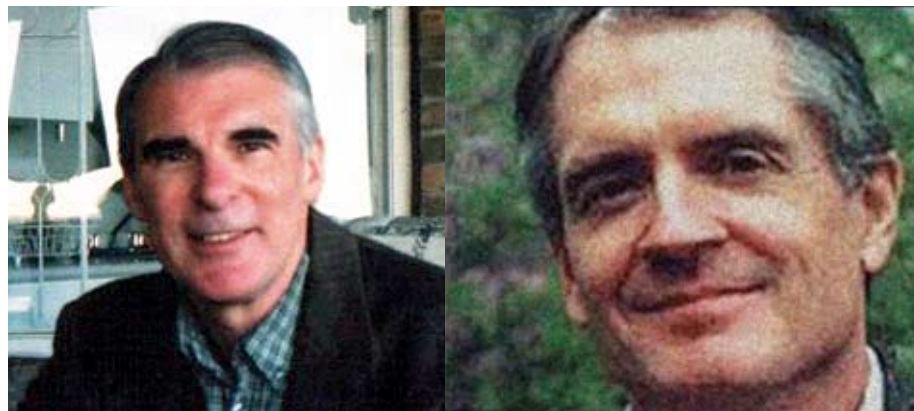
Unfortunately, some people still seem to take Rushton seriously.

This October, a refereed academic journal, *Nations and Nationalism*, published a Rushton study that "proved" that co-ethnics are as genetically similar to one another as half-siblings. Rushton's real point is that members of

ethnic groups typically show favoritism for their own group. Or, as Rushton expressed it in a press release, "People have a need to identify and be with others like themselves."

Four months earlier, in June, he published an article in *Psychology, Public Policy and Law*, a journal of the American Psychological Association, arguing that Asians are smarter than whites, who are in turn smarter than blacks. In this case, however, the journal's editors apparently knew of Rushton's racist background, and also published three rebuttals. But there were no rebuttals offered in December 2004, when the British journal, *Proceedings of the Royal Society: Biological*

"PEOPLE HAVE A NEED TO IDENTIFY AND BE WITH OTHERS LIKE THEMSELVES."



J. Philippe Rushton (left), a Canadian psychologist specializing in bizarre race theories, heads up the Pioneer Fund — a foundation that subsidizes both his work and that of Jared Taylor (right), editor of *American Renaissance* magazine, which also specializes in race.

Science, published another Rushton article on co-ethnics. The study was reported later on the Fox News Channel's Web site, again without any background on its author.

Another academic racist, Jared Taylor of *American Renaissance* magazine, released in September a new version of *The Color of Crime*, a booklet that claims blacks are especially prone to criminality. The booklet was cited in a conservative Cornell University student publication, *The Cornell*

American, where columnist Chris Menzel used it to warn fellow students about "gangs of black thugs." It was also quoted by blogger Nicholas Stix to justify segregated neighborhoods.

Another Taylor essay — a column on Hurricane Katrina that concluded that "when blacks are left entirely to their own devices ... civilization disappears" — was the subject of a major panel discussion at FrontPageMagazine.com. The site is run by right-wing ideologue David Horowitz, who criticized Taylor's racism but said he had had the "courage or integrity" to examine black criminal behavior. Several of those on the panel criticized Front Page for taking Taylor's work seriously.

Other similar "scientists" haven't fared as well as Rushton and Taylor. Britons Paul Ewing and Richard Lynn — Lynn, like Rushton, is a Pioneer Fund beneficiary — scored a coup when they got an article arguing that men are smarter than women into the *British Journal of Psychology*. But a respected academic journal, *Nature*, heard about the forthcoming study, and on the day it was released *Nature* published a full-scale rebuttal saying the study was "deeply flawed" and "utter hogwash."

ARYAN LOVE

Neo-Nazis Awash in Sex Scandals

Despite all their pious rhetoric about defending the virtue of women, American white supremacists have always been particularly wont to sexually scandalous behavior. Nineteenth-century Klansmen were often rapists, and the Klan of the 1920s collapsed in the wake of its powerful Indiana leader's conviction for a rape so bestial that his victim died. More recently, the deputy of former Klan leader David Duke, Bruce Alan Breeding, left the movement after he was exposed for running a secret porn empire. And the National Alliance, long the most important neo-Nazi group in America, has shrunk to a discredited shadow of its former self, in part because of its leaders' taste for strippers and all-nude lap dancing.

So it shouldn't come as much of a surprise to find that the heat goes on. Even so, the latest round of scandals has set neo-Nazis' tongues wagging nationwide.

In November, Martin Linstedt, a vitriolic racist who was for years a "pastor" of the neo-Nazi Church of the Sons of YHWH, was committed to a Missouri mental hospital while awaiting trial for allegedly kissing a young family member on the child's back, buttocks and groin. Three months earlier, church leader Morris Gulett ejected Linstedt for suggesting the "gang rape of female whigger [a white "nigger"] herd animals" and the "skinning alive of prisoners and execution by slow torture." Gulett, an ex-felon now in federal custody awaiting trial for conspiracy to commit bank robbery, said Linstedt had made his group look like "street thugs."

In October, Steven Holten, the self-described Nevada leader of the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations, was arrested after allegedly soliciting a male undercover officer in Sparks, Nev., for sex. Police said Holten, who was in full Nazi regalia when he was arrested, had been advertising for sex in a flier that particularly sought

"OVERHEARD"

"My understanding is that the KKK doesn't even ban members by race."

TENNESSEE STATE REP. STACEY CAMPFIELD (R-Knoxville), in a Sept. 27 remark to a reporter comparing the state's Black Legislative Caucus unfavorably to the nation's oldest terrorist organization

"But I do know it's true that if you wanted to reduce crime, you could, if that were your sole purpose, you could abort every black baby in this country and your crime rate would go down."

WILLIAM BENNETT, the self-styled morality czar of the United States and former education secretary under President Reagan, on the Sept. 28 broadcast of Salem Radio Network's "Bill Bennett's Morning in America"

"We need one idea ... and the one idea is, 'How are we going to exterminate white people?' ... We have to exterminate white people off the face of the planet."

KAMAU KAMBON, former North Carolina State University visiting professor, speaking on an Oct. 14 panel at Howard University Law School televised by C-SPAN

"Many, many of the poor in New Orleans ... weren't going to leave no matter what you did. They were drug-addicted. They weren't going to get turned off from their sources."

BILL O'REILLY, in a Sept. 13 broadcast of Westwood One's "The Radio Factor with Bill O'Reilly," discussing victims of Hurricane Katrina

"If we are faced with a disaster in this country, which group do we want to save? The rich or the poor? ... Who is a drag on society? The rich or the poor? ... We should save the rich people first."

NEAL BOORTZ, reacting to a story about wealthy New Yorkers getting terrorism alerts before others, on the Oct. 24 broadcast of Cox Radio Syndication's "The Neal Boortz Show"

"If you're from the Middle East, it only makes sense you might be in a Middle Eastern terror cell."

CONNIE HAIR, spokeswoman for the anti-immigration vigilante group Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, quoted on the Fox News Channel on Sept. 30

"These guys know we will shoot them in a heartbeat if they fire a round or throw a stone, now that we have thermal and infrared night vision and can pick out individual targets from a distance."

JIM CHASE, leader of the anti-immigration vigilante group California Minutemen, in a Sept. 20 E-mail to supporters discussing undocumented border-crossers

"It's no different than if you have a neighborhood watch person watching your children at the playground."

CALIFORNIA GOV. ARNOLD SCHWARZENEGGER expressing support for "unarmed" Minuteman patrols in a Sept. 21 interview with a reporter

Quotes were compiled from media accounts, Web pages, E-mail groups and Media Matters, a Web site that monitors the far right.

Hispanic men. Holten had only recently emerged from federal prison, where he served part of a 10 month-sentence for making E-mail death threats. Holten, initially booked on suspicion of indecent exposure, is suffering from AIDS. Police said that he could be charged with a felony for failing to tell sex partners that he had the disease.

Also that month, Miner Prescott, a Cleveland neo-Nazi known as “Tsun” in his frequent postings to neo-Nazi chat rooms, admitted that he enjoyed having women urinate on him. Prescott defended the practice in a message to the neo-Nazi VNN Forum, adding that it was particularly appealing “when administered by a swanky blonde wearing something black and low-cut.” Prescott also said he ran three pornographic Web sites and had sponsored Asian sex tours — a most definite no-no in the world of all-white Aryan love, which does, after all, have its limits. He was rapidly ejected from the neo-Nazi chat rooms where he was once a favorite.

TAX PROTESTERS

Justice Department Moving to Smash Tax Scams

October was a banner month for the Department of Justice’s efforts to destroy illegal tax-avoidance scams, a four-year endeavor that has so far resulted in a large number of arrests and injunctions against more than 100 anti-tax crusaders.

The scams have been promoted around the country by hundreds of people, many associated with radical antigovernment groups, who argue that the federal income tax is not lawful. These bogus theories spread particularly quickly in the 1990s, when they were promoted by many in the militia movement.

Probably the most significant October development was the conviction of Irwin Schiff, a veteran anti-tax crusader blamed for the loss of \$56 million in federal taxes, on charges of conspiracy,



tax evasion and tax fraud. Schiff, 77, peddled the idea that Americans don’t need to pay income taxes for decades through his books and seminars. He now faces up to 43 years in prison and \$3.25 million in fines. He’s apparently not a quick learner — Schiff was convicted in 1980 and 1985 of a series of criminal tax violations and served four years in federal prison as a result.

Disbarred lawyer Robert Clarkson, one of many tax protesters roped in by recent federal law enforcement efforts, likes to dress up as “The Great One,” a “genuine superhero that comes to the rescue of the average person.”

AMONG THE OTHER IMPORTANT TAX-PROTEST DEVELOPMENTS IN OCTOBER:

Certified public accountant **Gary Kuzel**, of Downers Grove, Ill., was sentenced to two years in prison. He was the last of 10 defendants to be sentenced who were affiliated with Anderson’s Ark & Associates, a major promoter of tax avoidance scams. Kuzel admitted to helping clients of Anderson’s Ark file a whole series of false tax and legal documents.

John David Van Hove, well known in the tax protest movement as “Johnny Liberty,” pleaded guilty to tax and wire fraud charges in connection with some \$700,000 he took in from clients of his Maui, Hawaii, financial planning and investment service. Van Hove taught his clients how to avoid paying taxes and helped them conceal their income in a variety of ways. He was also affiliated with Global Prosperity Trust, a tax-scam outfit whose main founders were arrested in 2002. Van Hove faces up to 20 years in federal prison.

Federal prosecutors filed a suit in South Carolina against **Robert Clarkson**, a disbarred attorney who has twice been convicted of federal tax-related crimes. The suit aims to prevent Clarkson from selling fraudulent tax materials like his “Un-Taxing Packet” and to obtain the names of his customers. Long active in antigovernment groups, Clarkson sometimes dresses as “The Great One,” a sort of masked super-hero symbolizing resistance to the tax authorities.

Justice officials also asked for a federal injunction ordering **Derrick Sanders** of Atlanta to turn over a list of his customers. Sanders claims to be the “Grand Master Consul” of the Yamassee Native Americans of Eaton, Ga., a group previously known as the Nuwaubian Nation of Moors. (The name changed after the Nuwaubian leader was convicted of molesting scores of children.) Sanders has argued the Yamassees are exempt from federal taxes, though they are not a recognized Indian tribe. In fact, virtually all of them are black.



SPECIAL TO THE REPORT

Aryan Nations World Congress · September 17, 2005

More than 100 white supremacists gathered on private property outside Scottsboro, Ala., to burn crosses and a giant swastika for the annual Aryan Nations World Congress. The Sept. 17 meeting drew members of White Revolution, including leader Billy Roper; the Knights of Yahweh; the Lebensbaum Assembly Church; the Proud White Brotherhood; the American White Knights, including leader J.J. Harper; the World Knights of the Ku Klux Klan; the National Socialist Movement, and the North Georgia White Knights. For years, Aryan Nations’ annual congresses were held in Idaho, but after group founder Richard Butler died in late 2004, surviving remnants of the group moved to Alabama. This year’s was the first congress held in the state.

FUGITIVES

‘Prophet’ still on the run, but authorities closing in on sect

At 3 a.m. on Oct. 28, sheriff’s deputies in Pueblo County, Colo., pulled over a suspicious Ford Excursion and found a lot more than the drunken driver they expected. Reclining on a mattress in the back was Seth Jeffs, the younger brother of fugitive “prophet” Warren Jeffs, leader of a controversial polygamist sect.

An Arizona warrant for the elder Jeffs was issued last June on felony charges of conspiracy and sexual conduct with a minor, relating to his alleged role in forcing underage girls to

marry much older men who typically already had wives. In August, the FBI said that he was among the agency’s 20 most-wanted fugitives.

Warren Jeffs heads the Fundamentalist Latter Day Saints (FLDS), a group with an estimated 10,000 followers that has been strongly rejected by the mainstream Mormon church. Jeffs’ theology includes racist descriptions of blacks, and his sect is considered a hate group by the Southern Poverty Law Center.

Inside the Ford Excursion, the Colorado deputies found seven cell phones, a stack of prepaid bank cards and some \$200,000 in cash — classic items for fugi-

tives, authorities said. Some of the money was in containers marked “Pennies for the Prophet.” There were also stacks of letters addressed to “The Prophet.”

The October stop wasn’t the only sign

that officials are turning up the heat on FLDS’ operations. Authorities have taken several other measures against the sect:

- Eight other FLDS men have been charged with crimes relating to the marriage of underage women.

- The Arizona State Board of Education is expected

shortly to place the Colorado City, Ariz., School District in receivership. Warren Jeffs allegedly used the school system as a source of income, and the district’s top three administrators are



Seth Jeffs

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

under criminal investigation for misuse of funds.

- A judge recently froze FLDS assets in the twin towns of Colorado City and Hildale, Utah, as part of an investigation of Jeffs. The court is transferring control of those assets — worth some \$100 million — to trustees outside FLDS.
- Several polygamist police officers in the twin towns have been stripped of their badges (polygamy is a crime



Followers of the Fundamentalist Latter Day Saints, a racist sect in the Southwest, are building a gigantic limestone temple in Texas — even as sect leader Warren Jeffs flees the law.

in most states). Utah officials are also seeking the removal of a polygamist judge in Hildale.

Warren Jeffs has managed to evade a growing manhunt; he has not been seen since last January. Arizona Attorney General Terry Goddard suspects he may have frequently visited Eldorado, Texas, where his followers have been building a huge compound, including a massive limestone temple, on a 1,600-acre ranch.

Texas is the state where Seth Jeffs told deputies he was heading when they stopped his SUV on suspicion of drunken driving. After the vehicle’s driver — Seth’s cousin, Nathaniel Allred — accused Jeffs of paying him \$5,000 for sexual favors, the deputies charged Seth Jeffs with soliciting prostitution.

Jeffs told deputies he was delivering the car’s contents to Eldorado but would not discuss his brother’s whereabouts. “Prophets are persecuted,” he explained.

NEO-NAZI SKINHEADS

‘Blood and Honour Council’ Defies Hammerskins

A landmark neo-Nazi Skinhead summit attended by the leaders of more than a dozen Skinhead gangs from at least eight different states took place Oct. 22 in Ohio. Dubbed “The Blood and Honour Council,” the summit represented the first unified attempt to challenge the authority of the Hammerskins (HS), a nationwide Skinhead syndicate that has asserted dominion over U.S. skins since 1988.

The council was organized and hosted by former Hammerskin Brien James, founder of the Vinlander Social Club, a regional Skinhead group, and by Ohio State Skinheads leaders Eric Fairburn and Kevin Kislingbury. It was held on Kislingbury’s property in Logan, Ohio, according to law enforcement sources.

By calling the council without prior Hammerskin approval and then publicly inviting HS leaders to attend and guaranteeing their safety, the Blood and Honour organizers broadcast the message that Hammerskins are no longer the unchallenged bosses of the Skinhead scene. Not surprisingly, its leaders boycotted the

event. Leaders of the Portland, Ore.-based Skinhead gang Volksfront, which is closely aligned with the Hammerskins, also refused to attend.

Besides Skinhead gang leaders, the Blood and Honour Council consisted of representatives from several hate rock music companies as well as the neo-Nazi National Alliance and the Imperial Klans of America. According to minutes distributed online, the Skinhead leaders forged a precedent-setting bond with the National Alliance. “The participants in the regional skinhead groups intend to work through the National Alliance in their regions as a political outlet,” the minutes stated. It was not clear why the Skinheads voted to join forces with the National Alliance but not the IKA, especially considering that Alliance leaders viciously mocked Skinheads during the Alliance’s heyday just a few years back.

According to the minutes, the members further decided they would meet once a year in the future, and that any group “meeting the council criteria” would send two representatives. “According to the customs of our Nordic, Celtic and Saxon forefathers, no weapons will be brought into the meeting area,” the minutes stated.

The council also established a “uniform code of appearance and conduct” for “large scale public actions,” consisting of “dark polo or dress shirts and nice pants, either black or tan. ...



HATE CRIME

Report: FBI Hate Crime Statistics Vastly Understate Problem

The real number of hate crimes in the United States is more than 15 times higher than FBI statistics reflect, according to a stunning new government report.

Hate crime statistics published by the FBI since 1992, based on voluntary reports from law enforcement agencies around the country, have shown annual totals of about 6,000 to 10,000, depending on the year. But the new report, “Hate Crimes Reported by Victims and Police,” found an average annual total of 191,000 hate crimes. That means the real level of hate crime runs between 19 and 31 times higher than the numbers that have been officially reported for almost 15 years.

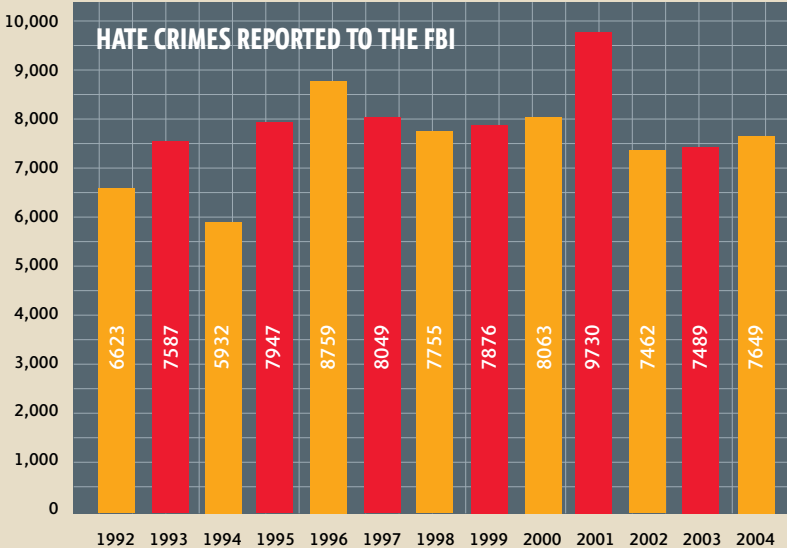
“It’s an astounding report,” said Jack Levin, a leading hate crime expert at Northeastern University. “It’s not necessarily completely accurate, but I would trust these data before I trusted the voluntary law enforcement reports to the FBI.”

The revealing new report, compiled by the Bureau of Justice Statistics and published in November, was based on an analysis of three and a half years of detailed survey data from the biannual National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS). The NCVS raw data comes from interviews with almost 80,000 statistically representative people and is the most accurate crime survey extant.

The report, which inferred hate motivation from the words and symbols used by the offender, found that just 44% of hate crimes are reported to police. Other hate crimes don’t make it into FBI statistics for an array of reasons: Police may fail to record some as hate crimes; their departments may not report hate crime statistics to state officials; and those officials may not accurately report to the FBI.

According to the new report, hate crimes involve violence far more often than other crimes. The data showed 84% of hate crimes were violent, meaning they involved a sexual attack, robbery, assault or murder. By contrast, just 23% of non-hate crimes involved violence. Other studies have suggested that hate-motivated violence, especially against homosexuals, is more extreme than other violence.

The report also showed that 56% of hate crime victims identified race as the primary factor in the crimes they reported. Ethnicity accounted for another 29% of the total. Hate crimes motivated by sexual orientation were 18% of the total. Given that the best studies indicate about 3% of the American population is homosexual, that means that gays and lesbians are victimized at six times the overall rate.



[O]utdated racial symbols such as the swastika, SS bolts, Confederate battle flag, etc., should be avoided.”

On the topic of hate rock, the council decided that, “It is the majority opinion of the participants that it is in our best interest to venture into more ‘mainstream’ lyrics as well as racial ones, and possibly even explore the option of holding events for the general

public for profit.”

Finally, the council members issued a list of enemy individuals and groups that included National Socialist Movement coordinator Bill White (“admitted informant”) and all members of Volksfront.

The list did not name the Hammerskins. But even so, the proceedings of the Blood and Honour Council verged on a declaration of war. The meeting followed numerous incidents of Hammerskins ganging up on other Skinheads at concerts, and the Hammerskins’ adopting a hard-line “with us or against us” attitude during a 2003

feud with the Hoosier State Skinheads that erupted after a stabbing over a girlfriend. Many Skinheads resented being forced to choose sides.

A 2003 post to a Skinhead Web site by “a former Hammerskin probate” [a probationary member of the group] summed up the significance of the conflict this way: “Rest assured the days of crews submitting to Hammerskin policing of the skinhead sub-culture are over.” Resistance to old-guard Skinhead leaders is probably overstated. But the Blood and Honour Council does reflect a new era. ▲

A man in a white suit, pink shirt, and black tie is looking upwards against a bright blue sky with scattered white clouds. The background also shows a dark green treeline and a hill in the distance.

THE FABULIST

ANTI-GAY RESEARCHER PAUL CAMERON'S FALSEHOODS ARE WELL KNOWN. THE INCREDIBLE THING IS THE PEOPLE WHO STILL CITE THEM BY DAVID HOLTHOUSE

Nearly 600 evangelical Christians packed into the gymnasium of the Calvary Christian Academy in Forth Worth, Texas, to witness a ceremony on a Sunday in June. With a flourish of his pen, Texas Gov. Rick Perry signed the first bill while the televangelist at his side praised Jesus.

Gov. Perry shared the stage with celebrity Pentecostal faith healer Rob Parsley, whose television program is carried by 1,400 stations nationwide. In the audience were the leaders of two prominent family values action groups: Donald Wildmon, chairman of the American Family Association, and Tony Perkins, president of the Family Research Council.

The first document Perry signed that day was a parental notification law requiring girls under 18 to obtain parental permission before having an abortion. The second proposed that the state constitution be amended to specifically prohibit gays and lesbians from marrying. (Texas voters overwhelmingly approved the amendment this Nov. 8.)

Parsley heaped praise on Gov. Perry for “protecting the children of Texas from the gay agenda.” Then he rattled off a series of shocking statistics: “Gay sex is a veritable breeding ground for disease,” he said. “Only 1% of the homosexual population in America will die of old age. The average life expectancy for a homosexual in the United States of America is 43 years of age. A lesbian can only expect to live to be 45 years of age. Homosexuals represent 2% of the population, yet today they’re carrying 60% of the known cases of syphilis.”

The televangelist did not reveal where he got those numbers. He stated them starkly as facts to be accepted on blind faith. But they are not facts. They are gross distortions lifted straight from the pages of pseudo-scientific studies by Dr. Paul Cameron, a crackpot psychologist and champion of the anti-gay crusade.

Under the guise of chairman of the Family Research Institute, his statistical chop shop in Colorado Springs, Colo., Cameron has published dozens upon dozens of research studies that offer homophobes a supposedly scientific justification for their prejudices by invariably concluding that gays and lesbians are dangerous and diseased perverts.

“Homosexuality is an infectious appetite with personal and social consequences,” is how Cameron describes the phenomenon he studies. “It is like the dog that gets a taste for blood after killing its first victim and desires to get more victims thereafter with a ravenous hunger.”



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

The power of faith: At a June ceremony where Texas Gov. Rick Perry signed laws restricting abortion and gay rights, the Rev. Rod Parsley recited a series of bogus statistics about homosexuality. They came straight from the hate shop of Paul Cameron.

abortion zealot Gary McCullough — media adviser to Operation Rescue and the parents of Terri Schiavo, whose feeding tube removal sparked a major controversy — publicizes Cameron’s findings to religious newspapers and helps distribute tens of thousands of his heavily footnoted pamphlets to church congregations.

Not one of Cameron’s anti-gay studies has been published in a respected

scientific journal with rigorous content review standards. Instead, Cameron props up his façade of credibility by publishing his studies in *Psychological Reports*, a Montana-based vanity magazine that advertises itself as “The Scientific Manifestation of Free Speech” and will publish practically anything for \$27.50 per page.

Unlike a serious academic journal, *Psychological Reports* does not employ a peer review panel of scientists to guard against flawed studies. But its title looks good in footnotes, and Cameron has been publishing his work in the magazine since 1972, long before he joined the anti-gay crusade. His first study in *Psychological Reports* concerned the relationship between pet and non-pet owners and animals. Cameron concluded that pet owners are far more likely to be kind to animals than non-pet owners.

‘Too Powerful to Resist’

While Cameron describes homosexuality as a “crime against humanity,” he seems fascinated with the mechanics and pleasures of gay sex. In a widely publicized 1999 interview, he said, “Marital sex tends toward the boring end. Generally, it doesn’t deliver the kind of sheer sexual pleasure that homosexual sex does. If you isolate sexuality as something solely for one’s own personal amusement, if all you want is the most satisfying orgasm you can get, then homosexuality seems too powerful to resist. The evidence is that men do a better job on men.”

In a separate interview, in 1996, Cameron traced his distaste for homosexuality back to his childhood, claiming that when he was 4 years old a pedophile approached him in an apple orchard and forced him to perform oral sex. “I must have been a beautiful and charming little boy. But I didn’t like it very much,” Cameron said. “I remember that he was

kind of dirty, and this bothered me.” A year later, according to Cameron, a female stranger lured him into a bathtub. “I had a much more pleasant experience with the woman.”

Now 66 years old, Cameron received his doctorate in psychology from the University of Colorado, Boulder, in 1966, and became one of the first researchers to look into the adverse health effects of secondhand smoke. He also studied what he called “the happiness of handicapped versus normal persons,” publishing his findings in 1971 under the title, “Satisfaction of the Malformed.”

In 1978, Cameron authored a sex guide for Christian teenagers called *Sexual Gradualism* (see story, right) in which he assigned numeric values to sexual acts: Kissing level three, heavy petting level five, intercourse level eight. In it, he suggested that teens experiment with heterosexual sex, short of intercourse, as a means of preventing homosexuality. “While no parent wants his child starting the sexual process ‘too young,’” he wrote, “better too young than homosexual.”

Cameron first waded into the fray over gay rights in 1982, when he became chairman of the Committee to Oppose Special Rights for Homosexuals, which formed to fight a proposed ordinance in Omaha, Neb., to extend civil rights protections to gays and lesbians. Cameron was then a professor at the University of Nebraska. Campaigning against the ordinance, Cameron told the congregation of the University of Nebraska Lutheran Church that a local 4-year old boy had recently been dragged into a shopping mall bathroom and castrated by a homosexual. The story was totally false. The Omaha Police Department and local hospitals had no record of such an assault. But the tale of the homosexual castration attack upon a child quickly became a popular myth, and Cameron kept defending it in the media as “an example of what could happen,” even after admitting that his source for the information was a friend of a friend who’d supposedly heard it from a police officer. The Omaha gay rights ordinance

ANYTHING BUT GAY

Paul Cameron doesn’t like homosexuality. But his 1978 recipe for avoiding it — sex play for teens — will shock many a parent

In a 1978 book called Sexual Gradualism, Paul Cameron offered a “solution to the sexual dilemma of teenagers and young adults.” The man who would go on to become America’s most vitriolic anti-gay researcher proposed that teenagers and unmarried adults be encouraged by their parents, church leaders and society in general to engage in sexual activity that gradually increases in intensity, but always stops short of “going all the way” before marriage. What follows are excerpts from the meandering, 70-page manual, which is part social theory, part how-to guide.

Gradualism is a process-oriented approach to learning the physical skills of sexuality in step with gaining maturity in the psychological aspects of sexual intimacy. Gradualism is anchored on set levels of sexuality activity. These levels are:

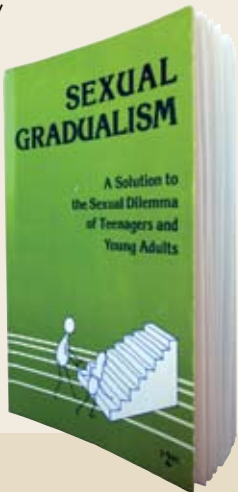
- Level 1: Being near another.
- Level 2: Holding hands, hugging and the like.
- Level 3: Kissing.
- Level 4: Breast fondling.
- Level 5: Mutual hand exploration of the genitals.
- Level 6: Total nudity, perhaps in a bathtub. Manual stimulation.
- Level 7: Oral sex.
- Level 8: The final level of sexual intimacy.

Level 5 is the break-off point. Only people who truly love can care enough to handle beyond Level 5. Level 5 provides 60 percent of the overall fun of sex.

Kissing is probably among the most harmful practices in which our culture indulges. I know of no absolute way to compare the amount of disease attributable to sexual intercourse as compared to mouth-to-mouth exchange. But one would suspect there are far more dangerous diseases communicated by mouth than by the genital track.

Gradualism would best be practiced at home. A responsible set of parents might allot a room, privacy, access to a bathroom, a television, and snacks to their teen-agers to practice gradualism. Some parents may shudder at this prospect. But they should remember that the minute a teenager leaves in a car, he or she is able to do anything desired.

Another advantage of gradualism is the insulation value it provides against homosexuality. By gradually introducing a young person to the opposite sex, gradualism steers in a heterosexual direction. While no parent wants his child starting the sexual process “too young,” better too young than homosexual.



was voted down by a four-to-one margin. Cameron had learned an important lesson: The more sensational a falsehood about homosexuals is, the more it will be repeated, and the more it's repeated, the less it matters whether or not it's true.

550 Sex Questions

A year after his victory in Nebraska, Cameron announced himself as the head of a new scientific research group he called the Institute for the Scientific Investigation of Sexuality (ISIS). He said the institute's first project would be a nationwide sex survey. And Cameron boldly predicted in media interviews that, "The results will tend to indicate that those who lead sexually venturesome lives are more inclined toward suicide, are less happy, and contract more diseases." (Legitimate researchers do not publicize their findings in advance of data collection).

A 550-item questionnaire designed by Cameron was at the heart of the ISIS study. The questions were oddly constructed and deeply personal: "With how many homosexual virgins have you had homosexual relations?" and "How would you feel about sharing toilet facilities with a homosexual?" (Multiple-choice answers to the latter question included, "Very positive. I'd enjoy it greatly.")

Another question asked respondents why they thought they had developed their sexual orientation and gave a checklist of 44 reasons including "I was seduced by a homosexual adult" and "I failed at heterosexuality." According to contemporary newspaper articles, residents in several neighborhoods targeted by Cameron's field teams called the police to report that perverts in the area were asking sleazy questions.

Legitimate scientists have identified and described in detail multiple fundamental flaws in the ISIS study's methodology and statistical analysis, any one of which would be enough to destroy its credibility (see interview, p. 16). But still, to this day, Cameron's 1983 survey serves as the religious right's primary wellspring of anti-gay fear mongering.

"Whenever frightening claims about homosexual sex habits or child molestation are reported in pamphlets, videotapes or other materials, chances are the information has been taken from this single study," writes David Williams, director of the Kentucky Gay and Lesbian Library and Archives, who tracks the use of Cameron's statistics. "As propaganda, it has taken on a life of its own. As information,

however, it's stunningly useless." The same year Cameron conducted the ISIS survey, he released a separate study claiming that homosexuals are "10-20 times more likely than heterosexuals to molest children," a startling figure that still frequently pops up in hard-right religious sermons and AM radio screeds.

Cameron based that finding on a 1978 study by Nicholas Groth, the highly respected director of the Sex Offender

Program at the Connecticut Department of Corrections. Groth had interviewed 175 convicted child molesters and found that more of them had molested boys than girls. Cameron's statistic is derived from the false assumption that men who molest boys are gay, despite the fact that Groth's original study found that none of the men identified himself as homosexual. Instead, the pedophiles were either heterosexual outside of their criminal behavior or were what Groth termed "fixated pedophiles with no interest in sex with adults."

Groth was outraged and filed a formal complaint with the American Psychological Association that led to Cameron losing his professional accreditation. "Dr. Cameron misrepresents my findings and distorts them to advance his homophobic views," Groth wrote the APA. "He disgraces his profession."

AIDS Abetting

Cameron took his act to the national stage in the mid-'80s against the backdrop of the escalating AIDS panic. In 1986, he co-authored the book *Special Report: AIDS*, which advocated establishing concentration camps immediately for "sexually active homosexuals," theorized that HIV is transmissible by casual contact, and popularized a fictional medical condition labeled "Gay Bowel Syndrome."

In 1987, Cameron moved to Washington, D.C., and changed the name of his organization to the Family Research Institute. Later that year, his institute set up a booth in the exhibit hall at the Third International Conference on AIDS featuring banners that read, "Stop the pipeline: Cut homosexual travel" and "Problem: A worldwide homosexual network. Solution: Destroy the homosexual infrastructure. Punish homosexual acts."

The booth was swarmed with angry AIDS victims and gay rights activists, some of whom repeatedly sneezed on him before being arrested and dragged from the hall. An Associated Press journalist recorded a confrontation between

Cameron and a reporter for the Gay Cable News Network. "All we're saying is, screen and quarantine until we come up with a cure," Cameron said. "Rights have run amok in our society, particularly sexual ones. Homosexuals were hung 300 years ago in our society."

"Is that what you're advocating today, that gay people be hung?" the gay journalist replied.

Cameron continued, "Homosexuals were castrated 200 years ago."

"So things are getting better then?" "Homosexuals were imprisoned 100 years ago."

"What sort of concentration camps do you have in mind, Dr. Cameron?"

'Hobos and Jailbirds'

Cameron moved his base of operations to Colorado five years later, in 1992, after supporters of a state constitutional amendment to ban civil rights protections for gays and lesbians distributed 100,000 copies of his study 'What Homosexuals Do' (sample statistic: 17% eat human feces) to Colorado voters one week before they went to the polls. The amendment passed. Later that year, during the raging debate over President Clinton's proposal to allow gays in the military, Army officials circulated Cameron's studies inside the Pentagon.

In 1994, Cameron attended a secret anti-gay summit in Colorado Springs that was attended by the leaders of virtually every major religious right political action group in the country. They gathered to discuss how best to combat "the homosexual agenda." Infiltrators recorded Cameron saying that when considering "what should be done with queers," it was important to keep in mind that "most people who engage in homosexuality are of the lower strata; these are people who are waiters and busboys and bums and hobos and jailbirds and so forth."

That same year, the Family Research Institute released Cameron's infamous "Gay Obituary Study," in which he calculated the "average gay life span in America." He did this by culling 6,000 obituaries from gay publications at the height of the AIDS crisis, tallying the ages of death in each, dividing them by 6,000, and thus arriving at the conclusion that the average life span for a gay man is 43 years old.

In 1997, former Secretary of Education, *Book of Virtues* author and gambling enthusiast William Bennett cited Cameron's obituary study in a *Weekly Standard* column titled, "Clinton, Gays, and the Truth." Later that year on the ABC news program "This Week," Bennett said, "The best available research suggests that the average life span of male homosexuals is around 43 years of age. Forty three."

After Bennett took Cameron's life expectancy figure for gays to a mainstream audience, the online magazine *Slate* published a devastating critique of Cameron's work by Walter Olson, a senior fellow at the conservative Manhattan Institute. The average age at death for AIDS victims, the magazine noted, was about 40. For Cameron's figure of 43 years old to be true, *Slate* pointed out, gay people who never

contract AIDS could have a life expectancy of no more than 46 years — a truly absurd proposition — even assuming that half the gay population will eventually contract AIDS.

"Looked at another way," *Slate* reported, "if even half the gay male population stays HIV-negative and lives to an average age of 75, an average overall life span of 43 implies that gay males with AIDS die at an implausibly early age (11, actually)."

In the end, Bennett retracted his claim. "Given what I now know, I believe there are flaws with Paul Cameron's study," he said.

But the 43-years figure will not die. It gains new life with every repetition, whether by a neo-Nazi posting on-line or a televangelist standing with the governor of Texas.

The Big Lie

Cameron's newest batch of research concludes that gay sex is more dangerous than smoking. These studies basically recycle the obituary study with a new twist. First, Cameron presents it as a given that the average gay life span is 43 years, citing his own 1995 study as evidence. Then he compares 43 years to the average life span of smokers to conclude that having gay sex is far more dangerous than cigarettes.

"No one argues that people smoke because they are smokers. They are called smokers because they smoke. Yet gay rights activists maintain that homosexuals engage in homosexual acts because they are homosexuals," Cameron said in a recent interview with a born-again Christian on-line magazine. "Thus sex with nearly anonymous partners of the same gender becomes a constitutionally protected means of self-expression, something a homosexual is compelled to do the way pear trees are compelled to produce fruit."

It appears the smoking-versus-gay sex propaganda seeds Cameron planted last year are beginning to bearing their own fruits. In June, the Rev. Bill Banuchi, executive director of the New York chapter of the Christian Coalition, said in a speech protesting Gay Pride Day that gays should be legally required to wear warning labels, not unlike Jewish stars under the Nazis.

"We put warning labels on cigarette packs because we know that smoking takes one or two years off the average life span, yet we celebrate a lifestyle that we know spreads every kind of sexually transmitted disease and takes at least 20 years off the average life span, according to the 2005 issue of the revered [sic] scientific journal *Psychological Reports*."

One month later, Dr. John Whiffen, chairman of the board of the National Physicians Center for Family Resources, a faith-basped advocacy group that was contracted by Bush Administration federal health officials to develop an abstinence education curriculum, said that, "There are obvious effects for male homosexuals from a health standpoint. Parents should discuss those with their child." Then he added: "It's fairly well-accepted that smoking is not a good idea. It takes seven years off your life. It appears that male homosexuality takes more than that off your life. Naturally you should warn them about that."

Somewhere, Paul Cameron is smiling. ▲

“Most people who engage in homosexuality are of the lower strata; these are people who are waiters and busboys and bums and hobos and jailbirds and so forth.”



GARBAGE IN GARBAGE OUT



PAUL CAMERON'S DISCREDITED RESEARCH REMAINS A MAINSTAY OF THE ANTI-GAY RELIGIOUS RIGHT. BUT ONE KEY EXPERT AIMS TO CHANGE THAT

As a scientist, Paul Cameron is a disgrace. Under his chairmanship, the Family Research Institute, a Colorado Springs, Colo., gay-bashing propaganda mill, has churned out reams of pseudo-scientific “studies” purporting to prove that gays and lesbians are more prone than heterosexuals to commit murder, die young and molest children, among many other dubious findings. The American Psychological Association and the American Sociological Association have publicly discredited Cameron. But he remains a hero to homophobes on the religious right who deploy his junk science in their campaigns against civil rights for gays and lesbians. One of Cameron’s most articulate critics is Dr. Gregory Herek, a professor of psychology at the University of California-Davis, who has also served on the faculties of Yale University and the City University of New York. Herek in recent years has debunked Cameron’s findings in dissections archived on-line at the UC-Davis website, including a point-by-point takedown of a 1983 national sexual behavior survey that Cameron used as the foundation for most of his subsequent research papers. Herek has identified numerous fatal flaws in that survey’s methodology, meaning that any conclusions drawn from it are irremediably tainted — “garbage in, garbage out,” as the expression goes. Cameron has said very little in his own defense against Herek’s withering critiques, other than to call his opponent “a flaming gay.”

INTELLIGENCE REPORT: Dr. Herek, let’s start off by discussing your critique of the 1983 national survey conducted by Paul Cameron as director of a group he called the Institute for the Scientific Investigation of Sexuality [ISIS]. Given that one of the best ways to evaluate the reliability of a research survey’s results is to examine its sample selection, what do you see when you scrutinize the sampling in the 1983 ISIS survey?

GREGORY HEREK: First of all, the response rate is unacceptably low. Cameron reports his research team randomly targeted 18,418 households for their sample, and of that initial group, only 4,340 households actually

completed a survey. The rest either weren’t home when the doorbell rang, they directly refused the survey, or they accepted a survey but never completed and returned it. Divide 4,340 by 18,418 and you have a 23% response rate. It’s important to judge the response rate in its historical context. High-quality surveys typically obtained response rates around 75% back in the early 1980s. There is no absolute scientific standard for what constitutes an acceptable rate of response for research of this kind. By any stretch, however, 23% is inadequate.

IR: Considering that extremely low response rate, how do you think non-response bias affected the validity of

the data collected?

HEREK: The simple answer is that we can’t know for sure. However, given the survey study’s other methodological problems, it is reasonable to hypothesize that the people who took the time and initiative to complete and return a 550-question survey left at their front door — which included many poorly worded and often intrusive questions about sexual matters — differed in important respects from those who didn’t complete it. I think most social scientists would be concerned that the pool of respondents included a disproportionate number of people who had a special interest in reporting their sexual experiences.

Another concern would be that some respondents may not have been providing accurate data but instead might have purposely exaggerated their sexual experiences to have some fun at Cameron’s expense.

IR: You’ve criticized the design of the ISIS survey as being too long and needlessly complex, and for lacking certain basic accuracy safeguards. Could you outline those design flaws?

HEREK: Many of the questions required respondents to read a large number of alternative answers and then to follow intricate instructions. For example, in one section respondents were expected to read a list of 36 categories of persons, including, “My male YMCA counselor,” “My male Scout counselor,” “My male camp counselor,” and “My female grad school teacher,” and then to note the age at which each of these categories of persons made what was described in the instructions as “serious sexual advances.”

There’s good reason to believe the validity of the results obtained by such a questionnaire would be negatively impacted by what’s termed “respondent fatigue,” but there’s no way to know for certain because Cameron failed to follow the basic practice of including consistency checks in his questionnaire, which is where questions from the early section of a survey

are repeated with alternate phrasing toward the end.

IR: Cameron also gave numerous media interviews in the cities where his surveys went out in which he predicted and even promoted certain results. You’ve identified his conduct as a serious breach of professional standards. Why is that?

HEREK: One of the principal challenges of social research is that the individuals who are being studied can become aware of the researcher’s expectations or goals, which can alter their behavior. For this reason, researchers do not communicate their expectations or hypotheses in advance. Nor do they bias participants’ responses by suggesting that a particular answer is more correct or desirable than others.

Contrary to this well-established standard, Cameron publicly disclosed the survey’s goals and his own political agenda. In one front-page interview, he characterized the survey as providing “ammunition for those who want laws adopted banning homosexual acts throughout the United States.” This was in an article headlined “Poll Will Help Oppose Gays” that appeared while data collection was still in process.

IR: What other problems have you identified in Cameron’s data collection methods?

HEREK: In a 1994 pamphlet, Cameron related an anecdote about interviewing a man who identified himself as homosexual [and] who, in response to a question about having ever killed another person, gave his interviewer a phone number and asked, Cameron wrote, “to keep him in mind if we ever wanted anyone killed.” And then Cameron wrote, “His metallic eyes and steel spring sneer as he assured us of his sincerity are not readily forgotten.”

This anecdote is significant because, if true, it suggests that Cameron was himself present. Legitimate researchers employ field staffers who don’t know the study’s hypotheses and are carefully trained to communicate a nonjudgmental and respectful attitude to all respondents. These standards are especially critical in surveys that involve sensi-

tive information. Cameron’s presence would have fundamentally tainted any survey’s results, because he had previously expressed strong antipathy toward homosexuals in the news media.

IR: Even if Cameron’s data collection methods had been totally sound, and his raw data accurate, you’ve identified numerous ways that he twisted his analysis of that data for the purpose of later supporting his sensational conclusions. What’s an example of that?

HEREK: One example is a 1996 report Cameron published where he reported that children with a homosexual parent are 50 times more likely to be victims of incest than children with heterosexual parents. He based this finding on 17 responses to the 1983 survey where a person reported that one of their parents was a homosexual and that they had been incest victims as children. Now, those 17 represented 29% of the total number of respondents to Cameron’s survey who reported having a homosexual parent. So Cameron compared that 29% to the 0.6% reports of incest

from the children of heterosexual parents and thereby arrived at the “50 times more likely” finding.

IR: What’s the problem with that?

HEREK: The size of the sub-sample. Most of your readers would be familiar with the idea of a “confidence interval.” When they hear about public opinion poll results they might have noticed that often those are framed in terms of a plus or minus. You know, “Fifty percent of the population said this and these results are correct within plus or minus three points or five points.”

Cameron based his findings on a sub-sample of 17 respondents. The margin of error in a random poll or survey of 17 people is plus or minus 33 percentage points. Based on that margin of error, the only statistically valid conclusion that Cameron could have drawn from those 17 responses is that the true proportion of children having a homosexual parent and being an incest victim is somewhere between minus 4%, or effectively zero, and 62%,

which is a such a wide margin as to be absolutely meaningless.

It’s important to understand that the presence of even one of these serious errors in Cameron’s sampling techniques, his survey methodology and his interpretation of results would be enough to cast serious doubts on the legitimacy of any study’s results. In combination, they render his data worthless.

IR: What’s your evaluation of the basis for Cameron’s numerous published studies claiming homosexuals are far more likely to molest children than heterosexuals?

HEREK: For quite a long time, Cameron has made the equation that any adult male who molests a male child is homosexual. And all of this has the effect of increasing, in Cameron’s own analysis, the number of homosexual and bisexual men who are in the child molestation category. The truth is that researchers in the area of child abuse have long questioned whether it is even valid to assign labels like “homosexual” and “heterosexual” to molesters in the sense of saying that these individuals have an adult sexual orientation where they are attracted mainly to either people of their own sex or people of the other sex. A lot of researchers actually put pedophiles and child molesters into their own separate category, which is they’re actually attracted to children and it has everything to do with the age of the child, and not so much to do with the gender of the child. So it’s really questionable in general whether it makes sense to use labels like “homosexual” and “heterosexual” to describe a child molester’s sexual orientation. But Cameron has repeatedly just assumed that if you have an adult male molesting a male child, then that molester is gay, and that’s not a valid assumption.

IR: How would you characterize Cameron’s status within the scientific community?

HEREK: You couldn’t say his findings have much currency at all. I think most scientists either ignore him or are unaware of him. I say

this because his research is rarely cited in scientific literature and when it is cited, it’s almost always to criticize it, to either use it as an example of bad research, or as research that’s done with a particular political agenda. Outside of academia, the place where his research mostly gets cited is on Web sites of organizations that have a very strong anti-gay agenda and that are trying to work against legislation that would

“I’VE GOTTEN A NUMBER OF E-MAILS FROM PEOPLE IN AUSTRALIA, NORWAY, SCOTLAND, ALL OVER THE WORLD, WHERE ANTI-GAY GROUPS HAVE USED CAMERON’S WORK AND SOMETIMES EVEN HAD HIM THERE IN PERSON TO TRY TO PASS ANTI-GAY LEGISLATION ...”

protect gay men and lesbians from discrimination, or are trying to further some other political goal that is hostile to gay men and lesbians. The problem with that is Cameron’s studies are presented with extensive footnotes and lengthy bibliographies. Members of the lay public who lack training in research methods and statistics may encounter Cameron’s studies and mistakenly assume they’re scientifically sound.

IR: You’ve testified to Congress about anti-gay violence, and in 1997 you were invited President Clinton’s White House Conference on Hate Crimes. What connections do you see between Cameron’s studies and hate crimes against gays and lesbians?

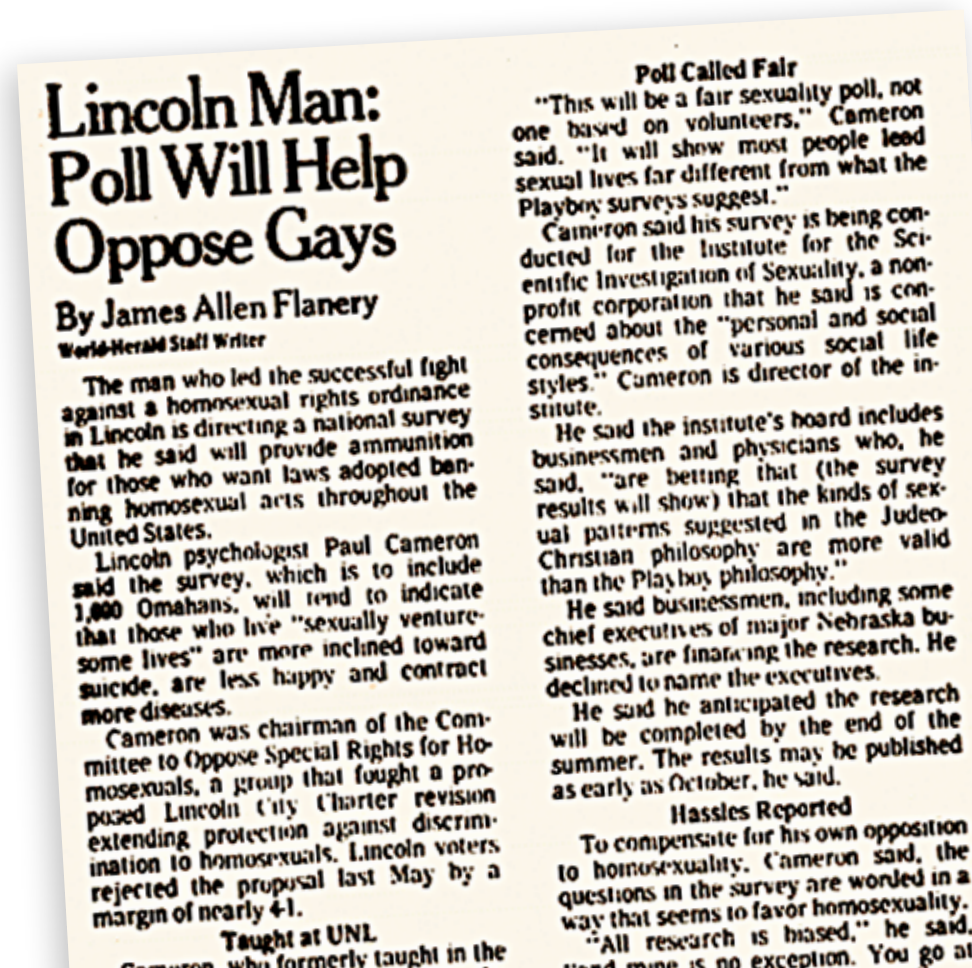
HEREK: Well, that’s a good question, and it raises a broader issue about what the connection is between the anti-gay political movement that exists in this country and violence against lesbians and gay men as well as individual acts of discrimination and prejudice.

After the Mathew Shepard murder, I was asked if I thought it had anything to do with the fact that just a week before conservative Christian groups had started their campaign [arguing] that gay people can change their sexual orientation and don’t have to be gay. And the thing is, I don’t necessarily believe the sorts of people that commit hate

crimes are reading the publications of these groups or studying Paul Cameron’s research. On the other hand, I think there is an indirect influence, in that the anti-gay organizations that use Cameron’s data are helping to create a social climate that vilifies people who are lesbian, gay, or bisexual, that says they are not really human, that they are evil people. And what that conveys as well is a certain sense of permission

to do something about that. It sets up a situation in which people might well perceive that if they are attacking gay people either verbally or physically, that somehow doing so is a way to be a virtuous person, because here are these terrible, evil, awful people.

Now, as far as thinking about the linkage between Cameron’s work and more structural manifestations of prejudice, there I believe it definitely is the case that these different groups have tried to use Cameron’s data in legislative hearings and judicial hearings, and they’ve tried to actually bring his statistics to bear on public policy. The use of his data is something that has been attempted a number of times in different courts and legislatures. And actually, I might add, this is not just happening in the United States. I’ve gotten a number of E-mails from people in Australia, Norway, Scotland, all over the world, where anti-gay groups have used Cameron’s work and sometimes even had him there in person to try to pass anti-gay legislation or to try to have an influence on policy. And that’s cause for concern because were it not for the sensational nature of Cameron’s data, the public would most likely never have heard of him, because from a scientific standpoint his work is meaningless. ▲





'THE LITTLE PRINCE'

CHRIS SIMCOX, A TOP ANTI-IMMIGRATION LEADER, PAINTS HIMSELF AS A HEROIC GUARDIAN OF NATIONAL SECURITY. THOSE CLOSE TO HIM SEE HIM RATHER DIFFERENTLY BY SUSY BUCHANAN AND DAVID HOLTHOUSE

With his guns close at hand and visions of mushroom clouds blossoming darkly in his mind's eye, Chris Simcox punched the "Record" button on the answering machine inside his Los Angeles apartment.

"Hi, this is Chris," he said. "You have reached a righteous American educational institution. Due to the horrific changes in our society in the last few days, I now must preface that I will accept offers of communication only from people who preface their message with the preamble to the Constitution of the United States of America. If you include that with your message, I look forward to communicating with you and have a great day. Thanks. Bye."

It was Sept. 13, 2001. Simcox, by his own later account to reporters, was obsessed with the recent terrorist attacks. His phone messages and conversations with relatives were growing increasingly bizarre. He talked endlessly about stockpiling firearms and apocalyptic premonitions. Los Angeles was doomed, he said. Then, on Sept. 30, he fled the city for good.

"I'm going on a great adventure," he told his teenaged son. "If I end up going to prison, you can always E-mail me."

Four years later, Simcox is at the height of his great adventure. He is president of the Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, a nationwide, anti-immigration vigilante organization with armed "citizen border patrols" in Arizona, California, New Mexico and Texas, along with a smattering of states on the Canadian border where Minutemen have deployed to protect America from northern invaders.

Simcox has said he moved to Los Angeles from New York (where he relates that he was mugged twice by people who didn't speak English) because he wanted to be a movie star.

He didn't make it as an actor. But he's famous now. Hailed as a hero within the anti-immigration movement, Simcox has testified before Congress and been interviewed, repeatedly, on CNN (see story, p. 43). A frequent guest on the Fox News show "Hannity & Colmes," Simcox travels the country giving paid lectures at anti-immigration conferences where he receives standing ovations and accolades from other celebrity extremists.

"I salute Chris Simcox. The Minutemen are the best thing that ever happened to our movement," the Los Angeles talk radio host Terry Anderson told anti-immigration activists at "America

First,” a “summit on national security” held in October at a private Christian school in a Chicago suburb.

At that summit, Simcox claimed to have signed up more than 1,200 volunteers who have “assisted in the apprehension of more than 6,500 illegal immigrants representing 27 different countries.”

“We are the premier civilian border defense organization,” he said. “We are the biggest, baddest neighborhood watch group in the nation.”

Angling for Power

Never modest, the cigar-chomping Simcox is a hyper and relentless self-aggrandizer who comes across with the smug egotism and fiery conviction of a former nobody who has long suspected that he’s destined for greatness.

“I didn’t choose this cause, it chose me,” he said during his “America First” address. “But the Minutemen are now a force to be reckoned with, and I will continue to lead these proud and patriotic Americans until we achieve total victory. We’re not leaving the border until we’re relieved from duty by the U.S. military or National Guard. There will be no compromise.”

Though his core supporters are anti-immigrant extremists, Simcox’s political influence presently extends far beyond the fringe. More than 20 U.S. congressmen attended a Minuteman rally he hosted in September in Washington, D.C. And six of those politicians actually signed up with his organization, strapped on handguns and participated in Minuteman patrols in October, along with Arizona Republican gubernatorial candidate Don Goldwater, nephew of archconservative one-time presidential contender Barry Goldwater (“Extremism in defense of liberty is no vice”). That same month, Simcox met with California Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger and Texas Gov. Rick Perry. Both men have publicly endorsed Minuteman patrols in their states.

“I appreciate the support of elected officials, but right now our state and federal politicians are still not willing to do what’s necessary to defend our borders, which is why we have to do it ourselves,” Simcox said at “America First.” “If you’re breaking into this country when this country is at war, then you’re a potential enemy of this country, and you should be treated accordingly.”

While Simcox has been interviewed for hundreds of newspaper articles and television shows, little has been reported about his background except that he used to be a

private-school teacher and that he claims to have been a hip-hop music producer and a professional baseball player who was once drafted by the Cincinnati Reds but had to quit the game after he had part of a lung surgically removed.

During interview after interview, Simcox has told the same story of his political awakening. It came, he says, during a 40-day solo camping trip at Arizona’s Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument in October 2001, during which he encountered platoons of illegal aliens and witnessed “five paramilitary groups of drug dealers just driving caravans of vehicles right into this country.” After that, according to his account, Simcox moved to Tombstone, Ariz., and rededicated his life to national security.

Threats, Anger and Paranoia

The truth is more complex and troubling. Court records obtained by the *Intelligence Report* show that Simcox’s second ex-wife, Kim Dunbar, filed an emergency appeal in September 2001 to obtain full custody of their teenage son because she feared that Simcox had suffered a mental breakdown and was dangerous. Dunbar declined to be interviewed for this article, but her sworn affidavits speak for themselves. In one, Dunbar testified that throughout their 10-year marriage, Simcox was prone to sudden, violent rages.

“He once took a knife from the kitchen and threatened to kill himself,” she testified. “When he was angry, he broke furniture, car windows, he banged his head against the wall repeatedly and punched things.”

Dunbar said that when their son was 4 years old, Simcox slapped him so hard that a mark remained on his face for two days. Another time, she testified, she grabbed her young son in her arms and jumped out a window because Simcox was throwing furniture at them. After such episodes, she said, Simcox would become despondent. “He would stare at walls, mumbling to himself.” In the affidavits, Dunbar said she repeatedly pressured Simcox to seek professional help and even tried to have him hospitalized. But he persistently refused treatment. “Eventually,” she said, “the only thing I could do was file for divorce.”

Simcox and Dunbar initially shared custody of their son. There was no legal dispute until shortly after the Sept. 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States, when Dunbar suddenly filed a flurry of emergency appeals. “While Chris has always been prone to strong opinions and ranting behavior, this last episode has gone even farther,” she told the court. “I am convinced

“I purchased another gun. I have more than a few weapons, and I intend on teaching my son how to use them. I will no longer trust anyone in this country. My life has changed forever, and if you don’t get that, you are brainwashed like everybody else.”



A group led by anti-immigration crusader Chris Simcox detains undocumented migrants in the desert south of Tombstone, Ariz.

he has had some kind of mental lapse and I am now, more than ever, afraid for my son to be in Chris’ care.”

Dunbar grew frightened after Simcox left her a series of bizarre voicemail messages beginning that Sept. 13, in which he went on angry diatribes about the Constitution, patriotism, and impending nuclear attacks on Los Angeles, and talked about training their 15-year-old son in the use of firearms. “I will begin teaching him the art of protecting himself with weapons,” Simcox said in one recorded message he left for Dunbar. “I purchased another gun. I have more than a few weapons, and I intend on teaching my son how to use them.” Simcox added, “I will no longer trust anyone in this country. My life has changed forever, and if you don’t get that, you are brainwashed like everybody else.”

In phone conversations with his son that his ex-wife recorded and submitted to the court as evidence of Simcox’s mental instability, he challenged the boy to become “a man and a real American.”

“You better stop playing baseball, buddy, and you better do something real, ’cause life will never be the same,” Simcox thundered. “I’m going to go down to the Mexican border and sign up for the government for border patrol to protect the borders of the country that I love. You hear how serious I am.”

Simcox’s son asked his father what would happen to his cat, Moe. “Moe may end up on the dead pile,” Simcox said.

Wyatt Earp vs. the Chinese

The court ruled in Dunbar’s favor, ending the joint custody arrangement and awarding Dunbar sole custody of their son. Simcox has said that after leaving Los Angeles he tried to become a Border Patrol agent but was rejected for being too old. After settling in Tombstone, he worked for a while as a gunfight-show actor before purchasing the local newspaper, *The Tombstone*

Tumbleweed. Simcox initially told followers he had drained his son’s college fund to pay for the paper, but later switched to claiming he had emptied his own retirement account. Simcox used the paper to rail against illegal immigration and to recruit volunteers for Civil Homeland Defense, the outfit he founded in 2002 and described in the *Tumbleweed* as a “committee of vigilantes.”

In January 2003, while on patrol with Civil Homeland Defense, Simcox was arrested by federal park rangers for illegally carrying a .45-caliber semi-automatic handgun in a national park. Also in Simcox’s possession at the time of that arrest, according to police records, were a document entitled “Mission Plan,” a police scanner, two walkie-talkies, and a toy figure of Wyatt Earp on horseback.

Two months later, in a speech to the California Coalition on Immigration Reform, a hate group whose leader Barbara Coe routinely refers to Mexicans as “savages,” Simcox offered a dire warning to his audience. “Take heed of our weapons because we’re going to defend our borders by any means necessary,” he said. “There’s something very fishy going on at the border. The Mexican army is driving American vehicles – but carrying Chinese weapons. I have personally seen what I can only believe to be Chinese troops.”

Of illegal immigrants, Simcox added: “They’re trashing their neighborhoods, refusing to assimilate, standing on street corners, jeering at little girls walking on their way to school.”

Simcox’s big mouth and swaggering manner inspired Tombstone locals and the numerous Simcox detractors within the Minuteman movement to nickname him “The Little Prince.” Wherever he goes, Simcox seems to establish a reputation for arrogance. After failing as a would-be actor in Los Angeles, he took a job in 1990 teaching at a prestigious private academy, Wildwood School. In interviews with the *Intelligence Report*, two of Simcox’s former teaching colleagues at the school describe him as an instructor who was exceptionally popular with students and parents but isolated himself from his fellow teachers with his condescending attitude. “He always stayed up on the latest trends in childhood development and teaching methods, and he was always talking about himself like he was God’s gift to teaching,” said one teacher who taught at Wildwood at the same time as Simcox. “He had this real holier-than-thou attitude, like he was so far above the other teachers they should be grateful he was even discussing his methods with them. He was insulting.”

‘A Drastic, Dangerous Guy’

There’s one trend that Simcox seems oblivious to – the growing involvement of racists in the border vigilante movement.

Despite the fact that white supremacist groups openly recruit for Minuteman patrols and that a handful of neo-Nazis from the National Alliance and Aryan Nations did sign up for the Minuteman Project in April, Simcox refuses to acknowledge that vigilante border patrols are potentially a magnet for violent racists. “There’s nothing fundamentally racist about national security, so there’s no reason that fundamental racists should be interested in joining our movement,” he said at the Chicago Minutemen conference.

In multiple interviews and public appearances, Simcox has dismissed the possibility that he’s personally racist by pointing out that he once married a black woman and by claiming that he once chaired the diversity committee at Wildwood School. (Head of School Hope Boyd, who has been at Wildwood since 1992, told the *Report* she had no recollection of Simcox holding such a post. “I do not remember that he was chair of our diversity committee,” she said.)

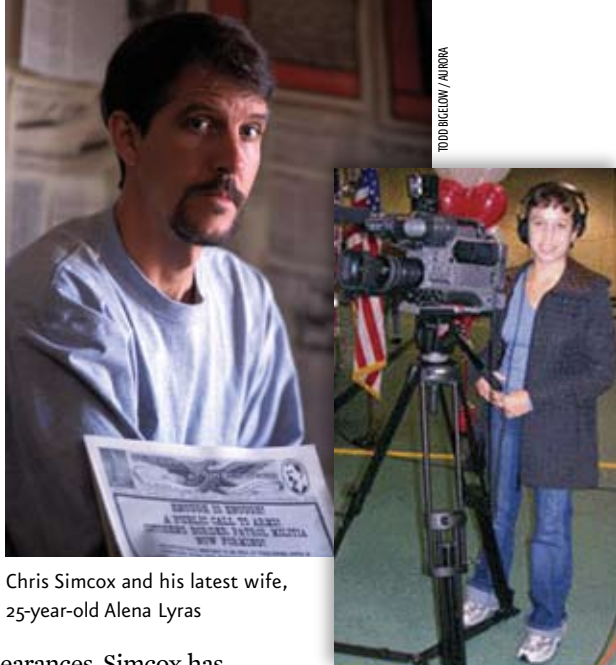
“When I’m asked by reporters if I’m a racist, I tell them, ‘Why don’t you go ask my black ex-wife and my biracial children and the members of the racial diversity committee I chaired whether I’m a racist?’” he said at the October conference. “When they ask me, ‘Well, what do you have to say to people who call you a racist?’ I come back at them with, ‘What do you have to say to people who call you a child molester?’”

That’s a strange rhetorical device given the accusations leveled at Simcox in the summer of 1998, when his 14-year-old daughter from his first marriage — prior to his union with Dunbar — came to live with him in Los Angeles. In separate interviews with the *Intelligence Report*, two of Simcox’s former colleagues at Wildwood and his first ex-wife gave the same account. They said that Simcox helped his daughter get a job babysitting for a Wildwood School employee and that one night, Simcox’s daughter showed up unexpectedly at her employer’s house, visibly upset, alleging that her father had just attempted to sexually molest her.

“He tried to molest our daughter when he was intoxicated,” said Deborah Crews, Simcox’s first ex-wife and the girl’s mother. “When she ran out, he tried to say he was just giving her a leg massage and she got the wrong idea.”

Contacted by the *Report*, Simcox refused to answer four direct questions about the molestation allegations. “I would never answer those questions to you. You can’t ask those questions,” he said. “You’re on a witch hunt and you’re trying to discredit our movement, which is to secure the borders. ... My personal life has nothing to do with anything that goes on here.”

No charges were filed against Simcox, but Crews said she and her daughter immediately broke off all contact with him.



Chris Simcox and his latest wife, 25-year-old Alena Lyras

“There’s something very fishy going on at the border. The Mexican army is driving American vehicles — but carrying Chinese weapons. I have personally seen what I can only believe to be Chinese troops.”

groups and filming their meetings and protests.”

At that summit, Simcox said he has no plans to run for office like his colleague, Gilchrist. “My future plans do not involve politics. ... Once we’ve finally stopped the illegal immigration invasion in this country, I plan to turn my attention to education reform. I believe that’s where America needs me next.” But just as Gilchrist toned down his militant rhetoric once he started campaigning for Congress, Simcox continues to finely tune his public image.

But his rivals don’t buy it. “Simcox knows how to put on a good showpiece, and he looks pretty on TV, but he’s all talk and no walk,” said Jim Chase, leader of the rival, more hard-core civilian border patrol organization California Minutemen. “He’s more concerned with finding himself a sugar mama than anything else. I expect that if the bullets ever really start flying or if the going really gets tough, he’ll abandon what he started. Until then, he’ll go on pretending he’s king shit of the Minutemen.” ▲

“He’s a drastic, chaotic, very dangerous guy,” said Crews. “I’m surprised he hasn’t shot anybody yet. I see him on TV and I have to turn it off, because it makes me sick to see him getting all this attention.”

Simcox, now 44, recently married for a third time. He met his new wife, 25-year-old documentary filmmaker Alena Lyras, when she traveled to Tombstone in April along with hundreds of other journalists to interview Simcox

during the Minuteman Project, the massively hyped, month-long vigilante action that Simcox organized with current Orange County, Calif., congressional candidate Jim Gilchrist (see profile, p. 32), for whom Simcox says he has been stumping as a paid spokesman. Simcox and Lyras were married in late August in Maricopa County, Ariz. Simcox sold the *Tumbleweed* in September and moved in with Lyras at her home in Phoenix. During the “America First” summit, Simcox said that Lyras is “useful to our movement, because she’s young enough that she’s been infiltrating the ACLU and other open borders

THE NATIVISTS

AROUND THE COUNTRY, AN ANTI-IMMIGRATION MOVEMENT IS SPREADING LIKE A PRAIRIE FIRE. AN ARRAY OF ACTIVISTS IS FANNING THE FLAMES

BY SUSY BUCHANAN AND TOM KIM



One of them says he'd like to bring nuclear weapons to the border. Another vows to stop the alleged Mexican invasion of Idaho. Several have links to white supremacist hate groups; others are given to dire warnings of horrible diseases, "barbaric" practices, and secret Latino conspiracies to "reconquer" the American Southwest. These are the nativists — the new crop of activists who are driving the movement that exploded last spring with the Minuteman Project in Arizona, a month-long effort by armed civilians to seal the border with Mexico. Along with a whole array of media enablers (see related stories, pp. 43 and 46), they have barged into the nation's consciousness with remarkable success. Some of them, like Minuteman co-founder Jim Gilchrist, have made attempts to win high political office. Others have contented themselves with trying to build a mass movement. Not all those who have joined the movement are extremists — many are legitimately concerned about the ability of the nation to absorb large numbers of immigrants, particularly the undocumented. But one thing seems clear: A dangerous mix of nativist intolerance, armed and untrained civilians, and wild-eyed conspiracy theories could easily explode into violence.

CLIFFORD ALFORD

AGE: 50

LAS CRUCES, N.M.

Clifford Alford is a man of many talents (so many, in fact, that his resumé gives him the unusual composite title of "Dr. Sir Chief"), and one of them, he says, is his expertise on the occult. Long before he announced himself as leader of a group he calls New Mexico Border Watch, Alford conducted law enforcement training on



Satanism that included advice on how to confront suspected occultists.

In a pamphlet, he warned police officers that even children and senior citizens can attack without warning when under Satan's influence. Therefore, he suggested, when approaching occult criminal suspects, "always have your holster strap or flap undone and your hand around the grip with your thumb over the hammer."

That's not the only surprising thing Alford has done. Even after he became active in the anti-immigration movement last spring, he retained his membership in the American Civil Liberties Union — despite the fact that the ACLU was on record as being vigorously opposed to the Minutemen and similar citizens patrol groups. Then Alford ran last June for the board of directors of the ACLU's chapter in his home town of Las Cruces, N.M., and won — a development that caused national ACLU officials embarrassed by the situation to suspend the entire chapter.

Now, Alford and his followers are promising that they are in it for the long haul. They were patrolling on the border well before the Minutemen and their leader Chris Simcox (see profile, p. 20) arrived there in October for patrols of their own. And they say they'll be there long after Simcox's crew is forgotten, patrolling a 70-mile stretch between Columbus and Sunland Park. In fact,

Alford has harsh words for Simcox, who Alford points out "is not almighty God and ... not Grand Prior of the Knights Templar." Alford should know; he is himself a Templar knight.

And Dr. Sir Chief Alford says he's a few other things, too: a Cherokee shaman, ex-felon (no further details offered), Wiccan sorcerer, CIA operative and Reiki master. When he's not busy patrolling the border, Alford teaches classes on personal magnetism, Cherokee knuckle reading and forming your own coven.

ERIN ANDERSON

AGE: 50

ARLINGTON, VA.

Erin Anderson says she's telling it like it is. Middle Eastern terrorists, she says, routinely attend special schools in Latin America where they learn to speak Spanish and act like Latino immigrants in preparation for sneaking into the United States. Illegal aliens have brought a lep-rosy epidemic to an area near Boston. Miami, Houston and Los Angeles are no longer safe because the undocumented donate blood that has been tainted with a deadly disease from south of the border. Mexican pedophiles, terrified by the brutality of their own country's law enforcement officials, are flooding into this country in huge numbers. In all of this, Anderson assures her frightened audiences, the Mexican government is implicated "up to their eyeballs."

A favorite prop — she seems to bring it to many of her speaking engagements — is a replica of a Muslim prayer rug. While it's not the real thing, she concedes, it's just like one found near her family's ranch in Arizona — proof positive, apparently, that Muslim terrorists are using the Southern border to infiltrate America. Typically, this scenario is outlined along with images of the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Center, which she portrays as one more result of illegal immigration.

But there are some things even Erin Anderson won't speak of in her speeches, which have ranged from Arizona to Alabama in the last year. In Washington, D.C., earlier this year, Anderson recited the tale of a young girl and her grandmother who were peacefully fixing a fence near the border when a human smuggler, or *coyote*, approached them. The man, Anderson said, enumerated a whole series of vile acts he intended to perform on the girl — acts so awful that Anderson demurely declined to detail them. No problem. The audience, its imagination appropriately fired, gasped in horror.

GARRETT CHAMBERLAIN

AGE: 36

NEW IPSWICH, N.H.

In early 2004, Garrett Chamberlain — police chief of 99%-white Ipswich, N.H. — told the local paper that his chief concern was "criminal mischief and behavioral problems" caused by



congregating teenagers. But a year later, Chief Chamberlain had a whole new set of priorities that came to national attention when he charged three illegal immigrants with trespassing — into the United States, that is.

Chamberlain says his concerns began earlier when he stopped a van full of undocumented Ecuadorean immigrants but reluctantly agreed to release them when he realized they had committed no state crime and immigration authorities declined to come to Ipswich to seize and deport them. The incident angered the chief, and he went to consult a local prosecutor about what could be done.

Then, when the next opportunity presented itself in early 2005 — police

found three illegal aliens who had pulled off the road to make a cell phone call — Chamberlain had them arrested under the state's trespassing statute, which makes it a crime if a person, "knowing that he is not licensed or privileged to do so ... enters or remains in any place."

Many found the charge ridiculous, including New Hampshire AFL-CIO President Mark McKenzie, who called it "an embarrassment." A judge quickly agreed, ruling, as many have before

him, that only the federal government can enforce immigration laws (entering the country illegally is a federal misdemeanor), and throwing out the charges against the three men. But others saw the matter quite differently. Chamberlain was repeatedly interviewed by anti-immigration radio hosts (see related story, p. 46). He received more than 2,000 supportive cards and E-mails. He was given a hero's welcome at a major anti-immigration summit held in Las Vegas over the Memorial Day weekend, and urged to run for office.

Chamberlain isn't quitting. This September, speaking to a crowd in Concord, N.H., on the same bill as Minuteman leader Jim Gil-

christ and Congressman Tom Tancredo (see profiles, pp. 32 and 37), he said he's "not done trying."





Jim Chase's volunteers, who were urged to bring "baseball bats, stun guns and machetes" to the border, occasionally worked at repairing the fence that separates Mexico from the United States.

JIM CHASE

AGE: 58

OCEANSIDE, CALIF.

Jim Chase is a hard-liner even in the hard-line vigilante crowd. Where other anti-immigration activists try to put on an appealing face to the world — renouncing the use of large weapons, avoiding direct contact with illegal border-crossers, taking care not to sound too extreme in press interviews — Chase doesn't bother.

When he launched the California Minutemen (recently renamed California Border Watch), Chase put out a call on the Internet for "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," along with those who opposed "cowardly Aztlan punks and Che Guevara pink pantied wimps lower than whale dung who should be fed to the chupacabra [a mythical Mexican monster]." Making ready to patrol the border, he asked his volunteers to bring "baseball bats, stun guns and machetes" and said they could carry assault rifles and shotguns.

Chase and his followers have concentrated on an area around Campo, Calif., where he drives a jacked-up SUV with monster tires that he calls "Godzilla" — a camouflage-painted vehicle complete with a welded-on lookout perch on top where rifle-wielding Minutemen scan the scenery as Chase drives along the border.

Chase is a Vietnam veteran who worked for the U.S. Postal Service until 1997, when he retired after suffering what he described as a "post-traumatic stress breakdown." He got involved in the anti-immigration movement after "an illegal alien gang banger killed an Oceanside police officer right in front of my grandson's day care."

Chase has broken with Minuteman founders Chris Simcox and Jim Gilchrist (see profiles, p. 20 and p. 32), who he worked with at one point but now accuses of secretly allowing rifle-bearing patrols but lying about it to the press. He said he led secret "ambushes" at night to catch border-crossers, then handed those caught to the "official volunteers," who took credit for the apprehensions.

"If we run into any Mexican army or Mexican *federales*, we're go-



ing to belly into 'em, and we're going to do 'em," Chase told a reporter recently. "Simcox's people may not be willing to cause an international incident, but my group will do the dirty." Even that statement didn't fully cover what Chase was willing to do. "If it were legal," he said, "I'd let people bring nuclear weapons out there."

BARBARA COE**AGE: 71****HUNTINGTON BEACH, CALIF.**

Barbara Coe boiled over one day standing in the lobby of an Orange County, Calif., social services office. Looking around her, she told a *Los Angeles Times* reporter, she was reminded of the United Nations. Then she noticed the windows for Spanish and Vietnamese speakers were open, but the English window was not.

“I went ballistic,” she said. She’s been that way ever since.

In 1994, Coe organized a group called the California Coalition for Immigration Reform to help write and push through California’s Proposition 187, which was meant to cut off undocumented immigrants from social services like public schools and hospitals. The initiative passed but was eventually found to be unconstitutional. Later, in 1999, she helped organize an effort to recall anti-187 Gov. Gray Davis, who she derided as a communist and referred to as “Gov. Gray ‘Red’ Davis.”

Vitriolic, conspiracy-minded and just plain mean, Coe routinely refers to Mexicans as “savages.” She claims to have exposed a secret Mexican plan (the “Plan de Aztlan”) to reconquer the American Southwest. Last May, at a “Unite to Fight” anti-immigration summit in Las Vegas, she launched the kind of defamatory rant for which she is infamous. “We are suffering robbery, rape and murder of law-abiding citizens at the hands of illegal barbarians,” she warned her cowering audience, “who are cutting off heads and appendages of blind, white, disabled gringos.”

More recently, she attacked the new Hispanic mayor of Los Angeles, Antonio Villaraigosa, accusing him of seeking to return Southern California to Mexico.

But the most curious thing about the former police clerk — whose friends have said she told them she was forced from her job in 1994, after using a city-owned camera to photograph people she thought were illegal aliens — may be her offhand comments to the *Denver Post* this November. In a profile of her close friend, U.S. Rep. Tom Tancredo (R-Colo.), the paper said Coe described speaking to and belonging to the Council of Conservative Citizens. That group, which has called blacks “a retrograde species of humanity,” has long been listed by the Southern Poverty Law Center as a hate group — as has Coe’s own California Coalition for Immigration Reform.

**MADELEINE COSMAN****AGE: 68****SAN DIEGO, CALIF.**

Speaking at major anti-immigration events like those in Chicago and Las Vegas this year, Madeleine Cosman rattles off a list of scary illnesses, each allegedly brought to this country by what she calls “deadly time bombs” — illegal aliens. She talks about how the undocumented spit out “anchor babies,” children who automatically are U.S. citizens because they are born here and who can then form the basis of an appeal for legalization of their parents under family unification policies. And she claims that these parents prefer sick babies to healthy ones, presumably because they’re able to get public benefits for which they’d otherwise be ineligible.

Cosman talks endlessly about disease



— but she’s no doctor. She is a wealthy lawyer who advises physicians on how to sell their medical practices, a former Renaissance Fair queen, a devotee of hard-line libertarian Ayn Rand, and a member of the far-right Jews for the Preservation of Firearms. She’s also a contributor to the conspiracy-minded “News With Views” Web site, where she offers up fare like “Violent Sexual Pred-

ators Who Are Illegal Aliens” and “Bird Flu and Illegal Aliens,” wherein she theorizes that a Muslim terrorist could “create his own weapon of mass destruction” by smuggling an infected person across the border.

Cosman says she’s written more than a dozen books. Her most successful, she says, was *Fabulous Feasts: Medieval Cookery and Ceremony*, a 1976 volume that she says was “nominated” for both a Pulitzer Prize and the National Book Award (these claims are repeated on the book’s back cover). But Pulitzer officials say that there were no official “nominees” for the prize until 1980; before then, there were only “submissions” from writers or publishers. In the case of the National Book Award, prize publicist Camille McDuffie sent the *Report* complete lists of all past nominees and winners of the award; neither Cosman’s name nor that of her book is anywhere on those lists. Immigrant-bashing, it appears, is not the only field in which Madeleine Cosman is prone to exaggeration.

RUSS DOVE**AGE: 49****TUCSON, ARIZ.**

Russ “Sovereign” Dove is a handyman, a “biblical constitutionalist” and a former member of the Third Continental Congress, a major militia umbrella group of the late 1990s. He is also a man who is desperately concerned that illegal immigrants are sneaking into this country and

skewing the American electoral process.

So Dove made up some official-looking T-shirts, emblazoned with “U.S. Constitution Enforcement” and the image of a badge. Standing in front of polling places in the September 2004 Arizona primaries, he videotaped and photographed anyone who showed up to vote who he suspected might not be a citizen. Russ Dove was determined to single-handedly protect the polls from the ineligible.

Voting ineligibility is something Dove likely has some personal knowledge about. A convicted felon, Dove may not vote legally in 14 different states.

Dove apparently also has a short fuse. He told a *Chicago Tribune* reporter that he would have liked to join in the citizen border patrols run last April as part of the Minuteman Project in Arizona. But he said he was too “fed up” and worried that if a confrontation with immigrants developed, “I’m afraid I’d have to respond in kind.”

Still, Dove has celebrated the Minutemen, filming interviews with many participants and authoring frequent reports on immigration issues on his Web site and “Truth in Action News” radio show.



Russ Dove has plenty of unpleasant things to say about illegal immigrants. Some of them, it turns out, also apply to Dove.

KELLY PRESNELL / ARIZONA DAILY STAR

The site carries video footage of Dove and company taunting counter-protesters at a July anti-immigration rally in Phoenix.

Dove also appears in a film not of his own making, “Undocumented: The Other Side of the Minuteman Project.” The documentary was shot by the American Civil Liberties Union, which has opposed the Minutemen. In it, Dove proclaims that according to “state law, federal law and biblical law, everybody coming across the border is a thief and a liar.”

Thievery is something Dove apparently has had some experience in. His 1980 felony conviction, it turns out, is for attempted grand theft in California. Two 1979 burglary charges were dismissed.

JIM GILCHRIST

AGE: 56

ALISO VIEJO, CALIF.

Less than a year ago, Jim Gilchrist’s vision of the future was plainly apocalyptic. The country, he predicted to one newspaper reporter, will have “100 tribes with 100 languages,” a situation from which “mayhem” will result. “I see neighborhood armies of 20 to 40 going out and killing and invading one another,” he said. Too many immigrants, he added, could even result in a full-scale civil war — a situation he suggested might be avoided by inciting a revolution in Mexico.

“Illegal immigrants will destroy this country,” Gilchrist said last May. “Every time a Mexican flag is planted on American soil, it is a declaration of war.”

By late August, Gilchrist wasn’t talking like that any more.

Of course, by then he was a candidate for Congress from Southern California, where he lives with his wife and their dogs in the small city of Aliso Viejo. Gone was the rhetoric about civil war and private armies and immigrants who are legal. In fact, Gilchrist began to carefully enunciate support for legal immigrants.

It isn’t the first time Gilchrist has changed his tune. He started out as a registered Democrat, then became a Republican. In 2003, he backed a candidate of the Green Party, America’s largest left-wing political party. But now, Gilchrist is running in the 48th Congressional District on the ticket of the American Independent Party (AIP) — the organization founded by former Alabama Gov. George Wallace, a racist who promised from the steps of the Alabama Capitol to defend segregation “forever.” (Today, AIP’s platform does not mention race. Affiliated with the far-

right Constitution Party, the AIP is notable for its antigovernment stance.)

Gilchrist, a retired accountant, is running, essentially, on a single credential: the fact that he is co-founder, along with Chris Simcox (see profile, p. 20), of the Minutemen, a group of people who have tried to seal the Mexican border with paramilitary citizen patrols. Few analysts believe he has a chance, although he may do reasonably well.

Gilchrist, conceding that Gov. Wallace “was probably a bigot,” insists he is no racist. But he is a close friend of Barbara Coe (see profile, p. 30), who routinely describes Mexicans as “savages” and recently said she was a member of the Council of Conservative Citizens, a hate group which opposes “race-mixing.” Gilchrist also is a member of Coe’s California Coalition for Immigration Reform, another hate group.

PATRICK HAAB

AGE: 24

MESA, ARIZ.

Patrick Haab’s rise to prominence in the anti-immigration movement was almost as meteoric as his subsequent fall from grace. Anointed a hero, he was dropped rapidly after embarrassing revelations emerged about his past.

Last April 10, Haab came across seven men he suspected were illegal immigrants at a highway rest stop in Arizona and held them at gunpoint until sheriff’s deputies responded to his 911 cell phone call. Much to his surprise, he was arrested and charged with seven counts of aggravated assault — a move that generated outrage and consternation among anti-immigration zealots. It didn’t hurt his rising reputation in that crowd when Haab, an Army sergeant, told reporters he’d just come back from a tour in Iraq, and went on to complain that America was turning into “Americo.”

Haab was immediately embraced by the anti-immigration movement. He appeared on radio talk shows repeatedly. A fan posted his \$10,000 bond, and a defense fund was set up. When the local district attorney, Andrew Thomas, dropped all charges against him (see legal analysis, p. 53), Haab became a superhero. Anti-immigration pundit Michelle Malkin described Thomas’ highly controversial decision as “another victory for law-abiding, pro-enforcement forces.” Haab even went so far as to demand \$1 million to compensate him for four nights in jail.

Then it all went south. Two weeks after his release, the *Arizona Republic* broke a remarkable story. Haab had never been in Iraq. He *had* been in Kuwait, however, where he told officials during an Arabic cultural awareness class that he had a desire to “kill all the camel jockeys,” including a Muslim from his own unit. He had also threatened to kill himself, officials said. Haab was pulled from active duty and returned to Fort Bragg, N.C., for mental health evaluation. While there, he bought a \$12,000 sniper rifle, causing military officials to alert other authorities. Even after five months of therapy, a military official said he didn’t think Haab was “ready to return to duty or become a functioning part of society.”

And with that revelation, Patrick Haab effectively disappeared.

CONNIE HAIR

AGE: 48

VIRGINIA BEACH, VA.

Last April’s Minuteman Project — a paramilitary vigilante effort to seal off the Arizona border — may not have accomplished much in terms of stopping illegal immigration. But it was a remarkable media success, sparking upbeat coverage and the creation of some 40 similar groups in ensuing months. It soon became apparent the project had metastasized from the one-man operation started by Chris Simcox as the Tombstone Militia into a

movement that was sweeping the nation.

With that — and with the \$50 application fees that thousands of people began sending in to join his Minuteman Civil Defense Corps — Simcox (see profile, p. 20) knew it was time to professionalize. Flush with cash, Simcox hired the exceedingly professional Connie Hair as the Minutemen’s official media spokesman.

It was Hair who got Simcox onto Fox News Channel’s “Hannity & Colmes” in August, banking on her long friendship with Sean Hannity. It paid off — Hannity did several broadcasts direct from the Texas border, where he strolled along the Rio Grande side by side with Simcox and tossed stones into Mexico. She also managed to regularly serve up worrying sound bites like this one: “If you’re from the Middle East, it only makes sense you might be in a Middle Eastern terror cell.”

Connie Hair is no amateur. Although she started out as a B movie actress — sharing the



screen with stars like Pia Zadora in 1982's "Fake-Out" and Charles Bronson in 1987's "Death Wish 4: The Crackdown" — she soon entered the world of ultraconservative politics. She was a spokesman for Free Republic, a Clinton-bashing Web site, in the 1990s. She worked as a paid consultant and spokesman for archconservative Republican Alan Keyes in his 2000 bid for president and his 2004 campaign for senator from Illinois. She has worked for Judicial Watch, a litigious organization heavily funded by the hard-right Scaife Foundation that is currently suing the town of Herndon, Va., for funding a hiring hall for day laborers. Currently, she also is a paid consultant for the Washington-based Coalition for a Fair Judiciary ("the only grass-roots organization that stands in the gap between the judicial nominees and the vicious onslaught of the left") and a part-time director of communications for U.S. Rep. Trent Franks, Republican of Arizona. The *National Journal* recently ranked the congressman as the fifth most conservative in the House of Representatives.

D.A. KING

AGE: 53

MARIETTA, GA.

D.A. King was going to show the world just how angry Americans are about illegal immigration. Along with his followers, he showed up at the state Capitol in Atlanta last October to protest. Trouble was, there were only a few dozen of them in all.

King wasn't fazed. As the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* quickly discovered, the long-time anti-immigration zealot found a solution immediately — just pay \$10 each to 14 homeless people from the neighborhood, hand them signs, and set them loose.

"I consider it very good use of the day labor laws," an unrepentant King boasted to the newspaper. "Yes, I paid them," he added to *Creative*

Loafing, an alternative newspaper. "And I'm going to pay them again."

The tactic, while unusual, wasn't entirely unprecedented. Anti-immigration leaders are eager to show that theirs is a mass movement. So when a couple hundred people showed up to join the Minuteman Project in Arizona last spring — an armed citizens' effort to seal the border — Minuteman leaders claimed at least 1,300.

With the disposition of a drill sergeant, nobody has done more to stoke the flames of the anti-immigration movement in Georgia than King. Standing 6-foot, 2-inches tall, the shaven-headed ex-Marine from Marietta regularly contributes dispatches from what he calls "Georgia-fornia" to the anti-immigration Web hate site, VDARE, named for the first white child born in America, Virginia Dare. "For me," King wrote in one of his articles, "while standing a few feet away from group after group, the impulse to reach out and personally deport these Third World invaders was nearly uncontrollable." On another occasion, after

a local newspaper did a story on undocumented workers, he described how he'd brought a copy of the article to immigration authorities to demand that they deport those who were featured.

King's been interested in illegal immigration since the late 1990s, when he worked with the Georgia Coalition for Immigration Reduction. In 2003, he retired from his insurance agency to form his own groups: his "coalition of immigration crime fighters," the American Resistance Foundation; and the Dustin Inman Society, a group focused on the Southeast and named after a 16-year-old boy who King says was killed in an automobile accident that involved an illegal immigrant.

JOE MCCUTCHEN

AGE: 73

FORT SMITH, ARK.

Within two days of his selection to head the new anti-immigration group Protect Arkansas Now, Joe McCutchen was exposed by the Southern Poverty Law Center for his connections to racist groups. McCutchen had spoken to the hate group Council of Conservative Citizens about immigration, as Arkansas newspapers promptly reported. He had written another racist group, American Renaissance, to ask that its members support an anti-immigration outfit in Michigan. And the Center also reported that McCutchen had written a series of letters to his local paper in which he alleged that Jews controlled the central government, banking, media, the entertainment industry and the entire world monetary system.

Politicians who'd been close to McCutchen and his group drew back. The governor, a Republican and a Baptist minister, angrily denounced the bill to deny social services to illegal aliens that McCutchen was pushing.



But McCutchen was nonplussed.

Indeed, his reaction to the charge of anti-Semitism was simple: He wasn't engaging in racist stereotyping. He liked Jews. All he had been doing, McCutchen said, was "speak[ing] highly of the business ability of many Jewish persons."

And that, apparently, was that. Despite a January Associated Press story describing the entire affair, McCutchen seemed to regain his stature as a press interviewee, particularly in April, when he joined the Minuteman Project vigilante effort in Arizona. He appeared in an April 1 story on CNN's "Lou Dobbs Tonight" (see related story, p. 43), an April 12 story in the *Ventura County* (Calif.) *Star*, an April 14 article from MSNBC, and an April 22 *Los Angeles Times* report. None of these reports made any mention of McCutchen's background. However, the silliest account may have come on May 2 from the *Christian Science Monitor*, which sympathetically described McCutchen's professed "compassion" for illegal border-crossers.

LUPE MORENO

AGE: 47

SANTA ANA, CALIF.

Lupe Moreno, an evangelical Christian who believes that homosexuals have been taken over by evil spirits and that body-piercing can turn people gay, has been fighting illegal immigration for nearly 12 years. Today, as president of Latino Americans for Immigration Reform, she advocates a military presence on the border and warns that any groups that don't agree "should be dealt with severely as entities promoting crime, terrorism, and instability against this nation and its citizens."

For Moreno, the battle is personal indeed. To hear her tell it to reporters and in speaking engagements nationwide, she has experienced nothing but misery at the hands of the undocumented. As a child, her smuggler dad brought a string of illegals into their home who raped and beat her regularly. An illegal shot her nephew, and another one killed a boy she knew. Still another illegal alien urinated on her lawn and made an obscene gesture at her when she protested. Even her husband, who she married at 16 and bore five children to, turned out poorly. The reason? Well, he, too, was a one-time illegal alien, and when Lupe Moreno went whole hog into the anti-immigration movement — meeting up with Mexican-basher Barbara Coe (see profile, p. 30) in what she calls a "life-changing experience" — they split. Her ex, Marcial Moreno, told a reporter that Lupe had turned into a racist under Coe's influence.

Moreno has been involved in the anti-immigration movement since 1994, when Californians passed Proposition 187, a measure that cut undocumented immigrants off from many benefits but was ultimately ruled unconstitutional. But she only met Coe some years later, and the pair has



formed something of a mutual admiration society ever since. Moreno compares Coe, who recently admitted membership in a racist hate group, to Thomas Jefferson, John Wayne and Charlton Heston. Coe, for her part, says she wishes for "10 more" of Moreno — no surprise, given the political utility of having prominent Hispanics in the anti-immigration movement.

Moreno is known for her extravagant statements. Not long ago, she compared the plight of Americans facing the illegal alien onslaught to that of the Jews facing Nazi death camps — and worried that Americans were reacting to the threat in the same "passive" way that the Jews allegedly did. "These people start coming into our communities, they live among us, they steal our children's educations and our children's jobs and our jobs," Moreno told the *Riverside, Calif., Press-Enterprise* last April. "Deport them," she demanded. "Each and every one of them."

GLENN SPENCER

AGE: 67

COCHISE COUNTY, ARIZ.

If there were a Paul Revere of the anti-immigration movement, it would be Glenn Spencer, a vitriolic Mexican-basher who may have done more than anyone to spread the myth of a secret



Mexican conspiracy to reconquer the Southwest.

The so-called *reconquista*, an alleged plot to turn several American states into a Mexican state or some kind of puppet government controlled by Mexico, has been a top concern for Spencer for years. Back in 1999, he put it like this: “The consul general says Mexico is reconquering California. A Mexican intellectual suggests that anyone who doesn’t like Mexicans should leave California. What else do you need to hear? RECONQUISTA IS REAL... EVERY ILLEGAL ALIEN IN OUR NATION MUST BE DEPORTED IMMEDIATELY. ... IF WE CAN BOMB THE TV STATION IN BELGRADE [in the former Yugoslavia] WE CAN SHUT DOWN [U.S. Spanish-language stations] TELEMUNDO AND UNIVISION.”

Spencer got involved in the anti-immigration movement in 1992, when he formed Voice of Citizens Together, also known as American Patrol, in California. In 2002, saying the battle was lost in that state, he moved to the “front lines” of the Arizona border, where he formed American Border Patrol. He was one of the first to call for border citizens’ patrols and pioneered the use of surveillance technology.

He also was one of the first well-known anti-immigration activists to more or less openly court white supremacists and anti-Semites. He has attended conferences of *American Renaissance* magazine, which specializes in racist theories about blacks and others. He interviewed the magazine’s editor, Jared Taylor, on his syndicated radio show. Another guest

was California State Professor Kevin MacDonald, who is the architect of an elaborate anti-Semitic theory dressed up as evolutionary biology.

Just this September, Spencer promoted on his Web site a booklet published by Taylor called *The Color of Crime*. The booklet is a “relentlessly factual” study that alleges that blacks and Hispanics are far more likely than whites to be criminals. It also falsely alleges people of color commit vastly more hate crimes than others.

Sometimes, Spencer’s racial paranoia seems to get the better of him. One night in 2003, thinking he was hearing noises outside his Sierra Vista, Ariz., home, he grabbed a gun and started shooting into the dark. He managed to hit a neighbor’s garage, among other things, and was charged with four felonies. But charges like that have a habit of going away in Southeastern Arizona. In Spencer’s case, his felony charges were reduced to one misdemeanor. He was fined \$2,500 and given a year’s probation. His lease was also terminated and he was forced to move away, taking up residence in a trailer in unincorporated Cochise County.

TOM TANCREDO

AGE: 59

LITTLETON, COLO.

As the face of the anti-immigration movement in Congress, Colorado Republican Tom Tancredo has enraged countless members of his own party. In 2002, presidential advisor Karl Rove, angered at Tancredo’s attacks on President Bush’s approach to immigration, told him “never to darken the door of the White House again.” Last April, after Bush called armed anti-immigration Minutemen patrolling the Arizona border “vigilantes,” Tancredo told the Minutemen that Bush should have to write an apology on a blackboard 100 times, then erase the chalk with his tongue. More recently still, Tancredo endorsed three primary challengers to his Republican House colleagues and even, in California, a Democratic candidate.

None of this seems to bother the man who started the hard-line Congressional Immigration Reform Caucus in 1999. In fact, he has gone from what many consider one outrageous action to another. Campaigning for a Senate candidate in Illinois, he warned that illegal immigrants are “coming here to kill you and to kill me and our families.” When a Denver newspaper ran a sympathetic article describing the plight of a high school valedictorian whose family was undocumented, Tancredo sought to have the family found and deported. In a discussion with a radio talk show host last July, he suggested that the United States should “take out” Mecca and other Islamic holy sites if the country is hit by a major terrorist attack launched by Muslims.

Because of his outrageous rhetoric and hard-line views, Tancredo is seen in heroic terms in the anti-immigration world. Barbara Coe (see profile, p. 30), who heads one hate group and belongs to another, says Tancredo is a “gold-plated, card-carrying patriot.” Angela “Bay” Buchanan, a hard-right activist, thinks he should run for president. Tancredo received a hero’s welcome when he keynoted at an anti-immigration conference attended by 400 activists last Memorial Day weekend.

Tancredo often doesn’t sound much different than the activists who spread fears about a supposed secret Mexican plot to reconquer the Southwest. “China is trying to export people,” he told one anti-immigration group. “It’s a policy for them, a way of extending their hegemony. It’s a government-sponsored thing.”

JOE TURNER

AGE: 28

VENTURA, CALIF.

Joe Turner’s been angry about immigration since



childhood. Eleven years ago, he stood in his high school cafeteria giving an impassioned speech in favor of Proposition 187, a California ballot initiative denying illegal immigrants access to public school and hospitals that was later found to be unconstitutional. Turner only sounded more radical late this year, when he demanded the city of San Bernardino pass a law to close day laborer centers, seize the cars of those who hire illegal day laborers, fine businesses that hire them, prohibit renting to illegal immigrants, and require that all city business be transacted in English.

In December 2004, Turner started his own anti-immigration group, Save Our State, and the group has swelled to the point where its Web forum now has more than 1,000 members. He’s emceed a series of protests by a few dozen members of his group, including two that cost the city of Baldwin more than \$40,000, mostly for police. (He calls this his “transference of pain” strategy.) Turner’s Baldwin protests were held to demand that the city remove this “seditious” language on a monument: “This land was Mexican once, Indian always, and is and will be again.”

An unusual feature of Turner’s rallies has been the regularity with which they attract neo-Nazis



Joe Turner was arrested on Dec. 10 in Glendale, Calif., after a confrontation with an antiracist protester during a Save Our State rally. He was charged with battery.

and racist Skinheads clad in black boots with red laces. Some of what appears in Turner's Web forum doesn't sound much different than propaganda from neo-Nazis. In October, for instance, one poster suggested that Hispanic fertility should be reined in with "crop dusters spraying birth control powder" and concluded, "STOP BREEDING LIKE RODENTS! YOU'RE RUINING MY COUNTRY!"

Turner, who was charged with battery in December after a confrontation with an antiracist protester, does delete posts advocating violence and has even banned a white supremacist or two. But in the same breath, he has publicly complained that he is "sick and tired of multiculturalism" and "white-bashing." And, Turner added, "Just because one believes in white separatism, that does not make them a racist."

Be that as it may, the 28-year-old stay-at-home dad apparently has decided he's found his calling in the anti-immigration movement. "Deep down," Joe Turner told the *Ventura County Star* last July, "I feel like I've been called to greatness."

MIKE VANDERBOEGH

AGE: 53

PINSON, ALA.

After spending parts of October patrolling the border in New Mexico, Mike Vanderboegh and the two or three others who made up his Alabama Minuteman Support Team decided they'd had enough. Despite the presence of an alluring array of military toys — "night vision devices, global positioning systems, portable seismic intrusion detectors and ham radios" — the men, all once associated with the militia movement of the 1990s, decided to call it quits. Apparently, their citizens' patrol, aimed at keeping illegals out of America, proved less than thrilling.

As of Nov. 1, the tiny group gave itself another name — the Alabama Minuteman Surveillance Team — and the mission of making life miserable for any business that hired undocumented workers. "We hereby put exploitative employers and crooked politicians on notice," Vanderboegh declared after ending the patrols and deciding to return to Alabama to concentrate on the situation there. "We intend to make it toxic for anyone doing public or private business to use illegals. If I were a politician in Alabama right now, I'd start getting REAL careful about who I accepted money from. Because we're fixin' to flip on the light switch."

Vanderboegh denied any suggestion of vigilantism, telling the *Birmingham* (Ala.) *News* that all his group sought was enforcement of existing laws. He had similarly shrugged off criticism of the paramilita-



rism of the militias back when he was associated with groups including the Alabama Constitutional Militia, the Tri-States Militia and the 1st Alabama Cavalry Regiment, Constitutional Militia. Along with New Mexico Minuteman Bob Wright (see profile, p. 41), Vanderboegh in 1996 was among militia leaders from 19 states who signed a declaration distancing the militia movement from racists and neo-Nazis.

Vanderboegh has consistently portrayed himself as a moderate, first in the militia world and now in the anti-immigration movement. But he hasn't always sounded that way. Back in the mid-1990s, he wrote a document entitled "Strategy and Tactics for a Militia Civil War" in which he discussed the utility of snipers using "violence carefully targeted and clearly defensive: war criminals, secret policemen, rats (Pitcavage take note)." Mark Pitcavage, a historian, was then running a Web group called The Militia Watchdog and doing some work for police agencies. He is currently the fact-finding director of the antiracist Anti-Defamation League.

ROBERT VASQUEZ

AGE: 56

CALDWELL, IDAHO

Not many people are aware that Idaho is under assault by waves of illegal Mexican immigrants. But Canyon County Commissioner Robert Vasquez is.

Vasquez has demanded that the governor of Idaho declare a state of emergency to stem the Mexican "invasion." He wants to "close the borders of Idaho and mobilize the National Guard to secure checkpoints" to rout out illegals. He has "billed" the Mexican government for \$2 million to reimburse what he claims his county has spent on services to the undocumented. He has even attacked his fellow Republicans, accusing them of serving illegals better than American citizens.

You might think that would pretty much rule out Vasquez's future on a larger political stage. But he doesn't. In fact, he says he's running for Congress even as he considers a campaign for governor of Idaho. His message? Illegals bring disease and crime, lower wages all round, and threaten American national security.

"The diversity crowd seduces the naive by teaching that the invaders are noble, harmless people, just here to work," Vasquez told an anti-immigration gathering near Chicago in October, "when in fact they are here to commit auto theft,



Anti-immigration activists routinely characterize those who cross the U.S. border without papers as "criminals" and "illegals," and some go even further, calling those who cross rapists and murderers. The truth is that crossing the frontier illegally is a federal misdemeanor and no more.

burglary, rape, robbery and murder.”

The grandson of Mexican immigrants and a Vietnam War veteran, Vasquez hotly rejects the idea of being “a hyphenated American.” Translated, that means he refuses to do interviews in Spanish, even with the Spanish-language media.

Vasquez is a former newspaper columnist who long specialized in arguing that English should be the country’s official language. Another favorite target was “liberals,” people Vasquez sees as pathetic weaklings. “As you sit in your Subaru Outback with the ‘Save Tibet’ bumper sticker,” he wrote in one sneering column directed at liberals, “sipping your decaf-soy milk-latte, dining on your veggie burger, and whining about the poor al-Qaida being bombed, think about this: Freedom is not free. But don’t worry. Your friends and neighbors are paying the price.”



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

FROSTY WOOLDRIDGE

AGE: 58

LOUISVILLE, COLO.

The author of hundreds of opinion columns, Frosty Woolridge believes he knows a thing or two about immigration. It’s not a pretty picture he paints.

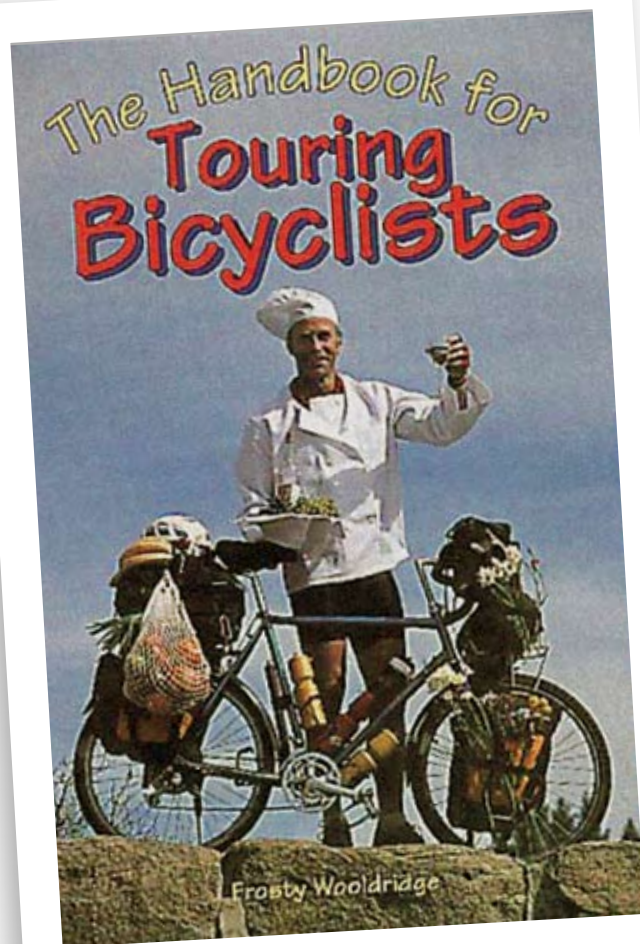
Cock-fighting, animal sacrifice, Santeria sorcery, staged dog fights — these are some of the nasty things illegal aliens bring us, Woolridge writes in his 2004 book *Immigration’s Unarmed Invasion: Deadly Consequences*. There’s genital mutilation — clitorectomies — that come to us courtesy of illegal non-European immigrants (“What if your daughter married a man who insisted your granddaughter undergo this operation?”). If you go to places like Wal-Mart or the movies, he warns, “you’re breathing air that may be carrying hepatitis.” Tuberculosis, head lice and hepatitis are showing up in our classrooms — part of what Woolridge calls immigrants’ “disease jihad.” Thanks to donations from illegals, blood supplies may be contaminated with a deadly parasite that will destroy your heart.

Not worried yet about the ways of “barbaric” immigrants? Consider the toilet habits of the undocumented. Somali immigrants, Woolridge warns, “never used a toilet or washed their hands before being plunked down in America.” Mexicans “do not wash their hands after using bathroom facilities.” Then Woolridge suggests in his book that readers think about just who it is who prepares their food.

An Army veteran, Woolridge claims to have written articles for 18 magazines, along with “hundreds” of editorials in major American newspapers. He says he bicycled 100,000 miles through six continents over the course of 25 years. He has taught math and science and has been a

tractor-trailer driver, bartender, dance teacher, ski instructor, heavy equipment trainer, cardiac catheterization technician, personal trainer and lifestyle coach. He has appeared on scores of television and radio shows. But what he does not have is any background in immigration.

That hasn’t prevented him from offering up his opinions. “I don’t want to see my country taken over ... and have them make the Southwest a slime pit Third World country like Mexico,” he told a Las Vegas audience in early 2005. Later, in a letter to the editor, he complained about California, “with its nightmare gridlock, schools trashed, hospitals collapsing, drug gangs and overall chaos generated by a Third World mob of illegal aliens.” U.S. borders should have been sealed to legal and legal immigration the day after the Sept. 11 attacks, Woolridge added on one Web site. If that doesn’t happen soon, he said, “this country will collapse into internal civil conflict in this decade.”



BOB WRIGHT

AGE: 47

EUNICE, N.M.

The spreading anti-immigration Minuteman movement in America is similar in a number of ways to the militia movement that was so remarkable in the 1990s. Both the militias and the Minutemen — relatively new groups that have sought to end illegal immigration by running civilian border patrols — involve private individuals acting in the name of patriotism to fix perceived social problems. Both sprang up out of frustration with the government and the idea that everyday citizens could rectify government’s mistakes via paramilitary activism. And both have drawn participants from a broad cross-section of America, from

the working class to the wealthy.

So it isn’t much of a surprise to find militia members and leaders increasingly joining up. A case in point is Bob Wright, commander of the 1st Brigade New Mexico Militia, who recently began work as leader of the New Mexico branch of the Minuteman Civil Defense Corps. Patrolling this October near Hachita, N.M., Wright was joined by several militia-men, including Mike Vanderboegh (see profile, p. 38), a former key militia leader from Alabama who now heads up the Minuteman group in that state.

It wasn’t a wholly satisfactory effort. Wright’s followers were joined by a group of horsemen who called themselves the “Rough Riders.”

Vanderboegh and a few others from Alabama brought military gadgets to aid in apprehensions. Wright himself says he sunk a considerable amount of his own money into setting up a “command post.” But even with all that effort, Wright’s group only reported a total of around 20 illegal border-crossers to the Border Patrol in a whole month.

Possibly as a result of his experience in the militia movement, Wright has taken pains to paint his group as a moderate one. He has insisted that his followers adhere to a “no contact” rule during their patrols. As a result, when a volunteer from Colorado was found during the October patrols with two illegal aliens in his car — it was not clear what they were doing there or what the volunteer intended to do with them — Wright immediately expelled the man. Wright was perfectly clear about his reasons. “[T]his operation can’t afford that kind of stupidity,” he said.

LUCA ZANNA

AGE: 41

APPLE VALLEY, CALIF.

Italian-born gladiator, songwriter, erotic poet and now anti-immigration Minuteman — it’s sometimes hard to know whether Luca Zanna is really a political activist or just a Marvel Comics character set loose in a new homeland. One thing’s for sure: Zanna’s fellow anti-immigration zealots think he’s the toast of the town.

Back in Rome, before he legally emigrated to the United States, Zanna was a gladiator with big dreams. The former surfer spent his days dressed as Spartacus, the insurrectionist Roman slave, hustling tourists for spare

change around the Coliseum. In 1997, he told a newspaper he was setting up an escort service to provide female tourists with “their own Italian lovers.” Then, in 1998, he headed for the States.

Zanna embraced American capitalism with a vengeance. From his California home, he sold “erotic poems” on one of his many Web sites, ran a dating service, and offered classes in his own gladiator school. He promoted his skills as a gladiator chef, stirring pasta with a trident on a local cable television show. He even tried to get a reality show in which he would travel the country in a gladiator outfit looking for love in just seven days. Then he discovered immigration.

Last summer, in the wake of the Minuteman vigilante effort to seal the Arizona border, Zanna set up his own Minuteman offshoot — the High Desert Minutemen. He produced a video that showed himself in the desert near Campo, Calif., giggling as he blasted weird sounds from a boom box toward the Mexican border (part of what he calls “psychological warfare” directed at would-be border crossers). In another shot, he is leaning over a border fence and shouting, “Fuck you, Fox!” at the faraway Vicente Fox, president of Mexico. An anti-Mexican song he wrote plays in the background.

You might think that anti-immigration leaders would be leery of Zanna. But not so. In fact, he was warmly welcomed when he joined the first Minuteman Project in Arizona last April, and again at a “Save Our State” rally in California (he arrived toting two shields and a helmet meant to serve as protection against pro-immigrant protesters). At a major anti-immigration conference in Las Vegas last May, Zanna called Minuteman co-founder Jim Gilchrist (see profile, p. 32) to the stage; the two men then knelt and embraced each other as the strains of another Zanna-authored tune, “Minuteman,” played in the background. In July, at an anti-immigration event in Phoenix, he finished a boisterous speech by dramatically rolling up his sleeve to reveal an American flag tattoo on his flexed bicep. Everywhere, he was cheered.

Zanna recently released a CD, dedicated to the founders of the Minutemen and featuring his anti-immigration music. It’s not meant for everyone, Zanna helpfully warns potential buyers, and most especially not “liberals, communists, American politicians on the payroll of Mexico or other foreign countries, United Nations crooks, antigun freaks, backstabber Frenchies, prochoice Baby Killers, antimilitary hippies, Hollywood chicken wings and illegal alien invaders.” ▲



LOU DOBBS’ DAILY ‘BROKEN BORDERS’ CNN SEGMENT HAS FOCUSED ON IMMIGRATION FOR YEARS. BUT THERE’S ONE ISSUE DOBBS JUST WON’T TAKE ON

BY HEIDI BEIRICH AND MARK POTOK

Lou Dobbs is a genial sort, a pleasant-faced CNN anchor-man who regularly presents himself as standing up for American working men and women against those who would injure them. Hosting “Lou Dobbs Tonight” for a prime-time hour every weekday, he is also well known and powerful. So when Dobbs focuses on an issue, millions of Americans learn just what it is that Dobbs thinks they should know.

For more than two years now, Dobbs has served up a populist approach to immigration on nightly segments of his newscast entitled “Broken Borders.” He has relentlessly covered the issue, although hardly from a traditional news perspective — Dobbs favors clamping down on illegal immigration, and his “reporting” never fails to make that clear. He has covered the same issues, and the same anti-immigration leaders, time after time after time. In recent months, Dobbs has run countless upbeat reports on the “citizen border patrols” that have sprung up around the country since last April’s Minuteman Project, a paramilitary effort to seal the Arizona border.

But there’s one thing Lou Dobbs won’t do. No matter what others report about the movement, Dobbs has failed to present mounting and persistent evidence of anti-Hispanic racism in anti-immigration groups and citizen border patrols.

It’s not that Dobbs hasn’t allowed a pro-immigration activist or two to complain about efforts like the Minuteman Project (“vigilantes,” according to President Bush), or even that he has made racist statements on his show. What the anchorman has done is repeatedly decline to present the evidence that links these groups to racism, calling the very idea “mind-boggling.” On his July 29 show, he called the ACLU and the Southern Poverty Law Center, which he said he liked in other ways, “despicable” and “reprehensible” for saying otherwise.

Consider some of what Dobbs has failed to report, despite the fact that in almost every case these developments were reported widely elsewhere:

- **GLENN SPENCER** (see profile, p. 35), head of the anti-immigration American Patrol, has been interviewed at least twice on the show, on Jan. 7 and June 4, 2004. Spencer’s Web site is jammed with anti-Mexican vitriol and he pushes the idea that the Mexican government is involved in a secret plot to take over the Southwest — facts never mentioned on Dobbs’ show. Spencer’s group is regarded as a hate group by both the Southern Poverty Law Center and the Anti-Defamation League. Spencer has spoken at least twice to the white supremacist Council of Conservative Citizens, which has described blacks as “a retrograde species of humanity,” and once to *American Renaissance*, a group that contends that blacks are genetically inferior to whites. Dobbs has never reported those ties, or mentioned Spencer’s more wild-eyed contentions, such as his prediction that “thousands will die” in a supposedly forthcoming Mexican invasion. His CNN colleague Wolf Blitzer, on the hand, featured Spencer on his own show but reported Mexico’s official response and SPLC’s hate group designation.

- In late 2004, it was revealed that the new head of a national advisory board to Protect Arizona Now, an anti-immigration organization, was a long-time white supremacist who was also an editorial adviser to the racist Council of Conservative Citizens. Although **VIRGINIA ABERNETHY**’s controversial selection was reported prominently in virtually every Arizona paper — and despite the fact that Dobbs heavily covered the anti-immigration referendum that Protect Arizona Now was advocating — Dobbs never mentioned the affair at all.

- A man named **JOE MCCUTCHEEN** (see profile, p. 34) was quoted last April as part of a feature on the Minuteman Project, described by Dobbs as “a terrific group of concerned, caring Americans.” No mention was made of the fact that McCutchen, who heads up an anti-immigration group called Protect Arkansas Now, had written a whole series of anti-Semitic letters to the editor and given a speech to the Council of Conservative Citizens — facts revealed the prior January by SPLC, causing Arkansas’ Republican governor to denounce McCutchen’s group.

- This August, **BILL PARMLEY**, a Minuteman leader in Goliad County, Texas, quit the group because of what he described as widespread racism. Similarly, in September, newspapers reported that another Texas Minuteman, Janet Ahrens, had resigned because members “wanted to shoot the taco meat.” Dobbs never mentioned either of these people, who were fea-

tured prominently elsewhere.

- On Oct. 4, Dobbs had **PAUL STREITZ**, a co-founder of Connecticut Citizens for Immigration Control, as a guest on his show. Streitz denounced Mayor John DeStefano Jr. for “turning New Haven into a banana republic” by favoring identification cards for undocumented workers. Two days later, newspapers revealed that two of the group’s other founders had just quit, saying Streitz had led it in a racially charged direction. Dobbs has never reported this.

- **BARBARA COE** (see profile, p. 30), leader of the California Coalition for Immigration Reform, was quoted on a show last March bitterly attacking Home Depot for “betray[ing] Americans,” apparently because Hispanic day laborers often gather in front of the store looking for work. Not mentioned were her group, listed by the SPLC as a hate group, or the fact that she routinely refers to Mexicans as “savages.” Coe recently described herself as a member of the

Council of Conservative Citizens, a “white pride” group formed from the remnants of the segregationist White Citizens Councils of the 1950s and 1960s that were once described by Thurgood Marshal as “the uptown Klan.” She also told the *Denver Post* in November that she had given a speech to the group.

- **CHRIS SIMCOX** (see profile, p. 20), co-founder of the Minuteman Project and a top national anti-immigration leader, was arrested in 2003 by federal park rangers for carrying a weapon illegally while tracking border-crossers on federal parkland. While Simcox has been repeatedly interviewed on his show, Dobbs has failed to mention that arrest or bigoted anti-Hispanic comments Simcox made to the *Intelligence Report* several years ago.

Although Dobbs has steered clear of the racist comments that some of his guests have made elsewhere, he has warned of “illegal aliens who not only threaten our economy and secu-

urity, but also our health and well-being,” according to Fairness & Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR), a media monitor. In 2003, FAIR added, a reporter on Dobbs’ show grossly mischaracterized a National Academy of Sciences report. The report found that immigrants provided a net gain of \$1 billion to \$10 billion to the U.S. gross domestic product, but the CNN reporter said the report had found the economic impact of immigrants worked out to a net *loss* of up to \$10 billion.

Dobbs is revered in anti-immigration quarters and on the far right generally. He is the winner of the 2004 Eugene Katz Award for Excellence in the Coverage of Immigration, given by the Center for Immigration Studies (CIS). CIS claims to be a “nonpartisan research institute,” but in fact is a thinly disguised anti-immigration organization. The 2005 Katz Award went to the immigration beat reporter for *The Washington Times*, a hard-right newspaper based in Washington, D.C.

In general, Lou Dobbs has declined to report salient negative facts about anti-immigration leaders he approves of, or simply avoided mentioning certain of their views — notably the conspiracy theories propounded by people like Spencer.

Still, Dobbs is hardly immune to the lure of the weird. Last September, he offered up Idaho meteorologist Scott Stevens as a guest on his show. Stevens had just left an Idaho television news program immediately after telling viewers of a bizarre theory that Hurricane Katrina was caused by unknown evildoers. “Terrorists were engaging in a type of eco-terrorism where they could alter the climate, set off earthquakes and volcanoes,” he told Dobbs. Stevens said they were using “scalar waves,” invented by the Japanese, to attack America with Category 5 storms.

“Intriguing assertion,” Dobbs concluded at the end of the interview. Much the same might be said, and in the same spirit, about the news “reporting” that Dobbs presents as he doggedly explores and supports the anti-immigration movement. ▲



Boasting an American flag in his lapel, CNN anchor Lou Dobbs has reported aggressively on the effect immigration allegedly has on American jobs. But he has said almost nothing about racism in the anti-immigration movement.

NATIVISM ON AIR

Most Americans are angry about illegal immigration.
For radio hosts, that means vilification is a no-lose path to popularity

BY SUSY BUCHANAN

Radio personality Roger Hedgecock made his way to the front of the Holiday Inn conference room, surveyed the standing-room-only crowd and smiled broadly. Among the 400 people attending the first organizational meeting of the “Hold Their Feet to the Fire” anti-immigration gathering held in Washington, D.C., last April were 250 Hedgecock fans who had purchased tour packages and flown together from San Diego for the week-long lobbying blitz.

“I didn’t particularly want to come to Washington and talk about the border,” Hedgecock told a reporter. “But the fact is, the listeners were absolutely adamant we do this.”

A former San Diego mayor convicted of conspiracy and 12 counts of perjury in the ’80s for failure to report \$350,000 in campaign donations, Hedgecock has brought tour groups to lobby Washington lawmakers on other issues before. But he has never had as many participants as on this trip.

“The thing is just mushrooming out of control at the moment,” Hedgecock said. “There is no bigger issue ... than the continuing frustration and the mounting concern after Sept. 11 on the homeland security issues associated with illegal immigration.”

The rapidly burgeoning anti-immigration movement has presented right-wing talk radio hosts with a popular topic that’s made to order

for those looking for an easy target to blame for a variety of ills. “Talk show hosts are businessmen; they have to sell soap,” Rick Oltman, Western Field Director for the Federation for American Immigration Reform, explained in July. “If immigration reform didn’t resonate with their audience, they wouldn’t be talking about it.”

And they are talking about it. On shows small and large across the country, hosts are eagerly tapping into the anti-immigration movement. The portrait they paint of illegal immigrants is not a pretty one.

In a study conducted in Oregon in 2004, sociologists José Padin and Shelley Smith examined 50 hours of talk radio, monitoring the programs of the three most popular nationally broadcast hosts (Rush Limbaugh, Bill O’Reilly and Michael Savage), as well as the two top Oregon hosts. Their study revealed that immigrants were routinely stereotyped and broke down how the hosts and callers made their points. Padin and Smith found that immigrants were described by the hosts they studied as “a group that should be controlled by the government (39% of immigra-

tion segments), terrorists (32%), a cultural threat (27%), receiving special rights (20%), an economic drain (18%), and a crime threat (16%).”

Hedgecock was not the only radio personality who saw a good thing and attended the Washington, D.C., meeting. Nineteen other radio hosts brought their shows to “Hold Their Feet to the Fire,” broadcasting live reports to listeners in Arizona, Arkansas, Idaho, Montana, New Mexico, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Texas and Washington.

Similarly, other radio personalities are doing more than just talking. Some key examples:

MARK EDWARDS **KDOWN-AM, LAS VEGAS**

One month after Hedgecock’s event, Mark Edwards, a former sportscaster and radio host organized and served as master of ceremonies for the “Unite to Fight” immigration summit held over Memorial Day in Las Vegas. The event brought together a veritable Who’s Who of anti-immigration leaders before a crowd of some 400 people. Edwards’ Wake Up America foundation, whose board of directors includes Madeleine Cosman, Jim Gilchrist and Luca Zanna (see profiles, pp. 30, 32 and 42), continues to hold monthly

meetings and a second “Unite to Fight” conference is planned for 2006.

RUSS AND DEE FINE **WYDE-FM, BIRMINGHAM, ALA.** Russ and Dee Fine are married radio hosts who have been on the air for nearly two decades. The Fines regularly host community forums they call “Alabama Tea Parties” that have drawn crowds of well over 1,000 on two separate occasions in the last year. Introducing prominent anti-immigration speakers such as Erin Anderson, D.A. King (see profiles, pp. 27 and 34) and white nationalist author and former *Forbes* editor Peter Brimelow, the Fines whip the crowd into a frenzy, energetically inviting their audience to join them in declaring war on illegal immigration.

JOHN KOBLYLT AND KEN CHIAMPOU

KFI-AM, LOS ANGELES John Kobylt and Ken Chiampou are immensely popular rabble-rousers whose take on immigration has caused the Mexican American Political Association to call for a boycott of “The John and Ken Show” and its sponsors. Kobylt and Chiampou frequently use immigration to attack politicians such as U.S. Rep. David Dreier, the Republican chair of the House Rules Committee. The pair hounded Dreier relentlessly, held “Fire Dreier” rallies, and named him a “political human sacrifice” for his unwillingness to close down the border.

Their tactics appear to have worked. Dreier spent 30 times more than his Democratic challenger and won with only 54% of the vote, his lowest percentage in 24 years. Dreier returned to Washington, D.C., and almost immediately introduced legislation to make it more difficult to obtain false Social Security numbers.

“Mr. Kobylt says talk radio has tasted blood on the immigration issue,” the *Wall Street Journal* reported last January, “and he expects other hosts around the country to pick up on this issue.”

TERRY ANDERSON **KRLA-AM, LOS ANGELES**

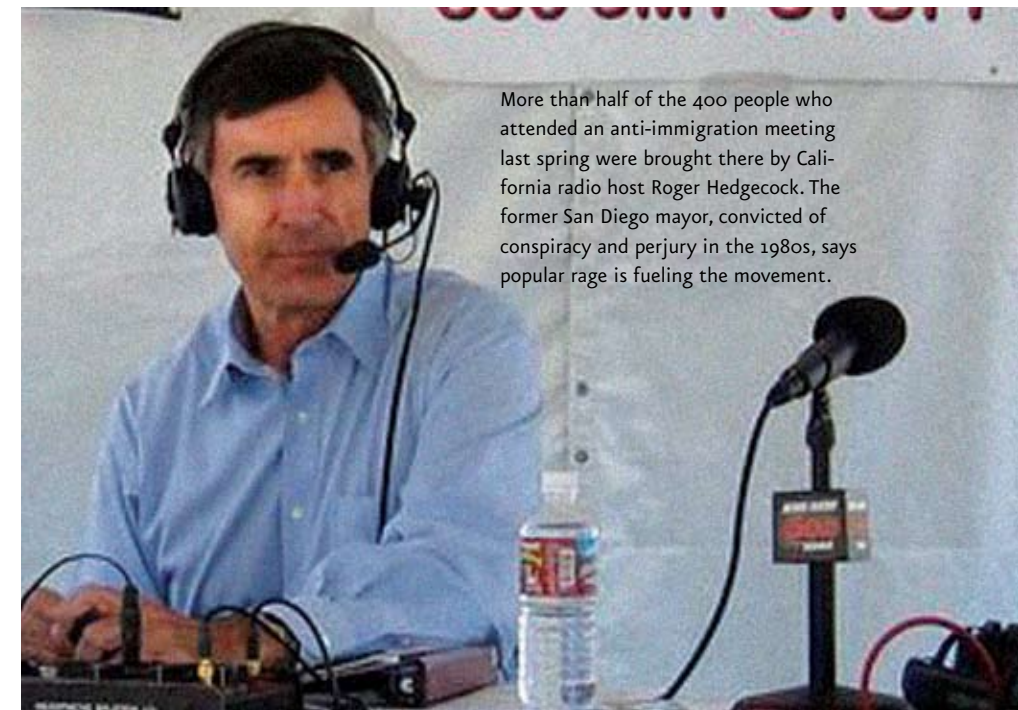
Also in Los Angeles, Terry Anderson, the self-proclaimed “Prisoner of South

Central,” hosts a nationally syndicated show that is focused exclusively on the topic of immigration. Anderson’s rhetoric is similar to that of his mentor and fellow radio host, George Putnam, who told listeners, among other things, that “the Mexican government plans a takeover of America,” and “venereal

work force,” Anderson told lawmakers.

Anderson is also a popular speaker at anti-immigration conferences around the country. “They say illegal immigrants are just good people coming here to make a better life for themselves,” Anderson told the audience at a Chicago anti-immigration conference in Octo-

“There is no bigger issue than the continuing frustration and the mounting concern after Sept. 11 on the homeland security issues associated with illegal immigration.”



More than half of the 400 people who attended an anti-immigration meeting last spring were brought there by California radio host Roger Hedgecock. The former San Diego mayor, convicted of conspiracy and perjury in the 1980s, says popular rage is fueling the movement.

disease is rampant among illegals.”

“Illegal immigrants bring the worst of their culture to my neighborhood,” Anderson said in a typical rant. “They bring poopy diapers and grow corn that’s three feet high. They bring chickens and ducks and goats tied up in their yards.”

Immigration has taken the black former auto mechanic all the way to Capitol Hill, where he has testified twice before House Judiciary Subcommittee. “Illegal immigration is killing the work force. Legal immigration is killing the

ber. “But I tell you what, anybody who invades my country is the enemy, and enemies are not good people.”

Anderson, who was the first to broadcast a show from Washington, D.C., at Hedgecock’s event, understands the power of an issue that has become his bread and butter and that of uncounted other hosts as well.

“People listen to this show and they’re angry. I’ve never seen them this angry before,” Anderson told a reporter. “It’s big business now. It’s fashionable to be against illegal immigration.” ▲



GETTY IMAGES

CASTING STONES

AN ARMY OF RADICAL CHRISTIAN RECONSTRUCTIONISTS IS PREPARING A CAMPAIGN TO CONVERT CONSERVATIVE FUNDAMENTALIST CHURCHES

BY DAVID HOLTHOUSE

Draped in a stark black suit with a shiny gold cross pinned to its lapel, Mark Rushdoony peered down from the pulpit through glasses tinted the color of hellfire.

“We are authorized by God to challenge all that is not godly!” Rushdoony thundered. “God is angry with the wicked every day, and the sins of the wicked deserve the infliction of God’s wrath in this life as well as the life hereafter!”

Rushdoony was the keynote preacher at a symposium held in September at the Chalcedon Presbyterian Church in Cumming, Ga., to observe the 40th anniversary of the Chalcedon Foundation, the ultra-fundamentalist Christian ministry founded in California by Rushdoony’s late father, R.J. Rushdoony. The elder Rushdoony was a racist and Holocaust denier who took his group’s name from a medieval council of bishops that proclaimed the subservience of all nations and governments to God.

The Chalcedon Foundation has since become the fountainhead for Christian Reconstructionism, an obscure but growing branch of Christian fundamentalism whose adherents believe the world should be “reconstructed” so that everyone in it lives under strict Old Testament moral codes imposed by local theocracies.

There is no room for democracy in Reconstructionism, and no tolerance for dissent.

“To oppose us is to attack God’s law,” Mark Rushdoony testified to nearly 200 followers from four states, “and to attack God’s law is to attack God himself!”

Mark Rushdoony took over as president of the Chalcedon Foundation after his father’s death in 2001, and now leads a small army of true believers whose fundamentalism is so hard core they make garden-variety right-wing evangelicals seem like Unitarians at a Peter, Paul and Mary sing-along. Reconstructionists envision a future in which practicing homosexuals and adulteresses will be put to death, as demanded, they say, by Mosaic Law.

Like many homophobes on the religious right, Reconstructionist leaders often cite the book of Leviticus, chapter 20, in which God tells Moses to tell the children of Israel to put to death any man “who lieth with mankind as he lieth with a woman.” In that chapter, God also orders the death

by stoning of all sorcerers, wizards and worshippers of the ancient pagan fire deity Menoch.

“We must base our laws on faith, not reason,” Rushdoony told the Georgia congregation.

Rushdoony shared the pulpit with the Chalcedon Foundation’s vice president, Martin Selbrede, who exhorted the assemblage to arm themselves with “the powerful bazookas of God, not the peashooters of the flesh,” and with Gary DeMar, owner of the Reconstructionist publishing house American Vision.

In April, DeMar had appeared alongside ousted Alabama Supreme Court Chief Justice Roy Moore at a “Restore America” rally in Powder Springs, Ga. Moore, the “Ten Commandments judge” who is running for governor as a Republican in Alabama after being thrown out of office there for defying federal court orders, is a hero to Christian Reconstructionists.

“Thank God for Roy Moore,” said Joe Morecraft, the pastor at Chalcedon Presbyterian and a man well known in Reconstructionist circles. “He understands our duty to acknowledge God as the sole source of law and justice.”

Morecraft said the September conference was a preview of a planned speaking tour of Reconstructionism’s leading voices, including Rushdoony, Selbrede, and DeMar, that will be traveling to non-Reconstructionist fundamentalist Christian churches around the country beginning this winter as part of the Chalcedon Foundation’s missionary effort to “convert” already conservative congregations to full-blown Reconstructionism.

“Anyone who says that Biblical law is too restrictive or burdensome, they will be counted as enemies of the Lord and they will be destroyed by him, whether they are liberal or conservative,” Morecraft said.

During the short breaks between speakers, the Reconstructionists browsed merchandise booths in the church’s community room. One item for sale was a standardized, multiple-choice “worldview test” designed for children to “measure secular humanism’s influence on their perceptions.” It includes the questions, “Capital punishment for certain crimes is a Biblical mandate and should be enforced in our society,” and “Absolute truth exists in all areas and can be known.” The correct answer for both: “Strongly agree.”

The Chalcedon symposium was titled, “The Blueprint for Christian Civilization in the 21st Century.” But instead of specifically outlining their strategy, the presenters simply pounded the drums of holy war by heralding the conquest of the wicked, variously identified as gays, secular humanists, abortionists, evolutionists and heretics.

Mark Rushdoony concluded by quoting his father’s death-bed pronouncement: “Oh, my God, bless us in this battle! Our victory is certain! I can’t talk much more. Oh, my God, we thank thee for this great calling to victory!”

Devotees of Menoch, thy days are numbered. ▲

BRITAIN

British Bombing an Escalation of Eco-Violence

For years, hard-line American animal rights activists have followed as their British counterparts led the way in increasingly violent attacks on their enemies. It was British activists who were the first to physically attack executives of companies they disliked, a technique since emulated in the United States. By the time the fringe of the American animal rights movement began bombing buildings and engaging in widespread arson, their British counterparts had been doing so for years.

Once again, British hard-liners seem to be leading the way. This fall, the British section of the Animal Liberation Front claimed the Sept. 7 bombing of the home of Paul Blackburn, the corporate controller of GlaxoSmithKline (GSK). He was singled out because his firm is a customer of the animal testing corporation Huntingdon Life Sciences (HLS), the most visible target of eco-radicals today. It was the first known bombing of an individual's home claimed by the ALF, although ALF activists have made bomb threats and, in one case, set off a smoke device at a scientist's home. Other animal rights extremists have sent letter bombs.

The porch of Blackburn's Buckinghamshire home was damaged. Blackburn was out of the country at the time, but his wife and child were home.

The ALF, which openly advocates arson and other crimes but claims to oppose violence directed at humans, took responsibility on a Web site. "We realize that this may not be enough to make you stop using HLS, but ... this is just the beginning," the statement from "Brigade G" of the ALF said. "We have identified and tracked down many of your senior executives and also junior staff, as well as those from other HLS customers. Drop HLS or you will face the consequences."

In another case of animal rights extremism that riveted the British public, police in late September arrested five people during dawn raids in connection with the theft of an elderly woman's body from her grave.



After the remains of Gladys Hammond were stolen in October 2004, her family was told they would only be returned if the family shut down its Newchurch farm, which breeds guinea pigs for use in experimental medical research. Ultimately, the family complied.

A Church of England official pleaded for the return of the remains of Gladys Hammond, which were stolen by animal rights extremists who waged a six-year hate campaign against relatives who breed guinea pigs for research. Hours later, activists held a "Victory Party" to celebrate the relatives' capitulation.



GERMANY

Neofascist Party Quadruples Votes, But Still No Seats

The neo-Nazi National Democratic Party (NPD) made it best showing ever in German national elections this September, quadrupling its 2002 national election results but still failing to meet the threshold for election to parliament.

The NPD polled 1.6% in the Sept. 18 vote, dramatically boosting the 0.4% it won in the previous national election. That translated to 743,903 votes.

In Germany, as in many European parliamentary systems, a party must win at least 5% of the national vote to get even one deputy into the Bundestag, or federal parliament. The NPD, which was formed in early 1960s and is now headed by Udo Voigt, has never managed to win enough votes to be represented nationally.

Still, the NPD has done surprisingly well since reaching an agreement not to compete with another neofascist party, the German People's Union. Last year, the NPD won 9.2% of the vote in state elections in Saxony, sending 12 representatives to the state parliament as a result. In the September election, candidates from the NPD again broke through the 5% barrier in a number of small towns. No seats were gained, but the results suggest possible victories in future local elections.

The German government attempted unsuccessfully to ban the NPD in 2003. Ultimately, a court ruled that the party was so infiltrated by German security service agents that it couldn't decide who was actually making its decisions.

Supporters of the neofacist National Democratic Party (NPD) demonstrated in Berlin last spring on the 60th anniversary of Nazi Germany's surrender. The courts barred the NPD from marching to the city's new Holocaust Memorial.

Discussion of the ban was revived last January, after the NPD's leader in Saxony made a speech in the state parliament accusing the United States and Britain of being "mass murderers" because of the bombing of Dresden during World War II. All 12 NPD deputies in the Saxon parliament also walked out to protest a moment of silence held to commemorate the Soviet Union's liberation of Auschwitz.

GERMANY

Deported from Canada, Holocaust Denier Faces German Court



Long-time Holocaust denier Ernst Zundel, deported from Canada as a security risk last March after being imprisoned there during a two-year investigation, now faces a Nov. 8 trial in Mannheim, Germany, in connection with pro-Nazi propaganda directed at Germans

from an American-based Web site.

Zundel, a 66-year-old German native who lived most of his adult life in Canada as a permanent resident, is charged with inciting racial hatred through his Holocaust denial activities, which are a criminal offense in Germany.

Even while he lived in Canada, Zundel ran his infamous "Zundel-site" from a computer server in America, where the First Amendment protected his pro-Nazi writings. Eventually, he met Ingrid Rimland, an ethnic German who now lives in Tennessee. She ran his Web site beginning in 1995 and later married him.

Ingrid Rimland-Zundel, 69, recently wrote that an arrest warrant for her, as well, had been issued by the Germans. She had planned to attend her husband's trial before learning of the warrant charging her with Holocaust denial.

Like Zundel, Rimland-Zundel is of German ancestry. She is the daughter of ethnic Germans in the Ukraine who fled the approaching Russians in 1943. They traveled to Germany and remained there until several years after the war, when they moved to Paraguay. According to her own account, she emigrated to Canada in 1960 before moving in 1967 to the United States, where she has lived ever since.

IRELAND

U.S. Neo-Nazi Financier Sought in Dublin

The FBI believes that a key financier of American neo-Nazi groups who has been on the run from U.S. authorities for four years is hiding in Ireland.

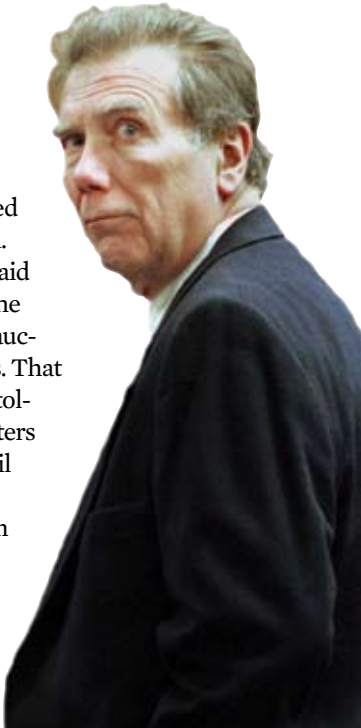
Vincent Bertollini, who made a fortune in Silicon Valley during the boom of the 1990s, failed to appear for a pre-trial hearing to face drunken driving charges in Sandpoint, Idaho, in 2001. He had been convicted of drunken driving twice in 1998, and a third conviction within five years would be a felony punishable by up to five years in prison. An arrest warrant for Bertollini was issued in July 2001.

Bertollini and fellow Silicon Valley entrepreneur Carl E. Story moved to Idaho in 1995 and immediately developed ties to the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations and America's Promise Ministries, both promoters of the anti-Semitic Christian Identity religion. They created their own tiny neo-Nazi organization, the 11th Hour Remnant Messenger, and boasted of spending more than \$1.5 million on their cause.

Bertollini was particularly close to Aryan Nations leader Richard Butler, at one point mailing out thousands of copies of a videotaped interview with Butler to almost every resident of an entire northern Idaho zip code. When Butler lost his Idaho compound in a 2000 civil suit brought by the Southern Poverty Law Center, Bertollini helped Butler to purchase a new house in nearby Hayden.

Butler died in September 2004, leaving an unpaid balance of \$91,486 on his home. In August 2005, the mortgage holder decided to put the house up for auction because no one was keeping up the payments. That apparently renewed the interest of the FBI in Bertollini. The following month, FBI officials told reporters that they had found that Bertollini was having mail forwarded to Dublin, Ireland.

"He just disappeared," FBI supervisor Norm Brown told *The Irish Times*, "but with the forwarding address, it looks like Ireland is our best chance." ▲



Puncturing the Protocols

A cartoonist and a moviemaker take on the most infamous propaganda creation in the long history of anti-Semitism

THE PLOT: THE SECRET STORY OF THE PROTOCOLS OF THE ELDERS OF ZION

By Will Eisner
New York: W.W. Norton, 2005,
\$19.95 (hardback)

“PROTOCOLS OF ZION”

By Marc Levin
Thinkfilm, 2005, 93 Minutes

In the last few years, the increase in anti-Semitism around the world has become indisputable. Violence against Jews is up around the Western hemisphere. Synagogues in France, California and many other places have been burned. Neo-Nazi movements have sprung up not only in formerly fascist countries like Germany and Austria but also in well-mannered social democracies like Sweden and Norway. Television and newspapers in many Muslim countries spout vitriolic attacks on Jews. In one remarkable speech, Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad told leaders of 57 Muslim nations in 2003 that Jews “rule the world by proxy,” invented communism and democracy as part of a plot, and are a dangerous “world power.”

Among American Jews, this resurgence has provoked a variety of reactions. As long ago as 1994, Emory University scholar Deborah Lipstadt published a book that took on leading Holocaust deniers – a book she resented writing because she could hardly believe Nazi Germany’s murder of millions of Jews was a disputed fact. Lipstadt was sued for libel by denier David Irving in a London court, but won a dramatic victory. Even that, however, did not slow spreading anti-Semitism.

Now come two American Jews who are not scholars, but artists, men who

apparently each felt they had to react to the noxious poison. In highly individual ways, each man uses his craft to take on the myth that has fueled anti-Semitism more than any other for 100 years — *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, a book purporting to be a verbatim record of Jewish leaders plotting to take over the world.

In a work completed in the last month of his life, cartoonist Will Eisner, famed as “the father of graphic novels,” attempts to untangle the extremely complex story of the *Protocols*. Initially published in Russia in the first few years of the 20th century, the *Protocols* (of which there are a great many versions) is a fictitious account of a Jewish plot to conquer the world. It claims to quote secret speeches given by an anonymous Jewish leader at 24 meetings of the so-called Elders of Zion. The basic idea is that the Jews, using Masonic lodges, the power of gold, subversion of public opinion and morals, and the ideologies of both capitalism and communism, are engaged in a centuries-old plot to destroy Christianity.

Eisner’s graphic novel attempts to tell the story of how the *Protocols* was actually written, a story that is largely known but to which certain new revelations have recently been added. In 1921, a British journalist established that the *Protocols* was largely plagiarized from an 1864 political satire by Maurice Joly aimed at French dictator Napoleon III from a liberal point of view. Joly’s book, *Dialogue in Hell Between Machiavelli and Montesquieu*, never mentioned Jews at all. Joly him-

self also plagiarized from popular fiction of his day to enliven his own book.

Ultimately, it seems clear that Russian tsarist secret police in France put together these strands and others to create the first version of the *Protocols*. A Russian forger, Mathieu Golovinski, apparently had a prominent hand in the creation, a recent finding that is heavily emphasized by Eisner. Golovinski may have been responsible for adding the venue of the *Protocols* — a Jewish graveyard where the Elders of Zion are described as holding their conspiratorial meetings.

The story Eisner tells, which ends with the seemingly irrepressible *Protocols* resurfacing repeatedly in the contemporary world, is Byzantine in its complexity and occasionally makes educated guesses

about matters that cannot be known. It can be a fascinating tale, but it more than once suffers from the blizzard of exhaustive and confusing detail that Eisner felt compelled to include. One example is the 17 pages of side-by-side comparisons of the texts of the *Protocols* and Joly’s book.

Marc Levin’s documentary film is not directly centered on the *Protocols*, but it keeps circling back to what is undeniably one of the most important documents in the long history of anti-Semitism. The film begins at the site of the World Trade Center destroyed on Sept. 11, 2001, where black street activists are angrily telling passersby that

(continued on p. 56)



Citizens’ Unrest

In Arizona, a county prosecutor opens the door for vigilante justice using a mistaken legal analysis of ‘citizen’s arrests’ BY CATHERINE E. SMITH

In April 2004, Army reservist Patrick Haab made a pit stop along Arizona’s Interstate 8 — his dog needed a potty break. Army records indicate that Haab was in need of a break, too. Just two months earlier, he had been removed from his unit in Kuwait, after reportedly telling a commanding officer that he “just want[ed] to kill all of the camel jockeys.”

At the Sentinel Rest Area in the middle of a different desert, Haab didn’t find any Muslims or Arabs, but he did see brown people. And Haab followed the seven men to a vehicle parked at the rest stop, pointed his gun at them and ordered them out of the car and onto the ground. Haab then called 911.

After spinning numerous tales, Haab eventually admitted that the unarmed men had neither touched nor threatened him, and the Maricopa County Sheriff’s Department arrested and charged Haab with seven counts of aggravated assault. In the words of the local sheriff, “You don’t pull guns on people because of the color of their skin.”

Less than two weeks later, however, Maricopa County Attorney Andrew Thomas drew a very different conclusion about the incident: Haab hadn’t committed a crime, but rather a public service — a citizen’s arrest of seven men who apparently were transporting or conspiring to transport undocumented immigrants. He dropped all charges against Haab.

While Thomas claims to have engaged in a “full analysis of the issues involved and the applicable law,” some civil rights advocates believe that his decision was based on something quite

different — his campaign promise to fight illegal immigration. After a close look at the relevant statutes, it appears the Harvard law graduate may well have disregarded some basic issues of law.

Felony or Fiction?

Arizona law allows for citizen’s arrest when the suspect commits a felony that the arresting citizen witnesses or when a citizen knows that a felony has been committed and has reasonable grounds to believe that the suspect committed it. [See A.R.S. § 13-3884.] (The statute also permits an arrest for a breach of the peace, a claim not raised by Thomas).

According to Thomas, the felonies committed in Haab’s presence were violations of a federal provision against “knowing or reckless” transport of undocumented immigrants and conspiring to transport undocumented immigrants within the United States. [See 8 U.S.C. § 1324 (a)(1)(A)(ii) and (v)(I).] Thomas argued that the *coyote* — the person who transported the immigrants — was committing a federal felony by transporting the men. He also asserted that the undocumented immigrants were committing a federal felony by conspiring with the coyote to have themselves transported.

Thomas’ cursory explanation, however, leaves some obvious gaping holes.

First, federal law does not allow citizens’ arrests in cases dealing with the transport of undocumented immigrants. The relevant federal provision specifies that “no officer or person shall have authority to make any arrests” pursuant to the statute, other than officers and employees of the Immigration and Naturalization Service and “all other officers whose duty it is to enforce criminal laws.” [See 8 U.S.C. § 1324 (3)(B)(c).] Haab was neither an INS “officer” nor an “officer” with any other law enforcement agency.

Second, under § 8 U.S.C. § 1324, an undocumented person cannot be prosecuted for conspiring to transport him- or herself within the United States; only the person who is responsible for the transportation — the coyote — can be charged with a felony. [See *Campbell v. U.S.*, 47 F.2d 70, 71-72 (5th Cir. 1931); *Emmanuel v. U.S.*, 24 F.2d 905, 906 (5th Cir. 1928).] Because the men Haab detained were not violating federal law, he had no grounds to “arrest” them.

To make matters worse, Thomas has already signaled that he’ll take an expansive view of a new Arizona statute. The Arizona legislature recently enacted a state law that makes it a felony to “intentionally engage in the smuggling of human beings for profit.” Thomas interprets the statute to authorize the prosecution of immigrants who agree to be transported as conspirators, ignoring the fact that federal law comes to the opposite conclusion. [See A.R.S. § 13-2319; Maricopa County Attorney News Release, Opinion # 2005-002.] Although Haab cannot invoke § 13-2319 to legitimize his conduct because the statute did not go into effect until August 2005, other citizens may use it to justify detaining individuals they suspect are undocumented immigrants.

Prosecutors must have discretion to make judgment calls about which cases to prosecute. But it is difficult to ignore the implications of prosecutorial inaction in these types of cases. Whether motivated by politics or an incompetent legal analysis, Andrew Thomas’ decision to drop the aggravated assault charges against Patrick Haab gives license to vigilante justice by armed, frustrated, private citizens guided only by racial and ethnic stereotypes and limited information. The role of government is to defuse such volatile situations, not fuel them. ▲

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

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 6,000–10,000 hate crimes reported to the FBI each year, and an even smaller proportion of the 191,000 reported and unreported hate crimes that a recent government report estimated actually occur annually. This listing carries a selection of incidents from the third quarter of 2005 (additional listings may be found on the Southern Poverty Law Center’s Web site, www.intelligenceproject.org).

ARKANSAS

FAYETTEVILLE • AUG. 9, 2005

A man allegedly attacked a woman while yelling an anti-gay slur.

CALIFORNIA

ANDERSON • JULY 5, 2005

Fliers from the neo-Nazi White Aryan Resistance were distributed throughout a neighborhood.

DAVIS • SEPT. 25, 2005

A swastika was scrawled in a men’s restroom at a college. A Ku Klux Klan sticker also was found in the restroom.

DAVIS • AUG. 31, 2005

A 16-year-old boy allegedly yelled racial epithets and threatened a black secretary at a high school.

LOS ANGELES • AUG. 21, 2005

Three men allegedly attacked two gay men while yelling anti-gay slurs.

LOS ANGELES • SEPT. 16, 2005

Sean Patrick Delaney, a 24-year-old white man, was sentenced to 25 years and eight months in prison for stabbing two black men in February 2004 after shouting a white power slogan and racial remarks.

LOS ANGELES • SEPT. 22, 2005

Former Jewish Defense League member Earl Krugel, 62, was sentenced to 20 years in federal prison for plotting to blow up a mosque and the office of an Arab-American congressman in December 2001.

MARYSVILLE • SEPT. 26, 2005

Daniel J. Farris, 18, was charged with assault with a deadly weapon, causing pain, suffering or injury to an elder or dependent adult and a hate crime for allegedly beating an elderly black man while yelling racial slurs.

MERCED • AUG. 8, 2005

A trailer with swastikas and the letters “KKK” was parked in front of a black woman’s home.

MIDPINES • JULY 20, 2005

Racist fliers from Kingdom Identity Ministries were distributed throughout the city.

PALM DESERT • AUG. 3, 2005

Two 13-year-old girls were arrested for hate crime vandalism after allegedly painting anti-gay slurs on a gay couple’s home.

PALM DESERT • AUG. 7, 2005

A swastika was spray-painted on a wall at a Jewish school.

RIVERSIDE • JULY 6, 2005

Racial epithets were scrawled on the inside and outside of a black man’s garage.

VENTURA • AUG. 27, 2005

Self-described white supremacist Ian Morrow, 36, was charged with suspicion of assault with a deadly weapon after allegedly assaulting a security guard while making racial remarks at a bar.

VISALIA • JULY 25, 2005

Four teenagers were charged with suspicion of committing hate crimes for allegedly painting racial epithets on a black man’s car.

WINTON • JULY 30, 2005

Christopher Farenelli, 18, and a 17-year-old were arrested for allegedly spray-painting racist graffiti on the street in front of a black woman’s home.

FLORIDA

DESTIN • JULY 1, 2005

Zachary William Brown, 18, was charged with a hate crime after allegedly attacking a man Brown learned was gay.

KEY WEST • SEPT. 7, 2005

Jeremy Jackson, a 34-year-old white man, was charged with battery and evidencing prejudice for allegedly attacking a black man while yelling racial slurs.

LAKE LAND • JULY 25, 2005

The home of a gay couple was torched and the words “Die Fag” were spray-painted on the front steps.

MAITLAND • AUG. 5, 2005

Copies of the racist tabloid *The Aryan Alternative* were distributed throughout the city.

MIAMI • SEPT. 11, 2005

A group of men allegedly called two gay men anti-gay epithets and struck one of the men with a bottle.

MIAMI BEACH • JULY 4, 2005

Two men allegedly yelled anti-gay slurs and attacked a man because of his perceived sexual orientation.

WEST PALM BEACH • JULY 15, 2005

Jessie Chance, 27, was sentenced to eight years in prison for assaulting and robbing two men outside gay bars in separate incidents in 2004. Chance also was sentenced to eight years of probation, including two years of monitored drug testing.

WINTER PARK • AUG. 5, 2005

Copies of the racist tabloid *The Aryan Alternative* were distributed throughout the city.

GEORGIA

LAWRENCEVILLE • AUG. 28, 2005

Swastikas and obscenities were burned into the lawn of a Jewish family’s home.

ILLINOIS

CHICAGO • JULY 21, 2005

Richard Mayers, 33, was charged with misdemeanor disorderly

conduct for allegedly giving a Nazi salute while attending court on another charge. Mayers also allegedly yelled a racial slur at a 12-year-old girl who was part of a group touring the jail.

VILLA PARK • AUG. 2, 2005

William J. Nelson, 38, was sentenced to eight years in prison after pleading guilty to an August 2004 hate crime in which he yelled racial slurs at a black man and beat him.

ZION • SEPT. 26, 2005

Aaron Rush, 20, was sentenced to three years in prison for his role in a June attack on two teenage girls. The attack occurred after one of the girls told Rush and his companion that she was sexually involved with the other girl.

INDIANA

CEDAR LAKE • SEPT. 12, 2005

Ku Klux Klan fliers were left in a black woman’s yard.

PORTAGE • JULY 12, 2005

A racial epithet was spray-painted on a white woman’s door after her black brother-in-law visited her.

IOWA

AMES • JULY 13, 2005

Anti-gay and anti-Semitic graffiti was spray-painted on buildings and sidewalks at a college.

AMES • SEPT. 22, 2005

Racist fliers were inserted in student magazines at Iowa State University.

KANSAS

OLATHE • AUG. 23, 2005

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

KENTUCKY

LOUISVILLE • SEPT. 1, 2005

Racist letters were sent to more

than 15 black employees of a nightclub and bowling alley.

LOUISIANA

BATON ROUGE • JULY 13, 2005

The letters “KKK” were spray-painted inside an elevator.

MARYLAND

BALTIMORE • SEPT. 26, 2005

Yankees baseball player Derek Jeter received a threatening letter warning him to stop dating white women or he would “be shot or set on fire.”

ELKRIDGE • AUG. 9, 2005

Two 15-year-old boys were charged with several counts of arson, destruction of property and harassment of a person for ethnic reasons for allegedly vandalizing Asian-owned businesses.

MASSACHUSETTS

ALLSTON • JULY 21, 2005

A swastika was carved on a Jewish woman’s door.

AMHERST • SEPT. 17, 2005

The words “Ku Klux Klan” were chalked on a black teacher’s driveway.

GREENFIELD

SEPT. 15, 2005

The letters “KKK” were scrawled on the driveway of a man who is originally from the African nation of Gambia.

SOMERVILLE • JULY 2, 2005

Anti-Semitic fliers from the neo-Nazi White Revolution were distributed throughout the city.

WELLESLEY • AUG. 18, 2005

Literature from the neo-Nazi National Alliance was distributed throughout the city.

MICHIGAN

DETROIT • AUG. 8, 2005

Two men were charged with ethnic intimidation for allegedly burning a cross on a black family’s lawn.

GRAND RAPIDS • JULY 9, 2005

Fliers from the neo-Nazi National Socialist Movement were left on cars and houses in a neighborhood.

MINNESOTA

SPRING LAKE PARK • AUG. 14, 2005

Racial epithets were spray-painted on several buildings.

MISSOURI

SPRINGFIELD • AUG. 23, 2005

Adam Daniel Jacobs, 28, a member of the neo-Nazi Creativity Movement, was sentenced to five years in prison for beating his roommate.

NEBRASKA

LINCOLN • AUG. 8, 2005

The words “Damn Taliban” and other hate messages were scrawled on the car of a U.S. soldier who is of the Sikh religion. The car’s tires were also cut.



NEVADA

PAHRUMP • JULY 20, 2005

Swastikas and anti-Semitic epithets were painted on a Jewish family’s home.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

MANCHESTER • AUG. 19, 2005

An anti-gay sign was strapped to a telephone pole outside a gay couple’s apartment.

NEW JERSEY

BROWNS MILLS • SEPT. 19, 2005

A cross and the words “Get Jesus” were painted on the garage door of a black man who is a Rastafarian.

CRANFORD • JULY 22, 2005

A racial slur was spray-painted on a church.

MORRISTOWN • SEPT. 29, 2005

Elvin Villatoro, 28; Noel Morreno,

18; and Jose Ivan Torres, 23, all of Morristown, were arrested on charges of burglary, theft and conspiracy in a string of up to 30 burglaries that allegedly targeted Hispanic residents.

NEW YORK

BRENTWOOD • AUG. 22, 2005

Racial slurs targeting a Haitian family were scrawled on the street in front of their home.

BRONX • JULY 28, 2005

A group of teenagers allegedly attacked a man while yelling anti-gay slurs.

BROOKLYN • JULY 1, 2005

A group of black and Hispanic people allegedly yelled racial slurs and attacked an Asian woman.

BROOKLYN • AUG. 2, 2005

Two black men allegedly attacked a white man while yelling anti-Semitic slurs.

BROOKLYN • AUG. 7, 2005

At least six white men allegedly attacked a black man and one of the men allegedly yelled a racial slur. Nicolas Morse, 19;

Robert Lombard and Stephen Cucarese, both 18; and Anthony

David, 17, were charged on Aug. 16 with aggravated harassment and riot. David was also charged with reckless endangerment and a fifth man, Anthony Capone, 17, was charged with assault, aggravated harassment and riot in connection with the attack.

BROOKLYN • SEPT. 23, 2005

Four teenage girls — three black and one Hispanic — allegedly attacked two white teenage girls.

BUFFALO • JULY 16, 2005

Five white men allegedly yelled racial slurs and attacked a black man. James P. Tracy, 21, Henry M. Rytel, 20, Sean M. Braven, 19, Matthew J.Hembrecht, 16, and Richard B. Schutt, 22, were charged with felony second-degree assault and misdemeanor criminal possession of a weapon.

BUFFALO • AUG. 4, 2005

Literature from the white supremacist Racial Nationalist Party of America were distributed throughout a neighborhood.

CHELSEA • AUG. 7, 2005

Two men allegedly attacked a man while yelling anti-gay slurs.

FARMINGVILLE • JULY 21, 2005

James Stern, 32, and Matthew Lindstadt, 20, were charged with using racial slurs and throwing a beer bottle at two Latino men.

HOWARD BEACH • JULY 1, 2005

Anthony Ench, 21, was charged with assault as a hate crime in connection with an attack on a black man. Another man, Nicholas Minucci, had already been charged with first-degree assault as a hate crime in the incident.

LONG ISLAND • SEPT. 24, 2005

The gate at the home of a white attorney was rammed with a car and a Star of David and swastika were painted on his fence.

MEDFORD • JULY 21, 2005

A 16-year-old boy was charged with third-degree burglary for allegedly spray-painting racist and anti-Semitic graffiti on the walls of a movie theater in October 2003.

NEW YORK • JULY 18, 2005

Dylan Jewell, 17, and Vincent Conwell, 20, were charged with aggravated harassment for allegedly shoving, threatening to kill and throwing rocks at a Mexican woman.

NEW YORK • AUG. 4, 2005

Shawn Lawyer, 25, was charged with 13 counts of criminal mischief and aggravated harassment for allegedly spraying-painting swastikas and satanic symbols on his neighbors’ doors.

NEW YORK • AUG. 7, 2005

Two men allegedly attacked a gay man while yelling anti-gay slurs.

PLATTSBURGH • JULY 20, 2005

Philip Robertson, 22, was sentenced to five years in prison for

the September 2004 stabbing of his roommate. During the attack Robertson asked his victim if he was Jewish.

STATEN ISLAND • SEPT. 23, 2005

Three black students, ages 12, 13, and 14, were charged with allegedly attacking a white 13-year-old girl walking home from school.

NORTH CAROLINA

JACKSONVILLE • JULY 5, 2005

Jeremy Kratzer, 25, and Ricky “Chase” Hobbs, 23, were sentenced to 21 months in federal prison for burning a cross on a black family’s yard and hanging a noose on their door in April 1999.

RALEIGH • AUG. 5, 2005

Ku Klux Klan literature from the

Knights Party was distributed throughout a neighborhood.

OHIO

WAVERLY • SEPT. 24, 2005

Martin Baxter, 29, was sentenced to life in prison for aggravated murder and to four years for tampering with evidence in the October 2004 beating death of a 39-year-old man Baxter believed was gay.

OREGON

EUGENE • AUG. 30, 2005

Jacob Albert Laskey, 25; Gabriel Doyle Laskey, 20; and Gerald Anthony Poundstone, 27, were all charged with conspiracy to violate civil rights after they allegedly threw rocks engraved with Nazi symbols through the window of a synagogue during services. Jacob Laskey and Poundstone were also charged with obstruction of justice relating to witness intimidation.

GRESHAM • AUG. 14, 2005

Reported Skinheads William P. Henry, 29; Christian L. Coats and Ariane E. Celis, both 22, and Dennis L. Mothersbaugh allegedly used racial slurs and threatened a black man with a machete and a sport utility vehicle.

PENNSYLVANIA

NORRISTOWN • AUG. 16, 2005

Christopher Whittaker, 22, was sentenced to one to 23 months in jail and community service after being charged with institutional vandalism for vandalizing the grounds of a church with his sports utility vehicle. Whittaker also was ordered to complete one year of probation and 18 hours of community service and write a letter of apology to the church.

PHILADELPHIA • AUG. 2, 2005

Robert Baldwin was charged with felony ethnic intimidation, misdemeanor simple assault and misdemeanor harassment after he allegedly used racial slurs, kicked the back of a black couple’s seats in front of him on an airplane, put his bare feet on a headrest, and then put his feet on the couple’s armrest.

UTAH

SALT LAKE CITY • JULY 12, 2005

Lance Vanderstappen, a 25-year-old white supremacist, allegedly stabbed a Hispanic inmate in a holding cell after Vanderstappen had been sentenced to 63 months in federal prison for stabbing a man in 2001 to advance his position within the Soldiers of Aryan Culture.

SALT LAKE CITY • AUG. 10, 2005

Tracy David Sweana, leader of the white supremacist Soldiers of the Aryan Culture, was sentenced to 20 years for operating a drug ring and protecting incarcerated members from other inmates through intimidation and violent crimes.

TOOELE • SEPT. 18, 2005

Two alleged white supremacists, Aaron T. Segelson, 27, and Michael S. Polk, 23, were arrested for allegedly beating and stabbing a man.

VIRGINIA

ARLINGTON • AUG. 9, 2005

Three white men allegedly shouted racial slurs at a pregnant black Muslim woman.

FINCASTLE • JULY 6, 2005

James R. Looney, 19, was sentenced to five years in prison for spray-painting the letters “KKK” on a black family’s house and car.

MIDDLEBROOK • JULY 9, 2005

Anti-gay messages were scrawled on a church during an attempted arson.

RICHMOND • SEPT. 23, 2005

Lamont Joseph Fountain, 21, and two 16-year-olds, all of whom are black, were each charged with assault by mob, robbery and hate crime-assault for allegedly beating and robbing a 16-year-old because the teen was a “white person in a black neighborhood.”

WASHINGTON

SAMMAMISH • SEPT. 30, 2005

Four juveniles were arrested on suspicion of spray-painting racial epithets on the properties of black and Jewish families.

VANCOUVER • JULY 20, 2005

Two white men allegedly threatened and yelled racial slurs at a black man. ▲

A Hard Rain

A Christian Identity minister calls for the reclamation of the courts from Satan. Bob Dylan is only one small part of the plot **BY MARK POTOK**

For almost 30 years, Pete Peters has been going on about the Jews from his pulpit in Laporte, Colo. Until now, it’s always seemed an uphill battle.

But hope springs eternal. After years of denouncing “Satanic” Jews, Martin Luther King Jr., homosexuals and any other number of enemies, Peters — who has hosted a collection of Klansmen, neo-Nazis and assorted other Jew-bashers at his Laporte Church of Christ — thinks he may finally have the upper hand.

He figured out the secret weapon. During a three-day “Scriptures for America Christian Weekend” held in late October in The Dalles, Ore., Peters sounded more militant than he has in years. Good Christians, he told the assembled, were created to build, but reborn to destroy. There are “serpents” among us, he warned darkly, bent on wiping out the white man (he illustrated this by reminding his listeners of The Ventures’ 1960s hit “Wipeout”). The end-times are coming (this preceded by a recording of “A Hard Rain’s A-Gonna Fall” by Bob Dylan, who, as Peters explained, had cut a deal with Satan).

But there’s a way out: “Anointing and Un-Anointing Oil.”

It turns out that “Satanic, demonic, destroying, unjust spirits” — Masons, to speak plainly — have performed evil rituals over the cornerstones of just about every major public building in America. Once you know that, it’s not hard to understand the wicked decisions coming out of the American court system, not to mention the horrors emanating from a multitude of other government facilities.

Enter Peters’ oil. Take a vial of the “sacred oil,” travel to a government build-

ing near you, read the prescribed “Prayer for the Anointing and Un-Anointing Oil,” and before long the whole legal apparatus will come crashing down.

“Anoint the courthouse first!” Peters shouted, saying that the judicial system is at the heart of the evil. “But there are plenty of secondary targets!”

It wasn’t just talk. Peters has a new section on his Web site devoted to a tally of courthouses and government buildings, saved and unsaved. For every state, a total number of such buildings is listed, along with the percentage of them that have been reclaimed with the holy oil. If you believe the list, hundreds of buildings in 44 states have been anointed and prayed over by Peters’ oily followers.

“Salvation for us,” Peters explained, “is destruction for them!”

Still, Peters seemed fairly paranoid for a man who has finally figured out how to destroy his enemies. Returning to the “serpents” among his audience (“You know who you are!”), Peters offered communion to his followers that Sunday, but with a twist. He and his colleagues, he warned, had said a prayer earlier over the wafer and wine that ensured that they would turn to poison

in any enemy’s mouth.

That wasn’t all. Peters told his followers — who numbered between 65 and 90, depending on the day — of a recent incident in his church. A man and a woman he didn’t know appeared

one day. Suddenly, Peters had trouble preaching. He couldn’t remember the name of a man sitting in front of him whom he’d known for 40 years. With a start, Peters realized the two strangers were actually “witches.”

Generally speaking, the weekend displayed Peters in some of his most violent moments in years. “This is WAR!” he screamed at one point. “I hate Edom [read: the Jews]. ... And if

there are any Edomites here, I hate YOU!” “We all have different callings,” he added. “And I am called to teach you to be destroyers.” It is time, Peters exhorted his followers, to “call in the artillery. The gooks are in the wire! Don’t pray to make them Christian. Kill ’em all! Let God sort ’em out! They want to kill all of you! We must DECAPITATE them!”

Then, crying and shouting all at once as the conference came to a close, he told of a dream with white horses, eyes glowing and nostrils flaring, and men going down in battle. “And they were crying,” Peters roared, “‘AVENGE!!!’” ▲



CONTINUED FROM PAGE 52

Jews were secretly warned away from the buildings. (This false theory, including the assertion that 4,000 Jews would have died had they not been warned, is immensely popular both abroad and, in America, among many black extremists.) Levin, who with his father is an on-air presence in the film, follows the threads of that conspiracy theory and others that inevitably lead back to the *Protocols*. In fact, some of the most compelling footage — clips that are scattered throughout the film — comes from “Knight Without a Horse,” a lurid, 30-part series based on the *Protocols* that was aired on Egyptian television in 2002.

Levin’s film is a highly eccentric, personal exploration of almost every theme imaginable connected to anti-Semitism. Levin talks about his own family, the history of American anti-Semitism, the role of Hitler and the Nazis, Muslim hatred of Jews, Arab communities in the United States. He visits with prominent American neo-Nazis, including an amusing sequence with Shaun Walker, the current leader of the National Alliance (Walker looks as if he’s about to have a seizure when Levin suggests to him that Hitler may have had some Jewish ancestry). He talks to black and white inmates of a maximum-security prison in New Jersey, discusses the slave trade (falsely said by black nationalist groups like the Nation of Islam to have been dominated by Jews), and interviews his dad about Catholic anti-Semitism. Experts are consulted and Palestine is visited. The beheading of Jewish *Wall Street Journal* reporter Daniel Pearl is discussed. It all ends with Levin and his father together at a cemetery looking at a relative’s headstone: “God Means, Go Do Good.”

Like Eisner’s book, Levin’s film is sometimes a bit difficult to follow. Undoubtedly, it is too ambitious in its attempt to cover virtually all themes related to modern anti-Semitism. But its central message, like that of the book, is undeniable: Anti-Semitism is on the rise and must be combated directly. As Eisner wrote in the introduction to his book: “[T]here is now an opportunity to deal head-on with this propaganda in a more accessible language. It is my hope that, perhaps, this work will drive yet another nail into the coffin of this terrifying, vampire-like fraud.” ▲

— Mark Potok

SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER

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.

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