

A SKINHEAD'S SECRET: JOHN DALY'S HARROWING STORY



Intelligence Report

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SUMMER 2006 | ISSUE 122

Ten years
after a
scandal
provoked
a crackdown,
neo-Nazi
extremists
are infiltrating
the military

A FEW BAD MEN

**THE
TINDERBOX**
IMMIGRATION DEBATE
SPLITS CALIFORNIA CITY

PLUS
LOOMING
SCHISM OVER
ANTI-SEMITISM
THREATENS
KEY RADICAL
RIGHT
GROUP



Extremism and the Military

BY MARK POTOK, EDITOR

TWENTY YEARS AGO this spring, the Southern Poverty Law Center wrote a letter to Caspar Weinberger, then the U.S. secretary of defense, to report that active-duty Marines at Camp Lejeune, N.C., were participating in paramilitary Ku Klux Klan activities and even stealing military



weaponry for Klan use. Weinberger reacted with force, issuing a directive that said that “active participation” in “white supremacy, neo-Nazi and other such groups” was “utterly incompatible with military service.”

Ten years later, the random murder of a black couple outside Fort Bragg, N.C., by neo-Nazi skinheads in the 82nd Airborne Division sparked another round of soul-searching by military authorities. After congressional hearings were held and an Army task force reported on the problem, Defense Secretary William Perry amended regulations to make clear there was “no room” for extremists in the military.

But today the nightmare is back. Facing intense pressure to meet manpower goals in Iraq and Afghanistan, some commanders and recruiters have relaxed the standards that Weinberger and Perry sought to impose. As reported in a remarkable cover story

by David Holthouse, many neo-Nazis have served or are serving in Iraq. Hundreds anonymously proclaim their ideology in racist online venues. At a single base, Fort Lewis, Wash., 320 soldiers are involved in extremist activity, according to a Defense Department investigator — but just two of them have been discharged.

How serious is the problem? According to the Defense Department investigator and others who spoke to the *Intelligence Report*, there are “thousands” of soldiers in the Army alone who are involved in extremist or gang activity. If that sounds high, it’s worth remembering that a 1996 study found that 0.52% of soldiers interviewed by military officials admitted to being members of a neo-Nazi or white supremacist group — a far higher percentage than in the general population.

The ramifications are frightening. Timothy McVeigh, whose volcanic anger at the government partly stemmed from his service in the first Gulf War, went on to murder 168 people. Others, such as then-Green Beret Michael Tubbs of Florida, stole military weapons and explosives in plots to attack black and Jewish targets. And still others emerged from the armed forces to teach high-level military skills to fellow extremists, like White Patriot Party leaders did in the mid-1980s.

Hate groups and neo-Nazi ideologues routinely encourage their followers to join the military to hone their warrior skills. In the late 1990s, former Special Forces soldier and neo-Nazi leader Steven Barry urged skinheads to join the infantry “because the coming race war, and the ethnic cleansing to follow, will be very much an infantryman’s war. It will be house-to-house, neighbor-

hood-by-neighborhood, until your town or city is cleared and the alien races are ... hunted down.”

There is another danger, too — one that should concern all of us.

America’s armed forces represent our system of government and values to the world. In the six decades since President Harry Truman issued an executive order ending segregation in the armed forces, the military has developed into what may be the single most integrated institution in American society — a showcase of multiculturalism. The men and women who serve abroad reflect and are instruments of American democratic values.

As Secretary Perry, echoing Weinberger, said in 1996: “Extremist activity compromises fairness, good order, and discipline. The armed forces, which defend the nation and its values, must exemplify those values beyond question.”

What if the next soldier to be accused of murder, rape or some other atrocity in Iraq turns out to have a swastika tattoo on his chest? Coming on the heels of scandals that began with torture in the Abu Ghraib military prison and continued most recently with the arrest of an allegedly sociopathic soldier in the rape-murder of an Iraqi 14-year-old, the answer is obvious — and deeply worrying. Our country would face a public relations disaster that could harm its image for decades.

Center President Richard Cohen has written to the current secretary of defense, Donald Rumsfeld, to ask that he launch a new inquiry and impose a zero-tolerance policy on extremists in the military (see letter at www.splcenter.org/rumsfeld). The stakes are simply too high for this country and its servicemen and women to consider any lesser course. ▲

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Ten years after the murder of a black couple by neo-Nazi members of the elite 82nd Airborne Division resulted in a crackdown on extremists in the military, neo-Nazis and other white supremacists still plague the armed forces. A loosening of the rules in light of difficulties recruiting during the Iraq war may be largely to blame for what likely amounts to thousands of active-duty extremists.



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A nasty spat at a major meeting of extremists this winter has set off an important ideological battle between those who see blacks, Hispanics and Muslims as the primary enemy, and those who say “the Jews” are ultimately behind every evil. “These are the makings of a major schism,” says a worried official from one key group.



JARED BERSTEIN

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John Daly was a 16-year-old member of a non-racist skinhead crew when he says he and his comrades were forced to join a neo-Nazi skinhead gang. But once he was in, he says he liked it, because “I commanded attention, and that was pretty cool.” Then Daly’s pals found out he was a Jew.

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AP WIDE WORLD PHOTO

SKINHEAD VIOLENCE

Bloody Attack on NSM Members Sparks Movement Rift

Officials of the National Socialist Movement (NSM), which recently has grown into the nation’s leading neo-Nazi group, were badly beaten by a mob of fellow white supremacists at a key white power concert in May, setting off a dispute that threatens to destroy any movement toward unity on the radical right.

The attack came on May 27 at Nordic Fest, an annual concert hosted by the Imperial Klans of America (IKA) near Dawson Springs, Ky., and immediately followed a speech by Missouri NSM member Steven Boswell.

Boswell, already an object of some ridicule in the movement since a rabbi accosted him in the Kansas City airport last year for wearing a swastika T-shirt, had just delivered what was supposed to be an electrifying call to action. Sadly for him, he also managed to insult large numbers of violent neo-Nazis at the same time.

Within seconds of starting his talk, Boswell told his audience of some 150 racists that the movement would never be helped “by belonging to a social club where all we do is drink and shoot the shit every Saturday night.” He went on to say that Aryans “are far more stingy than Jews” in supporting their own cause, and then added that “our women are deserting us wholesale ... because we are weak.”

It was not a talk designed to please. But Boswell had gone further than even he intended. In his audience were members of the violence-prone Vinlander Social Club, and they took his caustic comment about “social clubs” personally.

Boswell was set upon by at least five skinheads, his face bloodied and his NSM patches torn from his faux SS uniform. His 10-year-old daughter, spotting the brawl behind the festival stage, screamed out, “They’re killing my daddy!” With that, a huge melee broke out as close to 50 skinheads, mostly Vinlanders headed by an extremely violent skin known as Eric “The Butcher” Fairburn but also apparently including members of other groups, attacked all five NSM men present. Armed IKA security men initially stood by, only stopping the fight after several minutes.

Accompanied by sympathetic members of the neo-Nazi Creativity Movement, the bloodied NSM crew left the concert immediately afterward, women and children in tow. On the way out, they were told by IKA security and members of Maryland and Pennsylvania skinhead groups that they’d offended the Vinlanders and also that many skins had problems with NSM leaders Bill White and Mark Martin.

White, a prominent NSM spokesman from Virginia, is a former anarchist who has been widely accused by fellow neo-Nazis of being an informant. He is also seen as an egotistical blowhard who puts himself in the spotlight while denigrating others. Martin, an Ohio NSM leader, has been accused of being partly Native American.

None of that stopped the NSM from issuing a series of angry statements. Boswell’s wife, Christina Drake, called her husband’s tormentors “huge, Negro-mentality beasts.” NSM “commander” Jeff Schoep said the attack had been “an open act of war.” White, as usual, went furthest, urging NSM members to



When the women and children at this year’s edition of Nordic Fest weren’t joining their men in sieg-heiling, they were watching them beat one another bloody.

press charges; accusing the Vinlanders, the Keystone State Skinheads and IKA of being “criminal gangs”; and calling Brien James, a Vinlander with an especially violent reputation, “a loudmouth and a coward” and challenging him, via E-mail, to a fight.

KU KLUX KLAN

Lawsuit Against American Knights Ends With Award to Victims

Two television journalists who were held at gunpoint by officials of what was then the nation’s largest and most

aggressive Klan group have received compensation from the sale of the Klan leader’s house, concluding a six-year legal battle waged by the Southern Poverty Law Center.

“The goal of our lawsuit was to get compensation for our clients and put Jeff



Berry out of business, and it succeeded,” said Center Legal Director Rhonda Brownstein. “Berry went to prison, and his Klan organization was dismantled.”

When the suit was filed in January 2000, Berry’s group, the American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, had 27 chapters in 13 states. Today, there are none.

The journalists, George Sells IV and Heidi Thiel, were covering Klan activity for Louisville television station WHAS in November 1999 when they went to Berry’s Butler, Ind., home to interview him about an upcoming rally. Berry became enraged when he learned the pair intended to also interview a former Klan member who had renounced racism, and several followers forcibly detained the journalists and brandished a shotgun until they surrendered their videotapes.

Center lawyers won a \$120,000 default judgment in the lawsuit, which claimed Berry falsely imprisoned and threatened the two journalists.

Berry, whose group has been termed “the bully-boy Klan,” had a history of law-breaking, including ripping off an elderly woman neighbor on a roofing job. But he had always avoided prison, partly by becoming a police drug informant supposedly responsible for 70 arrests. Once again, when Sells and Thiel reported the 1999 incident to police, authorities declined to arrest Berry or charge him.

But in late 2000, almost a year after the Center brought its lawsuit, prosecutors decided to charge Berry with five felonies. In the end, he pleaded guilty to conspiracy to commit criminal confinement with a deadly weapon in return for the dropping of other charges. He served almost four years of a seven-year sentence.

“The Center allowed us a venue to try and rectify a situation where we were held hostage and had our tapes stolen,” Thiel said. “Without the Center pursuing it, I don’t know that any criminal action would have followed.”

Although Berry had few assets, the Center pursued all avenues for collecting the judgment to ensure he would feel its full sting.

“When Berry transferred his only asset — a modest house — to a girlfriend in an effort to keep it from our clients’ reach, we sued him again,” Brownstein said.

Center lawyers ultimately prevailed. In early April, the house was sold, and Theil and Sells each received \$6,500 from the sale.

“It definitely wasn’t about the money,” Thiel said. “For me, it looked like he was going to get away with using a weapon to hold us hostage. To let him go unpunished did not make sense.”

CHRISTIAN IDENTITY

Neo-Nazi Financier Arrested in New Mexico

Ten years ago, white supremacist millionaire Vincent Bertollini moved to Sandpoint, Idaho, because, he said, its population was “98%

Adamic, white, Aryan people.” Being on the lam for the last five years must have compromised his values. When arrested last April 12, he was living in Santa Fe, N.M., where over 50% of the population is Hispanic, mostly of Mexican descent.

Bertollini was taken into custody as “Richard Bert” — the name on the check he was cashing when caught by FBI task force agents and that he also sometimes used in Idaho, where he owned properties under the moniker. In Santa Fe, where Bertollini has a daughter named Lauri Kosky, agents found nine firearms, including a sawed-off shotgun, in his truck. He’s now facing up to 10 years in prison.

Bertollini had been on the run since skipping court on his third set of drunken driving charges in Sandpoint, where his 11th Hour Remnant Messenger group was headquartered. The group espoused Christian Identity theology — including the notions that Jews are biologically satanic and people of color have no souls — and was co-founded by Carl Story, a friend Bertollini got rich with in the early 1990s

through the sale of their Systems Chemistry computer firm.

After moving with Story from California’s Silicon Valley to Idaho, Bertollini became the leading financial supporter and public advocate for the



The long march: Vincent Bertollini went from Silicon Valley success to facing a possible 10 years in prison.

late Richard Butler, founder and leader of the Aryan Nations until his death in late 2004. But the Aryan Nations and Butler lost a 2000 libel suit brought by the Southern Poverty Law Center, forcing Butler to sell the Aryan Nations compound that long had been a key meeting place of the radical right.

Bertollini stood by his man. After the sale, he marched alongside Butler in a parade in Coeur d’Alene, Idaho, telling the local newspaper that Butler was the “only man standing up for the white race in America that I know of, and doing it in a reasonable way.” Bertollini also bought Butler a house in town.

At one point, Bertollini reportedly told FBI agents to leave alone “true patriots” like imprisoned white supremacist Alex Curtis, and concentrate instead on “Mexican terrorists” — people, presumably, like his recent neighbors in Santa Fe.

INTO THE MAINSTREAM

Alabama Candidate Attacks Jews (But Nazis Hate Him Anyway)

Larry Darby, a prominent atheist and advocate of decriminalizing marijuana, never had much of a chance in his Democratic primary bid for attorney general of quintessentially conservative Alabama. He didn’t help matters much by saying publicly that the Holocaust “never happened,” the Voting Rights Act of 1965 should be repealed, and segregated schools for blacks and whites should be reinstated.

But Darby, who was repudiated by Alabama atheists and Democratic Party officials, apparently figured that if he couldn’t find supporters in mainstream America, his newly revealed anti-Semitism and racism would surely bring him friends of a different sort. Briefly, he was adopted by some racist activists in the neo-Confederate world — until they realized with a jolt that he was an atheist who despised Christianity. Then,

“OVERHEARD”

“When two people of the same sex get together and ... adopt children ... what you have in many respects is state-sanctioned child abuse.”

JANET PARSHALL, host of Salem Radio Network’s “Janet Parshall’s America,” on the Jan. 17 edition of CNN’s “Larry King Live”

“When they stop flying planes into our buildings, I’ll stop calling them ragheads.”

Universal Press Syndicate columnist ANN COULTER, discussing Muslims in a Feb. 10 speech to the Conservative Political Action Committee annual conference in Washington, D.C.

“What we will do is randomly pick one night every week where we will kill whoever crosses the border. Step over there and you die. ... That’s what I’d like to see.”

Fill-in host BRIAN JAMES, speaking on March 8 on Phoenix’s KFYI-AM in remarks that caused Arizona’s attorney general and a U.S. attorney to file an FCC complaint

“I rise today to pay tribute to a fellow Tennessean... . Sam Francis ... was a brilliant and brave writer.”

U.S. Rep. JOHN J. DUNCAN JR. (R-Tenn.), in a March 8 speech on the House floor lauding the late Sam Francis, chief editor for the white supremacist Council of Conservative Citizens

“Where do we store 11 million Hispanics [while] waiting to ship ’em back... ? The Superdome! ... And the Astrodome in Houston.”

NEAL BOORTZ, host of Cox Radio Syndication’s “The Neal Boortz Show,” on the March 27 edition of his show

“It’s my intention to take all the illegals and put them down at the border in a tent city and use them as labor to build the fence.”

Arizona gubernatorial candidate DON GOLDWATER in an April 11 speech in Phoenix

“The Durham [N.C.] dirt-bag case ... [involves] a drunken slut stripping whore accusing men of raping her... . This is all the product of the out-of-control lesbian feminist movement.”

MICHAEL SAVAGE, discussing a black woman’s rape allegations against white Duke University lacrosse team members on Talk Radio Network’s April 17 edition of “The Savage Nation”

“Shoot him.”

Nashville radio host PHIL VALENTINE, on what should be done with a would-be border crosser caught for the “eighth” time, in an April 27 public forum broadcast by WTN-AM

“It is no accident they chose May 1... . It is the worldwide day of commemorative demonstrations by various socialist, communist and even anarchic organizations.”

LOU DOBBS, host of CNN’s “Lou Dobbs Tonight,” commenting on his May 1 show about the timing of major immigrant-led demonstrations against various anti-immigration proposals

Quotes on this page were compiled from media accounts, Web pages, E-mail groups and Media Matters for America, a website that monitors the far right.



In New Jersey, Alabama attorney general candidate Larry Darby snuggled up to neo-Nazi stage mom April Gaede. The “life rune” pin on Darby’s lapel is from the National Alliance, whose founder once suggested murdering America’s Jews in abandoned mine shafts.

on May 13, he tried again, appearing as a speaker at a Newark, N.J., gathering of the neo-Nazi National Vanguard that was also attended by former Klan leader David Duke and National Vanguard leader Kevin Strom. While there, Darby was photographed arm in arm with April Gaede, a long-time neo-Nazi activist and the mother of Lamb and Lynx Gaede, the 13-year-old twins who make up the infamous white power band, Prussian Blue.

Darby’s national socialist honeymoon didn’t last long.

Within days, he was in the thick of a heated debate on Stormfront, the country’s leading white supremacist website forum, that played out in a thread entitled, “Larry Darby, come clear the air!” It turns out that Darby was once married to a woman of Chinese descent — and that was not okay with his new neo-Nazi pals. Worse still, Darby admitted that he had fathered two biracial children.

As a chorus of white supremacists denounced the wannabe Nazi as a “race-mixer,” Darby offered a plaintive defense. He loved his teenage daughters, he said, and anyway, “I have raised them to be White.” They are intelligent girls, he added, and would make good allies for whites if treated fairly. “They know my position,” Darby pleaded. “As they say, the acorn doesn’t fall far from the tree.”

The Stormfronters weren’t buying any

of it. “A white man who cannot keep his reproductive system away from an Asian woman is an embodiment of everything we are struggling against,” one of Darby’s former new friends wrote. “Sorry, Larry, this is a crime for which there is no absolution. It is a capital offense.”

On June 6, Larry Darby lost his primary bid in Alabama.

NEO-CONFEDERATES

Top SCV Attorney Indicted in International Tax Scheme

Sam Currin, the legal chief for the Southern heritage group Sons of Confederate



Veterans (SCV) and a former U.S. attorney from North Carolina, was indicted in April in a major tax scheme. He was charged with helping people set up offshore bank accounts, credit cards and trusts to help them evade income taxes, along with obstruction of justice, witness tampering and perjury in a related case.

Currin has been a major player in the extremist attempt to take over the SCV that has been playing out over the last several years. He was for years the chief legal officer of the SCV division in North Carolina, where a purge of anti-racists began and where he ratified the expulsion of some 300 SCV members. In July 2004, he again took the side of the extremists, barring entry to the SCV annual convention to Walt Hilderman, a leading SCV member who wanted to run for SCV commander in chief on an anti-racist platform. After Hilderman was ejected under threat of arrest, newly elected commander Denne Sweeney rewarded Currin with appointment to the job of judge advocate in chief, the highest legal post in the organization.

By the time of his arrest, Currin had amassed a set of impressive conservative credentials. He was an aide to U.S. Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.), the U.S. attorney for eastern North Carolina from

1981 to 1987, and a superior court judge until 1990. He then went on to represent criminal defendants in the state. Between 1996 and 1999, Currin also served as the chairman of the North Carolina Republican Party.

The indictment of Currin followed a three-year undercover IRS investigation that also implicated Howell and Vernice Woltz and Wilmington tax attorney Ricky Graves. Prosecutors say Currin and the Woltzes, in meetings with undercover agents, outlined illegal methods of concealing income from the government. The Woltzes are also key figures in a separate international money laundering case.

Currin, whose now-closed Raleigh law offices once featured walls hung with Confederate memorabilia including portraits of leading Civil War figures, is also charged in the indictment with persuading attorney Robert Wellons to “make false and misleading statements to and withhold documents from the grand jury.”

Currin resigned his post with the SCV shortly after being indicted. If convicted of the charges facing him, he could go to prison for up to 60 years.

ANTI-IMMIGRATION MOVEMENT

Newspapers Inflated Minuteman Numbers, Report Finds

A new study of media coverage shows that a large number of daily newspapers wildly exaggerated the number of volunteers who actually took part in the Minuteman Project, a vigilante “citizens border patrol” operation that took place in southeastern Arizona over the month of April 2005.

The report, “Creating the Minutemen,” is based on an American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) analysis of 581 articles and editorials printed in major U.S. newspapers between January 2005 and February 2006. The ACLU has been highly critical of the Minute-



Minuteman co-founder Chris Simcox made big promises but didn’t deliver much.

men, and ACLU volunteers closely monitored the group.

The first of those articles, “Volunteers Set to Monitor Border Crossings,” by Jerry Seper of the hard-right *Washington Times*, reported that 240 volunteers had signed up. By early March, Seper was reporting that the number of volunteers had “more than tripled,” came from every state, and included 16 pilots with aircraft.

During the last two weeks of March 2005, the media hype shifted into overdrive. Fifteen journalists reported the Minuteman Project had signed up “at least 1,000 volunteers.” The *Inland Valley Daily Bulletin* ran a March 23, 2005, article headlined “2,000 volunteers expected for Minuteman Project.”

Vastly fewer actually showed up. During the first week of the project, *The New York Times*, the *Houston Chronicle*, the *Chicago Tribune*, and the *Los Angeles Times* all reported “between 100 and 200” volunteers (an *Intelligence Report* story estimated fewer than 150). Even

Jerry Seper of *The Washington Times*, the Minuteman Project’s most prolific cheerleader, reported just 100 volunteers in his April 3 article, “Border-vigil Volunteers Big in Spirit, Not Number.”

The majority of those volunteers went home after the first weekend, and while others trickled in over the course of the month-long operation, the Minuteman Project never came close to matching its opening strength. “Yet, mysteriously, by the end of the month the Minutemen were claiming they had 857 volunteers,” the ACLU study reports. Journalists reporting from their desks in faraway cities failed to challenge the increasingly outrageous claims of the project’s organizers, often publicizing their numbers as simple fact, without attribution.

On April 16, Seper reported in *The Washington Times* that over 600 volunteers were on the border. “According to Seper’s earlier report, this would have required more than 500 volunteers showing up within thirteen days from

when he reported fewer than 100 had showed up the first weekend ... a 500% increase,” the ACLU report notes. “It did not take long for the rest of the media to follow Seper’s unexplainable leap.”

Three days later, on April 19, *The Arizona Republic* reported 760 volunteers and quoted Minuteman Project co-founder Chris Simcox claiming he’d signed up 10,000 more for future operations. Another Seper article that same day reported 800 volunteers. During the final week of April, Seper reported 820 volunteers and quoted Simcox claiming 15,000 new sign-ups. The *San Francisco Chronicle* on April 30 reported 857 volunteers. That number is now cable news gospel.

By February 2006, Seper had written 52 articles on the Minuteman Project, far more than any other journalist. When Simcox announced a second Minuteman border operation in California in October 2005, Seper wrote in an Oct. 1 article that more than 4,000 volunteers were expected, and later reported that 2,000 had actually participated. In fact, the turnout was dismal. An *Intelligence Report* staff writer counted just 26 Minuteman volunteers over a three-day period.

Since April 2005, the Minuteman Project has morphed into a national movement, with multiple splinter groups and spin-offs increasingly targeting immigrants far from the border. The ACLU report shows how newspaper reporting that was either lazy or deliberately misleading helped transform a relatively small band of extremists into the armed vanguard of the anti-immigration movement.

NEO-NAZIS

Next to Nazi ‘Compound,’ a Florida Boy is Murdered

The Florida media gave a gang of racist thugs in New Port Richey too much credit in describing their mobile home hangout at 9321 Teak Street as a neo-Nazi “compound.”



Sons of Confederate Veterans Protest · May 27, 2006

Three hard-line members of the Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV) heritage group traveled to a NASCAR race in Charlotte, N.C., to protest the racing association's recent moves to discourage the flying of the Confederate battle flag at races. Steve Poteat (left), commander of the Rowan Rifles SCV camp in Salisbury, N.C., Eddie "Grooch" McRae, commander of the James-Younger Camp in Norwood, N.C., and Donnie "Porkchop" Hatley, a member of the James-Younger Camp, handed out "I support Confederate heritage" stickers outside the race track. The three men are part of an extremist faction that has largely taken over the SCV in recent years — a fact emphasized by the T-shirt worn by Hatley. The shirt depicts the cover of *The Turner Diaries*, a violently racist novel about a future race war that was written by neo-Nazi leader William Pierce and served as a blueprint for the Oklahoma City bombing.

"When I think of a compound, I think of acres of land," says Kevin Doll, public information director for the Pasco County Sheriff's Office. "But this was a small lot with a fence around it, with Nazi propaganda up around the home."

The trailer, a single-family unit in the Griffin Park trailer community, contained four Nazi flags, a Confederate battle flag, and a swastika posted atop a wooden pole in the front yard.

According to police, the people who frequented the residence were hardened criminals notorious for heavy drinking, assaults, burglaries and heckling neighbors they suspected of associating with black people. The gang repeatedly harassed Patricia Wells, who lived two trailers down, for having a black boyfriend. On March 7, Brian "Zero" Buckley, the leader of the Teak Street neo-Nazis, broke into Wells' home after chasing her and banging down her door. No one was injured.

Then, near midnight on March 23, a man wearing a gas mask knocked on

Wells' door, slashed her in the face and hand with a knife when she opened it, and went on to stab her son's 17-year-old friend, Kristofer King, to death.

When SWAT forces stormed the neo-Nazi trailer the day after the attack, only one gang member, John Ditulio, was found, along with Nazi paraphernalia and a bloody gas mask. Ditulio was arrested on an outstanding domestic violence warrant. According to a sheriff's report, he had beaten his girlfriend and forced her to say to his friends, "I am a race-traitor slut." Police later arrested Buckley for the March 7 break-in, gang member Shawn Plott for outstanding warrants, and the gang's treasurer, Cory Patnode, for violating probation by smuggling contraband into a county jail. Police say all four are suspects in

the assault and murder, but none were immediately charged. Patnode was released, but the others remained in jail at press time, including Plott, who was

beaten by black inmates who took exception to his neo-Nazi tattoos.

Meanwhile, Doug Tobin, a spokesman for the Pasco County Sheriff's office said the "compound" had been shut down, and there's been no significant neo-Nazi activity in the Griffin Park neighborhood since the murder and subsequent arrests. Tobin said investigators have turned up no evidence the Teak Street Nazis were part of any larger hate group.

"They weren't card-carrying, sworn-to-allegiance men of any particular organization," he explained. Rather, they were just a "group of individuals that had the same type of ideology."



Patricia Wells talked to reporters after a man wearing a gas mask attacked her with a knife in her home.

THE BLOTTER

UPDATES ON EXTREMISM AND THE LAW

JAN. 12

A federal grand jury in **Dallas** indicted the mother of **Confederate Hammerskin** member Gary Dale Stanley Jr. for allegedly threatening two women with death if they testified against her son in upcoming armed robbery cases. Stanley's mother, Margaret May Meough, faces up to 45 years in prison if convicted.

FEB. 9

White supremacist Christopher Chubasco Wilkins, whose body is inked with images of white supremacy and Adolf Hitler, was indicted in **Fort Worth, Texas**, in the October murders of three minority men. Wilkins' later escape attempt fails.

FEB. 13

Alleged **Aryan Brotherhood** member James Craig Taylor, tattooed with swastikas, Nazi soldiers and the words "White Power," went on trial in the 2001 murder of **Pawnee County, Okla.**, Sheriff Dwight Woodrell, shot while investigating an apparent burglary. Another man was to go on trial for the murder in May.

FEB. 14

Three members of the neo-Nazi **Unit 88** skinhead group were arrested in connection with the Jan. 8 attempted murder of group member Amanda Crow, 19, paralyzed from the neck down after her throat was slashed and she was left to die in the desert near **Phoenix**. A fourth member was arrested separately.

FEB. 14

Shayne Allyn Ziska, a former guard at the California Institute for Men in **Chino, Calif.**, was convicted of helping the **Nazi Low Riders** gang distribute drugs and also allowing a member to stab a fellow inmate. Ziska faces up to 50 years in prison.

FEB. 24

Well-known **tax protester** and author Irwin Schiff, 77, was sentenced to more than 13 years in prison after being convicted of 13 counts of conspiracy, tax evasion and tax fraud in **Las Vegas**. He had served four years in the 1980s on similar charges.

FEB. 27

Fugitive Joel Dufresne, the **Petoskey, Mich.**, unit leader of the neo-Nazi **Creativity Movement**, was arrested in Florida for allegedly tying up and repeatedly raping his girlfriend and abducting their

son. Dufresne, 27, was later extradited to Michigan, where he faces trial on 21 counts of sexual assault and one of extortion.

MARCH 1

Police in **Muscatine, Iowa**, arrested 17-year-old Joseph Dewayne Titus, a **white supremacist** who used the E-moniker of "Jew-Stomper," a day before he planned to blow up Muscatine High School using explosives found in his home. Titus later pleaded guilty to making terroristic threats and was sentenced to up to five years in a community-based, residential correctional facility.

MARCH 16

Police in **Orange County, Calif.**, arrested 23 suspected members of **Public Enemy Number One**, a racist gang that nevertheless includes some non-whites, in connection with identity theft, drug peddling and probation violations.

MARCH 19

Federal agents arrested David D'Addabbo in **Hyrum, Utah**, after the one-time member of the white supremacist **Arizona Patriots** allegedly threatened to execute IRS agents by "firing squad" if they continued trying to collect taxes from his wife. D'Addabbo has a history of making similar threats.

MARCH 20

Six members of the **National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan** pleaded guilty to selling stolen guns, allegedly to finance plans to blow up the **Johnston County, N.C.**, courthouse and kill the local sheriff. They included the wife and son of jailed state Klan leader Charles Barefoot, who faces unrelated murder charges.

MARCH 29

A judge sentenced Bridget Callahan, 34, a long-time member of the neo-Nazi **Skinhead Dogs**, to nine years in prison for her role in the 1998 murder of a 17-year-old girl who was stabbed to death in a **Ventura, Calif.**, motel bathtub.

APRIL 3

George Henry Jesson, a tax protester who came in fourth in the seven-way 2002 race for California governor, was sentenced in **Los Angeles** to 27 months in prison for tax fraud. Jesson was tied to the **We the People Foundation**, which has run several full-page ads in *USA Today* claiming income taxes are unconstitutional.

ANTI-IMMIGRATION MOVEMENT

Using Hate Group Materials, Dobbs Slams Illegal Immigration

In recent months, CNN's Lou Dobbs, who hosts "Lou Dobbs Tonight" every weekday, has come under increasing attack from those who disagree with his nightly tirades against illegal immigra-

white supremacist hate group that has described blacks as "a retrograde species of humanity" and compared pop singer Michael Jackson to an ape.

It was an embarrassing moment for Dobbs, who has repeatedly and angrily rejected the idea that racism animates the anti-illegal immigration movement or its leaders. Executive producer Jim McGinnis told the *Intelligence Report* in an E-mail that "a freelance field producer in Los Angeles searched

the web for Aztlan maps and grabbed the Council of Conservative Citizens map without knowing the nature of the organization. ... The freelance field producer has been disciplined."

McGinnis didn't address what appeared to be the show's endorsement of the Aztlan conspiracy theory that is also widely touted by hate groups. In fact, aside from the comments of a few left-wing radicals in

the 1960s, the so-called conspiracy is nothing more than a paranoid fantasy.

RACIST RELIGION

Fugitive FLDS Leader Faces New Charges

Authorities in Utah this April added two counts of rape to the 10 felony



charges already facing fugitive cult leader Warren Jeffs in Arizona. Jeffs, who teaches his 10,000 followers that blacks are "filthy and uncouth," is leader

of the polygamous Fundamentalist Latter-Day Saints (FLDS), which has been strongly rejected by the mainstream Mormon Church. Most charges against him are related to his role in arranging marriages between underage girls and much older men.

While reports of a new 100-acre

compound in South Dakota recently surfaced and FLDS members have finally completed a spectacular 60,000-square-foot limestone temple in El Dorado, Texas, most of the news facing those faithful to Jeffs in the twin cities of Colorado City, Ariz., and Hildale, Utah, has been troubling.

This May, Jeffs, who has not been seen in public in more than 18 months, was added to the FBI's Ten Most Wanted list, alongside Osama bin Laden and the like, raising the reward for information leading to his capture from \$60,000 to \$100,000. That development and the new rape charges reflect a general tightening of the noose by authorities on the polygamous community and its hard-to-find leader.

- Last December, a woman identified only as M.J. filed a civil suit against Jeffs requesting damages for being forced as a teenager to marry a much older man. "The nonconsensual spiritual marriage, the required sexual relations and M.J.'s resulting pregnancies have been spiritually and emotionally devastating," her lawyer charged in court papers.

- On April 7, James Allred, a church elder and assistant postmaster, and Mica Barlow, a deputy town marshal, were jailed for contempt of court after refusing to testify before a federal grand jury.

- In mid-April, eviction notices were sent to residents of Colorado City and Hildale who, on Jeffs' orders, have refused to pay property taxes.

- On May 1, Jeff's younger brother pleaded guilty to harboring a fugitive. He had been stopped in November carrying nearly \$200,000 and letters addressed to "the Prophet." It's not known if he is now cooperating with authorities.

- Authorities also are investigating the unlawful removal of several buildings from the Colorado City/Hildale area, including a large grain silo. Church assets estimated at \$110 million were placed under court control last year and cannot legally be moved. Several police officers loyal to Jeffs have been questioned about their failure to stop the buildings' removal but have refused to cooperate with investigators. ▲



RICK WILKING / REUTERS

WEST POINT, Ky. — Wearing orange foam earplugs to muffle the nearby thunder of relentless automatic weapons fire, a grizzled man with SS lightning bolt tattoos on his forearms pulls a little red wagon loaded with rifle ammunition. Carefully picking his way through the teeming crowd, he passes table after table laden with machine guns, gas masks, combat knives, war memorabilia and bomb-making guides. The man sheds his camouflage tactical vest to reveal a worn black T-shirt emblazoned with a Totenkopf, the Death's Head symbol of the Waffen SS. Then he parks his wagon to join a huddle of shoppers surrounding a hard-faced spokeswoman from Valkyrie Arms who's extolling the virtues of the Olympia, Wash.-based arms maker's new product, the Valkyrior 556 Rotary Gun.

"It's .223-caliber, six barrels, basically you're looking at a hand-cranked mini-gun," she says.

The man asks, "What's the rate of fire?"

"Just as fast as you can crank it," she replies. "We just shipped a load of these babies to civilian security contractors in Iraq for convoy protection. When I go to sleep tonight, I'll dream of towel heads splattering all over the place."

"We need to ship a few to the border and start splattering Mexicans," he says.

Then he picks up his wagon handle and continues browsing the wares. Two hundred yards away, around the Knob Creek Gun Range's lower shooting area, hundreds of men, women and children are lined up like kids at Disneyland to rent and shoot M-16s, Uzis, AK-47s, SPAS 12 full-auto shotguns, vintage Tommy Guns and Heckler & Koch MP-5s. A teenaged boy wearing a shirt with a grinning Jane Fonda and the words "Commie Traitor Bitch" pays \$25 to rip 20 bullets through a .30-06 caliber BAR (Browning Automatic Rifle). "Man," he says, grinning and shaking the BAR owner's hand. "That's one hell of a rush."

'Go Hot!'

At a former naval proving ground near Fort Knox, the hills are alive with the sound of gunfire, as the semi-annual Knob Creek Machine Gun Shoot gets under way. Billed as "the nation's largest machine gun shoot and military gun show," the Knob Creek festival, which takes place every April and October, is a frenzied exhibition of firepower to rival a bad day in Mogadishu. On the upper range, which is reserved for heavy weaponry, the rental guns include a belt-fed M-60 (\$40 for 50 rounds, \$75 for 100), a 1917 British-made Vickers Mark

BIGBANG

THE KNOB CREEK MACHINE GUN SHOOT ATTRACTS PEOPLE OF ALL KINDS, INCLUDING NEO-NAZIS AND OTHER EXTREMISTS. BUT FOLKS GET ALONG JUST FINE AS THEY REVEL IN AN ORGY OF FIREPOWER **BY DAVID HOLTHOUSE**

1, and a Civil War-era Gatling gun. The main attraction, though, is a six-barrel M134 Minigun, which is powered by a General Electric motor and sends 4,000 rounds of hot lead per minute downrange. Retail price: roughly \$225,000.

Every half hour or so, the upper range master declares a cease-fire. Festival workers remove the smoldering wreckage of junker cars and household appliances and then freshen up the supply of targets. During these breaks, a flamethrower operator suits up rental customers in silver stunt man suits and lets ’em rip for \$195 per tank. Nearby, the crew of a privately owned field artillery gun pumps huge shells into a denuded hillside, drawing cheers from the bleachers. The concussive force of the explosions trigger hundreds of car alarms inside the vehicles lining both sides of a rural highway half a mile away, up a muddy hill and across a creek from the Knob Creek Gun Range entrance. The whoops and buzzes of the alarms are nearly drowned

“When law enforcement agents attack or seek to confine or control the U.S. Militia or its individual members, those agencies should be totally eliminated in the initial attack.” — U.S. Militiaman’s Handbook

out by the dragon’s roar of the flamethrower, and then sonically obliterated by dozens of machine guns that erupt when the upper range master announces, “Go hot!”

‘R-2’

The Knob Creek shoot started in 1979 as a local event, but now attracts machine gun enthusiasts from across the county. Attendance tops 10,000. Throughout the 1990s, it was a major gathering point and recruiting ground for antigovernment, paramilitary militias. They held meetings in the festival campground and leadership summits at hotels in nearby Shephardsville. In April 1998, a dust-up between leaders of the U.S. Theater Command and the Southeastern States Alliance at a militia unity conference during the Knob Creek shoot caused a lasting split that weakened the movement.

Knob Creek organizers have for years insisted that the majority of people who come to their machine gun festivals are not white supremacists or militia members. While that’s probably true, a survey of tattoos, patches, T-shirt symbols, and merchandise at the April 2006 events provided strong evidence of a significant extremist presence. Sonny Landham, the 1980s action movie star who now skills for the white supremacist Council of Conservative Citizens, signed autographs and distributed CCC literature at his booth near a hot-dog stand. Print and CD editions of the racist fantasy novel *The Turner Diaries* were widely available, along with copies of the *U.S. Militiaman’s Handbook*, a guide to armed insurrection during “R-2,” the second American Revolution.

“When municipal, township, county, or local area law enforcement agents attack or seek to confine or control the U.S. Militia or its individual members, those agencies should be totally eliminated in the initial attack,” the handbook advises. “Do not allow any law enforcement agents to escape. Kill them all.”

While most of the violent extremist materials for sale were scattered amidst more innocuous items, one booth at the April 2006 shoot, housed in gun show stall C-22, offered nothing but hate paraphernalia: hundreds of neo-Nazi, white power, and hate rock T-shirts; Adolf Hitler, Rudolf Hess and Eva Braun coffee mugs; Hitler youth flags; and Celtic cross “White Pride World Wide” banners.

‘This is America’

“I do not think of us as an extremist or militia gathering, but we do not regulate any items sold,” Knob Creek Gun Range owner and festival chief Kenny Sumner wrote to the *Intelligence Report*, responding to E-mailed questions about booth C-22. “If someone wants to sell white supremacist and neo-Nazi crap, that’s OK with me. If it offends anyone, they don’t have to stop at that vendor’s table. It’s just like strip clubs. I don’t care nothing about them and they can be wherever they want. I have the ability to stop in or drive by. This is America and we do have the right to choose. That’s why I do not restrict any of the vendors at our show.”

Rob Walker, who describes himself as “the fat, happy guy handing out *Shotgun News*,” has attended the past 15 Knob Creek shoots as part of his job for a New York City magazine publishing house. “I have never perceived an air of hate,” Walker says. “In fact, I’ve seen people of all races having a great time together.”

In past years, Walker says, “The militia groups simply used the huge draw of the KCR [Knob Creek Range] shoot to entice a greater amount of attendance at their little meetings, but they were never officially affiliated with KCR. Now, I’ve never seen anything more disturbing than some truly tasteless T-shirts. While I’d prefer to not even stand next to someone wearing a few of those shirts, it’s the First Amendment and I won’t argue with that.”

Beginning in 2004, Walker has distributed materials on “genocide and gun ownership” produced by the far-right JPFO (Jews for the Preservation of Firearms Ownership) at Knob Creek shoots. “Not only was that well received, it was never scoffed at,” he says. “The materials were well marked as being from a Jewish group. Never have I heard a single anti-Semitic utterance.”

Saturday Night Special

The Saturday night climax of every Knob Creek machine gun festival is the famous “night shoot.” On the upper range, heavy machine gunners load their weapons with phosphorus tracer rounds and take aim through night vision goggles at glow sticks marking 50-gallon drums filled with gasoline and strapped with sticks of dynamite. The signal for the night shoot to begin is the whirring arrival of a black helicopter, its M-60 door gun spewing chartreuse tracer rounds from the sky.

The fiery explosions illuminate the grinning faces of thousands. The vast majority of them are white. But just as Walker claimed, there are a few blacks and Hispanics. All are unified, at least for the moment, in the taboo joy of mass destruction as spectator sport. ▲

WHITE HOT

ACROSS THE COUNTRY, THE OVERHEATED IMMIGRATION DEBATE FUELS RACIST EXTREMISM AND VIOLENT, ANTI-HISPANIC HATE CRIMES **BY SUSY BUCHANAN & DAVID HOLTHOUSE**

The raging national debate over immigration is stoking the fires of racist extremism across the country. Neo-Nazis and other white supremacists are ratcheting up the intensity of their bloodthirsty “race war” rhetoric as the tempo of the symbiotic dance between hate groups and the anti-immigration movement continues to increase, and violent hate crimes against Hispanics, regardless of their immigration status, appear to be on the rise.

In recent events:

- On May 6, the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan held an anti-immigration rally in Russellville, Ala., that drew more than 300 Klansmen and Klan supporters, including members of the neo-Nazi hate group Aryan Nations. At the rally, robed Klansmen burned a 22-foot-high cross and yelled, “Let’s get rid of the Mexicans!”

- On April 29, a neo-Nazi in East Hampton, N.Y., was arrested for threatening two Hispanic teenagers he and several friends imprisoned for 90 minutes in a shed painted with swastikas. The skinhead reportedly held the blade of the machete to the throat of one while threatening to kill him, and chased another around with a running chainsaw yelling, “This is how you run across the border!”

The hard-liners (from left): Laine Lawless, Roy Warden, Joe Turner, Russell Pearce and Joe Arpaio.

- On April 22, a 17-year-old Hispanic high school football player was dragged from a suburban house party in Texas and savagely attacked by two white assailants, one of them a neo-Nazi skinhead. Police said the attackers were apparently enraged because the victim tried to kiss a young girl they believed to be Caucasian. After forcing the Hispanic youth into a backyard, they burned his neck with cigarettes, stomped his head with steel-toed boots, and slashed his chest with a knife, all while shouting racial slurs. They then stripped him naked and sodomized him with a patio umbrella pole.

The skinhead kicked the pole repeatedly.

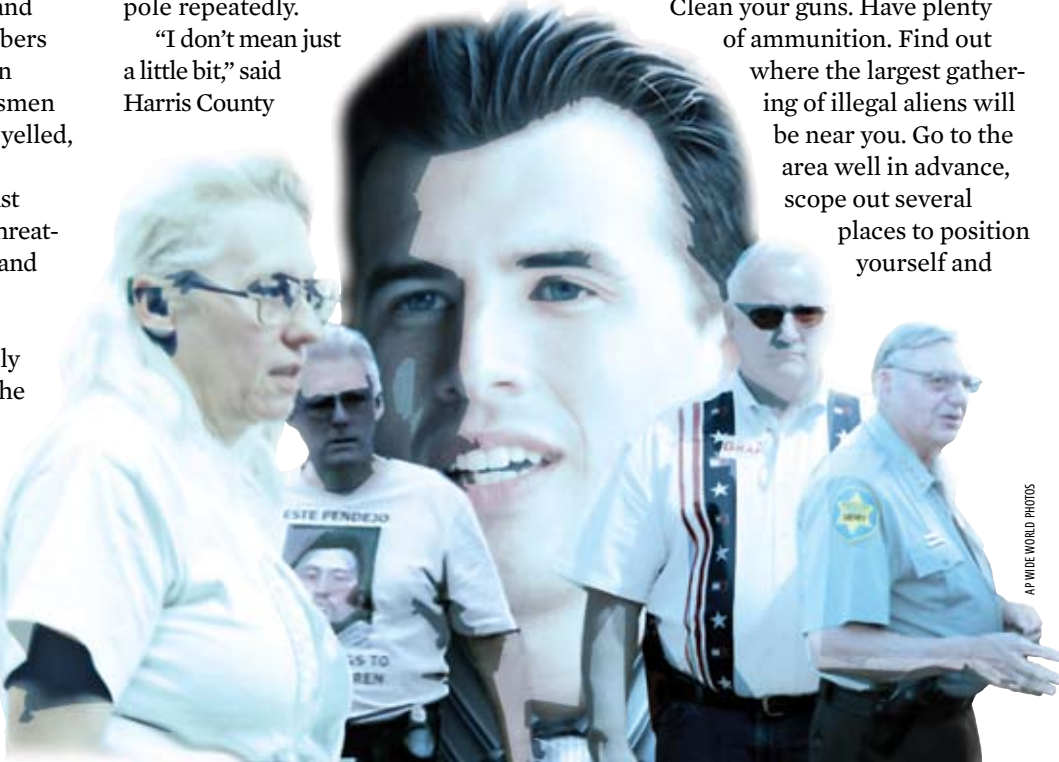
“I don’t mean just a little bit,” said Harris County

prosecutor Mike Trent. “He kicked it in and shoved it so far in that he has caused major organ damage. It looks like they were really trying to kill him and torture him anyway they could.”

At press time, the victim remained in critical condition.

- On March 27, New Jersey-based neo-Nazi radio host Hal Turner called for the mass murder of Hispanics and the assassination of U.S. senators who support guest worker programs. “All of you who think there’s a peaceful solution to these invaders are wrong. We’re going to have to start killing these people,” Turner said. “I advocate using extreme violence against illegal aliens.

Clean your guns. Have plenty of ammunition. Find out where the largest gathering of illegal aliens will be near you. Go to the area well in advance, scope out several places to position yourself and



then do what has to be done.” Turner directed his listeners to a website that provides detailed instructions on constructing pipe bombs, ammonium nitrate “fertilizer bombs,” car bombs, chlorine gas bombs, and other home-made explosive devices.

As the volatile issue of immigration has taken center stage in political debates, it’s become clear that hate groups believe they’ve found a deeply resonant issue with racial overtones they can exploit to generate a hostile social climate that fosters bigotry and violence toward all Hispanics, whether they’re in the country illegally or not.

When Hispanic families in Tucson,

in the city’s history drew a litany of disturbing reactions from the media, elected officials, and radical extremists. State Rep. Russell Pearce continued to stereotype illegal immigrants as ruthless criminals by falsely claiming that 80% of violent crimes involve illegal immigrants, a statistic he was unable to defend when questioned. Maricopa County Sheriff Joe Arpaio organized a 250-member citizens’ posse to patrol the desert for illegal immigrants, and Phoenix radio talk show host Brian James urged his listeners to pick a night and “kill whoever crosses the border,” prompting federal and state prosecutors to file a

discussion of the heavily Latino street protests across the country.

Another Save Our State activist, “Bryan,” recommended archery as an effective tactic against Mexicans. “Just a friendly reminder: There is no Brady Bill on bow and arrow. There is also no report or muzzle flash to give away position.”

Also in California, Minuteman Project co-founder Jim Gilchrist set off on a cross-country Minuteman Caravan making stops in several states to help fight the “illegal alien invasion crisis.” On May 8, Gilchrist was a guest on Tennessee radio show produced by the hate radio show Political Cesspool. It was Gilchrist’s second appearance on the Cesspool. He was interviewed by Bill Rolen, a board member of the white supremacist Council of Conservative Citizens who readily agreed with Gilchrist’s characterization of illegal aliens as people whose “intentions are to just squat here and plunder whatever social benefits our programs provide them.” (However, Rolen, a staunch neo-Confederate, was less inclined to go along with Gilchrist’s assessment of illegal aliens as the “21st Century slave trade.”)

The following morning, at a rally at a Birmingham, Ala., truck stop, a Gilchrist supporter passed out copies of *First Freedom*, a newspaper featuring a column by white supremacist David Duke and articles praising incarcerated Holocaust deniers David Irving and Ernst Zundel.

Gilchrist wasn’t the only nativist talking about an “illegal alien invasion.” On the Internet, violent rhetoric against Hispanics continued to fester, with extremists posting warnings that Mexican flags on American soil constituted an “invasion” of the United States, which for many anti-immigration activists and white supremacists would mark the long-awaited beginning of the race war. As one poster on the white supremacist Stormfront website put it, “It will be grand. More exciting than the zombie flicks. If you have a good defense line and lots of ammo, the carnage will be orgasmic.” ▲

THE TINDERBOX



THE ANGRY IMMIGRATION DEBATE IN ONE CALIFORNIA TOWN, LIKE THOSE IN OTHERS AROUND THE COUNTRY, IS TEARING THE COMMUNITY APART

In Costa Mesa, Calif., Jim Gilchrist and friend face down the opposition.

BY SUSY BUCHANAN PHOTOGRAPHY BY JACKIE MERCANDETTI

“If any invader tries to take this land from us, we will wash this land and nurture our soil with oceans of their blood!”

Ariz., gathered in a park to celebrate Cinco de Mayo, anti-immigration extremist Roy Warden arrived, strapped with a pistol, and led a demonstration. “Listen up, Mexican invaders,” Warden said. “We will not permit you, the ignorant, the savage, the unwashed, to overrun us, as happened in Rome. ... Land must be paid for in blood. If any invader tries to take this land from us, we will wash this land and nurture our soil with oceans of their blood!” Warden later E-mailed a death threat to Isabel Garcia, a Tucson public defender who co-chairs the human rights group Derechos Humanos. The E-mail was titled, “Warden to Isabel Garcia: I will blow your freaking head off!”

Also in Tucson, anti-immigration leader and close Warden ally Laine Lawless secretly contacted the nation’s largest neo-Nazi organization to urge its leaders to launch a campaign of violence and harassment against undocumented immigrants, (see story p. 22).

Elsewhere in Arizona, when 100,000 people marched through Phoenix in support of immigrants in April, the largest public demonstration

complaint with the Federal Communications Commission.

In California, the leader of the hate group Save Our State, Joe Turner, obtained enough signatures from residents of San Bernardino to get an immigrant-bashing initiative he authored on the upcoming ballot. Turner’s “City of San Bernardino Illegal Immigration Relief Act” would prohibit city funding of day laborer centers, allow police to seize the vehicles of anyone hiring an undocumented day laborer, and make it a crime for landlords to rent to illegal immigrants.

Turner’s stated goal is to prevent immigrants from turning California into a “Third World Cesspool.” Racist skinheads frequently attend Save Our State rallies, and several of the group’s members have recently advocated far more extreme measures than the San Bernardino ballot initiative. “I see people with vans driving by, gunning them down on street corners, and leaving them to feed the buzzards and worms,” wrote Save Our State activist “Cazamigrante” (“Migrant hunter”) as part of an online

COSTA MESA, Calif. — A shrill voice, raised in song, pierced the angry chatter inside the Costa Mesa City Council chambers. All eyes turned to a dark-haired woman wearing a white scarf. Fist raised, eyes scrunched, she belted out a warbling but spirited version of “We Shall Overcome.” Nearby stood Jim Gilchrist, co-founder of the anti-immigration Minuteman Project, and several of Gilchrist’s followers. They quickly began sing-shouting “America the Beautiful,” trying to drown out the civil rights-era protest spiritual.

This impromptu singing duel capped the pandemonium that erupted during a Jan. 3 Costa Mesa City Council meeting after a young Hispanic man who was testifying against Costa Mesa’s ongoing anti-immigrant crackdown asked the crowd to stand in opposition to the mayor’s policies. The mayor ordered his microphone shut off, and when he refused to leave the podium he was swarmed by police officers and strong-armed out the door.

If Costa Mesa Mayor Allan Mansoor and his supporters have their way, thousands of undocumented Hispanic immigrants will be similarly run out of Costa Mesa. Last December, the City Council narrowly passed a resolution pushed by Mansoor calling for the city’s police officers to be trained and empowered to arrest illegal aliens for violating federal immigration law. Costa Mesa was the first city in the country to pass such a measure.

Additionally, Mansoor and his allies on the City Council, Gary Monahan and Eric Bever, have disbanded the city’s human rights committee, shut down the city’s day laborer center, and sliced funding for charities that serve Hispanics. There has also been talk of closing the Latino swap meet and even banning pick-up games of soccer from public parks.

More than 40% of Costa Mesa’s 110,000 residents are Hispanic, many of them undocumented workers from Mexico. But while the leaders of some nearby cities have declared their communities “sanctuary cities,” Mansoor’s administration has taken the exact opposite stance with a hard-line campaign to roll up the welcome mat.

That campaign has transformed Costa Mesa into a closely watched and especially volatile tinderbox within the raging national debate over immigration. The success or failure of Mansoor’s policies could set the tone for how other cities around the country deal with what is quickly emerging as one of the most divisive political issues in the United States. Outside activists from both sides of the debate have flocked to Costa Mesa and declared the city a critical battleground.

“Costa Mesa is at the epicenter of the immigration debate and a microcosm of what is taking place across the United States,” says Humberto Caspa, a professor at the University of California, Long Beach. Of the mayor and his supporters, Caspa says, “Their objective is simple: to kick all the Latinos out.”

‘Mexican-Hating County’

Costa Mesa, “The City of the Arts,” is located on 17 square miles of bluffs just inland from the California coast, in the midst of Orange County, a staunchly conservative region with a long history of groundbreaking initiatives designed to drive out Hispanic immigrants. “Orange County is the most Mexican-hating

county in the country,” says *Orange County Weekly* syndicated columnist and investigative editor Gustavo Arellano.

The county is home to Minuteman Project co-founder Jim Gilchrist, whose “citizens border patrol” now has chapters nationwide, and to the California Coalition for Immigration Reform (CCIR), a major force behind 1994’s Proposition 187, which sought to deprive undocumented immigrants of social services, health care, and public education. CCIR’s official ballot argument described Proposition 187 as “the first giant stride in ultimately ending the ILLEGAL ALIEN invasion.” The bulk of Proposition 187 was ruled unconstitutional by a federal judge years after it was passed by 59% of California voters, but it has nevertheless served as the model for similar measures in other states, notably Arizona’s Proposition 200.

Costa Mesa’s proposal to effectively transform its local



“ORANGE COUNTY IS THE MOST MEXICAN-HATING COUNTY IN THE COUNTRY.”

GUSTAVO ARELLANO, *Orange County Weekly* Investigative Editor

police officers into immigration cops is based on a new policy developed by the Orange County Sheriff’s Department, which has spent nearly two years working out an agreement with Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) for Orange County sheriff’s deputies to investigate and make arrests for violations of federal immigration law (illegal entry into the United States is a federal misdemeanor). The Costa Mesa plan calls for 30 city officers, including gang investigators and detectives, to receive ICE training at an initial cost of around \$200,000 to the city.

Elected officials in other communities around the country, large and small, have also recently taken measures to show they’re tough on immigration. In Phoenix, Ariz., Maricopa



County Sheriff Joe Arpaio formed a 250-member citizen volunteer border posse to patrol the desert for illegal immigrants. In Hamilton, Ohio, the local sheriff billed the government of Mexico \$125,000 for law enforcement expenses, imprisoned undocumented immigrants, and put up billboards showing himself in front of a jail with the legend “Illegal Aliens Here.”

But while those programs are largely symbolic, Costa Mesa’s crackdown policies, both proposed and already enacted, have actual, sharp teeth. Detractors say they promote racial profiling, and further alienate an already marginalized population in a community that is newly and bitterly divided.

“I’ve never seen our city like this, I’ve never seen it this way,” says Councilwoman Katrina Foley, who along with Linda Dixon is one of two council members opposed to the mayor’s anti-immigration policies. “Usually we get complaints about traffic on the streets, litter in the fields,” Foley says. “We had a reputation of being a city that listens to residents, that works with residents ... and now our city is on the map for immigration.”

Law Enforcement and Latinos

Billy Folsom sits in a booth at Skosh Monahan’s Irish pub nursing a white Russian. Folsom’s a longhaired, tattooed biker and member of the National Rifle Association who repairs police cars for the City of Costa Mesa.

Folsom’s got a story to tell, he says, as he sips from his tumbler. “I drive cop cars all day long,” he explains, “up and down one little street behind the cop shop,” which is where Folsom tests out his repair jobs and diagnoses mechanical problems.

On this particular street, Folsom says, “there’s a stop sign and a little kid lives in the apartment there, a Hispanic boy maybe 4 years old. He loves to wave at policemen, which he thinks I am because he sees me in the cars everyday.” Folsom smiles and waves back as part of his routine.

“Well, the City Council resolution was approved on a Tuesday night. On Thursday, I stop at the stop sign and here

A local professor says Costa Mesa’s City Council majority wants “to kick all the Latinos out.”

comes this little kid. But instead of a smile and a wave, the kid throws a clump of dirt at my car then runs away. That’s what this has done to this city.”

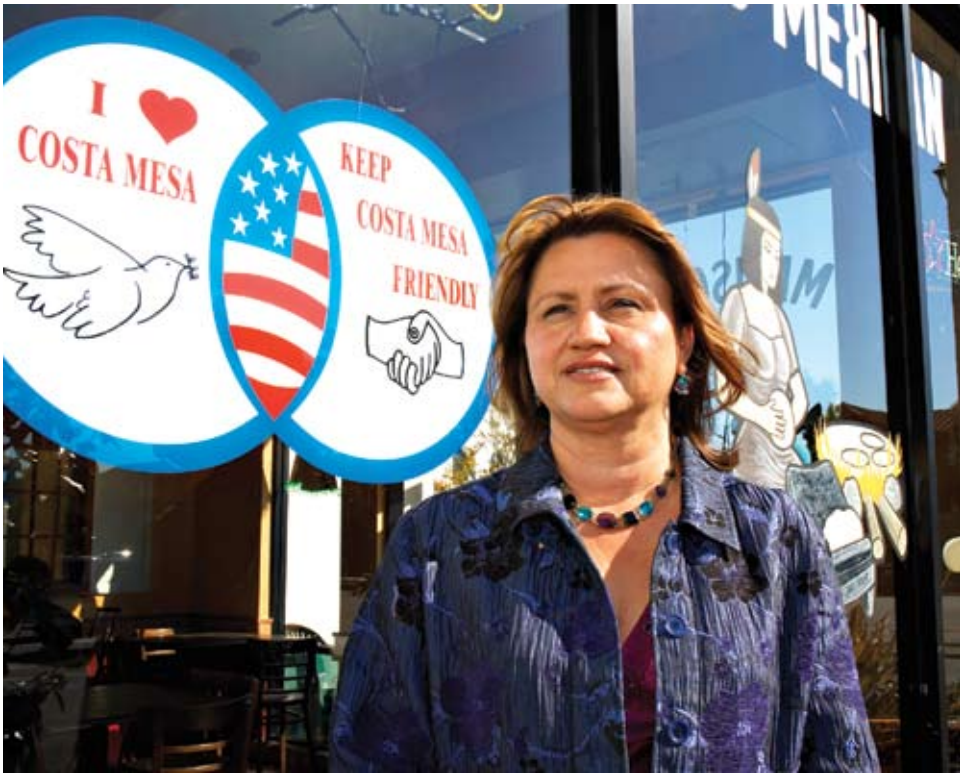
Dave Snowden, Costa Mesa’s chief of police for 17 years until his retirement in 2003, worries that kids pelting cop cars with dirt clods is just the beginning of the trouble the mayor’s policies will cause for the Costa Mesa Police Department. Snowden knows several cops who recently left the Costa Mesa force for jobs in more immigrant-friendly cities, and he doesn’t blame them. Building and maintaining trust with undocumented immigrants has become essential to effective local police work in Southern California, Snowden says. “You need to build a confidence level in the [Hispanic] community,” Snowden says, and the mayor’s proposals undercut that confidence. His greatest fear is, “the broadening of this policy to where cops stop people on the street because they are a different color.”

Snowden’s successor as chief of police, John Hensley, recently announced his retirement, although he’ll remain on the job until the city finds a replacement. Hensley won’t say why he quit, but his being dubbed “Hitler Hensley” and sarcastically seig-heiled by immigration-rights activists at City Council meetings couldn’t have made his job any easier, especially since Hensley, like Snowden, does not support the mayor’s law enforcement proposals.

Snowden and Hensley’s opinion is nearly unanimous among cops, and not just in California. The International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP) issued a statement in December 2004 condemning such policies. “Many leaders in the law enforcement community have serious concerns about the chilling effect any measure of this nature would have on legal and illegal aliens reporting criminal activity or assisting police in criminal investigations,” IACP president



Within a single hour in Costa Mesa, two dueling rallies mirrored the bitter battle rending the California city. Coyotl Tezcalipoca (left), recently ejected from City Council chambers, marched in front of a restaurant owned by “racist” councilman Gary Monahan (above). Across town, an anti-immigration hard-liner (far right) hurls the same accusation at Mirna Burciaga (right), owner of a Salvadoran restaurant.



Joseph Estey wrote. “We don’t have the time and personnel to be immigration agents.”

Racism’s Rudder

While law enforcement experts weighed in against the enforcement policy, it had the full support of longtime Costa Mesa resident and notorious white supremacist Martin Millard, a man in his 50s with close-cropped grey hair who sells real estate and claims to have once worked as an actor. A City Council gadfly who has the mayor’s ear, Millard classified Hispanic immigrants in a 2003 essay as “a bunch of cockroaches with brown shells, brown eyes, and black hair. They are indicative of the changes that have helped California become like a dark corner under a refrigerator.”

Millard has been a featured columnist on the website of the hate group Council of Conservative Citizens, where he railed against Hispanic immigrants since at least 1999. Millard also contributes to the racist website New Nation News, where he wrote, “We have no compunction against discussing the differences between different breeds of dogs, so why should we be so afraid to discuss the differences among different breeds of humans? The real issue is that our society is being transformed into something different than it has been and this is being done through the invasion of our land by those who are upsetting the traditional genetic balance we have had in this country.”

Mansoor recently defended his decision to dismantle Costa Mesa’s human rights commission in a letter to *The Orange County Register*: “When the government-funded committee was in existence the only beliefs it allowed were extreme-left

views. ... People who said they believe illegal immigration was wrong were labeled ‘racist’.”

There is no question that label fits Millard perfectly. But despite Millard’s openly racist beliefs, Mansoor has been known to carpool to City Council meetings with him, and last year the mayor appointed Millard to Costa Mesa’s Redevelopment Committee. The mayor’s critics view Millard as a Rasputin-like figure, a fringe wacko who somehow wormed his way to influence and is now a guiding force behind Costa Mesa’s anti-immigrant agenda.

“Millard is starting to get traction,” says Billy Folsom, the cop car mechanic. “Racism is prevalent everywhere, but it’s like a boat without a rudder. When the boat gets a rudder is when you need to start to worry, and Millard started being that rudder.”

The Soccer War

It has been in the last year that Millard’s influence has emerged from the confines of cyberspace and begun to affect policy in Costa Mesa, something that prompted Republican retiree Geoff West to take notice — and take Millard on, which he does on a regular basis in his blog, The Bubbling Cauldron, which West runs as a counterpoint to Millard’s own blog, Costa Mesa Press.

“Millard’s influence on the City Council is covert but substantial and his approach is tenacious but articulate,” says West. “What upsets Millard are things intrinsic to Latino culture: swap meets, street vendors, and even soccer playing”

Millard’s war against soccer dates back to at least 2001.

In letter after letter to the City Council he has complained of the physical danger posed by flying soccer balls at a park near his home and the “human waste, broken beer bottles and a strong smell of urine in the slide in the tot lot” that soccer players leave behind.

“Millard will write some scathing letter about people playing soccer in the park,” says Councilwoman Foley, “and



“WE HAD A REPUTATION OF BEING A CITY THAT LISTENS TO RESIDENTS, THAT WORKS WITH RESIDENTS ... AND NOW OUR CITY IS ON THE MAP FOR IMMIGRATION.” COUNCILWOMAN KATRINA FOLEY

I put that right in the trash whereas those guys [Mansoor, Monahan and Bever] call the chief [of police] about it.” In response to Millard’s complaints, police and park rangers have visited the park more than 130 times. They’ve found no sign of dangerous activity and no human waste.

Millard became more than just a loud voice at council meetings when he was appointed to the Redevelopment and Residential Rehabilitation Committee in 2005, which makes recommendations to the council on how to fund charities.

His participation in city government is a calculated move. “Now we need to get realistic, and we need to start moving

into positions where we can fix this broken country,” wrote Millard in 2003. “Immigration activists need to start getting themselves on the many city committees that all cities have.”

During his tenure, Millard withheld support from organizations serving a mostly Latino population including the Boys and Girls Club, which he called a “recruiting and staging station for gangs and criminal activity.”

“He was tenacious to the point of rudeness to charities that were not his favorites,” says West. “Like those that support immigrants which he calls ‘magnets for undesirables’ — things like soup kitchens.”

Millard resigned without explanation last February, not long after the Spanish language newspaper *La Opinion* came out with several articles denouncing him, with headlines like “Costa Mesa must liberate itself from the racist.”

Protest Night

It’s Friday night in Costa Mesa and the setting sun bruises the evening sky as a gaggle of young activists arrive in groups of twos and threes on the sidewalk in front of Skosh Monahan’s Irish Pub, the bar where Billy Folsom criticized the mayor a few nights earlier.

Inside is Minuteman co-founder Jim Gilchrist and a handful of his supporters. Gilchrist is a frequent visitor to Costa Mesa’s council meetings who makes it a point to come to Monahan’s on protest night to show his support.

At one point, Gilchrist sends his wife Sandy out to size up



Costa Mesa white supremacist Martin Millard has fought a war to end soccer games enjoyed by Hispanics at the city’s Paularino Park.

the crowd, which will grow to around 30 protesters wielding an assortment of signs denouncing the restaurant’s owner, City Councilman Gary Monahan, as a racist.

Monahan’s mountainous security guard, clad in a black leather duster, steps out from the restaurant and stands to one side of the assembled group, arms folded, chit-chatting from time to time with some of the regular protesters, including Huntington Beach activist John Earl, who greets him warmly.

It’s a familiar scene for all concerned, a weekly protest organized by pro-immigrant activists that’s been taking place since early February. Passing cars occasionally honk in support, which brings a cheer from the young crowd, but

that’s about as raucous as it gets — until Gilchrist decides to come out and play.

Frequently, instead of exiting the restaurant, climbing into his car and leaving, Gilchrist engages the protesters. Earl has filmed Gilchrist in states of near hysteria, pacing back and forth, hurling insults and claims of “240 million supporters” at Earl’s video camera while Earl gently goads him. Minutemen call Earl and the protesters “goons.” Earl posts the Gilchrist videos on his oorganizer website. It’s a dance that Gilchrist, for all his anger, and Earl both clearly relish.

This night, though, Gilchrist’s exit is swift. Accompanied by the co-founder of Latinos for Immigration Reform, Lupe Moreno, Gilchrist and friends are off to do a little protesting of their own.

The handful of Minutemen make their way to El Chinaco, a tiny El Salvadoran restaurant with a large “Keep Costa Mesa Friendly” sticker on its front door.

Gilchrist pulls out a bullhorn, his followers grab picket signs, and they proceed to march up and down the sidewalk in front of El Chinaco declaring the restaurant’s owner an “anti-white racist” and harassing customers until a sudden downpour sends them scurrying to their cars.

Empty Tables

It’s hard to say whether Gilchrist’s action affected business, since El Chinaco owner Mirna Burciaga

says business has been abysmal at the restaurant since last December. Many of her immigrant customers are so afraid of being rounded up and deported that they don’t go out to eat, she explains.

A vocal critic of Mansoor and frequent speaker at City Council meetings, Burciaga has owned El Chinaco for 18 years but says she recently has been forced to dip into her savings to keep the restaurant afloat.

She’s not alone. Every week, dozens of Latino business owners gather to discuss the effect Mansoor’s policies are having on their sales and strategize about ways to combat it. Burciaga, for her part, designed the sticker on her front door, which includes clasped hands, stars and stripes, and a dove of peace. She also places stacks of fliers in English and Spanish next to her cash register explaining that the immigration en-



“RACISM IS PREVALENT EVERYWHERE, BUT IT’S LIKE A BOAT WITHOUT A RUDDER. WHEN THE BOAT GETS A RUDDER IS WHEN YOU NEED TO START TO WORRY, AND MILLARD STARTED BEING THAT RUDDER.” BILLY FOLSOM, Costa Mesa resident

forcement policy is for now an approved idea that has yet to take actual effect.

But rumors are spreading quicker than fact. The empty tables at El Chinaco seem to be a sign that stickers and fliers are not enough to quell fears. And so Burciaga has decided to run for City Council in November. Gary Monahan is prevented by term limits from running again after 12 years on the council, and Mansoor is up for reelection (the City Council selects the mayor from among its five members).

A win in November by someone like Burciaga would mean a pivotal shift in the balance of power on the council — and she would be the first Latino to hold public office in Costa Mesa’s 50-year history.

Millard, in one of his many anti-immigrant screeds, wrote: “If we want to win, we have to be smarter than the other side and we need to have political power.” For once, Burciaga would have to agree with him.

Whether voters in Costa Mesa back the mayor’s anti-immigrant politicking is something other cities around the country will be playing close attention to as communities struggle to deal with growing numbers of immigrants. Should a hard line on immigration prove beneficial for fledgling politician Alan Mansoor, some observers predict similar measures in other towns across America.

“All roads eventually come back here to Orange County,” says *Orange County Weekly* columnist Gustavo Arellano, citing the battle in Costa Mesa as just another example — along with the Minuteman movement and Proposition 187 — of Orange County’s influence on national immigration politics. “What happens here spreads to the entire country.” ▲

IN HIS OWN WORDS

Martin H. Millard, whose writings and actions recently helped ignite an angry anti-immigration debate in his hometown of Costa Mesa, Calif., has a long history of activism in white supremacist groups and causes. For years, he was a top columnist for the racist Council of Conservative Citizens (CCC) under the name H. Millard, famously writing in the late 1990s that non-white immigration was turning the U.S. population into “a slimy brown mass of glop.” Excerpts from Millard’s essays, drawn from racist websites including New Nation News and the CCC’s, follow.

“[The] Tan Everyman will be a multi-ethnic being, who will carry genes from all races of man and who will, as a result of these different genes, feel no loyalty to any race. The birth of the Tan Everyman is the death of white people. The Tan Everyman brings the genocide of white people.”
— From “The Melting Pot, Boxing and the Untermensch” (2001)

“We may have to start with the old ideas about things as basic as marriage, and we may have to become polygamists and do a lot of things differently than we have in the past. We need to encourage all those things among whites that will increase our birthrate. Pornography? Will it increase our birthrate? If so, it’s good. Ending abortions among our people? Will this increase our birthrate? If so, it’s good. Polygamy? Will it increase our birthrate? If so, then it’s good.”
— From “The Recessive Race” (2002)

“If white people are to survive as a people, they must resist the attempts to shut them up and they must continue to speak the truth that genes are important and that people have a natural right to not lose their differences. Whites must also start figuring out how to take reasonable and workable steps to preserve their genetic uniqueness.”
— From “Beware the Evil Zeitgeist” (2003)

“Clearly, a spiritual rebirth must happen among white people if we are to survive on this dark planet. It doesn’t do much good for three or four whites to march around a town square screaming, “white power.” White power will only come with numbers and a proper worldview. This means we need to have more children. And, we may have to bring in plural marriages and a new religious attitude to accomplish this.”
— From “America Got a Lot Darker This Week” (2004)



LAINE LAWLESS, LEADER OF AN ARIZONA ANTI-IMMIGRATION GROUP, SAYS SHE'S FOR 'LAWFUL' ACTION ONLY. HER E-MAILS TELL A DIFFERENT STORY

GOING LAWLESS

BY SUSY BUCHANAN AND DAVID HOLTHOUSE

A prominent anti-immigration leader has secretly urged the nation's largest neo-Nazi group to launch a campaign of violence and harassment against undocumented workers in the United States.

Laine Lawless, who started a group called Border Guardians last year, sent an April 3 E-mail to Mark Martin, "SS commander" of the Western Ohio unit of the National Socialist Movement, which has 59 chapters in 30 states. It was titled, "How to GET RID OF THEM!"

The E-mail from Lawless, who was also an original member of Chris Simcox's vigilante militia before it morphed into the Minuteman Project in early 2005, detailed 11 suggestions for ways to harass and terrorize undocument-

ed immigrants, including robbery and "beating up illegals" as they leave their workplace.

"Maybe some of your warriors for the race would be the kind of people willing to implement some of these ideas," Lawless wrote. "I'm not ready to come out on this. ... Please don't use my name. THANKS."

At the request of Lawless, who declined to respond to questions from the *Intelligence Report*, Martin posted her suggestions to a number of neo-Nazi bulletin boards. Those suggestions included:

- "Steal the money from any illegal walking into a bank or check cashing place."
- "Make every illegal alien feel the heat of being a person without status. ... I hear the rednecks in the South are beating up illegals as the

textile mills have closed. Use your imagination."

- "Discourage Spanish-speaking children from going to school. Be creative."
- "Create an anonymous propaganda campaign warning that any further illegal immigrants will be shot, maimed or seriously messed-up upon crossing the border. This should be fairly easy to do, considering the hysteria of the Spanish language press, and how they view the Minutemen as 'racists & vigilantes.'"

The *Report* contacted Lawless for comment, sending her copies of her own E-mails that included their original headers, as she requested. But after receiving the copies, Lawless refused to talk to the *Report* after all. Weeks later, after the *Report's* story was published on the Southern Poverty Law Center's website, Lawless claimed

to news reporters that the E-mail had been fabricated by someone other than herself. She did not mention that the *Intelligence Report* had requested her comment before publishing its Web story or the fact that she declined the request.

Lawless, the former high priestess of Sisterhood of the Moon, a lesbian pagan organization, has been heavily involved in anti-immigration extremism since 2004, when she joined Simcox's Civil Homeland Defense outfit, as it was then called. That same year, she invited "militiamen" nationwide to "crawl through the woods in a ghillie [sic] suit with sniper rifle" on her private ranch in Cochise County, Ariz. "I coordinate with Chris [Simcox], so anyone who wants to come is welcome," she wrote in a post to an online user group, "A Well Regulated Militia."

Lawless was featured in numerous media reports on the first Minuteman Project campaign in April 2005, during which she patrolled side-by-side with Minuteman Vice President Carmen Mercer. Lawless also traveled to Texas to join the Texas Minutemen in October, when she was quoted in the *Austin Chronicle* saying she gets an "intellectual and political orgasm" from spying on pro-immigration groups. In that interview, she accused one pro-immigration activist of inserting chants of "White Power!" into an audiotape of Minuteman rallies to discredit the movement.

This March 29 and 30, Lawless was quoted on CNN

attacking a humanitarian group that leaves food and water for people crossing the Sonora Desert to illegally enter the United States.

In April, just six days after Lawless E-mailed her suggestions to neo-Nazi Mark Martin, Border Guardians made national news when Lawless and other members burned a Mexican flag in front of the Mexican consulate in Tucson, where Lawless' group is based. Before the flag was set aflame, Lawless held a press conference.

"As always, Border Guardians remains committed to only lawful actions to combat illegal immigration," she said. "We are committed to practice only peaceful, lawful action in defense of our country."

Her E-mail the prior week to the National Socialist Movement, however, clearly revealed a darker agenda. "There are several tactics, some legal and some not-so," she wrote. "Sabotage the things they like: entertainment, food, beer... BRAVO to the person who cut down the Spanish language radio station towers just North of Phoenix! Now that sends a message!"

That April 3 E-mail was not the only contact between Lawless and the NSM. In the April 3 E-mail, she writes of leaving a voicemail message on the NSM's hotline. And, in an earlier E-mail to Martin dated March 6, she congratulated the NSM on provoking a riot in Toledo, Ohio, in October 2005. "I still think those riots were wonderful!" Lawless wrote.

The contact between Lawless and the NSM is not the first evidence to emerge of overlapping Minuteman and

"Make every illegal alien feel the heat of being a person without status. ... I hear the rednecks in the South are beating up illegals as the textile mills have closed. Use your imagination."

neo-Nazi membership. A few members of the National Alliance and Aryan Nations signed up with the original Minuteman Project in April 2005, and at least two frequent contributors to the white supremacist website Stormfront volunteered for Minuteman co-founder Jim Gilchrist's failed congressional campaign.

Like Lawless, Martin would not comment for this story. But he did offer this tagline when he forwarded Lawless' suggested tactics to other neo-Nazis: "The information contained in this email is Racially and Religiously privileged and confidential. It is intended for specific Aryan recipients only." ▲

Also contributing : Anthony Griggs.

IRRECONCILABLE DIFFERENCES

A schism over anti-Semitism threatens a key ‘white nationalist’ group. The outcome could be critical to the radical right

By Heidi Beirich and Mark Potok



The capos (from left): Don Black, Jamie Kelso, Kevin Strom, David Duke, an unidentified man, Mark Collett, Nick Griffin and his wife Jackie, and Bob Whitaker emerge from the National Gallery of Art where they admired art by white people during a break from the *American Renaissance* conference.

HERNDON, Va. — For a gathering of people devoted to denouncing the inferiority of blacks and sounding the alarm about civilization-threatening Muslims, the biannual conferences thrown by the New Century Foundation, publisher of the racist newsletter *American Renaissance*, are decidedly genteel affairs. Men dress in suits and ties, women in formal business attire, and there are no uniformed skinheads or Klansmen to be seen. Large plasma television screens, Starbucks coffee spreads and fancy linens adorn the hotel meeting hall. Epithets have no place here.

Or at least they didn’t. At the latest edition of the conferences that began in 1994, held this February at the Hyatt Dulles hotel, a nasty spat broke out that upset the gathering’s decorum — and may even shape the future of the radical right.

It began when David Duke, the former Klan leader and author of *Jewish Supremacism*, strode to a microphone after French author Guillaume Faye wrapped up a talk vilifying Muslims entitled “The Threat to the West.” Duke thanked Faye for remarks that “touched my genes.” But then he went one further.

“There is a power in the world that dominates our media, influences our

government and that has led to the internal destruction of our will and spirit,” Duke said, according to an undisputed account in *The Forward* newspaper.

“Tell us, tell us,” someone in the back yelled.

“I’m not going to say it,” Duke replied. Laughter began to fill the room, until a short, angry man leaped from his seat, walked up to Duke and began to curse.

“You fucking Nazi, you’ve disgraced this meeting!” he said.

And with that, Michael Hart, a Jewish astrophysicist and long-time attendee at *American Renaissance* conferences, head-

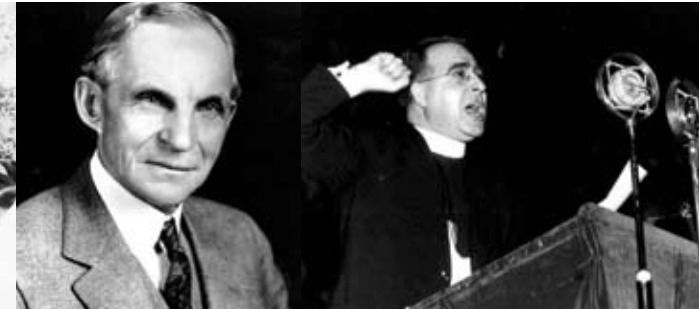
ed for the door. As many as 50 people at the conference began to jeer and point at the rapidly disappearing Hart.

This extraordinary incident marked the beginning of an open rift between those on the radical right who see blacks, Hispanics and Muslims as the primary enemy, and those who say “the Jews” are ultimately behind every evil — a split that has usually stayed just below the surface but now threatens a leading institution of American extremism. While in the past he has managed to bridge this divide mainly by ignoring it, *American Renaissance* founder Jared Taylor now must finally come to terms with the split. His di-

lemma boils down to this: Throw out the anti-Semites and try to build a larger movement with electoral possibilities like those increasingly seen in Britain and Germany; or openly join hands with the very energetic neo-Nazis even though that means the loss of any remaining shred of respectability.

“These are the makings of a major schism,” wrote Shawn Mercer, co-founder and moderator of *American Renaissance*’s AR List, an E-mail group. “If *American Renaissance* ultimately fails as a result of this donnybrook at the convention, it will be a sad, possibly fatal turn of events for the future of whites.”

CORBIS / AP WIDE WORLD PHOTOS



Jews and the Radical Right

The traditional enemy of the American radical right, going back to the Civil War and even before, has been the black man. Given the numbers of voters who would be created by enfranchising former slaves — and the historical fact that blacks outnumbered whites in many southern counties — that is no surprise. But radical anger also has been directed throughout U.S. history at each new wave of foreign im-

migrants, and, in both the 19th century and the 20th, that included Jews.

European anti-Semitism made its way across the ocean as well, infecting Americans with ideas about secret Jewish plans for world domination and alleged ritual practices like the murder of Christian children. Increas-

Early American anti-Semitism: the 1915 lynching of Leo Frank at Frey’s Gin, just outside Marietta, Ga.; automaker Henry Ford, who was decorated by Hitler after publishing *The International Jew*; and Father Charles Coughlin, the “radio priest” who energized millions.

ingly, hatred of Jews filtered into groups like the Klan — most famously, in 1915, when the group was reborn on the strength of the lynching of Jewish businessman Leo Frank of Atlanta. (Frank was falsely accused of the rape and murder of a 12-year-old girl.)

In the 1920s, auto tycoon Henry Ford published anti-Semitic treatises

culminating in the book, *The International Jew*. In the following decade, Father Charles Coughlin, a radical Catholic, railed against Jews in radio broadcasts heard by millions. There followed a brief lull in anti-Semitism due to revelations about the Nazi genocide, but it wasn’t long before Jew-ha-

tred came roaring back.

This was partly due to the spread of Christian Identity, a radical theology that claims that Jews are biologically descended from Satan and are the chief enemy of the white man. This ideology, which increasingly crept into traditionally Christian groups like the Klan, helped to start the broad-based change that has occurred over the last half century or so — the Nazification of the American radical right. Growing anti-Semitism also reflected the view of many segregationists that Jews were behind the black civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s. The bombings of several Southern synagogues by white supremacists underlined this conviction.

In recent decades, however, mainstream American society has rejected anti-Semitism, to the point where it is generally seen as more acceptable to voice ugly views of blacks than Jews. And this has not been lost on certain sectors of the radical right that have become increasingly interested in gaining real political power. Given recent developments in the United States — especially large-scale Latin American immigration and the threat of radical Islamist terror — these sectors have wondered if it wasn’t better to direct

THE JEWISH QUESTION REDUX

The debate that began early this year at the Washington, D.C.-area conference of the racist *American Renaissance* magazine — between those who see blacks as the main problem and those who think Jews are even worse — has continued for months on the Internet. What follows are excerpts from the AR List, a discussion group moderated by Ian Jobling and Shawn Mercer, who work for *American Renaissance* founder and editor Jared Taylor, an opponent of anti-Semitism. Mercer allows “dissenting voices” on many topics, but deletes most postings excoriating the Jews, endorsing Holocaust denial, mentioning “ZOG” (an acronym for the “Zionist Occupation Government”), or coming from the neo-Nazi Overthrow.com or Vanguardnewsnetwork.com sites. The AR List moderator also deletes “references to nonwhites in ‘animal terms.’” These excerpts focus on anti-Jewish comments made at the conference by neo-Nazi David Duke and his Stormfront allies, and the pro-Jewish rejoinders they provoked. The names were those used by the authors, and are in many cases pseudonyms.

I don’t see how this event could not include some focus on the Jewish Question. It seems to me that Jewish ethnocentrism is proving to be quite destructive to the White race. Maybe I’m just ignorant?

—John Weiss, Feb. 27

>>>

their hate at people of color, rather than Jews who are seen by most Americans as white. Seeing the electoral success of neofascists in Germany and Britain who aim their wrath at dark-skinned immigrants and Muslims generally, many American radical leaders have sought to dispense with anti-Semitism.

Black Attack

In 1990, Jared Taylor, a Yale graduate who had spent 17 years working in Japan, joined the active white supremacist scene with his launching of *American Renaissance*, a magazine focusing on the alleged links between race and intel-

“Jewish question” from *American Renaissance* venues, and, by 1997, had kicked Holocaust deniers and neo-Nazis off his E-mail list. In recent years, a growing number of Jews have attended Taylor’s conferences.

But Taylor, who operates in a world that is peopled with anti-Semites as well as black-bashing “white nationalists,” also tried to have it both ways.

Atlanta lawyer Sam Dickson, for instance, has been invited to speak at every one of Taylor’s biannual conferences — despite a long history of Holocaust denial that includes membership on the editorial board of *The Barnes Review*, a journal that specializes in that topic. Joe Sobran, a columnist fired from the *National Review* for his anti-Semitism and repeat author for the Holocaust-denying *Journal of Historical Review*, gave a speech on Jewish power at Taylor’s 2004 conference. Don Black, the former Klan leader who runs the neo-Nazi Stormfront web

forum, has attended many conferences and visited Taylor’s home. Another attendee and old Taylor pal, Mark Weber, heads up the Holocaust-denying Institute for Historical Review.

Taylor, whose journal and conferences were fast becoming key institutions of the American radical right, tried to keep internal peace. But that was not to be.

In 2003, a remarkable E-mail debate between the late racist writer Sam Francis and neo-Nazi lawyer Victor Gerhard was made public by Gerhard. In it, Francis, widely regarded as the leading white nationalist intellectual in America, lambasted Gerhard, who had been an official of the neo-Nazi National Alliance, for his views of the Jews. He denounced what he saw as “a monomaniacal obsession with the omnipotent Jew” and instead discussed the threat of blacks and Hispanics. The E-mail exchange was widely circulated on the American radical right.

The same period saw several groups — the Social Contract Press, the

Charles Martel Society (publisher of *The Occidental Quarterly*), the Pioneer Fund, the Council of Conservative Citizens and the recently formed National Policy Institute — focus in on the perceived ills of blacks, Hispanics and Muslims. Joining them was a new crop of racist intellectuals (see profiles, p. 30) with no interest in the Jews.

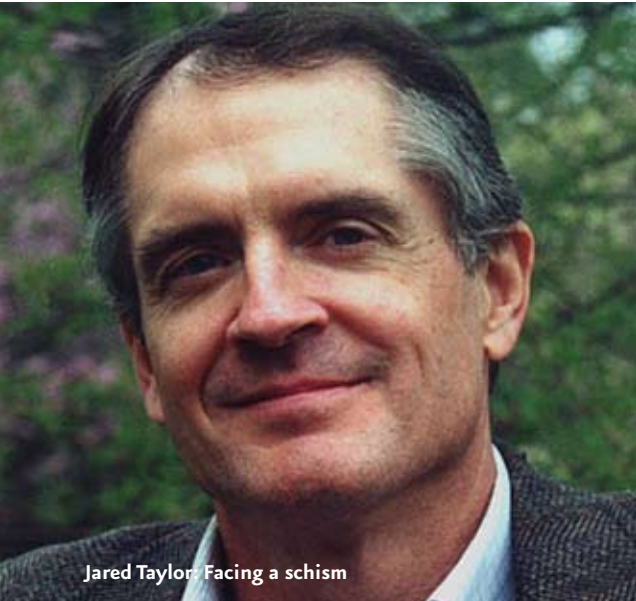
Taylor, it seemed, could not stop the inevitable. The split between those who saw Jews as the primary enemy and the others was bubbling to the surface.

Battle of Words

The biggest threat to Jared Taylor’s balancing act has always been David Duke, the former leader of the Knights

of the Ku Klux Klan who has also been a convinced neo-Nazi since his teens. Duke, who came close to winning a campaign for Louisiana governor in 1992, was for years a celebrity on the radical right. Still, Taylor has sought to discourage Duke from attending his *American Renaissance* conferences ever since Duke crashed the first one in 1994. But even in years when he didn’t enter the hall, Duke was often found outside, talking to participants.

It wasn’t just Duke, either. Over the years, more and more participants at Taylor’s conferences were Duke allies — most notably, Don Black and supporters of Black’s Stormfront website, including Stormfront moderator Jamie Kelso.



Jared Taylor: Facing a schism

ligence and on eugenics, the discredited “science” of breeding better human beings. The magazine scrupulously avoided racist epithets, employed the language of academic journals, and sought to put a palatable face on hate (though that didn’t stop Taylor from describing blacks as “deviant,” dissipated” and “pathological,” or later writing a booklet that claimed that blacks are far more “crime-prone” than whites).

At the same time, Taylor made it clear that he had no problem with Jews. At the group’s very first conference, held in Atlanta in 1994, the dinner speaker was a rabbi named Mayer Schiller, and the meal was kosher. Taylor banned discussion of the so-called



Spirit of anti-Semitism: Stormfront founder Don Black and neo-Nazi David Duke go back to the 1970s, when Black was Duke’s Alabama grand dragon in the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Today, Black is married to Duke’s ex-wife and a father figure to Duke’s two daughters.

THE JEWISH QUESTION REDUX

I felt this was an inappropriate action by David Duke — trying to horn in on another WN’s [white nationalist’s] event. It is well known that *American Renaissance* does not allow anti-Semitism, it is uptown, 100% clean WN, call it a first step if you like but it is a very important 1st step and Jared Taylor has had success.

—John Robinson, Feb. 27

If clean means not naming the Jew, I’ll stay dirty. If “uptown” means not naming the Jew, I’ll stay downtown.

—maidofthearyanmist, Feb. 28

I’m conflicted... . Should I feel a sense of hope because I met so many bright and committed white men and women who unapologetically gathered together in solidarity for a brighter future for the West? Or should I shudder at the thought of being in the presence of far too many anti-Semitic fools, like Duke, who only scare well-meaning whites away from our movement?

—Alan Andrews, Feb. 28

Since when should a WN have to hold his peace for fear of offending the “traditional enemy” of all nationalism?

—Joe Fields1488, Feb. 28

During the Amren [*American Renaissance*] 2004 conference, which I attended, Joseph Sobran gave the keynote speech after the banquet, and had no problem addressing the Jews and their impact in White nations. During the post-speech Q&A period, a Jewish man stepped up to the microphone and denounced Sobran for his statement that Jews were not White.

—iconoclast14, Feb. 28

Jewish participation is likely to lead *American Renaissance* down the same road as *National Review*. ... We see [Editor Jonah] Goldberg’s *National Review*, still considered the conservative flagship, scolding the French for racism and recommending affirmative action programs... . And now we have also seen David Duke, the preeminent American racist leader of our times, cursed at a conservative convocation. By a Jew.

—Jack Boot, Stormfront moderator, Feb. 28

The vast majority of Jews are as white as I am and could become our allies, but we continue to alienate them. For those of you who hate Jews so much that you are willing to align yourselves with a bunch of eighth century Muslim primitives ... don’t expect your movement to get very far and be prepared to watch the number of AR supporters remain the same or even go down.

—Michael Allen, March 1

We need to remember the importance of candor and freedom of expression at our meetings. To not mention the elephant in the living room is to accede to a Marxist reflex of self-censorship.

—sligo, Feb. 28

Mr. Duke has been convicted of stealing large sums of money from the very people who defend him. He is a white Jesse Jackson. We DO NOT need him.

—Angus McClure, March 13

[S]top the gossip about David Duke. Duke has nothing but good things to say about Jared Taylor and Amren’s efforts.

—Stephen, March 13



For all his histrionics, New Jersey radio host Hal Turner remains a player in the neo-Nazi world.

This year, the Duke/Black/Kelso crew was larger than ever. In an interview with the *Intelligence Report*, Kelso said that he had organized a contingent of some 75 Stormfront supporters to come to the conference. And these supporters were the most enthusiastic members of the 300-strong audience, standing and applauding each speaker after receiving the signal to do so from Kelso. They were also not the only anti-Semites present. Others, not affiliated with Stormfront, included Kevin Alfred Strom of Virginia, leader of the neo-Nazi National Vanguard group; Hal Turner, a neo-Nazi radio host from New Jersey; and David Pringle of Alaska, the former membership coordinator of the neo-Nazi National Alliance.

THE GROUPS

In the world of ‘academic racism,’ four groups play leading roles

Ideology and strategic arguments from the radical right are produced by hundreds of groups and individuals around the country. However, only a small number actually function as real think tanks, and an even smaller number are influential, even on the extreme right. The four groups profiled below, including one that was just formed last fall, may be the most important. They are also each associated with individuals who became involved in the recent dispute over anti-Semitism on the radical right (see story, p. 24). Each has said it opposes anti-Semitism, or at least anti-Semitism in its crudest forms (each of them also pushes the work of Kevin MacDonald, an academic who criticizes Jews in somewhat softer terms than most anti-Semites; see profile, p. 32). One of them, the Pioneer Fund, has financially backed the racist research of many individuals associated with the other groups. All four organizations are listed as hate groups by the Southern Poverty Law Center.

Charles Martel Society/The Occidental Quarterly **www.theoccidentalquarterly.com**

Founded in 2001 by Chicago millionaire publishing scion William H. Regnery, the Charles Martel Society puts out *The Occidental Quarterly*, a journal devoted to the idea that “race informs culture” that is edited by a Who’s Who of the radical right. Its chief editor is Kevin Lamb (see profile, p. 31); its managing editor is Louis R. Andrews (see profile, p. 30) and its associate editor is Wayne Lutton, who also works at The Social Contract Press, another hate group. The board of the society includes Andrews, Lamb, *American Renaissance* Editor Jared Taylor and Sam Dickson, a white supremacist lawyer and luminary of the Council of Conservative Citizens. *The Occidental Quarterly* publishes an array of extremists including Robert S. Griffin, a University of Vermont professor who has been a member of the neo-Nazi National Alliance, and Marian Kester Coombs, wife of the managing editor of *The Washington Times* and a well-known racist writer. In 2004, the society went beyond publishing for the first time, holding a black-tie dinner in a fancy Washington, D.C., hotel, where it awarded Kevin MacDonald (see profile, p. 32) \$10,000 and its Jack London Literary Prize for books describing the alleged “group evolutionary strategies” of the Jews. The Charles Martel Society and its journal have been very well received among so-called “academic racists” in America — so much so that when Florida race scientist Glayde Whitney died in 2002, his family asked that in lieu of flowers, mourners send donations to the society.

National Policy Institute **www.nationalpolicyinstitute.org**

After a year of soliciting funds for a “new think tank” in Washington, D.C., the National Policy Institute was established with a staff of four in September 2005 by far-right publisher William Regnery. The institute’s mission statement says it aims “to elevate the consciousness of whites, ensure our biological and cultural continuity, and protect our civil rights. The institute ... will study the consequences of the

ongoing influx that non-Western populations pose to our national identity.” In an August 2005 speech to the Chicagoland Friends of *American Renaissance* (see group profile below), Regnery warned that “within the first or secondhand memories of people in this room, the white race may go from master of the universe to an anthropological curiosity.” The institute has published two studies: a critique of affirmative action, which the institute opposes; and “Mass Deportation is a Viable Solution to America’s Illegal Immigration Crisis,” written by Edwin Rubenstein. (Rubenstein, a frequent contributor to the V-Dare hate site, is president of ESR Research Economic Consultants of Indianapolis and has served as research director for the conservative Hudson Institute, an adjunct fellow at the Manhattan Institute, an economics editor at the *National Review*, and a contributing editor at *Forbes* magazine.) The institute’s senior fellow is Wayne Lutton, an extreme-right writer, and its spokesman is Kevin Lamb (see profile, p. 31). Its board includes Louis R. Andrews (see profile, p. 30), *American Renaissance* Editor Jared Taylor, and James B. Taylor, who is also on the board of directors of the Reagan Ranch Program. Its advisory committee includes Kevin MacDonald (see profile, p. 32).

New Century Foundation/American Renaissance **www.amren.com**

Jared Taylor, the man who heads the New Century Foundation and edits its *American Renaissance* magazine, presents himself as a cosmopolitan, open-minded thinker not afraid to take on the taboos of his time without stooping to racial epithets and the like. But, in fact, he is a man who promotes the “clear conception of the United States as a nation ruled by and for whites,” regardless of the calm tone of his journal, which has an academic look and feel. In 2002, for instance, Taylor published an article by race scientist Richard Lynn (see Pioneer Fund, below) under the title “Race and the Psychopathic Personality” that argued that blacks “are more psychopathic than whites” and suffer from a “personality disorder” characterized by a poverty of feeling, lack of shame,

pathological lying and so on. After Hurricane Katrina hit in 2005, the magazine ratcheted up its customary attacks on blacks, particularly in an error-ridden essay by Taylor that said the hurricane “was an excuse [for blacks] to loot, rob, rape and kill.” *American Renaissance*, based in Taylor’s home in Oakton, Va., also publishes frequent articles on the discredited field of eugenics — selective breeding to improve human genetic stock. The foundation has hosted biannual conferences since 1994 (see related story, p. 24), and its website, featuring stories on black crime and the like, recently rose to one of the top 20,000 in the world after a makeover. In recent years, Taylor has added several budding racist intellectuals to his staff, including Ian Jobling (see profile, p. 31), the website editor and E-list moderator, and Stephen Webster (see profile, p. 33), assistant editor of *American Renaissance*. Even before he started the New Century Foundation, Taylor had written on race, penning a 1992 book, *Paved With Good Intentions*, that argued that because sterilizing welfare mothers would not be publicly accepted, authorities should instead provide such women with “five-year implantable contraceptives.”

Pioneer Fund **www.pioneerfund.org**

The Pioneer Fund was started in 1937 by textile magnate Wycliffe Draper with an original mandate to pursue “race betterment” by promoting the genetic stock of those “deemed to be descended predominantly from white persons who settled in the original thirteen states prior to the adoption of the Constitution.” Many of those involved with the fund early on, including its first president Harry H. Laughlin, had “contacts with many of the Nazi scientists whose work provided the conceptual template for Hitler’s aspiration toward ‘racial hygiene’ in Germany,” according to an article in the *Albany Law Review*. In the 1960s, according to William Tucker’s recent scholarly book, *The Funding of Scientific Racism*, many board members and recipients of Pioneer grants sought to block the civil rights movement. In recent decades, the fund has concentrated on making grants to academics interested in the alleged connection between race and intelligence, along with related matters. It also paid to distribute the racist French novel, *The Camp of the Saints*, and to publish an autobiography of Thomas Dixon, whose novels helped to romanticize the Klan and also to bring it back to life in 1915. Since 2002, the Pioneer Fund has been headed by J. Philippe Rushton, a Canadian professor who has produced work suggesting that blacks have “smaller brains, lower intelligence, lower cultural achievements, higher aggressiveness, lower law-abidingness, lower marital stability and less sexual restraint than whites,” according to an article by psychologist Andrew S. Winston. Several organizations have recently refused grants from the fund in the wake of bad publicity. One recipient, Hiroko Arikawa of the Forest Institute of Professional Psychology in Springfield, Mo., said she was returning her grant after being contacted for comment by the *Intelligence Report*.



Despite longstanding personal relationships with many of America’s leading neo-Nazis, British National Party leader Nick Griffin counseled against anti-Semitism — and even suggested that Jews would make good allies in the battle against Muslims.

As a result, the Duke-Hart clash, which occurred on the last day of the conference, rapidly assumed epic proportions, spinning out across the entire radical right. Just days later, Duke published an essay on the conference, expressing deep admiration for Taylor as a man with the courage to tell the truth on race. But he went on to say that non-white immigration and a host of other ills “all have been driven by Jewish extremists in their relentless search for supremacy.” Hart, Duke added tartly, had risen “in an almost perfect Jewish caricature and started to scream at me.”

That set off an often testy back-and-forth between the two sides.

From London, Nick Griffin, a conference speaker who also heads the whites-only British National Party, denounced those who see behind every evil some kind of “world-Jewish conspiracy.” Griffin’s BNP, which harshly attacks Muslims and other British minorities, made major electoral gains this May (see story, p. 51) — a success that Griffin thinks would be undermined by neo-Nazi attacks on Jews. In his essay, Griffin suggested that Jews are a natural ally in the battle against Islam.

Black, on the other hand, threatened to pull his anti-Semitic supporters out of Taylor’s conferences. “I guess that would solve the overcrowding problem,” Black wrote. “Not only would he cut loose the ... Stormfronters, but, should he apply such an ideological filter [barring anti-Semites], about 90% of his other attendees.”

Lawrence Auster, a former *American Renaissance* speaker who also is a Christian convert with Jewish ancestry, chimed in on his own blog, describing Duke as “a major Jew-hater and an attention hog” and asking Taylor how he could be so “naïve as to allow Duke to attend at all.” Another poster to Auster’s site added,

THE JEWISH QUESTION REDUX

Jared Taylor and the *American Renaissance* group have to come to terms that the landscape of white America is changing. ... I think David Duke had every right, as a representative of the American people, to stand up and make it publicly known.

—Celtic Patriot, Feb. 28

The CCC [Council of Conservative Citizens, an anti-black hate group] and AmRen are not the answer, but — because they are a good place to develop solid knowledge and attract members — they are a small part of the answer.

—Bob DeMarais, a former director of the neo-Nazi National Alliance, Feb. 28

There are plenty of good reasons to exclude Duke. He is perceived by many — including within our own movement — as essentially a hustler, a shameless self-promoter. ... Of course, these puerile losers should be made as unwelcome as possible.

—Joel T. Lefevre, editor of the white supremacist Council of Conservative Citizens' *Citizens Informer*, March 13

Jews and their groups have been and continue to be at the forefront of virtually every anti-white and subversive movement afflicting western civilization. ... [T]o refuse to deal with that reality is absurd.

—William Scott, March 15

You either don't understand, or refuse to admit, that it is Jews who were/are instrumental in empowering the blacks, publicizing hip hop and opening our borders to the Mestizo; their media promotes miscegenation, and on and on.

—rafonda, March 17

"It is imperative that neo-Nazis be asked to leave AR. ... European-Americans need to be assured they can affirm themselves and still be decent human beings."

In the end, nearly every "intellectual" on the white nationalist scene was pulled into the debate. So hot was the months-long exchange, in fact, that more than half a dozen major racist thinkers agreed to speak to the *Intelligence Report*.

Rejecting the Nazis

Virtually all those who denounced anti-Semitism and "Nazis" had no such compunctions when it came to people of color, particularly blacks. Herschel Elias, for instance, told the *Intelligence*

Report that as a Jewish substitute teacher in public schools near Philadelphia, "I'm very disappointed with black people. Black kids are the worst kids." But he added that he now saw the conference as a "Nazi front."

Another Jew, retired University of Illinois political science professor Robert Weissberg, was a long-time supporter of *American Renaissance* who spoke at two conferences. In 2000, he argued that Jews and blacks despise one another, but that Jews are even more afraid of white nationalists and so had tended to support policies that empower minorities. Weissberg told the *Report* that he considered

Taylor a friend and had been to his house "on several occasions." But he went on to say that Duke was a "tax evader" (Duke recently served time in federal prison for mail fraud and tax violations) and "provocateur," and that his Stormfront allies were "losers." He said that both Duke and the Stormfronters should be "disinvited" by Taylor.

The list goes on. In separate interviews with the *Intelligence Report*, numerous "academic racists" complained of the neo-Nazi element at the conference.

- Michael Levin, a Jewish philosophy professor at the City University of New York who has spoken four

times at *American Renaissance* conferences, said that there was "anti-Semitism among members of AR" and that this was part of the reason he did not attend the 2006 edition. (However, Levin still plugs his black-bashing book, *Race Matters*, in ads in *American Renaissance*.)

- Paul Gottfried, a humanities professor with Jewish ancestry at Elizabethtown (Penn.) College, spoke to the conference in 1998 and has published in *American Renaissance*. But he said he is dismayed at the current situation. "I cannot imagine any advantage to anyone to have these people there," he said.

- William Regnery, the extreme-

right publisher who also founded and financially backs the Charles Martel Society and the National Policy Institute, dismissed Duke's anti-Semitism, saying simply, "We don't sanction it."

- Gordon Baum, the St. Louis-based CEO of the racist Council of Conservative Citizens, has Taylor on his editorial board and fights to preserve the "racial integrity" of white people. But, he said, the CCC welcomes Jews. And, adding that the CCC has no interest in "skin-heads," Baum rapped Duke for believing that "race isn't even important, all that is important is the Jewish issue."

- Baum's new editor for the CCC's publication, *Citizens Informer*, seconded

THE NEW RACIALISTS

A fresh crop of 'intellectuals' joins the radical right



With the February 2005 death of columnist and Council of Conservative Citizens editor Sam Francis, the radical right lost its most important thinker. But little more than a year after Francis' death, a whole group of "academic racists" is being cultivated by some of the country's leading extremist groups. That is no surprise — white supremacists have spoken frequently of the need to rejuvenate the ranks of their intellectuals. Francis told his acolyte, Joel LeFevre, that "the next generation has to step up to the plate and begin assuming responsibility for the future of this movement." Jared Taylor, who edits the racist journal *American Renaissance*, agreed. "You don't want something to be so full of old dopes that it disappears or dies," he told the *Intelligence Report*. The eight men profiled below are not all youngsters, but they are new blood for academic racism.



Louis R. Andrews, 63 Augusta, Ga.

An acolyte of racist publisher William H. Regnery, Louis Andrews has become increasingly important in academic racist

circles in recent years. Going back to the 1990s, Andrews has run a website called "Stalking the Wild Taboo" meant "for sociopolitical thinkers unfettered by submission to the power of the pejorative," by which Andrews means for those unafraid of being

called racist. More recently, Andrews, a graduate of the College of Charleston who did some graduate work in history at the University of South Carolina, was named managing editor of *The Occidental Quarterly*, a racist journal published by Regnery's Charles Martel Society, and a director of the National Policy Institute, another hate group that was started recently by Regnery. Andrews has written widely on such matters as race and intelligence, but he also publishes large amounts of work from likeminded allies. Through his company L.R. Andrews, Inc. (www.

lrainc.com), he runs Washington Summit Publishers, which reprints a range of classical and modern racist tracts, along with books on eugenics, the discredited "science" of breeding better humans. Washington Summit also sells the works of Kevin MacDonald, which Andrews says show why "anti-Semitism is a naturally expected and powerful phenomenon."



Anthony Boor, 29 St. Louis, Mo.

A long-time admirer of Sam Francis, Anthony Boor edits several sections of the *Citizens Informer*, the newsletter of the

white supremacist Council of Conservative Citizens that Francis ran until his death in 2005. Boor and his wife Diana are highly active in the CCC chapter in St. Louis, where CCC boss Gordon Baum lives, joining in rallies and numerous other events and, in 2005, the CCC's board of directors. He also runs a CCC E-list, Citizens Council News Update. In a 2003 CCC symposium on reparations for slavery, Boor called that idea "a gargantuan hustle," "nothing more than opaque sucker bait in order to lure whitey and his govern-

ment into filling their [blacks'] pockets so they can live high off the hog for decades to come." He also rejected the idea of a breakup of the country into racial mini-states because, he said, it would be tantamount to "decline and retreat," whereas whites should instead be pushing for ways "that non-white America could become white, or at least livable for whites." Boor, who won a special CCC "membership award" in 2004, remains enamored of Sam Francis, a writer whom he regularly refers to as "The Bard."



Ian Jobling, 36 Fairfax, Va.

With a 2001 Ph.D. in literature from the State University of New York, Ian Jobling is the website editor

for *American Renaissance*, the racist journal run by Jared Taylor and his New Century Foundation. His early interests included Darwinian literary criticism, such as the article he wrote arguing that the Sir Walter Scott classic, *Ivanhoe*, was actually about the biological drive to seek justice through revenge. As co-moderator of *American Renaissance*'s AR List, Jobling was the first on that

E-group to ban posts about Jews, arguing that such talk "lowered the quality of discussion." He had no such compunctions about discussions of non-whites, arguing that Western values of democracy, free speech, and the rule of law "will gradually disappear as non-whites gain in numbers and power." Elsewhere, in his 2003 essay "Competitive Altruism and White Self-Destruction," Jobling argued that whites are too caring to protect their own interests. That same year, Jobling, along with two co-authors from academia, hit the big-time with the publication in *Human Nature* of the article, "Proper and Dark Heroes as Dads and Cads: Alternative Mating Strategies in British Romantic Literature." After interviewing a series of women about romantic novels, the authors concluded that, in the short term, women prefer men who are "cads," leading to temporary media-sensation status for Jobling and the others.



Kevin T. Lamb, 43 Mt. Airy, Md.

Until his firing in 2005, Kevin Lamb was an editor who had reached the heights of conservative journalism, serving

his boss’ opinions. “Attacking people with Jewish lines of descent is complete nonsense,” Joel LeFevre told the *Report*, adding that he was “very put off by Mr. Duke’s behavior” at the conference. Separately, LeFevre wrote on the AR List that Duke and his “puerile loser” followers should be banned. “Duke has his own conference where he can rant about the Jews all he wants,” he said.

• Jared Taylor, too, spoke to the *Report*, saying, “European Jews are certainly welcome” at *American Renaissance* conferences. “I don’t think that Jews are the enemy in the way that some people do.” As a matter of fact, Taylor came out against Nazism as early as 1983, in his book, *Shadows of the Rising Sun: A Critical View of the ‘Japanese Miracle’*, where

Germany was praised for outlawing national socialism. In addition, Jews write regularly in *American Renaissance* and have spoken at every one of its conferences.

At the Crossroads

Two months after the conference, on April 14, Jared Taylor went public. Responding to a letter from a group of supporters including several Jews, he posted a statement to his website that seemed to take clear sides. Under the title, “Jews and *American Renaissance*,” Taylor said that Jews “have a valuable role” to play, and told those who didn’t agree that they had the choice of “staying home” or of keeping their anti-Semitism private. He wrote that *American Renaissance’s* role is to rescue white civilization, not dig

up a “Jewish conspiracy.” And Taylor explicitly rebuked Duke, saying his “disgraceful behavior” would not be tolerated in the future.

Within 48 hours, Taylor’s statement had generated 168 responses. Two days later, there were more than 300. The reaction from anti-Semites was harsh, with many claiming that their erstwhile ally was actually in the pay of “the Jews.”

Cal Rogers, an *American Renaissance* staffer who headed up an E-mail list of Taylor critics, quit the group, saying he was “diametrically opposed” to Taylor’s views. Jess David Peterson wrote in to say that Taylor’s writings had been removed from Peterson’s Nationalist Party USA website. On Stormfront, Elena Haskins, a hate website proprietress,

scoffed at those “who require their friend the rabbi to pat them on their heads and tushies.” Ron Doggett, a Duke factotum, suggested Taylor was unfortunately sending America’s anti-Semites packing. Don Black called Taylor’s statement “disastrous.” Another neo-Nazi said it was “a devastating miscalculation.”

At the same time, Taylor was being lobbied by Jews and others who argued that the only way forward for *American Renaissance* was to drop those with neo-Nazi leanings entirely. Members of this group included many of the brighter minds — or better educated ones, anyway — that have come into the white nationalist world in recent years, and their relative prestige would be hard for Taylor to give up.

It’s not clear how the situation

will wind up. Taylor has now publicly rejected anti-Semitic views, but he hasn’t banned anti-Semites from his conferences.

What is certain is that it will be painful for Taylor to definitively eject the anti-Semites — Duke, Black and their neo-Nazi allies are among the most committed and serious workers in the American radical right, people who have arguably done far more for “the movement” than all the racist professors who travel to *American Renaissance* conferences put together. But he seems to be personally uninterested in conspiracy theories about the Jews, and in any case sees clearly that anti-Semitism will likely destroy any faint hope that *American Renaissance* has to gain mainstream respectability. Taylor could try to pursue a

middle road – espousing, for instance, the anti-Semitic teachings of Kevin MacDonald (see story, p. 32), which avoid neo-Nazi language in favor of the academic veneer of “evolutionary biology.” Or he could break with the neo-Nazis and their allies, even though Taylor is connected to many of them through dense ties of friendship and organizational alliances.

The outcome may be critical to the future of the American radical right. *American Renaissance* has become increasingly important over the years, bringing a measure of intellectualism and seriousness to the typically thug-dominated world of white supremacy. Today, it may be the closest thing the extreme right has to a real think tank. Whether or not it survives, and in what form, genuinely matters. ▲

as managing editor of *Human Events* magazine and also *The Evans-Novak Political Report*. That ended after his boss, Thomas White, fired him from both positions after learning from the Southern Poverty Law Center that Lamb was simultaneously editing the white supremacist journal *The Occidental Quarterly*. After his firing, Lamb wrote a bitter essay saying that several fellow employees had known of his work for the racist quarterly, including Al Regnery, the conservative publisher who owns *Human Events* and *The Evans-Novak Report*. In fact, Lamb had written for racist publications going all the way back to the early 1990s, when he published works in *Mankind Quarterly*. He also edited a 2002 book on Glayde Whitney, a racist academic who once wrote a fawning introduction for former Klan leader David Duke. Today, Lamb, a graduate of Indiana University with a political science degree, continues as editor of *The Occidental Quarterly* and is also the communications director for the National Policy Institute, a racist think tank, both of which were started by William H. Regnery, a cousin of Al Regnery’s.



**Joel T. LeFevre, 38
Charleston, W.V.**
Just weeks after *Citizens Informer* Editor Sam Francis selected him as successor, Joel LeFevre had to take up the reins of the

racist Council of Conservative Citizens’ publication because of Francis’ sudden death, putting out his first issue in March 2005. LeFevre had been a regular participant in the monthly roundtable discussions that Francis hosted at the Sala Thai Restaurant in Arlington, Va., but only joined the CCC, he told the *Intelligence Report*, after CCC boss Gordon Baum assured him that the group was not anti-Semitic. LeFevre’s attitude toward Jews, however, does not extend to black people. He rejects the Constitution’s Fourteenth Amendment, which gave former slaves citizenship, calling it “an abomination — a death knell not only to the old confederation of States, but to the white race itself.” He owns a website devoted to R. Carter Pittman, a Georgia lawyer who battled school integration. This March, he endorsed “kinism,” a new strain of racial separatism that wants America broken up into

racial mini-states. Policies supporting integration, LeFevre wrote, “seem ‘fair’ to a lot of people, but they are insidious [V]ery simply, without some level of discrimination, no nation ... can permanently exist at all.



**Kevin MacDonald, 62
Long Beach, Calif.**
Kevin MacDonald, a professor of psychology at California State University-Long Beach, is the man the radical right hopes

will make anti-Semitism respectable. With a master’s degree in evolutionary biology and a Ph.D. in biobehavioral sciences, MacDonald is the author of a trilogy of books, written between 1994 and 1998, that argue that Jews use a “group evolutionary strategy” to survive in the “host” societies where they are typically tiny minorities. The “strategy” involves backing democracy, equality, socialism and the like in order to weaken the dominant ethnic group — the idea being that that will keep Jews safer. An example of his thinking came in a recent posting to the V-Dare hate website: “Despite the fact that Jews constitute

less than 3% of the U.S. population, the Holocaust has become a cultural icon as a direct result of Jewish activism and influence in the media, Israel has become a sacred cow ... and the role of Jewish organizations in helping unleash massive multiethnic immigration into the U.S. ... goes unmentioned.” In one of his books, MacDonald blames the deaths of “millions of people” on “the failure of Jewish assimilation into European societies.” He has even suggested that colleges restrict Jewish admission and that Jews be heavily taxed to offset the Jews’ “advantage ... of wealth.” In a recent film, MacDonald says that by supporting immigration and multiculturalism, Jews “have wanted to essentially end European domination of this society.” MacDonald is on the advisory committee of the National Policy Institute, a racist think tank, and is a frequent contributor to *The Occidental Quarterly*, a white supremacist journal.



**Kyle Rogers, 29
Charleston, S.C.**
With a bachelor’s degree in computer engineering from Ohio State University,

Kyle Rogers has become a key player in the white supremacist Council of Conservative Citizens since first joining the CCC’s Ohio Valley chapter in early 2001. He told the *Intelligence Report* that he joined after tiring of “the media telling us that everything Southern and everything European is bad.” Today, Rogers lives in Charleston, S.C., where he moved in 2004 for “business” reasons, and heads the local CCC chapter. He is on the group’s national board of directors and is also its main webmaster, says CCC leader Gordon Baum. Rogers owns Patriot-Flags.com, an online store that sells a variety of flags — along with “White Pride Worldwide” T-shirts that can only be accessed via a link on the CCC’s home page (he was selling the shirts at this year’s *American Renaissance* conference, a racist meeting in Herndon, Va.). Rogers leads one of the most active chapters in the CCC, and has held repeated rallies at the South Carolina Capitol to protest undocumented workers. He urges members of the CCC to remind the Republican Party that it should be “standing up for whites.”



**Stephen Webster, 40
Winchester, Va.**
Born in Chicago and holding degrees in political science, history and geography from Indiana University, Stephen Webster is the

assistant editor of *American Renaissance*, a racist journal whose staff he says he joined in 2001 after a career in insurance, conservative politics and academia. Webster has become a chief spokesman for the magazine and frequently answers the group’s phone, which is located in Editor Jared Taylor’s home in Oakton, Va. Over the years, he has become best known for his relentless retellings of what he calls “The Wichita Massacre,” the horrific murders of four whites by two black brothers. Webster’s beef is that while the brothers were arrested and charged with capital murder, prosecutors consistently ruled out race as a motive and did not seek hate crime penalty enhancements. That mantra has been picked up across the far right — by players including former leftist David Horowitz and the far-right Accuracy in Media’s publications — even though there is no evidence at all that the crime was, in fact, racially motivated.

A SKINHEAD'S SECRET

John Daly says he was forced to join a neo-Nazi skinhead gang. But once he was in, he liked it – until his comrades found out he was a Jew

INTERVIEW

When he was 16, John Daly engaged in perhaps the ultimate form of teenage rebellion for a Jew: he became a neo-Nazi skinhead. ¶ It was the summer of 1989, and Daly was living with his family in Ocala, Fla. He was a part of a non-racist, traditional skinhead clique that he says was coerced to join a hardcore racist skinhead gang based in Orlando. A few months later, that gang became a part of American Front, a nationwide skinhead organization that operated hand-in-glove with White Aryan Resistance (WAR), the violent hate group led by notorious white supremacist Tom Metzger. ¶ Running the streets of Ocala with “my own pack of human pit bulls,” often in a T-shirt with human skulls forming a portrait of Hitler, Daly rose fast through the American Front ranks, and was soon promoted to North Florida officer, or regional leader. Whatever Daly’s reasons for initially joining the racist gang, he began to relish the power trip and the taboo rush of being a Nazi skinhead leader. But all the while, he lived in quiet terror that his “Aryan brothers” would discover that he was a Jew in their midst. “The more I saw what these guys were capable of doing, the more I became concerned for

PHOTOGRAPHY BY JARED BERNSTEIN



my well-being,” he said in a recent interview with the *Intelligence Report*. “Eventually, I realized that sooner or later it was going to come out that I was Jewish, and I started keeping a diary to help law enforcement track down my killers.”

Daly’s worst fears were realized in October 1990, when American Front officers learned his secret, then lured him to a late-night skinhead party in Daytona Beach. There, he was beaten down, stomped, and nearly drowned in knee-high surf by seven other skinheads. Based on information Daly provided, his attackers were caught and charged under Florida’s then-new hate crimes law, which enhances penalties for violent crimes motivated by racial or religious bigotry. Two high-ranking American Front skinheads were convicted of attempted murder and sentenced to 10 years in prison. The Florida Supreme Court upheld their convictions in a landmark decision that is still studied in law schools.

By cooperating with law enforcement, Daly hastened the decline of the American Front. The group had faded into obscurity by the mid-1990s, but has lately been resurging. Earlier this year, two Salt Lake City men in their early 20s pleaded guilty to randomly attacking a black man

as part of an American Front initiation.

Now 32, John Daly lives in Israel, where he sells real estate and speaks fluent Hebrew. He learned the language after repeated death threats prompted him to emigrate in 1997. The *Intelligence Report* recently interviewed Daly about his experience living a double life as a Jewish Nazi skin.

“There was a knock at my door, and when I opened it there were three hardcore guys in their Nazi skinhead regalia. They said they wanted me to take a ride with them.”

INTELLIGENCE REPORT: How were you introduced to skinhead culture?

JOHN DALY: Ocala was a small town when I was a teenager. Country music was the rage, but I couldn’t relate to it, and I wasn’t a jock, so I was on the fringes of the teenage social scene. When I was 16, I started hanging out with a bunch of guys who were into the traditional skinhead culture. We were non-racist. We even had a black guy called “Black Joe” who was into the culture. Mostly, we’d just hang out and drink beer. Whenever the

jocks and rednecks would harass the skateboarders we’d offer the skaters protection. But overall we were far more concerned with where the beer would be coming from than we were with anything political.

IR: So how did you go from being a non-racist to a neo-Nazi skin?

DALY: Two of my buddies went to

this punk club in Orlando, where they met up with some hardcore racist skins from a gang called AYF, or Aryan Youth Front, and these AYF guys told them, more or less, “Join us or die.” You have to understand that, at this time, there was a blood feud in Florida between racist and non-racist skinheads. There was a group out of Miami called the Grudge Skins, who were SHARPs [Skinheads Against Racial Prejudice], and they were basically assassinating members of the Social Outcast skins, which was a white power gang. The Grudge Skins were

shooting them. It was gang warfare. Our skinhead group in Ocala was basically neutral, and we thought we were too small-time to attract either side’s attention, but when the AYF Nazis came across my friends in Orlando, they saw an opportunity to claim Ocala as racist skinhead territory, and they took it. They terrorized my buddies into giving up the names and addresses of the other traditional skins in Ocala. So one day in May 1990, there was a knock at my front door, and when I opened it there were three hardcore guys in their Nazi skinhead regalia—jeans, Doc Martens [boots], swastikas, bomber jackets. They said they wanted me to take a ride with them.

IR: Did you go?

DALY: Yes.

IR: Why?

DALY: I was afraid that if I refused, they’d force their way into the house. And if they did that, they’d see the flag of Israel my parents had up, and the Hanukkah candelabra. My two younger brothers were inside, and I didn’t want them to be in danger. So I went for the ride. We got into a blue Suzuki Samurai owned by one of the guys, Ritchie Myers, who would later become the Florida state leader of the American Front.

IR: What happened on the ride?

DALY: They took turns telling me little stories about mysterious things happening to guys who used to be in their gang but proved to be disloyal, like, “So-and-so stopped answering our phone calls, and he was mysteriously run over,” or, “So-and-so stopped coming to parties and he mysteriously caught on fire.” Then Ritchie put his hand out over the seat and said, “Welcome aboard.”

IR: How did you respond?

DALY: I really couldn’t say, “I’m Jewish, so thanks but no thanks,” so I shook their hands and right then I became a member of the Aryan Youth Front. After this little initiation ceremony, they drove me to this old Nazi biker’s house. He had Aryan Nations flags up, and a faded red swastika tattoo on his arm. He made a scary impression, and gave credence to their threats that they were going to be

keeping an eye on me and would find me if I ever bailed. The message the biker delivered was, “We are everywhere.”

IR: How did Aryan Youth Front become a division of the American Front?

DALY: The AYF hooked up with a guy named David Lynch, who was the eastern states commander for the American Front. [Lynch] was based out of Port St. Lucie down in South Florida. He was one of the five initial individuals who started the American Front on the west coast with Robert Heich, or “Nazi Bob,”



American Front Florida leader Ritchie Myers, a pal of Resistance Records chief Eric Gliebe, went to prison for trying to drown John Daly in the surf at Daytona Beach.

who was one of the three skinhead guys on the stage of the “Geraldo” show when Geraldo Rivera got his nose busted [in 1988]. In the summer of 1990, the American Front was really cooking in Florida, and they basically absorbed a lot of small outfits, including our gang in Ocala.

IR: What happened to Black Joe?

DALY: Black Joe started hanging out someplace else. He found new friends.

IR: What sort of criminal activity was your gang into?

DALY: It was mostly typical skinhead small-time stuff: stealing cigarettes, stealing beer, some vandalism, arson. The skins from Orlando were more serious about the violence than we were in Ocala. They’d come to check up on us every couple of weeks, and they’d tell us, “Yeah, we shot a Puerto Rican,” or, “We ran over a black guy.” I heard

about a lot of murders, but I was never there when they were committed. I witnessed a lot of violence, but it was mostly skinhead-on-skinhead violence, where everybody would be drunk and somebody would say the wrong thing. Also, we’d go to local punk shows as a group, and anybody we decided we didn’t like was fair game for a boot party. It was brutal. We used to beat somebody down and then sit around and drink beer and mimic the victim. We’d joke and laugh about how he crawled or whimpered.

IR: Why did you stay in the gang?

DALY: Part of it was fear of what would happen to me if I quit, and part of it was that I was 16 and not thinking clearly. I had gone from being this nerdy, bespectacled geek to being someone who, when I walked into a room, people cut a path. I commanded attention, and that was pretty cool. I liked it. I didn’t want to give it up.

IR: What motivated the other Nazi skins in Ocala to stay in the gang?

DALY: Fear. Ignorance. A sense of power and belonging. When you’re a skinhead, and you’re recruiting, you look for guys who don’t belong to any other social group. Now, when you first bring a guy in, you have to be careful. There’s always one crazy skin in any gang who’s always going

on about, “Kill all the niggers!” You have to keep the new guy away from that mentality at first. You have to ease them into the hate. So you ask him if he wants to hang out with some cool people, and you take him around, and let him see that your group commands respect, and then you start describing the dress, the style, the history, and then you start to give them excuses for their own social failures. What you do is systemically, night after night, over a period of time, you convince him that everything that’s against him in life is not his fault, because of the ZOG [Zionist Occupational Government] conspiracy. And most of all, you give him a place to belong, because chances are he’s not getting that sense of belonging at home. My parents were the only parents who were still together out of

all the skinheads I knew. Everybody else came from a broken home.

IR: Did your parents have any idea you were a Nazi skin?

DALY: Yeah, they knew. My dad hated it but my mom told him if he pushed me too hard, I would go over to them totally. She felt the best thing to do was to show me love at home so the hate could never really take hold.

IR: How many American Front skinheads were there in Ocala?

DALY: There were only about 10 to 15 of us at any given time. But we felt like part of a much larger movement. The American Front leaders would steal long-distance cards and make calls all over the country directing American Front units to do this or that, like turning out to support a Klan rally. So we'd get a call and show up and there would be other American Front units there as well; we felt like part of a nationwide network. The links between the American Front and White Aryan Resistance at this point were very tight. [Tom] Metzger was publishing *WAR* [the name of his group's publication] in California, and we'd pick it up and pass it around for him. White Aryan Resistance was like our older brother, telling thugs how to put themselves together. They told us to get a local phone line that had no address, per se, that was just connected to an automated answering machine that played messages pre-prepared by Metzger. They taught us how to use a P.O. box to stay in touch with other gangs, and to change up the times when we got the mail, to dodge surveillance. And they taught us to never, ever talk to the cops. I caught on fast and the higher-up guys made me Ocala chapter leader and later the North Florida [regional] officer.

IR: Why did they choose you?

DALY: They saw I was someone who could think on my feet. I wasn't super-aggressive as a street fighter but I was very good at neutralizing a situation verbally. When the Orlando guys would come to Ocala, we'd be at the gas station and they'd start talking about pulling a "Gas and Go," and I'd tell them in no uncertain terms that I wasn't going to let skinheads corrupt themselves in my town by pulling any



“I received a threat to the effect of, ‘Nothing’s going to happen to you until we’re all out of jail, and then we’re all coming for you.’”

“nigger crimes.” Then I'd give them gas money, because I was only one who had a job. The higher-ups respected that. On the other hand, they used to call me “Jew Daly” behind my back because I was always on the other skins about getting a job and making money.

IR: How did they find out you were Jewish?

DALY: David Lynch was cheating on his wife in Port St. Lucie with a skinhead girl from Ocala named Heather Arnold, who was the ex-wife of a buddy of mine who knew I was Jewish. He told her. For a while Heather kept the secret. But then Lynch dumped her, and when she left Port St. Lucie to come back to Ocala she stole a bunch of his stuff, like a typewriter and his Rolodex and a few Nazi knick-knacks.

Now, Heather had “American Front” tattooed on the back of her neck. And I got a call from Lynch, and he said, basically, “She’s from your area, so you take care of this for us. We want our stuff back, and we want our tattoo back. Take it off her neck, and

we don't care what you do with the rest of her.” That was a turning point for me. I knew if I [did it], I'd never get out. So instead, I went to Heather and told her if she gave the stuff back, I'd try to help her out, and that otherwise she was going to meet Jesus. It was a threat, and a warning. Heather's reaction was to re-establish her loyalty and status with American Front by selling me out. She went to Orlando and informed on me to the unit there. A little time later, I was ordered to attend an officer's meeting in Daytona Beach, which turned out to be a trap.

IR: What happened?

DALY: Well, I'd worked all day, and I was scheduled to work a double shift the following day, so I was tired, but I couldn't refuse the order, so I drove a whole carload of skinheads to Daytona Beach, about 80 miles from where my parents lived. The meeting was held at a house on the beach that was rented by a guy named Fran Mercuri, who was the Florida state chairman for White Aryan Resistance. There were seven other

guys at the meeting, and two girls. It was about one or two o'clock in the morning when I arrived. As soon as I got to the house I saw danger signs. First of all, they were trying to get me drunk. Even though skinheads typically don't need to be coerced to drink, that night everyone kept pushing beers into my hand, which they'd never done before. Another warning sign was that a guy named Robert Huttner, who later went to prison for my attempted murder, sort of took me aside and said, “You know, sometimes if you get into a fight it's just better to take the fall than it is to try to fight back.” Also, as the night wore on, whenever I'd come into a room the conversation would stop. And then Ritchie [Myers] started pointing guns at me, because Mercuri had a number of firearms in the house. Mercuri would try to calm him down, but by this point Ritchie was loaded and scaring everyone that he would just start blasting. I had a strong sense that something bad was going to happen. At some point they all said “Let's go down to the beach,” and I was thinking, “Cool, when we get down to the beach maybe I can ditch them.”

But once we got down there, it began. One guy, Terry Lewis, punched me in the back of the head, and as soon as I turned to fight him somebody else shouted out “Now!” and the other six guys jumped in and from there it was just a boot party. I was beat down, knocked out, and dragged into the ocean. One guy tried to hold me under. He started walking away when he thought I'd drowned. Somebody else turned around and saw that I'd pulled myself into a sitting position, and they came back, and basically kicked me in the side of my head, which stood me up. Then they knocked me down again, and one of them was saying, “Die, Jew boy, die.” One guy sat on my back while another pushed my head into the water by grabbing the back of my neck, and the last thing I remember clearly is inhaling salt water.

According to their later testimony, they hung out on the beach long enough to make sure I was dead by watching me float, and when they left me in the water one of them said, “Now we're in the web,” meaning they could all get

the spider-web tattoos indicating they'd killed somebody for the movement.

And that was the end of my involvement with the American Front. I was officially dismissed from service at the age of 17.

IR: Then what happened?

DALY: After breathing in salt water, the next thing I remember is sitting up on the beach, and a beach ranger drove by and thought I was drunk and kicked me off the beach. I got in my car and somehow drove myself back to a hospital in Ocala.

IR: How did you respond to questions from the police?

DALY: At first I was standoffish because I knew cops in Ocala who were white power and used to hang out with us. But then the skinheads started calling my hospital room to threaten me, and the police put a 24-hour guard on my room, and I decided the smart move was to help take these guys down. So I told the cops everything. They started investigating and tracking down my attackers and isolating them for questioning. And of course all these tough skinheads who were supposedly all about “White Power! White Unity!” when they were together couldn't turn



Back in the day: David Lynch was one of five founders of the American Front, the neo-Nazi skinhead syndicate that swallowed up John Daly's “traditional” skinhead crew. Daly says Lynch ordered him to remove a tattoo from an ex-girlfriend's neck.

on each other fast enough when they were separated. According to the code, you're never supposed to make a deal with ZOG, but several of my attackers took plea deals. But they acted hard-core in public. Ritchie Myers, when he was asked to raise his right hand in court, he gave the Hitler salute, and the district attorney cracked up. He said, “That guy cries in his cell trying to make a deal, but in court he acts like super Nazi.”

IR: Why did you move to Israel?

DALY: Well, it took three or four years to finish all the court cases, and the whole time I was receiving death threats. I was heavily arming myself, and basically living in fear. The final motivator to leave came when I received a notice from the Department of Corrections in Florida that some of guys were getting ready to be released, and I received a threat to the effect of, “Nothing's going to happen to you until we're all out of jail, and then we're all coming for you.” So I decided it was time to go. Now, in Israel, I feel much safer. I mean, there are suicide bombings, and rocket attacks on my city, but to me it's groovy, because in Israel the people who are trying to kill me are trying to kill me because I'm an Israeli, not because I'm John Daly. I'd rather be one of 100,000 targets than singled out. And I feel at home here.

IR: What do you regret most about your time with American Front?

DALY: To regret something means that you are still stuck in the moment of the mistake, not in trying to heal and move on. I've accepted the mistakes I made, grown from them, and now I do stuff like this, talking with you, in hopes that others can learn. I only think of the positives from that experience, and very rarely the negatives.

IR: What were the positives?

DALY: One of the big positives was helping bring down the American Front. Another positive is simply that I survived, physically, mentally, and spiritually. Surviving that attack on the beach absolutely changed my life. I started keeping kosher that same week, so every time I eat until the day I die I will not forget it's a miracle I'm alive, and I say “Thank you” to the Big Boss. ▲



A Few Bad Men

Ten years after a scandal over neo-Nazis in the armed forces, extremists are once again worming their way into a recruit-starved military **BY DAVID HOLTHOUSE**

Before the U.S. military made Matt Buschbacher a Navy SEAL, he made himself a soldier of the Fourth Reich. ¶ Before Forrest Fogarty attended Military Police counter-insurgency training school, he attended Nazi skinhead festivals as lead singer for the hate rock band Attack. ¶ And before Army engineer Jon Fain joined the invasion of Iraq to fight the War on Terror, the neo-Nazi National Alliance member fantasized about fighting a war on Jews. ¶ “Ever since my youth — when I watched WWII footage and saw how well-disciplined and sharply dressed the German forces were — I have wanted to be a soldier,” Fain said in a Winter 2004 interview with the National Alliance magazine *Resistance*. “Joining the American military was as close as I could get.” ¶ Ten years after Pentagon leaders toughened policies on extremist activities by active duty personnel — a move that came in the wake of the Oklahoma City bombing by decorated Gulf War combat veteran Timothy McVeigh and the murder of a black couple by members of a skinhead gang in the elite 82nd Airborne Division — large numbers of neo-Nazis and skinhead extremists continue to infiltrate the ranks of the world’s best-trained, best-equipped fighting force. Military recruiters and base commanders, under intense pressure from the war in Iraq to fill the ranks, often look the other way. ¶ Neo-Nazis “stretch across all branches of service, they are linking up across the branches once they’re inside, and they are hard-core,” Department of Defense gang detective Scott Barfield told the *Intelligence Report*. “We’ve got Aryan

ILLUSTRATION BY PABLO DEFENDINI

Nations graffiti in Baghdad,” he added. “That’s a problem.”

The armed forces are supposed to be a model of racial equality. American soldiers are supposed to be defenders of democracy. Neo-Nazis represent the opposite of these ideals. They dream of race war and revolution, and their motivations for enlisting are often quite different than serving their country.

“Join only for the training, and to better defend yourself, our people, and our culture,” Fain said. “We must have people to open doors from the inside when the time comes.”

Soldier Shortage

In 1996, following a decade-long rash of cases where extremists in the military were caught diverting huge arsenals of stolen firearms and explosives to neo-Nazi and white supremacist organizations, conducting guerilla training for paramilitary racist militias, and murdering non-white civilians (see timeline, below), the Pentagon finally launched a massive investigation and crackdown. One general ordered all 19,000 soldiers at Fort Lewis, Wash., strip-searched for extremist tattoos.

But that was peacetime. Now, with the country at war in Iraq and Afghanistan, and the military under increasingly intense pressure to maintain enlistment numbers, weeding out extremists is less of a priority. “Recruiters are knowingly allowing neo-Nazis and white supremacists to join the armed forces, and commanders don’t remove them from the military even after we positively identify them as extremists or gang members,” said Department of Defense investigator Barfield.

“Last year, for the first time, they didn’t make their recruiting goals. They don’t want to start making a big deal again about neo-Nazis in the military, because then parents who are already worried about their kids signing up and dying in Iraq are going to be even more reluctant about their kids enlisting if they feel they’ll be exposed to gangs and white supremacists.”

Barfield, who is based at Fort Lewis, said he has identified and submitted evidence on 320 extremists there in the past year. “Only two have been discharged,” he said. Barfield and

other Department of Defense investigators said they recently uncovered an online network of 57 neo-Nazis who are active duty Army and Marines personnel spread across five military installations in five states — Fort Lewis; Fort Bragg, N.C.; Fort Hood, Texas; Fort Stewart, Ga.; and Camp Pendleton, Calif. “They’re communicating with each other about weapons, about recruiting, about keeping their identities secret, about organizing within the military,” Barfield said. “Several of these individuals have since been deployed to combat missions in Iraq.”

Every year, the Army’s Criminal Investigation Division conducts a threat assessment of extremist and gang activity among army personnel. “Every year, they come back with ‘minimal activity,’ which is inaccurate,” said Barfield. “It’s not epidemic, but there’s plenty of evidence we’re talking numbers well into the thousands, just in the Army.”

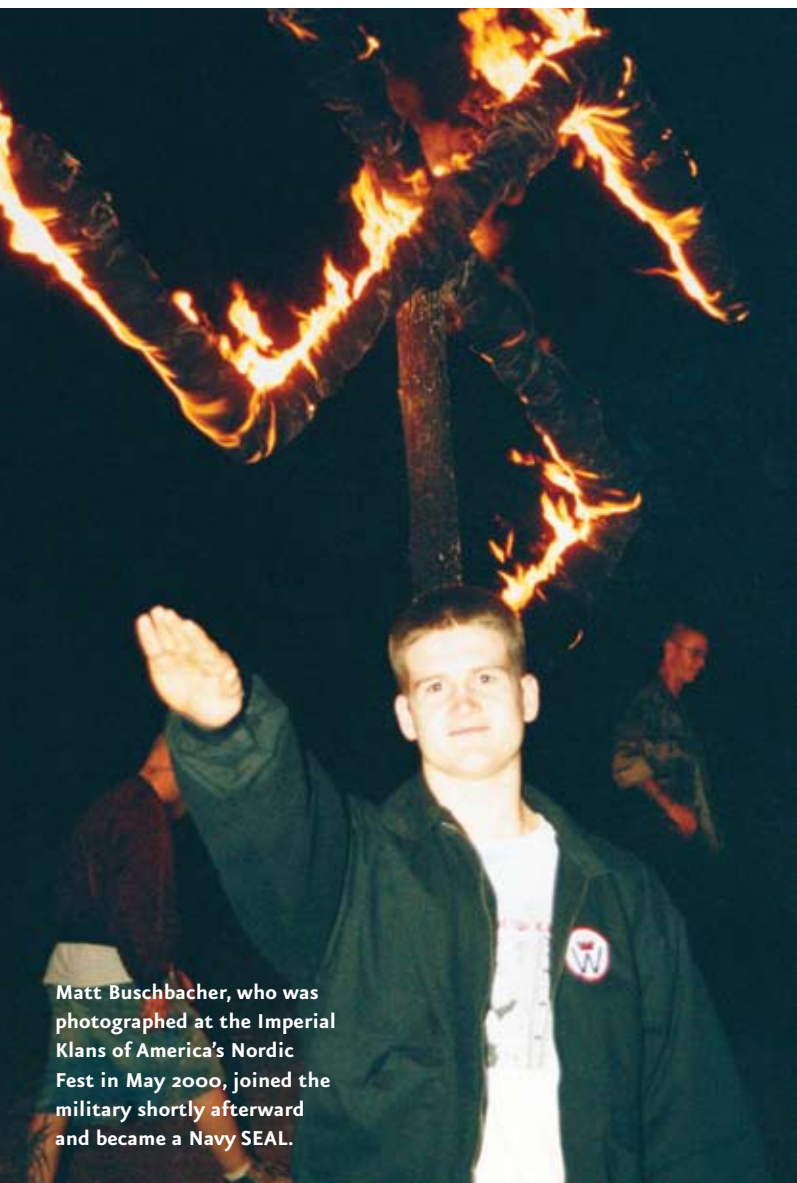
Last July, the white supremacist website Stormfront hosted a discussion on “Joining the Military.”

“There are others among you in the forces,” wrote one neo-Nazi in the Army. “You are never alone.”

Nazi SEAL

Not all military commanders fail to give known extremists the boot. “The response differs from command group to command group,” Barfield said. “Most put up a front and say, ‘Oh, this guy’s in big trouble,’ but actually do nothing unless he commits a felony. But some kick their ass out right away.”

Barfield noted that commanders are far more likely to take immediate action if the soldier is stateside in a non-combat role, rather than fighting overseas. In one recent instance, Robert Salyer, a lieutenant in the Navy and military lawyer with the Judge Advocate General Corps, was dishonorably discharged and barred from military law practice when it came to light that he was a member of the white supremacist neo-Confederate group League of the South. And in late June, Airman First Class Andrew Dornan, who was assigned to the firing party in the U.S. Air Force Honor



Guard, was sentenced to nine months confinement and dishonorably discharged after he posted messages glorifying Adolf Hitler on his personal webpage and threatened to detonate a bomb on a military base.

But the military took no such action against former Navy SEAL Matt Buschbacher, who continued to fight in Iraq after the Southern Poverty Law Center had alerted officials to his active support of neo-Nazi groups.

“We’ve got Aryan Nations graffiti in Baghdad. That’s a problem.”

Buschbacher told the *Intelligence Report* he joined the neo-Nazi movement “for the same reason everyone joins: I was angry and looking for some answers. I wanted to belong to something that made me feel good about myself.”

In 1998, when Buschbacher was still a teenager living in Terrace Park, Ohio, a wealthy, almost exclusively white suburb of Cincinnati, he was ordained as a reverend in the World Church of the Creator, a violent neo-Nazi organization. He rose fast. In 1999, he was the head of the hate group’s Cincinnati chapter when Chicago member Benjamin Smith went on a three-day, two-state shooting spree that targeted Jews, Asians and blacks. Smith killed two people and wounded nine before committing suicide as police closed in.

Afterward, Buschbacher praised Smith as “a dedicated activist for our racial cause” in *The Cincinnati Inquirer*. “We have pride in our race, heritage, and culture, and we will do anything to

EXTREMISM AND THE MILITARY: A TIMELINE

1953

Pedro del Valle, a highly decorated Marine Corps lieutenant general, forms the Defenders of the American Constitution, an anti-Semitic organization of retired, high-ranking U.S. military officers obsessed with exposing and combating a global Jewish conspiracy to establish a “One World Order.”

1959

The American Nazi Party, the first post-war neo-Nazi group, is formed in Arlington, Va., by retired U.S. Naval Commander George Lincoln Rockwell. Rockwell, who will be assassinated by a follower in 1967, is an early popularizer of Holocaust denial and Christian Identity, a violently anti-Semitic theology.

1960

Former Navy rear admiral and World War II hero John Crommelin runs a fiercely anti-Semitic, white supremacist campaign for mayor in Montgomery, Ala., saying, “The key to segregation of the races and the ultimate survival of the Christian White Race is a thorough understanding ... of the Communist-Jewish conspiracy.”

1961

President Kennedy reprimands U.S. Army General Edwin A. Walker (below), commander of the 24th Infantry Division in Europe, for indoctrinating his troops with extreme-right literature. Walker resigns in protest and later serves five days in jail for illegally organizing anti-civil rights demonstrations. Walker becomes the model for the right-wing military demagogue in Fletcher Knebel’s 1962 book *Seven Days in May*, a fictional story of U.S. military leaders plotting to overthrow the president.

1967

Retired high-ranking military officers John Crommelin and Pedro del Valle found the white nationalist organization Sons of Liberty.

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prevent it from being destroyed,” he said. “White man is the creator, the creator of civilizations.”

In May 2000, Buschbacher attended Nordic Fest, an annual skinhead festival sponsored by the Imperial Klans of America in Kentucky (see related story, p. 3), where he posed in front of a flaming swastika, seig heiling. He joined the Navy shortly afterward. Again, Buschbacher advanced quickly. In October 2001, he completed 26 weeks of SEAL training at the Naval Special Warfare Center in Coronado, Calif.

In August 2002, while an active duty SEAL but not yet stationed in Baghdad, Buschbacher attended the National Alliance’s invitation-only “leadership conference” at the neo-Nazi group’s West Virginia compound. The conference was held just weeks after the death of National Alliance founder William Pierce, author of *The Turner Diaries*, the fantasy novel about revolution and race war that inspired Oklahoma City bomber Timothy McVeigh. Pierce also wrote the seminal pamphlet, “What is the National Alliance?” It was in that tract that Pierce explained that a National Alliance member in the military “[u]ses his daily interactions with career personnel to select exceptional individuals who are receptive, and he then gives them the opportunity to serve their race while carrying out their military functions.”

‘Heroes Among Us’

Today, Matt Buschbacher denies recruiting Navy personnel into the Alliance. What’s clear is that for years after becoming a SEAL, he violated military regulations without repercussions by staying active in the neo-Nazi movement.

Using the online pseudonym “Mattiasb88” [88 is neo-Nazi code for “Heil Hitler”] to hide his identity, Buschbacher designed and distributed National Alliance fliers, white power screen savers, and a photo montage of Pierce on the Internet via his website, racialpride.com, which displayed a logo of a burning swastika and this mission statement: “The purpose of this website is to provide white patriots with a large database of information for recruiting and self-

improvement.” Buschbacher also posted messages to the white supremacist website Stormfront and the website of Resistance Records, a hate rock music company owned by the National Alliance. In the fall of 2003, the National Alliance magazine *Resistance* even published a collage of “Scene Shots” that included a small photo of Buschbacher wearing a *Turner Diaries* T-shirt and giving a Nazi salute.

Buschbacher hasn’t been the only neo-Nazi to fight in Iraq. Forrest Mackley Fogarty, a member of the Tampa, Fla., unit of the National Alliance, was deployed for 18 months during Operation Iraqi Freedom with his Army National Guard unit. “There are some dirty Arabs enjoying their 70 virgins because of my actions and that of my fire team,” Fogarty boasted in the Winter 2005 issue of *Resistance*. (Fogarty was identified in the article only as “Forrest of Attack.”)

Jon Fain, a neo-Nazi who currently lives on the National Alliance compound, was part of the original Iraq invasion force in 2003, as a U.S. Army engineer. Shawn Stuart, the Montana state leader of the National Socialist Movement, another neo-Nazi group, served two combat tours in Iraq as a U.S. Marine before he was discharged in 2005. Stuart, who is running for the state House of Representatives in Montana, told the *Missoula News* that he joined the NSM in 2004, while he was still a Marine, because he “came to believe the United States is fighting the war on Israel’s behalf.”

None of these men, it appears, were ever disciplined for neo-Nazi activities. All were honorably discharged.

James Douglas Ross Jr. was not so fortunate. Ross, a military intelligence officer stationed at Fort Bragg, was caught shipping disassembled AK-47s to the United States from Iraq in 2004, officials said. When investigators searched his off base housing, they found a weapons arsenal, thousands of rounds of ammunition, and hate group materials. Ross was forced to return from Iraq and given a bad conduct discharge. “But they let him keep the weapons [he kept in his house],” said Department of Defense investigator Barfield, adding that Ross has since relocated to Washington, where he’s a leader



During the heyday of the White Patriot Party in the mid-1980s, leader Glenn Miller, a former Special Forces operative, led hundreds of his men in paramilitary formations through the streets of several Southern cities.

1968

Crommelin and del Valle sponsor the Washington, D.C.-based Youth for Wallace to back the presidential campaign of Alabama’s segregationist Gov. George Wallace. After Wallace loses, Youth for Wallace becomes the National Youth Alliance, which will eventually morph into the infamous neo-Nazi organization National Alliance.

1976

A local “klavern” of David Duke’s Knights of the Ku Klux Klan is publicly exposed at Camp Pendleton, Calif., after a group of black Marines attack white Marines they mistakenly believe are members. The ensuing investigation leads to the brief jailing and transfer of 16 Marines who are Klansmen, but none are court-martialed because associating with hate groups will not be prohibited until 1986.

1979



Members of a Knights of the Ku Klux Klan chapter made up of soldiers at the U.S. Army base in Fort Hood, Texas, act as security guards at a Klan rally featuring Knights’ boss David Duke and Texas leader Louis Beam. A violently inclined former Vietnam War helicopter gunner, Beam is one of the first hate group ideologues to heavily promote recruiting on military bases.

A KKK cell of 20 Navy shipmen is uncovered on a supply ship based in Norfolk, Va., and a cross burning is reported on the deck of an aircraft carrier.

Active duty military personnel illegally provide guerilla training and weapons stolen from the military to the White Patriot Party, a paramilitary Klan offshoot set up in 1980 by Frazier Glenn Miller, a Green Beret, and Stephen Samuel Miller. One Marine admits selling the group 13 anti-tank rockets, 10 Claymore mines and almost 200 pounds of C-4 explosives. A government investigation finds 32,000 rounds of ammunition, 1,500 grenades and 3,600 pounds of explosives missing.



1986

The Department of Defense, responding to the White Patriot Party scandal, orders military personnel to “reject active participation in white supremacy, neo-Nazi and other such groups.” Many military commanders interpret the September directive to still allow “passive support” and “mere membership” in extremist groups.

1990

Five military policemen at Carswell Air Force Base in Texas are discharged for participating in Klan activity. One of them, Sgt. Timothy Hall, is identified as the KKK’s chief recruiter in Texas and is also fired from his part-time job as Tarrant County deputy sheriff, along with two fellow deputies he’d recruited.

More than 300 rifles, 200 handguns, a mortar, a rocket launcher and neo-Nazi literature are found in the Cambridge, Mass., home of Air National Guard Technical Sergeant Henry A. Stram. Police value Stram’s arsenal, with more firepower than the city’s entire police force, at \$150,000 and \$200,000.



Military intelligence officer James Douglas Ross Jr. was thrown out of the armed forces after being caught shipping AK-47s to the United States from Iraq in 2004. Today, military officials say, he's a leader of the neo-Nazi Eastern Washington Skins.

of the Eastern Washington Skins, a neo-Nazi gang. “He kept his military connections, and he’s still trying to recruit soldiers, so we’re still dealing with him.”

For his part, despite his sometimes brazen activities, Matt Buschbacher tried hard to avoid exposure as a neo-Nazi in the military. But his identity became clear after he posted a photo of himself in a “Mattiasb88” Yahoo profile in 2004, and then advertised his neo-Nazi E-mail address in a July 2004 posting to a currency trading forum. “I am in the military and currently in Iraq,” he wrote there. “If anyone would like to purchase some Iraqi dinars I have access to as much as you would like.” That September, Buschbacher was profiled in his hometown Terrace Park community newspaper, *Village Views*. The article, “Heroes Among Us,” reported he was fighting terrorism with

“Young civilian extremists are encouraged by adult leaders to enlist in the military to gain access to weapons, training, and other military personnel.”

a SEAL unit based in downtown Baghdad.

Two years later, Matt Buschbacher is back from Iraq — also with an honorable discharge, despite the fact that the Southern Poverty Law Center informed the military of his background while he was still on active duty. He lives in Denver, Colo., and teaches classes on how to pick up women. “I have no connection with any neo-Nazi anything any more,” Buschbacher told the *Intelligence Report*. Photographed holding a red rose, he was recently splashed across the cover of a weekly newsmagazine in Denver promoting his new book, *Date the Women of Your Dreams*. The cover story made no mention of his neo-Nazi past.

Training for Race War

According to a 1998 study commissioned by the Department of Defense, “Young civilian extremists are encouraged by adult leaders to enlist in the military to gain access to weapons, training, and other military personnel.”

The reasons are obvious: Soldiers are trained to be proficient with weapons, combat tactics, and explosives, to train others in their use, and to operate in a highly disciplined culture that is focused on the organized violence of war. This is why military extremists present an elevated threat to public safety, and why extremists groups both recruit active

duty personnel — especially those with access to classified information or sophisticated weaponry — and influence their members to join the armed forces.

“The threats posed by extremism to the military are simultaneously blatant and subtle,” the Defense Department study said. “On the one hand, high-profile terrorist acts and hate crimes committed by active and former military personnel can have seriously detrimental effects on the civil-military relationship as well as on the morale and security of military personnel. On the

IN THEIR WORDS

‘Planning a Skinhead Infantry’

In the fall of 1999, the neo-Nazi National Alliance published in its *Resistance* magazine an article by one “Joachim Peiper,” who was described as “a professional soldier, racist and White separatist.” In fact, Peiper was Steven Barry, a former Special Forces member who had just been named as the Alliance’s “military unit coordinator.” Barry, who had started his own extremist Special Forces Underground group while at Fort Bragg, N.C., used the article, headlined “Planning a Skinhead Infantry,” to offer advice to white supremacists wanting to enlist in the armed forces to enhance their skills. Here are several excerpts:

Light infantry is your branch of choice because the coming race war, and the ethnic cleansing to follow, will be very much an infantryman’s war. It will be house-to-house, neighborhood-by-neighborhood, until your town or city is cleared and the alien races are driven into the countryside where they can be hunted down and “cleansed.” Operations will consist primarily of patrolling, ambush, raids, cordon and search, search and destroy, assault on fortified positions, and point and area defense of White enclaves — all light infantry missions.

When you go to the Army recruiter and tell him you want to be an infantryman — and let me emphasize this, tell him you want infantry and accept nothing else — your unit of choice priorities are, in order, as follows: 75th Ranger, 82nd Airborne, 101st Air Assault, 10th Mountain, 25th Infantry.

Recruiters these days are against the wall. Last year every branch of service failed to meet their recruiting quotas. ... If a half-dozen strapping young White men strolled into an Army recruiter’s office and said, “We want to be infantry-

men,” the recruiter [would] swoon and faint away out of nothing but pure joy at his deliverance from his pressing monthly quota.

Don’t even think your Africanesque ritual scarring [tattoos] will be overlooked or ignored. ... Confess your sinful tattoos to the recruiter. Tell him or (gagging) her, that you were young and stupid and got mixed-up with a bad crowd, followed the mindless herd, but now you deeply regret it, wished you had gone to church instead of skinhead concerts, and please, oh, please, I don’t think that way anymore, I love Negroes as my brothers and won’t you please, oh, please help me prove I’ve become “tolerant” and a lover of “diversity” by letting me join the Army that is “America’s model for race relations?”

At some point in the [recruitment] process you will be asked if you belong to any “extremist” organizations or espouse any “supremacist” causes. Lie. The only acceptable answer to any question like that is “no.” ... During Basic Training you will be ordered to strip to be inspected for “Bad Tattoos.” However, having made it this far it is unlikely you’ll simply be kicked out.

Do not — I repeat, do not — seek out other skinheads. Do not listen to skinhead “music.” Do not keep “racist” or “White supremacist tracts” where you live.

During your service you will be subjected to a constant barrage of equal opportunity drivel Keep your mouth shut. Endure it. If you are ever questioned about “race relations” parrot the following lines: “There are no races in the Army, we are all green.” ... “I rely upon the man next to me to do his job, his race doesn’t matter.” ... You get the idea.

If you are a leader in the skinhead “movement” advise your newly recruited members to not get tattoos and tell them their first duty as a skinhead is to join the Army and become a trained infantryman.

As a professional soldier, my goal is to fill the ranks of the United States Army infantry with skinheads. As street brawlers you will be useless in the coming race war. As trained infantrymen you will join the ranks of the Aryan warrior brotherhood.

1991

Army Sgt. Michael Tubbs, a Green Beret demolitions expert who fought in the first Gulf War, is arrested along with another officer on charges that they stole a vast arsenal of military weapons and explosives for Tubbs’ Knights of the New Order.



Authorities say Tubbs had a list of black and Jewish targets. He later pleads to theft and conspiracy charges and serves four years in prison. In 2004, Tubbs will become active in the Sons of Confederate Veterans and the League of the South.

1992

While stationed at Ft. Bragg, N.C., Green Beret Sgt. Steven Barry forms Special Forces Underground, a white supremacist organization for active duty and veteran Special Forces soldiers, and publishes a magazine, *The Resister*. Barry is later reprimanded but leaves the military without further sanctions. He will briefly join the neo-Nazi National Alliance as its “military coordinator” in the late 1990s.



1994

Five soldiers at Ft. Benning, Ga., are charged with stealing machine guns, hand grenades, military explosives and booby trap components to give to the Aryan National Front, a white supremacist group based in Alabama, and the Confederate Hammerskins, the Georgia-based chapter of a national neo-Nazi skinhead syndicate.



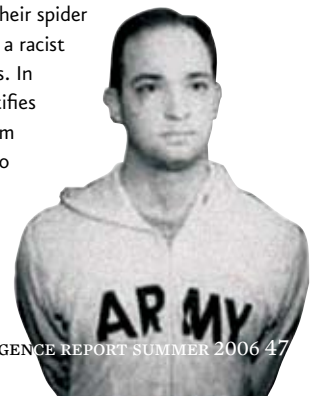
AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

On April 19, Army veteran Timothy McVeigh (left), an antigovernment extremist who won a Bronze Star as a Bradley Fighting Vehicle gunner in Operation Desert Storm, ignites a bomb in Oklahoma City that leaves 168 people dead. Also convicted in the attack will be fellow veteran Terry Nichols, who McVeigh met at Fort Benning, Ga. While in the Army, McVeigh encouraged fellow soldiers to read *The Turner Diaries*, a neo-Nazi novel that serves as a blueprint for the Oklahoma bombing.

1995



badge of honor for killing non-whites. In the end, Randy Meadows (right) testifies against James Burmeister and Malcolm Wright (above), who are sentenced to life in prison. Another 19 Fort Bragg paratroopers are discharged for participating in neo-Nazi activities.



other hand, even the non-violent activities of military personnel with extremist tendencies (e.g., possessing literature and/or artifacts from the extremist ‘movement’; dabbling in extremism through computerized telecommunications activities; proselytizing extremist ideologies, etc.) can have deleterious consequences for the good order, discipline, readiness, and cohesion of military units.”

Special Forces soldiers who double as extremist operatives present a special danger, since they have commando skills gained at huge taxpayer expense — often including urban warfare, long-range reconnaissance, and combat demolitions.

“Hate groups send their guys into the U.S. military be-

“Any white supremacist in Iraq who’s a Green Beret or a Navy SEAL or Marine Recon, he’s doing covert stuff that’s far above and beyond convoy protection and roadblocks. If he comes back and decides that it’s race war time, all that training and combat experience he’s received could easily turn around and bite this country in the ass.”

cause the U.S. military has the best weapons and training,” said T.J. Leyden, a former racist skinhead and Marine who recruited inside the Marine Corps for the Hammerskins, a nationwide skinhead gang. He later renounced the neo-Nazi movement and now conducts anti-extremism training seminars on military bases.

“Right now, any white supremacist in Iraq is getting live fire, guerilla warfare experience,” Leyden said. “But any white supremacist in Iraq who’s a Green Beret or a Navy SEAL or Marine Recon, he’s doing covert stuff that’s far above and beyond convoy protection and roadblocks. And if he comes back and decides at some point down the road that it’s race war time, all that training and combat experience he’s received could easily turn around and bite this country in the ass.”

Department of Defense investigator Barfield confirmed that threat assessment. “Today’s white supremacists in the

military become tomorrow’s domestic terrorists once they’re out,” he said. “There needs to be a tighter focus on intercepting the next Timothy McVeigh before he becomes the next Timothy McVeigh.”

‘White Soldier’s Burden’

In April 1995, the same month Timothy McVeigh detonated a 7,000-pound truck bomb outside a federal building in Oklahoma City, killing 168 people, the National Alliance erected a billboard on the main road leading into Fort Bragg, an Army base in Fayetteville, N.C. The billboard’s message read, “Enough! Let’s Start Taking Back America,” and listed the neo-Nazi group’s toll-free number.

The billboard was the work of Robert Hunt, a National Alliance recruiter and active duty member of the Army’s elite 82nd Airborne Division, which is based at Fort Bragg. By late 1995, a large neo-Nazi skinhead gang had formed within the 82nd Airborne. Members saluted a Nazi flag in their barracks, distributed National Alliance literature on base, and held drunken barracks parties where they blasted “Third Reich,” a rockabilly white power anthem by the band Rahowa (short for “Racial Holy War”) with lyrics about killing blacks and Jews.

In December 1995, two members of the 82nd Airborne skinhead gang gunned down a black couple in a random, racially motivated double murder that shocked the nation and sparked a major investigation of extremism in the military as well as congressional hearings. The killers were eventually sentenced to life in prison, and 19 other members of the 82nd Airborne were dishonorably discharged for neo-Nazi gang activities.

“The fallout from the skinhead killings was immediate,” racist skinhead Steve Smith recalled in his 2005 essay, “The White Soldier’s Burden.” Smith was in the Army from 1991 to 1996 and was stationed at Fort Bragg at the time of the murders. “White soldiers at Fort Bragg were inspected to see

if they had any ‘racist’ tattoos. The Army also held mandatory classes on ‘extremist’ organizations.”

Before the Fort Bragg slayings, military regulations on extremist activity by active duty soldiers were ambiguous. There were no specific regulations on extremism at all until 1986, when it came to light that active duty soldiers were providing guerilla training and stolen military weapons to a paramilitary Ku Klux Klan faction led by a former Green Beret. The Southern Poverty Law Center then urged Secretary of Defense Casper Weinberger to “prohibit active-duty members of the armed services from holding membership in groups like the Klan or from taking part in their activities.” Weinberger responded by issuing this directive: “Military personnel must reject participation in white supremacy, neo-Nazi and other such groups which espouse or attempt to create overt discrimination. Active participation, including public demonstrations, recruiting and training members, and organizing or leading such organizations is utterly incompatible with military service.”

Though sternly worded, many commanders interpreted that order to mean that while active participation in extremist groups was prohibited, so-called “passive support,” such as distributing propaganda, listening to hate rock, displaying flags or symbols, and “mere membership,” were still allowed. After the Fort Bragg slayings, however, the Department of Defense toughened military policy somewhat to read, “Engaging in activities in relation to [extremist] organizations, or in furtherance of the objectives of such organizations that are viewed by command to be detrimental to the good order of the unit is incompatible with Military Service, and is, therefore, prohibited.”

Then-Defense Secretary William Perry used even stronger language to describe the intent of the updated regulation. “Department of Defense policy leaves no room for racist and extremist activities in the military,” Perry stated. “We must—and we shall—make every effort to erase bigotry, racism, and extremism from the military. Extremist activity compromises fairness, good order, and discipline. The armed forces, which

defend the nation and its values, must exemplify those values beyond question.”

Lowering Standards

Neo-Nazis have no respect for the values of a free democracy or the shining example of equal opportunity its military is meant to be. When Jon Fain, the Army engineer, was interviewed in 2004 for a *Resistance* article titled, “On the Front Lines for the Jews,” he advised neo-Nazis considering a military career to “[n]ever allow yourself to be brainwashed into the ‘everybody’s green’ lie.” In the Stormfront discussion on joining the military, neo-Nazi “Ulfur Engil” wrote that he was stationed with the Army in Europe and offered this guidance: “Nothing will change what you are. If you join, you are still the same enlightened white man (or woman) you always have been.”

Hundreds of neo-Nazis online identify themselves as active duty soldiers. “When you are in, after you finish basic training, your discretion is very important,” Ulfur Engil wrote in a recent Internet posting. “If you are someone who wears boots and braces keep a second pair that’s neutral looking (black). Remove any obvious pins from your jacket (runes by themselves are okay, though. They don’t take issue with them, providing there is no obvious [racist] arrangement. The USO in Keflavik, Iceland, actually sold runes!) Do NOT use any Internet connection offered by the base or do ANYTHING on a military server. NOTHING. Get an Internet connection that is private and off-base, invest in EvidenceEliminator, and set up an email account with Hushmail and/or Ziplip.”

Extremists in the military are tricky to unmask. “They’re a lot smarter about it than street gang members,” said Barfield. “They don’t brag and boast like gang bangers.” The best way to reduce the number of extremists in the armed forces is to prevent them from entering the military in the first place. “But now we’re lowering our recruiting standards. We’re accepting lesser quality soldiers,” Barfield said. In a move to boost enlistment, the military is allowing more and more

1996

Prompted by outrage over the Oklahoma City bombing and the Fort Bragg murders, Congress holds hearings and the Army forms a task force on extremism.

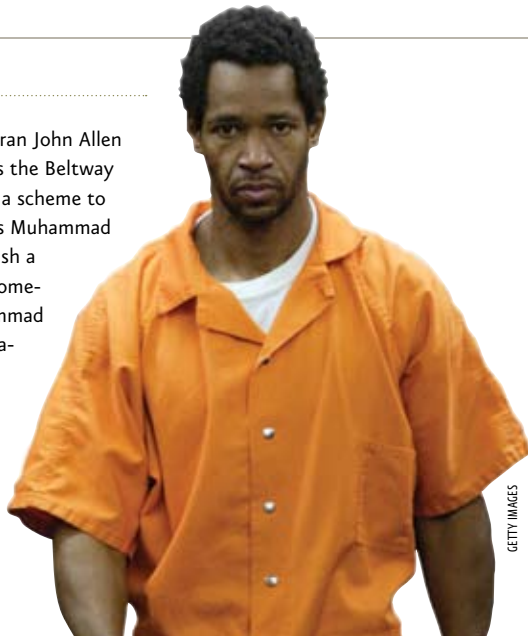
As a result, the Department of Defense amends its regulations to strengthen the prohibition on extremist activity. Defense Secretary William Perry says the rules are meant to leave “no room for racist and extremist activities within the military.”

In July, antigovernment extremist Eric Rudolph, who was trained at the Air Assault School while in the 101st Airborne Division at Fort Campbell, Ky., sets off a bomb at the Atlanta Summer Olympics, killing one person and wounding 111. Rudolph will go on to bomb a lesbian nightclub and two abortion clinics, killing a police officer, before leading authorities on a five-year manhunt that only ends in 2003.



2002

U.S. Army Gulf War veteran John Allen Muhammad masterminds the Beltway sniper attacks as part of a scheme to extort \$10 million dollars Muhammad planned to use to establish a black separatist nation somewhere in Canada. Muhammad had joined the black separatist Nation of Islam in 1999 and later was connected with Jamaat Al-Fuqra, a Pakistan- and U.S.-based Muslim extremist group.



2003

FBI agents arrest Maj. Rafael Davila, a retired Washington Army National Guard intelligence officer, and his ex-wife, Deborah Cummings, on espionage charges. Prosecutors allege that in 1999, Davila and Cummings conspired to illegally transfer documents classified as “top secret” to the Aryan Nations, a neo-Nazi group based in Idaho, that outlined plans for U.S. troop deployments during a domestic crisis.

2006

Evidence compiled by the Southern Poverty Law Center and presented to Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld shows that large numbers of neo-Nazis and other extremists are still finding their way into the armed forces, in large part because of intense pressure to keep force levels high during the Iraq war.

recruits with criminal records to sign up. A recent *Chicago Sun-Times* article revealed the percentage of recruits granted “moral waivers” for past misdemeanors had more than doubled since 2001. The military also revised its rules on inductee tattoos earlier this year to allow all tattoos except those on the front of the face. Both changes in the rules made it easier for extremists to join. And while military regulations



“My mind and spirit shall ensure life for my people, and death for yours. Just remember when you speak to me that I don’t play by Zionist Occupation Government rules and I will not hesitate to sever your subclavian artery.”

in Roman numerals means, and now, they may not even care, because they’re under this extreme pressure to fill the void, and who are they filling the void with? Therein lies the danger.”

‘Switchblades and Smeared Blood’

The large tattoo on the right arm of Air Force airman Robert Lee West depicts a menacing wizard with a scythe. His recruiter probably saw no problem there, but the photo of himself West has up on his EveryonesSpace web page should wave a red flag. In it, West, with his head shaved, is standing in front of a swastika and Iron Eagle banner, holding twin AR-15 assault rifles. West, 23, who’s stationed at Warner Robins Air Force Base in Georgia, lists his general interests as “switchblades and smeared blood.”

In his “About Me” section, he writes: “I train most days for marksmanship, combat, demolition, politics, economics, religion, military tactics, oratory, and propaganda. I will give my life for a cause greater than my own. My mind and spirit shall ensure life for my people, and death for yours. I shall fight until I have achieved victory. Just remember when you speak to me that I don’t play by ZOG [Zionist Occupation Government] rules and I will not hesitate to sever your subclavian artery.”

Special Agent Will Manuel of Air Force’s Office of Special Investigations at Warner Robins said he’s “well aware” of West’s neo-Nazi identity. “We’ve seen all his pictures, we’ve read his website, and we know what’s he doing.” Yet despite the toughened policy declared by the Pentagon a decade ago, Manuel says, “We’re not going to go after him just based on what he says he believes, or on him making a lot of claims. There has to be an overt act first. He has to actually organize or recruit or commit a crime. But even his pictures and writings raise concerns, obviously, because we know that where you have one [neo-Nazi], there’s usually another, and what he claims to represent totally goes against the core values of the military.”

Ten years after the military crackdown on extremism, it’s clear that there are still a great many Robert Lee Wests in the U.S. armed forces. And that should worry all Americans. In 1996, the Ft. Bragg murders sparked Congressional hearings on extremism in the military. Then-Air Force Secretary Sheila E. Windall said in her testimony, “We have an absolute obligation, and the American people have an absolute right to expect, that military members will use their expertise and the lethal tools of their trade to protect them and never to harm them.”

But some in the military appear to have lost sight of that obligation in the fog of war. “The regulations could use some fine tuning, but they’re already on the books,” Barfield said. “They’re just not being enforced. My fear is that it’s going to take another Fort Bragg before that changes.” ▲

Also contributing: Anthony Griggs, Joseph Roy Sr., Laurie Wood.



Anti-racist protesters attended the race-hate trial of BNP leader Nick Griffin in January. Griffin was later acquitted.

BRITAIN

BNP Electoral Gains Shock Political Establishment

The British National Party (BNP), a neofascist political party that limits membership to whites, more than doubled its number of local councilors in British elections this May, shocking anti-racist leaders and the political establishment.

The May 4 vote gave the BNP 50 seats on local councils, more or less equivalent to city councils and county commissions in the United States. That was up dramatically from the 24 seats the BNP won in 2004 local elections.

The gains were not entirely unexpected. In the weeks leading up to the vote, analysts and politicians had warned that the BNP seemed poised to make serious electoral advances, with one academic study suggesting that 25% of British voters were considering voting for the BNP three weeks before the elections. That study and other analysts said the party was strong in white, working-class areas, especially those affected by industrial decline and non-white immigration.

The BNP targeted such areas with pamphlets like one that attacked both the Conservative and the Labour parties under the headline, “Shut Down by the Tories, Abandoned by Labour, Only the BNP Will Stand Up for British Workers.”

“Just as Hitler singled out minorities to blame for the economic crisis of the 1930s, the BNP wants to scapegoat black and Asian people for the housing crisis and economic failure,” a Unite Against Fascism official told *The Independent*. “There is a great danger that the BNP’s election gains give a veneer of respectability to racist ideas, and could pull mainstream politics into the gutter.”

RUSSIA

Alleged Killers Arrested as Racist Attacks Roil Russia

Officials in St. Petersburg this spring arrested seven members of an extremist group accused

of the racially motivated murders of at least six people, a fraction of the 45 people slain in such attacks in Russia since the beginning of 2005.

Police shot an eighth member of the group to death as they tried to arrest him, prosecutors said. Authorities added that they seized weapons, explosives, and neo-Nazi literature when they raided group members’ homes in late May.

Several of the murders attributed to the racist gang had gotten headlines around Russia, including the 2004 killing of a Russian anthropologist who was an expert on neo-Nazis and hate crimes. The other alleged victims of the gang were a Senegalese student, an Armenian, a Korean, and two of its own members.

Attacks on foreigners and ethnic minorities in Russia are an almost daily occurrence, with one research organization, the Sova Center, reporting 28 racially motivated murders and 366 racist assaults in 2005. By late May, the Center had reported another 17 murders and 104 violent assaults in the current year.

The arrests followed the release earlier in May of an Amnesty International report, “Russian Federation: Violent Racism Out of Control,” that detailed the racist attacks and murders that occur with “shocking regularity” in that country. The violence “seems to be increasing,” the report said, noting incidents like the stabbing of nine people by a skinhead who invaded a Moscow synagogue in January.

The Amnesty report noted that official Russian figures say that the country has about 150 extrem-



African students in Russia mourned the death of Senegalese student Lamzar Samba, who was murdered by neofascists in St. Petersburg this April.

ist groups with approximately 5,000 members, but that a number of nonprofit groups say the real number of members is closer to 50,000.

The report concluded that there is “deep-seated intolerance and xenophobia in many parts of Russian society,” and it sharply criticized government authorities for “fail[ing] to convincingly challenge the racist and xenophobic ideas and ideologies, let alone implement a strong program to combat them.”

PANAMA

‘Patriot’ Pyramid Scheme Founder Arrested in Central America

The co-founder of the Institute for Global Prosperity, a gigantic, U.S.-based pyramid scheme that used the bizarre language and theories of tax protesters and the antigovernment “Patriot” movement, was arrested on federal warrants in Panama last January and extradited back to the United States to face trial.

David Alan Struckman of Renton, Wash., was charged in 2004 along with four other principals of Global Prosperity, which sold audiotapes, CDs and tickets to offshore seminars on “wealth-building” and federal tax avoidance. The others have all since pleaded guilty to tax charges and were to be sentenced this spring.

Struckman faces charges of conspiracy to defraud the United States and tax evasion, and could get up to 20 years in prison and a \$1 million fine if convicted.

The indictment alleges that from 1996 until the spring of 2002, Global Prosperity held seminars promoting bogus trust packages and similar schemes that advocated fraudulent methods of eliminating income tax liability. Its principals allegedly earned more than \$40 million from its marketing of these “wealth-building” schemes, part of a pyramid structure that rewarded those at the very top but virtually never paid out to those who came into the group later.

The defendants allegedly concealed their income using bogus trusts, offshore bank accounts and other methods. Much of their language, including their tax theories, hearkened back to Patriot conspiracy theories about the Federal Reserve Board, the role of gold in the market, and the illegality of income taxes.

“I’ve heard all the lectures about not having to pay your credit card debt and money not being backed by gold and the Federal Bank being an imaginary thing,” wrote “Jackie,” whose boyfriend was involved in the group, on keithlynch.net, a website

with the stories of many victims. “I am so afraid, because he’s lost so much money already. ... Can anyone help me before he loses even more?”

AUSTRIA

British Holocaust Denier Sentenced to Three Years

Despite publicly recanting some of his most outrageous assertions, British writer and long-time Holocaust denier David Irving was sentenced to three years in an Austrian prison after pleading guilty to telling audiences that there were no gas chambers in the Nazi concentration camp of Auschwitz.

Irving, 67, looked shocked as the sentence was announced Feb. 20 in Vienna, and his lawyer vowed to appeal. He was the 159th person convicted of Holocaust denial in Austria since 1999, but one of the few to be ordered to prison.

Irving’s trial followed his arrest in November, after he sneaked into Austria to give a speech to a radical student group. He was jailed on outstanding warrants relating to two 1989 speeches he gave in Austria denying the Holocaust.

The author of almost 30 books, Irving came to world attention in 2000, when he brought a libel action in Britain against American scholar Deborah Lipstadt, who had accused him of deliberate falsification. After a lengthy trial, a London court declared Irving a pro-Nazi anti-Semite and “active Holocaust denier,” and ordered him to pay all court costs. He lost his large Mayfair house as a result.

Shortly after his arrest in Austria, Irving began to roll back his claims, saying that he had come to learn of the existence of the gas chambers. As his February plea date drew nearer, he went further, saying he now understood that “millions” of Jews had been murdered by the Nazis, although he once claimed “more women were killed in the back seat of Edward Kennedy’s car in Chappaquiddick than in the gas chambers at Auschwitz.” He didn’t mention his claim that Anne Frank’s diary was a forgery, or discuss his many associations with neo-Nazi leaders.

The court did not appear sympathetic, with prosecutors and a judge grilling Irving on his current views. It may be even less so when it considers a prosecution request to lengthen Irving’s sentence to 10 years, given his “special importance to right-wing radicals.” A week after his plea, he defiantly told *The Times* of London that he’d been subjected to a “show trial,” that far fewer Jews died at Auschwitz than most historians believe, and that Hitler had nothing to do with the Holocaust. ▲



David Irving has argued that crematoria like those found by U.S. troops at Buchenwald were not used to hide evidence of Nazi genocide.

Starring Role

Chris Simcox was a failed actor. Then he discovered the anti-immigration movement, and soon he was a movie star

CROSSING ARIZONA

By Joseph Mathew
Rainlake Productions, 2006
97 minutes

EL INMIGRANTE

By John Sheedy, David Eckenrode, John Eckenrode
Ouzel Motion Pictures, 6512 Productions, Impala Roja, 2005
90 minutes

WALKING THE LINE

By Jeremy Levine and Landon Van Soest
Two Headed Productions, 2005
97 minutes

WETBACK: THE UNDOCUMENTED DOCUMENTARY

By Arturo Perez Torres
Ironweed Films, 2005
97 minutes

In the past year, independent filmmakers have produced four award-winning documentaries tackling the complex issues surrounding immigration. While each film has a different focus, all include interviews with leading anti-immigration extremists — most notably Minuteman Civil Defense Corps founder Chris Simcox.

Since the filming of these documentaries, a well-groomed Simcox has appeared on major news networks in numerous scripted interviews as the spokesman for the Minuteman Project. But in these films he exudes raw intensity — not to mention instability — in his earlier role as leader of the Tombstone Militia he founded in 2002. All four documentaries were filmed during 2004, and so offer a revealing look at an unvarnished Simcox, showing how this failed actor finally found a way to become a movie star.

In “El Inmigrante,” the story of a

Mexican border-crosser murdered in Texas, Simcox patrols the tumbleweeds with his volunteer militia. “How can you live with yourself every night when you sit at home knowing that thousands have come through in the middle of the night that you don’t know about?” he asks the handful of followers he was able to muster at the time.

In “Wetback: The Undocumented Documentary,” which chronicles two Nicaraguan immigrants as they make their way north, Simcox paws through belongings left behind in the desert. “Tuna, marmalade, garlic,” he says as he empties out a backpack. “It’s disgusting.”

Simcox gets more screen time in “Walking the Line,” which focuses on the border vigilantes of Arizona’s Cochise County. “We have to use this land appropriately, which means we have to be hiking or bird watching,” he says with a smirk as he climbs out of his pickup and straps on a bulletproof vest. “I’ve got my bird-watching manual right here and today I’m looking for the common loon.”

Simcox’s hair is long and unkempt; his beard has several days’ growth. This Simcox looks more like Shaggy from “Scooby-Doo” than the clean-cut darling of the anti-immigration movement he turned into less than a year later.

“They’re not starving, I’ll tell you that. I have never come across a starving person,” he tells the camera, the stub of a cigar clutched between his fingers.

Later in the film, as the desert sky has faded from grey to pitch black, we see Simcox lording it over a large group of captured migrants, giddy with excitement. As the group, seated uncomfortably on the desert floor, cowers from the



cameras and flashlights, Simcox goads them in a feigned Mexican accent.

“See, I told you! No mas! Vigilantes get you, man!”

He clenches his cigar firmly between his teeth and aims a digital camera at the group. “Aw, don’t be shy guys,” he tells them, his voice dripping with sarcasm as he snaps their picture. “You’ll be in my newspaper this week!”

Of the four documentaries that
(continued on p. 56)

Burying Funeral Protests

Lawmakers are trying to end a Kansas anti-gay extremist’s picketing of soldiers’ funerals. What does the law say?

BY EUGENE VOLOKH

Red Phelps has pioneered the charming practice of protesting people’s funerals. It began with picketing funerals of gays while carrying signs saying things like “God Hates Fags.” It then moved on to picketing funerals of soldiers with signs saying things like “Thank God for 9/11” and “Thank God for Dead Soldiers” (the theory being that God is punishing America for its toleration of homosexuality).

There is a move afoot in some cities and states to ban this practice; most recently, the Minnesota Senate and House of Representatives have enacted such a law, though some differences in the versions remain to be ironed out. Wisconsin enacted such a law in late February. Are such bans constitutional?

It turns out that the government (a) can ban loud picketing outside funerals, and (b) can probably ban all picketing immediately outside the funeral, but (c) must allow picketing or marching relatively near to funerals. How near is impossible to tell, but picketers can’t be required to stay 300 feet or more away; they probably have to be allowed to march past the funeral, and perhaps even to picket, say, 100 or 200 feet away.

1. The government generally may not ban picketing based on its content — for instance, banning anti-gay picketing, anti-military picketing, hostile picketing, or picketing that uses pejoratives such as “fag.” Thus, if the government wants to ban critical demonstrations outside funeral homes, it also has to ban



Engraged by signs like these, lawmakers around the country are moving against Fred Phelps’ West-boro Baptist Church.

demonstrations of support. *See Carey v. Brown*, 447 U.S. 455 (1980).

2. The government also may not ban offensive picketing on the grounds that it will supposedly start fights. Though “fighting words” can be banned, that category is generally limited to epithets addressed to a particular insulted person. Even though many attendees at a funeral will be quite upset at speech that condemns the decedent, or gays as a whole, soldiers as a whole, or Americans as a whole, that’s not enough to strip the speech of protection. *See Cohen v. California*, 403 U.S. 15 (1971).

3. The government generally may not impose even content-neutral bans on all picketing or all picketing

in certain places — for instance, all picketing around schools, all picketing around abortion clinics, and the like. The Supreme Court has long recognized picketing and demonstrating as an important means of communicating one’s views to the people present at the place being picketed. Other means of communication — newspaper ads, billboards, and the like — are not seen as adequate substitutes, either because they’re much more expensive or because they don’t reach the same audience. The court has upheld some limits on abortion-clinic picketing, but those limits have usually been quite narrow — for instance, fairly small no-picket-

(continued on p. 56)

FOR THE RECORD

INCIDENTS OF APPARENT HATE CRIMES and hate group activities listed in *For The Record* are drawn primarily from media sources. These incidents include only a fraction of the approximately 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 occur annually. This listing carries a selection of incidents from the first quarter of 2006 (additional listings may be found on the Southern Poverty Law Center’s Web site at www.intelligenceproject.org.)

CALIFORNIA

Agoura Hills • Feb. 1, 2006
Swastikas and racist graffiti were etched into a car.

Bakersfield • Jan. 13, 2006
Racist graffiti was scrawled on a black teenager’s car.

Ukiah • Feb. 1, 2006
A 14-year-old Jewish girl received a threatening letter with anti-Semitic language and Nazi pictures. Two boys, 15 and 16, were arrested on hate crime charges.

Ventura • March 29, 2006
Bridget Callahan, 34, was sentenced to nine years in prison for her role in the Skinhead gang murder of a 17-year-old in 1998.

COLORADO
Colorado Springs Feb. 13, 2006
Fliers from the neo-Nazi White Revolution were left on the campus of Colorado State University.

Denver • March 6, 2006
Malaika Griffin, a 34-year-old black woman, was sentenced to life in prison plus 10 years after she was convicted of first-degree murder, aggravated robbery and motor vehicle theft for shooting a white man in the back in May 1999.

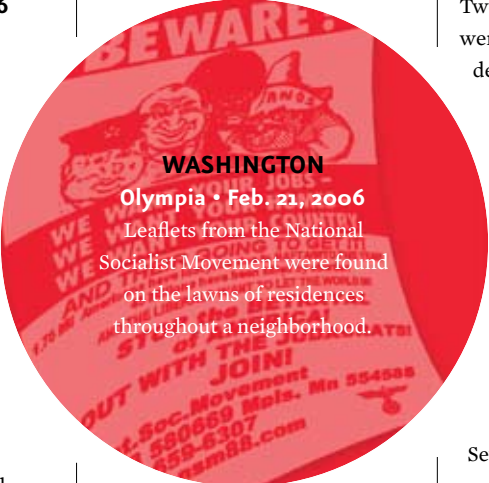
CONNECTICUT
Westport • Feb. 10, 2006
Swastikas and other racist graffiti were spray-painted on trees and street signs in a neighborhood.

FLORIDA
Floral City • Jan. 21, 2006
A dead raccoon hanging from a noose and a racist note were found on the porch of a Methodist

church with a predominantly black congregation.

Osteen • Jan. 16, 2006
A cross with a racist message written on it was burned in a biracial couple’s yard.

GEORGIA
Douglasville • Feb. 1, 2006
Several swastikas were spray-painted on a well belonging to a black family.



ILLINOIS
Chicago • March 8, 2006
Swastikas and racist graffiti were scrawled on several buildings at a college.

INDIANA
Hobart • Feb. 20, 2006
A racial epithet was scrawled on the sidewalk outside a black family’s home in a racially mixed subdivision. A swastika was also scrawled on a bulldozer parked near the family’s home.

MARYLAND
Damascus • March 25, 2006

Racist graffiti was spray-painted throughout a school.

Gaithersburg • Jan. 17, 2006
Swastikas and other Nazi symbols were spray-painted on a wooden dock, a sidewalk, benches and trees near a lake.

Middletown • Jan. 16, 2006
Fliers from the World Knights of the Ku Klux Klan were distributed in front of homes throughout a neighborhood.

Preston • Jan. 29, 2006
Two teenage boys, 13 and 14, were charged with malicious destruction of property for allegedly spray-painting the letters “KKK” on a car.

The 14-year-old was also charged with committing a religious hate crime.

Rockville Jan. 22, 2006
A cross was burned in a black family’s yard.

MASSACHUSETTS
Stoughton • March 5, 2006
Several swastikas were painted on a Jewish community center.

MINNESOTA
Saint Paul • Jan. 17, 2006
A cross was burned in front of a temple.

NEVADA
Las Vegas • Jan. 26, 2006
A flier from the neo-Nazi White Peoples Party was left on a car.

NEW JERSEY
Ridgefield Park • Feb. 7, 2006
A racial slur was spray-painted on the side of a building.

NEW YORK
New York • March 5, 2006
Two Hispanic men allegedly used anti-Asian epithets and slashed

three men with box cutters outside a diner.

Patchogue • March 5, 2006
Harley Heyward, 28, was charged with one count of aggravated harassment and one count of endangering the welfare of a child as a hate crime for allegedly kicking a two-year-old boy while yelling anti-Hispanic slurs.

Scarsdale • Jan. 21, 2006
Four swastikas were spray-painted on a school.

Yonkers • March 1, 2006
Swastikas were spray-painted on the hoods of two cars.

PENNSYLVANIA
Fountain Hill • March 24, 2006
Swastikas were drawn on two signs at a local daycare center.

Philadelphia • Feb. 21, 2006
John Dixon, 45, and Albert Martin, 36, were sentenced to five years of probation and 500 hours of community service for allegedly burning a cross next to an interracial couple’s home on September 2004.

UTAH
Salt Lake City • March 14, 2006
Robby Wayne Baalman, 20, was sentenced to almost five years in prison after pleading guilty in December to one count of interference with a federally protected activity for his involvement in an attack on a black bicyclist in March 2005. He also was ordered to serve a three-year supervised parole and pay more than \$20,000 in restitution.

WISCONSIN
Brookfield • Feb. 25, 2006
Fliers from the National Socialist Movement were placed on cars in a park-and-ride lot. ▲

Eugene Volokh teaches First Amendment law at UCLA School of Law, and runs “The Volokh Conspiracy,” a weblog.

feature Simcox, “Crossing Arizona” offers the most comprehensive treatment of the immigration debate. Selected for the Sundance Film Festival, “Crossing Arizona” also best captured Simcox in the midst of his transition from a frustrated extremist to a media darling.

Near the beginning of the film, Simcox walks the streets of Tombstone, and describes himself humbly. “I’m a former school teacher who cashed in my retirement plan and bought this broken-down, hometown newspaper.” Patrolling unsuccessfully in the desert, he’s frank with the filmmakers. “It takes a lot of restraint for Americans not to sit out here with guns, you know. I’m fearful of what might happen when the next attack comes,” he says. The sky darkens and so does his mood. “These people are coming and just spitting on our citizenship, just trampling it.”

But when the Minuteman Project begins, Simcox visibly changes. Finding television cameras — not collaring invading Mexicans — becomes his top priority.

Clad in a white, collarless shirt, hair trimmed and clean-shaven, Simcox checks in at his newspaper office. The news is good. “NBC Nightly news wants my quotes for the news tonight? Hey, yeah!” he says, laughing gleefully. “In your face, Mr. Bush!”

A man’s voice off camera asks him how to handle media calls for comment.

“The big boys,” Simcox instructs him. Major networks only. “We’re going for the masses now.”

— **Susy Buchanan**

LEGAL BRIEF (continued from p. 54)

ing zones around the entrance aimed at keeping people from obstructing access to the clinic, or no-approach zones in which picketers and leafletters can stand with their signs but can’t approach passersby. *See Hill v. Colorado*, 530 U.S. 703 (2000).

4. The government generally may impose content-neutral limits on noisy picketing, picketing that blocks traffic, and so on, but must do this through

regulations of the number or volume level of picketers, and not through bans on picketing. *See Madsen v. Women’s Health Center*, 512 U.S. 753 (1994). A ban on disrupting funerals would fit within this principle only if it defines “disrupt” to mean disrupt through noise or traffic obstruction, rather than through the content of its offensive message.

Likewise, a ban on “violent, abusive, indecent, profane, boisterous, unreasonably loud or otherwise disorderly conduct” within 500 feet of a funeral would be constitutional if it is read as being limited to violent or unreasonably loud conduct, but not if it is read to cover insulting signs.

5. The court has recognized one place where picketing can be banned (if the ban is content-neutral): outside the targeted person’s home. In *Frisby v. Schultz*, 487 U.S. 474 (1988), the court held that focused picketing immediately outside a person’s home can be banned to protect the especially important interest in residential privacy. “Although in many locations, we expect individuals simply to avoid speech they do not want to hear,” the court reasoned, “the home is different.” “The State’s interest in protecting the well-being, tranquility, and privacy of the home is certainly of the highest order in a free and civilized society.” “[T]he home [is] ‘the last citadel of the tired, the weary, and the sick,’ and ...[p]reserving the sanctity of the home, the one retreat to which men and women can repair to escape from the tribulations of their daily pursuits, is surely an important value.”

This doesn’t literally cover picketing around funerals, but it’s a good bet that courts will find that the interest in protecting the privacy of the grieving at a funeral is at least as strong as the interest in protecting the privacy of people at their homes. The chief danger is the slippery slope: Once the supposedly narrow exception for residential picketing is broadened to cover funeral picketing, these two exceptions (one older and one new) could then be used as precedents in arguments for more exceptions (say, for churches or for medical facilities), which would eventually swallow the rule. But I suspect that courts would nonetheless be

willing to recognize funerals as places where picketing is unusually intrusive, much more so than even at hospitals and abortion clinics.

6. Yet even the power to ban residential picketing isn’t limitless: In *Madsen v. Women’s Health Center*, the court specifically rejected an injunction that banned residential picketing within 300 feet of the homes of abortion-clinic employees. “[T]he 300-foot zone around the residences in this case,” the court reasoned, “is much larger than the zone provided for in the ordinance which we approved in *Frisby*[,] which] ... was limited to ‘focused picketing taking place solely in front of a particular residence.’ By contrast, the 300-foot zone would ban ‘[g]eneral marching through residential neighborhoods, or even walking a route in front of an entire block of houses.’” Thus, a 1000-foot buffer zone around funeral homes or even a 300- or (probably) 200- or 100-foot zone would be unconstitutional. Marches through the neighborhood, including ones that briefly pass by the funerals, would remain constitutionally protected; likewise for picketing some distance away from the funeral home.

7. Finally, to be constitutional, even a limited content-neutral no-picketing zone must be defined with sufficient precision. A Kansas funeral-picketing law, for instance, was struck down in 1995 because it banned picketing “before” and “after” funerals without defining those terms. (It has since been reenacted with more precise terms.)

I’m not sure what legislatures should do about funeral picketing. I strongly sympathize with the desire to shield the grieving, especially given how cruel and contemptible many of the funeral picketers have been; I also think little would be lost to public debate if funeral picketing is banned. On the other hand, I do worry about the slippery-slope risks from any new exception to free-speech principles. In any case, though, I’ve tried to explain above what First Amendment law is now, whether or not that’s the way it should be. ▲

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THE LAST WORD

Taxing Protestations

Shopping for wearable vitamins, tri-vortex transformers, and \$4,000 ‘Freedom Packages’ at an annual extremist swap meet **BY SUSY BUCHANAN**

IRVINE, Calif. — Peymon Mottahe-deh adjusted the knot of his Statue of Liberty tie and smiled broadly as he surveyed the cacophonous conference room inside the Atrium Hotel. More than 200 attendees swarmed vendors’ tables as they waited for the seventh annual “Health and Freedom” tax-protesters conference to begin last March. Peymon — who is known in tax-protest circles by his first name only, like Madonna or Prince — had good reason to smile. At \$50 a head, “Health and Freedom” in 2006 represented another substantial payday for the organizer and emcee of the annual gathering of tax protesters, which in recent years has attracted a variety of extremist speakers including Hutton Gibson, actor Mel Gibson’s father, and Holocaust denier Willis Carto, founder of the Institute for Historical Review.

Slick brochures for this year’s conference promised to show attendees how to “Wipe the IRS off of Americans’ lives!” and provide answers to burning questions like “Is the One-World Government Coming?” and “Are The FBI & CIA Harming Americans?”

An Iranian immigrant, Peymon founded his “Freedom Law School” in 1992 from the living room of his apartment. Peymon speaks at tax-protest events around the country, hawking his “Freedom Packages,” which range from \$4,000 for the “Simple Freedom Package” to \$6,000 — plus \$2,000 a year in maintenance fees — for the “Royal Freedom Package (‘For those who wish to live free AND be treated like Royalty!’)”. The packages come with a guarantee that the school’s “Dream Team” of experts will write to the IRS on the behalf of any customer who is harassed for failing to file tax returns. (In 2005, the Justice Department prosecuted 1,256 people for tax crimes, up 43% since 2001.)

At this year’s “Health and Freedom” symposium, Peymon glad-handed the crowd of mostly male, mostly graying attendees, who greeted him warmly on the first morning of the two-day event. While they waited for the lectures to begin, some attendees sipped from sample cups of Amazonian berry juice that one vendor of-



JACQUE ARICANDOTTI

Courtesy of the American Independent Party, impurities pass through a customer’s feet.

fered as the exotic product in a multi-level marketing business he excitedly described as “a pyramid scheme.” Others flipped through brochures advertising New Age author John Grey’s Mars/Venus oxygen spa (which features an infrared sauna developed by NASA) and examined handouts depicting photographic evidence of satanic hand signs employed by global conspirators including Spiderman and the twin daughters of President Bush.

Peymon’s keynote speech, “Can You Live Free of IRS Tyranny?” was little more than a Freedom School infomercial yet received heavy applause. Other presenters included Tim O’Shea, a chiropractor who warned that vaccines are “slowly killing us,” and William Rodriguez, an amateur magician and former World Trade Center janitor who explained that explosions in the basement of the North Tower just before the planes hit were “What Really Happened on 9/11.”

The real action of the weekend took place during breaks between speakers, when eager crowds formed at nearly every vendor’s table, transforming the conference into a virtual swap meet of extremist and conspiracy-theory wares. Willis Carto’s *American Free Press* needed two display tables for its revisionist history books and back copies of the Holocaust-denial magazine *Barnes Review*, another Carto creation. Both tables were nearly emptied by Sunday afternoon. Nearby, inventor Brian David Andersen tried to rouse interest in his specially developed “wearable vitamins” (made of super algae, white powder gold and pinot wine at \$225 a pair) and a “tri-vortex” six-outlet power strip which purportedly transforms electricity in your home into “left-hand energies that are biologically friendly, safe, healthy and energizing” for a mere \$199.

Another vendor offered \$5 pamphlets on “Satanism in the Mormon Church” as well as a self-test for those who suspect they may be victims of “electronic mind weapons.” Telltale signs include “streetlights going out as you pass under them,” “hot needles deep in your flesh, especially when you are trying to sleep,” “fake loud bird calls which follow you everywhere” and “inescapable voices that follow you in your head.”

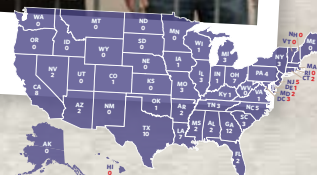
One conference-goer indulged in a cleansing foot bath offered by a representative of the far-right American Independent Party, in which impurities in his internal organs were purged from his body through the soles of his feet by passing a laser pointer back and forth across his stomach for 20 minutes while his feet soaked in a tub of water.

Sitting at his own table, the ever-charming Peymon cheerfully peddled his own brand of Freedom.

Cash, he informed all potential students, is highly preferred. ▲

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