

ROY WARDEN: GUNS AND THREATS IN TUCSON



Intelligence Report

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FALL 2006 | ISSUE 123

A rapidly changing racist skinhead scene brings new dangers

HOW SAM DICKSON GOT RICH
A FORMER KLAN LAWYER'S SURPRISING STORY

MOTLEY CREWS

SMOKESCREEN
THE STORY OF A 'BLACK' ANTI-IMMIGRATION GROUP



— PLUS —
Skinhead Symbols

INSIGNIAS AND TATTOOS OF THE RACIST SKINHEAD UNDERGROUND

Blood and Soil

BY MARK POTOK, EDITOR

PAT BUCHANAN recently appeared as a guest to plug his new book on NBC's "Today" show, and it went just swimmingly. He told guest host David Gregory that part of President Bush's legacy will be to "lose the American Southwest to Mexico linguistically, ethnically and culturally." He likened



undocumented Latino workers to "de facto scabs and strikebreakers." And he asserted that leaders of both major political parties, including Bush, had committed "economic treason."

"All right, we're going to have to leave it there," Gregory, the network's chief White House correspondent, replied. "This debate is obviously going to continue. Pat Buchanan, thanks as always."

It wasn't much different on the many other major television news shows where Buchanan, an MSNBC political analyst and one-time presidential candidate, appeared in late August. He told his audiences that Mexico wants to reconquer the Southwest, suggested that it was "cultural genocide" to not teach American literature in the early grades, and complained about Mexican Americans booing American soccer teams. "We gotta get into race and ethnic questions," Buchanan helpfully explained to CNN guest host and chief

national correspondent John King.

Buchanan's book — *State of Emergency: The Third World Invasion and Conquest of America* — got a significant bump from the publicity it was afforded by numerous news anchors, many of whom know Buchanan well from his years in the TV commentary business. But it didn't appear that many of them had actually read the book — a tome that more than anything else he has written argues that America is being destroyed because it fails to recognize white, Western superiority.

Rejecting arguments by the likes of Franklin D. Roosevelt, who declared that "Americanism is not ... a matter of race and ancestry," Buchanan says the opposite is true: "Nowhere on this earth can one find a multicultural, multiethnic, multilingual nation that is not at risk. Democracy is not enough. Equality is not enough."

He claims that our forefathers' vision of America was one of "shared ties of blood, soil and memory" — a phrase eerily reminiscent of Nazi ideas of "blood and soil." He approvingly quotes the late Sam Francis, chief ideologue of the white supremacist Council of Conservative Citizens, saying that Western civilization is superior to others and that only whites' "genetic endowments" could have produced it. And he cites people like Al Campanis of the Los Angeles Dodgers, who once said blacks "may not have the necessities" to be a baseball general manager.

While acknowledging the evils of slavery, Buchanan suggests that Europeans brought "immense benefits" to their colonies. "Was not Western civilization vastly superior to the indigenous civilizations it encountered and crushed?" he asks.

In the end, the book is all about immigration — non-white immigra-

tion. If a complete moratorium on newcomers is not declared, Buchanan concludes, children born this year "will witness in their lifetimes the death of the West. ... We must stop the invasion. But do our leaders have the vision and the will to do it?"

Unfortunately, some leaders do seem to share Buchanan's vision. In Europe, where non-white immigration levels are also high, immigrant-bashing parties are increasingly gaining real power. This fall, for instance, Germany's neo-Nazi National Democratic Party elected deputies to the state parliament of Mecklenburg-West Pomerania. Radical-right parties now have deputies in three German states.

The United States has its own hard-line nativist leaders. The best known is U.S. Rep. Tom Tancredo (R-Colo.), who heads the Congressional Immigration Reform Caucus and has sung the praises of vigilante citizen border patrols.

In September, Tancredo gave an immigrant-bashing speech to a group in South Carolina while standing behind a Confederate battle flag-draped podium. The white supremacist League of the South had announced on its website that it was hosting the event, but when the Southern Poverty Law Center made that public, the congressman insisted that it had in fact been put on by a more mainstream outfit.

Whatever the truth, the fact remains: A number of American political and opinion leaders are popularizing arguments that fuel the continued growth of a record number of hate groups in this country. There is little doubt that we need a robust debate on immigration in America; what we do not need is a series of anti-democratic harangues and insults aimed at men and women with dark skin. ▲

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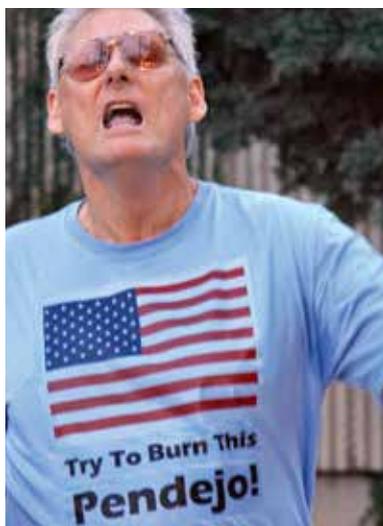
COVER PHOTO: CORBIS



ON THE COVER

36 MOTLEY CREWS

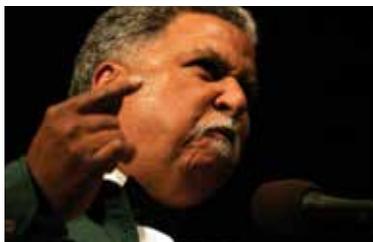
In the late 1980s, a few years after racist skinheads arrived in America, the country experienced a remarkable rash of skin terror. But then a police crackdown and the emerging dominance of Hammerskin Nation quieted the scene for a time. In recent years, however, rebellions against the Hammerskins have broken out and now, with unaffiliated groups vying for prominence, a new era of violence threatens.



JACKIE MORGANTI

13 Deadly Force

Roy Warden, an anti-immigration activist from Tucson who packs a 9mm Glock in public, routinely threatens Hispanics with death, at one point warning a 16-year-old boy that he might “put a fucking bullet in your head.” Though some doubt Warden’s sanity, others fear that he’s dead serious.



TODD BEELOW

18 Smokescreen

Anti-immigration activists have long argued that theirs is not a racist movement — and now they have a “black” group that seems to prove their point. Just one thing: It’s largely the creation of whites. In a related interview (see p. 25), two key black activists discuss their roles.



STEVE THACKSTON

30 How Sam Dickson Got Rich

The 59-year-old former Klan attorney is an active veteran of extreme-right groups, from Holocaust denial outfits to the World Anti-Communist League. He’s also a man who has always been interested in money — money he is now acquiring from the poor, black residents of Atlanta.

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Just months ago, the National Socialist Movement was the hottest neo-Nazi group in America. That was before a scandal involving Satan sparked an implosion.

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Although most of their races are hopeless, radical rightists are running for political offices ranging from the U.S. Congress to a local county mosquito board.



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Chris Simcox, co-founder of the Minute-men, was an icon of the anti-immigration movement. But now his allies are accusing him of financial improprieties.

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Passing anti-“illegal alien” laws may make politicians popular, but the final result will be costly litigation that the politicians’ localities will ultimately lose.

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Sonny Landham is a former porn star, movie actor and would-be politician. He’s also on the board of the white supremacist Council of Conservative Citizens.

LAW ENFORCEMENT INQUIRIES WELCOMED

The Intelligence Project of the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) welcomes law enforcement inquiries regarding right-wing extremists and hate groups. Please direct questions during normal business hours to Joseph Roy Sr. via the SPLC’s general number, (334) 956-8200. In urgent cases, after-hours inquiries may be made via a special hotline, (866) 285-6413.

RADICAL PROPAGANDA

Bogus Numbers Undergird Attacks on Gays, Immigration

Arkansas State Sen. Jim Holt (R-Springdale) likes to demagogue. In 2005, Holt targeted undocumented immigrants, partnering with a man with anti-Semitic views and ties to white supremacist organizations in an effort to pass hard-line anti-immigrant legislation. (Holt later distanced himself from Joe McCutchen of Protect Arkansas Now.) Now, Holt's target is gay people. Holt told National Public Radio in August that there "are thousands of studies, actually I've got over 10,000" of them that show "the homosexual family or the environment is problematic for the child."

As pointed out by Media Matters for America, a reputable watchdog website, the 10,000 figure would only be possible if a such a study had been released every day for the past 27 years.

Holt was reacting angrily to the July decision by the Arkansas Supreme Court that overturned that state's ban on gay foster parents. The court ruled that the ban was based on a particular morality rather than science, and that no research on sexual orientation had found a negative effect on foster children's welfare. Scientific studies from the American Academy of Pediatrics and the American Psychological Association support the ruling.

Holt said he picked up the 10,000 number from another anti-gay demagogue, Focus on the Family founder James Dobson. Dobson made that remarkable claim in his 2004 book, *Marriage Under Fire: Why We Must Win This Battle*. According to Media Matters, Dobson provides no source whatsoever.

The national immigration debate is also suffering from propagandistic number inflation. Robert Rector, a senior research fellow at the conservative Heritage Foundation, issued a report in June alleging that the immigration reforms then being considered by the U.S. Senate would add at least 100 million people to the United States over 20 years, ballooning the size of the population by a third.

Rector's study seemed to defy the most elementary logic. As critics later pointed out, his minimum figure of 100 million is equal to almost the entire current population of Mexico. His high-end estimate of 190 million over the next 20 years would require that the equivalent of the current population of Central America be added, too. A series of leading demographers told the *San Francisco Chronicle* that Rector's projections were vastly overstated, ignored the effects of emigration and used unreasonably high estimates of legalization and naturalization.



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS



Arkansas State Sen. Jim Holt's claim that "10,000 studies" showed gays made bad parents went unchallenged on NPR. Holt later said he got the number from Focus on the Family founder James Dobson (above).

Nevertheless, based on his report, two Democratic senators changed their positions and the Senate then passed an amendment sharply limiting a future guest worker program.

NEO-CONFEDERATES

SCV Once Again Elects Radical National Leaders

The Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV), a Southern heritage group that has been largely dominated by racial extremists since 2002, has again elected a commander in chief and other national leaders who are closely tied to its radical faction.

At its August convention in New Orleans, SCV delegates selected as their national commander Chris Sullivan, a longtime ally of outgoing commander Denne Sweeney and a fellow South Carolinian. Sullivan is the editor of *Southern Partisan*, a controversial neo-Confederate magazine that has depicted antebellum slaves as happy and slave traders as benevolent. Other Sweeney allies were elected to top posts in the SCV's three "armies," or major geographical subdivisions.

For four years, the SCV has been split by an internal civil war between moderates and radicals with hard-line racial views. The radicals have sought to turn the SCV into an explicitly political group that pushes racist neo-Confederate ideas and issues. The latest election was a clear victory for the radical faction.

"We should all [now] resolve to work to defeat the Marxist Socialists that are waging war on Southern culture," Ed Butler, a newly elected leader of the Army of Tennessee, exulted after his victory. The League of South, a neo-Confederate hate group sympathetic to the radicals, was pleased, too, enthusing on its website that "The Sons of Confederate Veterans have endorsed a radical direction."

The election also solidified the hold on the SCV of Kirk Lyons, a white supremacist North Carolina lawyer, and his Southern Legal Resource Center, which specializes in defending Confederate symbols. Two SLRC board members — Roy Burl McCoy and Bragdon Bowling — won posts on the SCV's executive board. In addition, a new constitution, largely written by Lyons with Sweeney's approval, was adopted. The document gives unprecedented power to the national commander.

As a result of the latest vote, discouraged moderates continued to trickle out of the SCV, as they have for several years. "Our convention committee presided over the funeral of what we all once thought of as the SCV," lamented the commander of the New Orleans SCV "camp," or chapter, that hosted the convention. "The SCV that we knew was dumped as a rotting carcass in a dung heap."

NEO-NAZIS

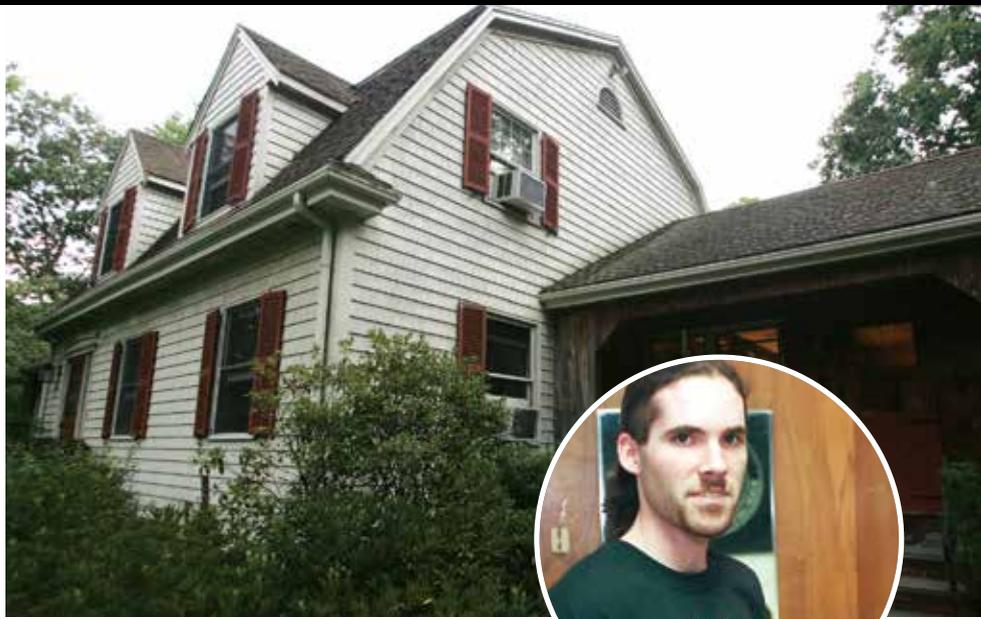
Fugitive 'Aryan' Making Life Miserable for His Parents — Again

It was bad enough when neo-Nazi Davis Wolfgang Hawke publicly called his mother a "race traitor" and said that his partly Jewish father should be "sterilized."

Family relations didn't improve any when Hawke, whose Jewish ancestry was exposed by the *Intelligence Report* in 1999, promised to lead 1,000 neo-Nazis in a march down Pennsylvania Avenue. In the event, four followers showed up, but not Hawke, whose mother told *The Washington Post* that her son was a "coward."

Now, the one-time leader of the Knights of Freedom — an explicitly neo-Nazi group that collapsed after the *Report* revealed that Hawke's original name was Andy Greenbaum — is dragging his unhappy family into his seamy exploits once more.

Hawke had disappeared from the



There he goes again: One-time neo-Nazi leader Davis Wolfgang Hawke is suspected of burying a fortune in gold and platinum bars at his parents' house — bringing bulldozers and more misery to the door of Peggy and Hyman Greenbaum.

white supremacist scene after his exposure, only surfacing years later in a new role: an Internet spammer who sold millions of dollars' worth of bogus penis-enlargement pills. In 2004, he was sued by America Online (AOL) and other companies under a new anti-spamming law. Last year, AOL won a default judgment of \$12.8 million against the hard-to-find Hawke.

Hawke remains on the lam, possibly in the New England area where he has operated in recent years. AOL, in the meantime, has obtained testimony from Hawke's former girlfriend and others that Hawke buried platinum and gold bars worth a fortune to hide his loot from the court. And AOL is moving to find those bars — by digging up his parents' and grandfather's property in the suburbs of Boston, near the house where Peggy and Hyman Greenbaum raised their boy.

"I don't care if they dig up the entire yard. They're just going to make fools of themselves," Peggy Greenbaum told *The Associated Press* angrily, adding that her son had once mentioned burying gold and money in five states — but not on family property. "There's absolutely no reason for

them to think that Davis Hawke would be stupid enough to bury gold on our property. Our son is long gone."

ANTI-IMMIGRATION MOVEMENT

'Non-Racist' Group's Contact With Neo-Nazis Surfaces

The East Bay Coalition for Border Security claims on its website to be "a racially diverse organization" with "NO ROOM for Racists, Socialists, or Communists!" And when the group, which also operates as the Golden Gate Minutemen, held its first anti-immigration rally June 2 in Fremont, Calif., some of its 35 members and supporters who took part waved signs that read, "No Racists Here."

But it seems the East Bay Coalition may have room for racists after all, starting right at the top. Its co-founder and president, Casey Fargo, is credited with posting at least two essays to the website of National Vanguard, a neo-Nazi group.

One, posted in 2003 and titled "White Americans Regularly Suffer Extortion by Mexican Police," rails against "the dou-

ble standard employed by the Jewish press when it comes to publicizing cases of abuse of Whites by non-Whites” and warns of “the dangers faced by Whites in non-White areas and in an increasingly non-White America.” Credited to Fargo on the National Vanguard website, the essay is apparently based on a December 2003 column by *San Diego Union-Tribune* national affairs columnist Joseph Perkins — who’s described in the essay as “a maverick Negro” — detailing the robbery and rape of American tourists by Tijuana police officers.

When Fargo was questioned about his involvement with National Vanguard for a July 14 article in *The Argus*, an Alameda County, Calif., newspaper, the 25-year-old Livermore resident said the term “racist” is overused, but denied writing the essay. He attributed the “confusion” to his having E-mailed the Perkins column to a “wide-ranging list of media outlets” in order to “share the story with as wide an audience as possible.” According to *The Argus*, Fargo said that in addition to the neo-Nazi website, he E-mailed the column to *The New York Times* and the Southern Poverty Law Center. “I didn’t write what was posted,” he was quoted as saying. “I just E-mailed the column to the National Vanguard website.” Also, according to *The Argus*, “Fargo said the column must have been summarized and rewritten by someone at National Vanguard, who then attributed the published post to him.”

Such an innocent explanation would be easier to believe if Fargo weren’t also credited as the source of a March 2005 essay on the National Vanguard website that promoted a petition circulated by European/American Issues Forum president Louis Calabro that called on Congress to “immediately and thoroughly investigate and hold public hearings to determine if Jewish organizations and individuals are exercising excessive, disproportionate influence in America.”

Fargo did not respond to three E-mailed requests for comment from the *Intelligence Report*. But East Bay Coalition for Border Security co-founder Charles Dirkman issued

“OVERHEARD”

“These broads are millionaires, lionized on TV and in articles about them, reveling in their status as celebrities and stalked by grief-arazzis. I’ve never seen people enjoying their husbands’ deaths so much.”

ANN COULTER, Universal Press Syndicate columnist in her *Godless: The Church of Liberalism*, a book published by Crown Forum on June 6, discussing several widows of 9/11 victims

“[S]o many of them have turned out to be complete bums, just debris.”

NEAL BOORTZ, host of Cox Radio Syndication’s “The Neal Boortz Show,” discussing Hurricane Katrina refugees on the June 6 edition of his show

“[I]f you basically bring in a lot of low-skilled Hispanics with dysfunctional family structure ... they and ... their children are going to make a huge additional crime problem.”

ROBERT RECTOR of the conservative Heritage Foundation, discussing immigrants on the June 6 edition of CNN’s “Lou Dobbs Tonight”

“It’ll be a sad day when queers and lesbians are allowed to get married ... and kiss in front of the courthouse.”

Tennessee State Rep. **ERIC WATSON** (R-Cleveland), speaking at a June 8 news conference backing a state referendum on how marriage should be defined in the state constitution

“[Y]ou punk, lying, coward, Satanist, backstabbing freak. ... It’s people like you who brought about the Holocaust, Soros.”

Host **MICHAEL SAVAGE**, discussing liberal Jewish financier George Soros on the June 12 edition of Talk Radio Network’s “The Savage Nation”

“Mexico is aiding and abetting an invasion of this country. They are ... using their own military to protect drug trafficking into the United States... . It is an act of aggression.”

U.S. Rep. **TOM TANCREDO** (R-Colo.), on the June 26 edition of Fox News Channel’s “Hannity & Colmes”

“The second commandment is to love your neighbor as yourself. Who is your neighbor? You are not in the white community, you live in the ’hood.”

Minister **LOUIS FARRAKHAN**, leader of the black separatist group Nation of Islam, speaking to a mainly black audience in a July 3 speech in Houston

“We could also electrify this wire with the kind of current that would not kill somebody... . We do that with livestock all the time.”

U.S. Rep. **STEVE KING** (R-Iowa) on the House floor on July 11, explaining the details of a wire that would top a fence along the Mexican border that he says he designed

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.



Klan Jam • June 10, 2006

Racists from around the country have been attending “Klan Jam,” a gathering hosted by the North Georgia White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in Fort Payne, Ala., since the mid-1990s, when more than 100 participants typically attended. This year’s events began with a public rally at the DeKalb County Courthouse, where speakers included Ken Gregg, head of the Knights of Yahweh, which embraces the white supremacist Christian Identity theology; and Bill Riccio, a violent ex-felon who has been a Klansman and skinhead leader since the 1970s. After the rally, about 20 participants gathered on nearby private property for a ceremonial cross burning.

a statement reconfirming his group’s anti-racist commitment. “National Vanguard is an evil, poisonous group based on nothing but destruction,” he said. “That kind of stuff makes me want to puke.”

EXTREMISTS IN THE MILITARY

Congressmen Demand Action Against Military Extremists

Forty members of Congress wrote U.S. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld in late July, asking that he launch an investigation into racist extremists in the military and discharge soldiers involved in racist activities or groups. The letter came in reaction to an *Intelligence Report* investigation revealing that large numbers of extremists had infiltrated the armed forces in recent years by taking advantage of recruiting standards that were relaxed due to wartime manpower shortages.

In the letter, which cited the report entitled “A Few Bad Men,” the congressmen urged Rumsfeld to “implement the recommendations of the Southern

Poverty Law Center to adopt a zero-tolerance policy when it comes to white supremacy and other forms of racist ... extremism in the military.” The letter was initiated by Democratic congressmen Elliot Engel of New York and Artur Davis of Alabama. The 40 signers represented 20 states around the country.

The report was initially released on the Internet on July 7 and generated a flurry of media attention, including stories in *The New York Times* and other major venues. It was also the cover story in the *Report’s* Summer 2006 issue.

Separately, U.S. Sen. Richard Shelby, Republican of Alabama, also urged Rumsfeld to adopt and enforce a zero-tolerance policy. “Military extremists present an elevated threat both to their fellow service members and the public,” Shelby wrote. “We witnessed with Timothy McVeigh that today’s racist extremist may become tomorrow’s domestic terrorist. Of all the institutions in our society, the U.S. military is the absolute last place extremists can be permitted to exist.”

Another response to the *Report’s* investigation came from the president and three senior advisors of VoteVets.org, a nonpartisan political action committee of veterans of the war in Iraq. The group wrote Senate Armed Services Committee Chairman John Warner to call for “immediate hearings to examine the impact of low recruiting standards in the military.” The veterans of Operation Iraqi Freedom — two Democrats and



“Skin Diesel” says he’s an 18-year-old Marine infantryman from Florida — and a member of a 100-strong underground group called the American Society for Aryan Preservation.

two Republicans — added, “We cannot overstate the corrosive effect ... lowered standards have on our military. They are hurting readiness, morale, and unit cohesion by allowing criminals and skinheads to permeate the ranks.”

When the report was first released, Richard Cohen, president of the South-

ern Poverty Law Center, which publishes the *Intelligence Report*, wrote Rumsfeld to request a zero-tolerance policy toward extremists and a study of the level of extremism in the military. No response had arrived as of twelve weeks later.

Since the report's release, the *Intelligence Report* has continued to track neo-Nazis online who claim to be active duty military personnel. One such person, who identifies himself as 18-year-old Marine infantryman Jeremy Arnold from Coral Springs, Fla., also uses the online alias "Skin Diesel." He says he is a member of an online network of nearly 100 neo-Nazis claiming to belong to an underground organization called the American Society for Aryan Preservation (ASAP).

NEO-CONFEDERATES

Idaho Pastor a Hard-Liner, With an Exception or Two

Doug Wilson, pastor of a radical church in Moscow, Idaho, and co-author of an infamous booklet describing antebellum slavery as an easygoing "life of plenty," has always seemed to project a persona of smug and self-satisfied arrogance.

When hundreds of students, history professors, town officials and others decried the racism and sorry scholarship of his *Southern Slavery, As It Was*, Wilson mocked them all publicly, scoffing at what he called the "intoleristas." He continued with a tit-for-tat attack on the "racism" of Abraham Lincoln and Ted Kennedy.

When a local professor revealed later in 2004 that Wilson's booklet contained 22 passages plagiarized from a discredited 1974 academic treatise, Wilson scoffed again, deriding the "local Banshees" who criticized him over what he portrayed as a mere citation problem. Wilson went on to say that his Moscow-based Canon Press was issuing a corrected version of the booklet — correct in its citations, that is, but maintaining unchanged its

portrayal of happy and well-fed slaves whose relationship with their masters was described as one of "mutual confidence and affection."

Now, Wilson is back in the news. This summer, the *Moscow-Pullman Daily News* published a story on "rumors" that Wilson, who controls an extreme-right religious empire in Moscow, and his New Saint Andrews College had tried to "cover up" serial sexual molestations by a college student — molestations of very young boys and girls carried out over several years. Although the newspaper quoted none of them, many people were angry that Wilson had failed to notify families in his Christ Church for eight months after Steven Sitler confessed to him in March 2005. One church family with young children had boarded Sitler, and others welcomed him as a visitor in their homes (Sitler molested one 2-year-old girl in a similar visiting situation in Colville, Wash.).

Critics complained that Wilson's lack of action had eliminated the possibility of identifying other victims in the community.

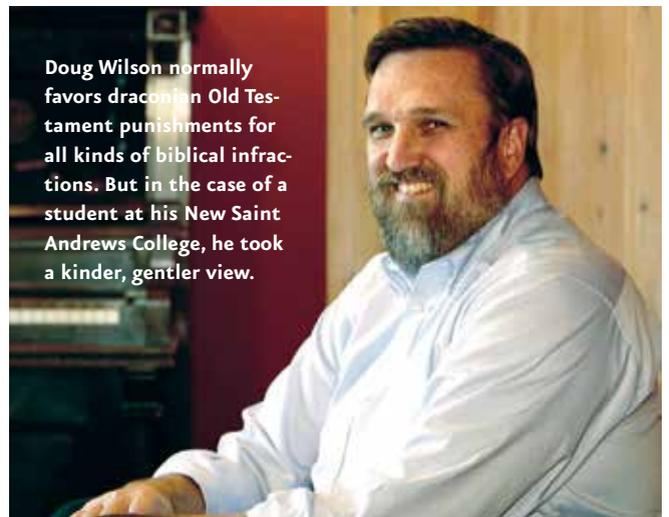
Wilson and college officials told the newspaper that they had immediately kicked Sitler out of school and notified police of his crimes, but decided not to inform members of the public because of concerns for victims' privacy.

Five months after Sitler's confession, another man who had been boarded by a Christ Church family while he studied to become a minister there was arrested and ultimately pleaded guilty to lewd conduct with an underage girl. When details of the matter came up on a local blog run by a disgruntled Wilson follower, part of

the pastor's response was to liken the blogger to "a sucking chest wound."

The father of the girl in the second incident told the *Intelligence Report* that church officials tried to keep that quiet as well. At one point, he said, they threatened to bring him under church discipline for failing to protect his daughter. "It would be like me getting robbed and the police coming over and arresting me because I didn't have five locks on the door, only one," he said. "It was just bizarre."

What may have been most remarkable about the entire affair was Wilson's role in the case of Sitler, who he



Doug Wilson normally favors draconian Old Testament punishments for all kinds of biblical infractions. But in the case of a student at his New Saint Andrews College, he took a kinder, gentler view.

AP WIDE WORLD PHOTO

ministered to after Sitler was caught. Wilson wrote the sentencing judge in Sitler's case, describing him as "most responsive" and "completely honest" and asking that criminal penalties be "measured and limited."

That might seem like an understandable request coming from a man's pastor. But Doug Wilson is no normal pastor. He is a biblical hard-liner, a man who in numerous books and speeches is quick to advocate the most draconian punishments of the Old Testament for all kinds of offenses, some quite minor. And that applies to the Sitler case directly, judging from what Wilson wrote in his 1999 book *Fidelity*: "When we are dealing with young children who are abused by adults (pederasty, child porn,

etc.), the penalty for those guilty of the crime should be death.”

Except, apparently, when Pastor Wilson decides otherwise.

NEO-CONFEDERATES

In Alabama, a ‘Confederate Correspondent’ is Born

To the joy of neo-Confederate activists in Alabama, Ellen Williams, a woman known for her white supremacist views, has been hired as a staff correspondent by *The South Alabamian*, a small weekly newspaper based in Jackson, Ala.

“This is wonderful news for us Southern Confederates,” Ben Hestley, chief of heritage defense for the extremist-led Alabama division of the Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV), wrote in a June 6 E-mail to movement colleagues. “Congratulations to Ellen for becoming our first Confederate Correspondent.”

Williams is a hard-line white nationalist who in 2004 joined her friend Pat Godwin in distributing a packet of documents that the two argued prove the 1965 Selma-to-Montgomery civil rights march was the “Mother of all Orgies.” In one E-mail, she described neo-Nazi and former Klan leader David Duke as the “one man who stands openly and forthrightly for Europe-

American rights.” In another, she lauded the Klan for having “prevented our losing our race to amalgamation.”

“I’m aware of Ellen’s position on certain things, but that doesn’t have anything to do with our paper at all,” *South Alabamian* Editor Evan Carden told the *Intelligence Report*. “She knows that we’re not going to publish anything that’s radical. ... I don’t have a problem with what she does on her own time.”

Williams, from nearby Leroy, was initially a regular contributor of letters to the editor, including a Jan. 19 letter suggesting that the media investigate Martin Luther King Jr. She then worked briefly for the newspaper as a free-lance reporter.

In that latter role, Williams contributed an April 27 story that *The South Alabamian* headlined, “Ceremony proves Dixie’s heart still beats.” The story described a rally in Montgomery, the state capital, commemorating Confederate Memorial Day. Williams wrote that “pride was evident on each face” and “many eyes were bright with tears,” concluding in an upbeat tone that “the day’s events gave evidence that the heart of Dixie is still beating after 145 years.”

The same story approvingly quoted Leonard Wilson, head of the Alabama SCV. Williams neglected to mention that Wilson is a longtime segregationist who is on the board of the Council of Conservative Citizens, a hate group

repudiated as racist by the Republican Party and the Con-

servative Political Action Committee. He earned the nickname of “Flagpole” Wilson by climbing a flagpole during 1956 anti-integration riots at the University of Alabama to shout, “Keep ‘Bama white!”

ECO-RADICALISM

Animal Rights Arsonists Could Face Attempted Murder Charges

The FBI has decided to bring attempted murder charges against the still unidentified perpetrators of a June 30 attempted firebombing. The attack targeted the Los Angeles home of a university professor who uses animals in some experiments.

The increasingly reckless Animal Liberation Front (ALF) claimed credit in July for the failed attack it said it launched at the Bel Air neighborhood home of Lynn Fairbanks, a UCLA psychiatry professor who heads the Center for Primate Neuroethology. The ALF, which in the past has promised that its partisans would never harm animals or humans, said it left the Molotov cocktail by a door opening onto a porch.

Just one trouble, officials say: The attacker or attackers actually left the explosive device on the doorstep of neighbors — an uninvolved, 70-year-old woman and her tenant.

Not only that. Arson investigators said that because of the placement of the incendiary device and the situation of the woman’s house on a steep hillside, “escape would have been difficult to impossible” if the device had ignited. As a result, federal officials decided to upgrade planned arson charges to attempted murder.

At the same time, the FBI also upped a reward for information



Confederates in the cause: Leonard “Flagpole” Wilson and Ellen Williams (in black) at the 2004 funeral of Alberta Martin, said to be the “last Confederate widow.”

THE BLOTTER

UPDATES ON EXTREMISM AND THE LAW

APRIL 13

White supremacist Demetrius Van Crocker was convicted by a federal jury in **Jackson, Tenn.**, of acquiring deadly sarin nerve gas and C-4 plastic explosives to destroy government buildings. Crocker, 40, who spoke in surveillance tapes of admiring Timothy McVeigh and using a helicopter to attack black neighborhoods, had been involved in **neo-Nazi groups** as a youth. He faces up to life in prison.

APRIL 28

Rudy “Butch” Stanko, who was briefly chosen to succeed the leader of the neo-Nazi **World Church of the Creator** in 1990, was convicted in **Nebraska** of being a felon in possession of seven guns. Stanko had served a six-year sentence in the 1980s for selling millions of pounds of tainted meat to public schools nationwide.

MAY 1

Morris Gulett, a former principal in the white supremacist **Church of the Sons of YHVH**, was sentenced to six years in prison by a federal judge in **Louisiana** for planning an Alabama bank robbery. Charles Scott Thornton, a friend associated with the neo-Nazi **Aryan Nations**, was sentenced to five years in the same plot.

MAY 19

Kyle Brewster, one of three men sent to prison in the infamous 1988 murder of an Ethiopian student in **Portland, Ore.**, was arrested for violating his parole by associating with members of the neo-Nazi group **Volkfront** after Anti-Defamation League officials found photos of Brewster and a friend on MySpace.com. State officials recommended that Brewster be returned to prison until 2008.

MAY 19

Maricopa County (Ariz.) Attorney Andrew Thomas announced the indictment of 42 members of a white supremacist gang he identified as the **AZ 88 Boot Boys** on weapons, gang and drug charges. Authorities arrested alleged leader Todd Streich and confiscated 32 pipe bombs, two grenades, machine guns and a massive, .50-caliber gun that one federal agent said was to be used to attack a police helicopter.

MAY 26

Police raided the home of Bobby and Donna Jean Hubbard in **Coarsegold, Calif.**, and found evidence of his violating probation along with **Klan** robes, photos of the couple and their children sieg-heiling, and an array of weapons. Donna Hubbard, a health teacher, was later arrested at Duncan Polytechnical High School in

front of her students and charged with a 2005 hate crime attack on a Jewish woman.

JUNE 5

A man police suspect of being a member of the antigovernment **Republic of Texas** group shot himself in the chest after being pulled over for a traffic violation in **Fort Worth, Texas**. Harold Belmont Gray’s death followed a short chase, a standoff and several hours of negotiations with police. Gray had been arrested the previous month for driving without a license.

JUNE 8

Federal agents arrested **anti-abortion zealot** Robert F. Weiler at a **Maryland** highway rest stop after he called to confess a planned attack on a Washington, D.C.-area clinic. Officials confiscated a handgun that Weiler told them he intended to use on doctors and exploded a nail-packed pipe bomb he had stored at a friend’s house. Weiler later was indicted on four federal weapons and explosives charges.

JUNE 8

Three members of the **Aryan Brotherhood** allegedly stabbed to death a white longshoreman in **Baytown, Texas**, because they wanted parts from his 14-year-old truck for a gang leader’s vehicle. In ensuing days, the three were arrested and charged with capital murder. Police also arrested eight other alleged members or associates of the gang and charged them with engaging in organized crime.

JUNE 14

A plea agreement with **11th Hour Remnant Messenger** co-founder Vincent Bertollini was announced in **Sandpoint, Idaho**, that would allow the racist financier to serve just six months for bail-jumping and a 2001 drunken driving arrest. But Bertollini, who also faces federal weapons charges, told a judge he wasn’t sure he wanted to accept the deal. A hearing was scheduled for later in the summer.

JUNE 28

Four members of a notorious Hispanic street gang known as **Avenues** went on trial on federal charges that they conspired over six years to terrorize and kill blacks in an effort to ethnically cleanse their territory in a **Los Angeles** neighborhood. The four, accused of the murders of three black men and a host of other crimes, were later convicted of a variety of charges and face mandatory life prison sentences.

leading to the conviction of those who carried out the attack from \$10,000 to \$30,000. Officials from both the FBI and UCLA described the firebomb attempt as “terrorism.”

KU KLUX KLAN

Klan Leader's Son Arrested in Near-Fatal Attack on Father

The son of former Klan leader Jeff Berry and a friend have been charged in a brutal July 1 beating that left Berry in critical condition, effectively ending recent efforts the pair had made to resuscitate the group in northern Indiana.

Jeff Berry, 53, was attending a barbecue party in Spencerville with his son, 35-year-old Anthony, and Anthony's friend, Fred Wilson, 21. Police say that Wilson confronted Jeff Berry about something at the party and then threw a lawn chair at him. As the two tussled, Anthony Berry allegedly ran 30 feet and punched his father in the head, continuing to beat the elder Berry even after he collapsed.

In the next few days, police arrested the younger Berry and Wilson. Anthony Berry was charged with aggravated battery and released on \$10,000 bond. Wilson was charged with misdemeanor battery.

Police say they don't know why the fight erupted, but Jeff Berry was left in critical condition with a swollen brain stem. Doctors gave him only a 50% chance of survival and said that even if Berry lived, his life would never be the same.

State Police Detective Mark Hefelfinger told reporters that Anthony Berry and Wilson had recently tried to reinvigorate the Ku Klux Klan in the area. The two men were apparently behind Klan fliers that listed post office boxes registered to them as contact points for the group. Their names were not on the fliers.

The July attack came some 18 months after Jeff Berry's release from prison, where he served more than

three years of a seven-year sentence for his role in holding two journalists at gunpoint in 1999. (The journalists were represented by the Southern Poverty Law Center in a civil suit that prompted authorities to bring the criminal charges against Berry.) Before being



Jeff Berry was beaten up so badly at a local barbecue party that doctors gave him only a 50% chance of survival.

sent to prison, Berry was the national leader of the American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. At the time, the group was known as the largest and most aggressive Klan faction in America, with 27 chapters in 2000. Today, the American Knights is defunct.

NEO-NAZIS

National Alliance Chief Arrested as Group Struggles to Survive

In what could be a devastating or even fatal blow to the ailing neo-Nazi group, National Alliance Chairman Shaun Walker was indicted on June 9 and charged with conspiracy to deprive non-whites of their rights with violence and intimidation.

A federal grand jury in Utah accused

Walker, 38, Salt Lake City Unit Coordinator Travis Massey, 29, and Utah member Eric Egbert, 21, of engaging in a conspiracy between December 2002 and March 2003 to provoke fights with non-whites “to make them afraid to appear in public, work and live” in Salt Lake City. If the men are convicted, they could each face up to 20 years in prison.

All three men were immediately arrested, with agents taking Walker into custody at the West Virginia headquarters compound of the Alliance. Walker was later allowed to post bail on condition of remaining in Salt Lake City.

Walker's arrest could prove to be a watershed for the Alliance, which has struggled to survive since the 2002 death of its founder, William Pierce. In the years since, the group has been beset by internal management struggles and scandals involving everything from strippers to alleged misappropriation of funds. From a 2002 high of more than 1,400 members who collectively brought in close to \$1 million a year, the Alliance has shrunk to fewer than 200 members.

Much of the internal criticism of recent years has been directed at Erich Gliebe, who was chosen to succeed Pierce. Those attacks came to a head in April 2005, when Walker was named chairman and Gliebe was demoted to head of Resistance Records, the Alliance's white-power-music operation. With Walker's arrest this June, Gliebe was returned to his post as chairman of the Alliance.

Walker, Massey and Egbert are accused of a Dec. 31, 2002, attack on a Mexican-American man in a Salt Lake City bar. Massey and an unnamed individual are also accused of assaulting a Native American in a bar on March 15, 2003.

Although Gliebe called the accusations trumped-up charges meant only to destroy the group, other extremists said the Alliance's heyday was long past. Bill White, until recently an official of the rival National Socialist Movement (see story, p. 11), scoffed that the Alliance has “been a non-factor on the white nationalist scene for the past year or two, and has been in

NAZIS FALLING

How anti-racist activists — aided and abetted by Bill White — tripped up the National Socialist Movement **BY ALEXANDER ZAITCHIK**

It couldn't have been scripted any better in Tinsel Town. After surging ahead of the Sieg-heiling pack in membership and notoriety, the “Hollywood Nazis” of the National Socialist Movement have imploded in a debacle featuring hate-radio jocks, anti-racist provocateurs, superhuman egos, allegations of underage sex, and Satan.

The party's problems began last June, when Citizens Against Hate discovered that NSM's Tulsa post office box was shared by The Joy of Satan Ministry, in which the wife of NSM chairman emeritus Clifford Herrington is High Priestess. Knowing that NSM ally and hate-radio host Hal Turner was a Catholic-raised convert to the white supremacist theology of Christian Identity, the anti-racist group decided to plant a metaphorical banana peel under NSM's unsuspecting jackboot.

In early July, Citizens Against Hate member “Tony Willow” called in to Turner's show (that night featuring NSM Minister of Information Michael Blevins) and informed him of the Satanic connection. The hate-jock took the bait. On July 3, Turner posted a message on his website declaring that unless NSM severed all connections to Satanism, the group would no longer have access to free

or discounted air time on the Turner Radio Network. Within NSM ranks, meanwhile, a bitter debate was sparked over the propriety of Herrington's Joy of Satan connections.

Appearing on cue to keep things rolling was none other than Bill White, the irascible and pompous 29-year-old NSM media handler and veteran of extremist causes and groups across the left-right spectrum. As Citizens Against Hate had hoped, White responded to Turner with a snap and a snarl, both defending Mrs. Herrington's membership in the Joy of Satan — “Her religious views are very similar to the Radical Traditionalism and Aryan Paganism shared by most of the NSM's leadership,” he wrote — and questioning Turner's motives for threatening the NSM.



Bill White (above), Hal Turner (near right) and Jeff Schoep were leading characters in the mini-drama of NSM's collapse.



JENNIFER WARBURG

The real reason for Turner's attack, White strongly implied, was money. "Turner," White wrote, "has been needing additional cash to maintain his radio network for several months, and has been negotiating for additional fees from the NSM for several weeks."

In response to White's rebuttal, a furious Turner promptly cancelled NSM's program. "This man," wrote Turner of White, "[has] wrecked the NSM radio show on the biggest pro-white media outlet in the world. How much more damage is Bill

"SATANISM AFFECTS THE WHOLE PRIME DIRECTIVE GUIDING THE [NSM] — SURVIVAL OF THE WHITE RACE."

going to be allowed to do before somebody puts a stop to it?"

NSM Chairman Jeff Schoep took the question seriously. Schoep soon suspended White in an attempt to muzzle him and put an end to his prolific Internet rants, which increasingly took aim at both Turner and Christian Identity, the Aryan-Jesus cult claimed by many NSM members.

Though self-defeating from a movement perspective, White's impolitic attacks on Christian Identity shouldn't have surprised anyone familiar with his career. The outbursts were just a loud return to form for the ex-anarchist and inveterate iconoclast. Just as White had rebelled against local police and his teachers as a teenager, he lashed out against Schoep's suspension order and increased his attacks. Schoep then expelled White. "Instead of choosing to correct his behavior," explained Schoep of the quick escalation from suspension to expulsion, "Bill chose to rebel against the NSM rules of conduct. Instead of adjusting to discipline and taking the moral high ground, Bill has demanded apologies."

With White still squealing in the background, Schoep moved ahead with damage-control operations by nudging chairman emeritus Herrington from his position under the cover of "attending to personal matters." But it was too late to stop NSM Minister of Radio and Information Michael Blevins, aka Vonbluvsens, from following White out of the party, citing disgust with Herrington's Joy of Satan ties. "Satanism," declared Blevins in his resignation letter, "affects the whole prime directive guiding the [NSM] — SURVIVAL OF THE WHITE RACE."

Following his expulsion, White wasted no time before

drafting a hilariously self-important declaration of independence, which opened with a racist twist on Thomas Jefferson's famous prose: "When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for a group of Aryans to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with one another, and to assume among white people that separate station to which their race entitles them..." Et cetera. And then: "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that Adolf Hitler was the living instrument of God on Earth, that he was endowed by

the Creator with the qualities of our ancient Heroes, and that the movement which he founded is the only means by which white people can possess life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Nine hundred words later, White concluded by solemnly announcing the formation of "the American National Socialist Workers Party" and naming him-

self commander. He claimed the allegiance of more than 130 current and former NSM leaders and members.

Though White almost surely exaggerated this figure, NSM was now a Noticeably Smaller Movement, one trailed in extremist circles by a strong whiff of Satanism and related charges of sexual impropriety associated with Joy of Satan initiation rites and curiously strong teen recruitment efforts.

As he seeks to rebuild his weakened organization, Schoep no doubt rues the day he accepted Bill White into the NSM fold. In his letter explaining White's expulsion, he admitted that "literally countless individuals and groups ... warned us he would stab us in the back ... the first time something didn't go his way." White's track record was so bad that even at the apex of NSM glory, after it sparked nationally covered race riots in Toledo, Ohio, last October, the anti-fascist One People's Project held a poll asking how long it would take Bill White to destroy the group from within. More than a third of respondents said less than a year.

It shouldn't have taken outside consultants or polls to show that Bill White was organizational poison. The slumlord from Roanoke, Va., has a lengthy record of disruptive behavior and very little history of taking orders or staying "on message" for long, especially as required in a top-down neofascist organization like the NSM — which is why White probably isn't too bothered by his apparently bleak future in the world of the organized radical right.

To adopt the language and tone of White's Declaration of the American National Socialist Workers' Party: Prudence dictates that the fact of White's unpopularity and irrelevance be now submitted to a candid world. ▲





DEADLY FORCE

BY SUSY BUCHANAN PHOTOGRAPHY BY JACKIE MERCANDETTI

Brandishing insults and a gun, Roy Warden routinely threatens Latinos with death. Some observers fear the worst

TUCSON, Ariz. — Sunday services were under way inside St. Augustine's Cathedral. Outside, the summer air was still and quiet except for a few birds chirping in a courtyard near the entrance. But the serenity was doomed. A car pulled up, and a graying, bespectacled man carrying a handgun and a loudspeaker got out, two cameramen in tow.

Working fast, he positioned a collection of lawn chairs on the public sidewalk in front of the Catholic cathedral, then encircled the lawn chairs with what appeared to be a series of pink jump ropes and planted two American flags. With the bravado of a professional wrestler, he then stepped into the roped-off ring he'd constructed, threw down a Mexican flag, and ceremoniously stomped on it, grinding his heel for the cameras.

Then he turned on the loudspeaker and addressed the worshippers inside St. Augustine's.

"You people don't seem to understand forbidden territory, whether it's a child's anus or the American border! You just want to push on in, don't you?" he screamed, his face flushed with anger. "We are going to be driving you back to Mexico real goddamn

Warden's tactics are over the top even for southern Arizona, a longtime hotbed of anti-immigration extremism. A typical Warden event has him standing within a roped-off "defensive perimeter" on a public sidewalk or in a city park, threatening to shoot anyone who crosses his line, then trampling and burning a Mexican flag while shouting insults through a bullhorn.

In one recent instance he called Mexican immigrants "cowards and traitors who have abandoned the dream of Zapata and Marcos to feed like dogs on the table scraps of gringos."

Tucson is 70 miles from the border. Thirty-five percent of the city's half million residents are of Mexican descent. More often than not, Warden draws an angry crowd whose members he then

bullies and taunts with carefully worded death threats such as, "If you try to inflict deadly harm upon me, I'll fucking blow you away!"

Warden may come off like a raving lunatic, but he is well versed in free-speech and self-defense laws, and he exercises his rights to the limit. As he explained to the Tucson City Council last May: "I am empowered to use deadly force to protect my own life. Now this is what it's gonna mean. It's gonna mean I'm gonna have a perimeter, I'm gonna speak through a loudspeaker down in the barrio, any place I want, and if people try to kill me, try to overrun my position, I will discharge a shotgun in their face!"

Interviewed by the *Intelligence Report*, Warden didn't shy away from his earlier remarks. "My safety, and the public's safety and the safety of those who oppose my viewpoints, is

Roy Warden specializes in publicly insulting Mexico and those of Mexican descent. The difference between him and other hard-liners is Warden likes to accompany his rants with threats to kill anyone who crosses him.

best ensured when everyone — police, rednecks, open border activists, judges, mayor, City Council, etc., etc. — truly understands I will blow the freaking head off anyone who offers me the imminent threat of deadly force."

Attention Deficit

Like many who've seen Warden in action, Matt Lowen, a human rights activist with the American Friends Service Committee, suspects that Warden may have "serious mental issues." "He reminds me of a child that doesn't get enough attention and continuously acts out and thrives on negative attention," Lowen says.

Warden's tantrums have been punished with frequent spankings in the Tucson media, plus two arrests in

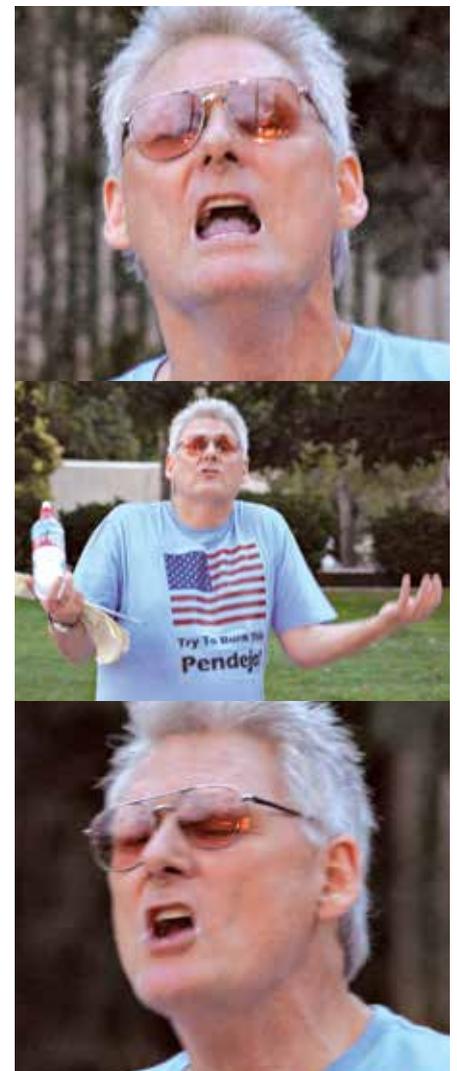


Band of three: Roy Warden is pretty much a one-man show, but he does have two Arizona friends who regularly join his protests — Border Guardians boss Laine Lawless (left) and radio host and ex-felon Russ Dove.

soon!" Spit flew from his mouth. "Get used to it! My name is Roy Warden, and I burn Mexican flags!"

Defensive Perimeters

With a fanny pack loaded with water bottles strapped to his belly, a Glock 9mm on his hip, and a bullhorn to amplify his outrage, Roy Warden, 59, emerged this spring as one of the country's most controversial, volatile, and, many believe, dangerous characters of the anti-immigration movement. Along with occasional sidekicks Russ Dove, a former militia leader and convicted car thief, and Laine Lawless, the founder of the group Border Guardians who earlier this year urged neo-Nazis to terrorize Hispanics, Warden has burned and trampled Mexican flags in public, nearly started at least one riot, regularly wreaked havoc on Tucson City Council proceedings, and E-mailed a death threat to a prominent local public defender. Without regular followers or even a named group behind him, Warden is a one-man band of immigrant-bashing hate, a man so untamed that other anti-immigration activists shun him as an embarrassment.



the past six months. Also, his website has been hacked, and Warden claims the reason he now lives out of his car is that he was evicted from his rental home in retribution for his demonstrations. He also says that gangbangers in baggy pants have followed him and that he has received many death threats from as far away as Colombia.

Whether Warden is a lunatic or just acts like one in order to raise a ruckus, he makes himself impossible to ignore, and his opponents say that he's the

natural outgrowth as well as a symbol of the increasingly harsh tone of the national debate over immigration — a debate in which mentalities and methods that were considered extreme in the past have now shifted into the mainstream. Three years ago, anti-immigration hard-liners were often portrayed as erratic fringe elements in the major media, with President Bush labeling one group “vigilantes.” Now, anchorman Lou Dobbs hails them as heroes and patriots on CNN.

“The demagoguery and scapegoating of immigrants by public figures in the national media has encouraged the Roy Wardens of the world to be more brazen and violent,” says Rich Stolz, a Tucson-based immigrant rights organizer with the Center for Community Change. “As long as fundamentally violent policy proposals like border militarization, vigilantism, mass deportations, and migrant concentration camps go unchallenged in the public debate over immigration reform,

“You better stay out of our area because I’ll put you in the ground if you don’t.”



anyone with a Roy Warden mindset will perceive that they have a free pass to use the anti-immigrant platform to preach hate and violence.”

Many in Tucson worry that it's only a matter of time before Warden either shoots someone or gets shot. “He’s just waiting for the time when he feels threatened, his space is invaded, and that gun is going to be fired,” Lowen says. In the meantime, as Warden’s antics and rhetoric grow more inflammatory, they consume more time and energy among pro-immigration forces in the Arizona border region. In this respect, Warden is a success, a strategic diversion. “Activists in the Latino community really can’t do anything but think about Roy Warden, follow him around with cameras waiting for him to slip up,” Lowen says.

One of those activists is 16-year-old Arturo Rodriguez, who decided last June to find out what would happen if he stepped over Warden’s line.

‘I’ll Put You in the Ground’

In the tiny living room of his Tucson home, Arturo Rodriguez connects his video camera to a television and presses play. Although his mother has seen the footage that pops up on the screen several times, the images still bring angry



Many observers worry that Roy Warden's vicious rants may end in death. Once you've seen Warden spewing insults with a pistol strapped to his hip, it's not hard to understand why.

tears to her eyes, which she wipes away with the back of her hand.

The footage is of a demonstration Warden held June 3. Behind the camera was Arturo, a skinny teenager who wears glasses. Braces peek through his shy smile.

Arturo's a budding activist. He explains that he wanted to document Warden's activities this summer. "I was scared," he admits, "but sometimes you just have to suck it up." His footage shows Warden establishing his usual "perimeter" around a piece of sidewalk with a length of clothesline. As Warden rants and paces, Arturo and a friend step over the barrier. Warden erupts in the teenager's face.

"Get out of here!" Warden screams at Arturo, his face filling the video camera's lens. "I'll put a fucking bullet in your head!"

Arturo continues to film as Warden rages and moves toward him. "You get away from my border," Warden says. He then shoves Arturo backward. "You

better stay out of our area because I'll put you in the ground if you don't."

Arturo turned his footage over to the police, who arrested Warden for assault, disorderly conduct, and two counts of making intimidating threats. Warden's trial on these charges is pending. In preliminary court appearances, he has used a Mexican flag as a doormat and worn a T-shirt bearing the legend "Chicana Pendeja" (very loosely, asshole) underneath a large photo of Isabel Garcia. Garcia is the Pima County legal defender and leader of the human rights organization Derechos Humanos.

Last May, Warden circulated an E-mail with the subject line "Warden to Isabel Garcia: I will blow your freaking head off." The text read: "If any of your pendejo thugs assault me in any way, break through my perimeter, make any threat of deadly force upon my life, etc., I will not hesitate to draw my weapon and blow your freaking heads off."

Interviewed about the E-mail by

a television news reporter, Warden said: "I don't understand what the problem is. It's conditional: you try to kill me and I will kill you first. It's very simple."

Garcia, who Warden calls a "hairy-breasted Amazon," has been working on immigrants' rights issues for 30 years. Her parents were activists, and she held her first picket sign when she was 10. She's used to threats and insults and says she's not afraid of Warden, but she is frustrated by the effect his anti-immigration Tasmanian Devil act has had. Garcia points out that while massive immigration reform marches on April 10 drew millions of people into the streets all over the United States for peaceful marches, the Tucson march turned violent when Warden staged a flag burning in the middle of a park along the marchers' path. The crowd surged toward Warden, causing a Tucson police officer to draw his gun. Six young immigration activists were arrested

“If any of your pendejo thugs assault me in any way ... I will not hesitate to draw my weapon and blow your freaking heads off.”

on charges of aggravated assault on a peace officer, interfering with governmental operation, hindering prosecution and disturbing the peace, while Warden was arrested the next day and charged with suspicion of assault, criminal damage and reckless burning (these charges, like those resulting from his confrontation with Arturo Rodriquez, are pending).

“He really gets himself into this state of such venom and hatred. He calls us animals,” says Garcia. “He’d like a young Latino to attack him. Then he’d pull out a gun and shoot him.”

Jekyll and Hyde

Outside the St. Augustine Cathedral, Tucson radio journalist Jessie Bhangoo watched as Warden continued to rail against immigrants and the Catholic Church.

“You people are a chamber of horrors and you will not push into our country and destroy our cul-

ture with yours!” Warden shouted, his voice straining with emotion as police watched from a distance and television camera crews began to arrive. Bhangoo approached Warden and, with a tape recorder rolling, asked him why he was targeting the cathedral. Warden explained his belief that American parishioners are leaving the Catholic church due to sexual abuse scandals, and the church is bringing in Mexican immigrants to fill the pews. The church’s “main concern is filling up the church with people that are more compliant, people that won’t complain about the sodomy, people who won’t give them any trouble. That is why they are openly courting the Hispanic people and helping import them from Mexico,” Warden told Bhangoo, using a measured tone.

Then he started up on the loudspeaker again: “You Mexicans make me sick! You violate our law! You let priests screw your own kids! What is wrong with you? Maybe that is why you Mexican men are so violent, because you are frustrated, because you got sodomized when you were kids and you couldn’t do anything about it, so now you beat your women. Yeah! Real tough guys aren’t you!”

Bhangoo interviewed Warden a second time at Warden’s home a week after the St. Augustine protest (Warden still maintained a residence at the time). At ease amidst a clutter of newspaper clippings and numerous empty grape juice containers, Warden sounded more articulate and rational than he ever does in public. “For months, I have sent out E-mails to all of the open borders groups asking them if their leadership would consider sitting down in something like a presidential debate format ... a town meeting where we would pick a local newscaster of trustworthy reputation and have a public discussion of the issues beyond the rhetoric and beyond all the sound bytes and the propaganda and discuss the issues,” Warden told Bhangoo. “They simply don’t want to discuss the issues, they

have never agreed to that.”

Warden’s transformation was startling. “At the rally, Warden incited the crowds using inflammatory language. But when I sat with him and turned on the microphone, his vocabulary expanded and his statements became a little more reasonable,” Bhangoo says.

Locked and Loaded

During the demonstration at the church, Warden had spoken of his plans to prevent illegal immigrants from voting in the upcoming elections. He pledged to have people with cameras at Hispanic precincts snapping pictures of voters. “We will take every picture of every face and we will check your name and time against the voter roll and then we will run your name and your picture through software supplied to me by Homeland Security,” he vowed. “We’ll bring the law down upon your goddamn heads so fast you won’t believe it.”

When Bhangoo asked in the later interview what he meant by “we,” Warden claimed to be working with several government law enforcement agencies. Pressed to reveal which ones, Warden’s answer was vague — and hard to believe. “You go through the FBI, you go through the Freedom of Information Act. If you know how to approach these people and you know how to write the applications, you can do it.”

With or without the FBI on his side, Warden says he has no plans to turn down his volume in the weeks leading up to the elections, or after. “I’ve ordered dozens more flags,” he wrote in an Aug. 12 dispatch to his E-mail list. “We’re going to be very busy from here on out.”

“I don’t think Warden’s going to stop,” Lowen says. “He’s wrapped his identity up in his crusade against illegal aliens.”

In addition to his Glock, Warden wrote in August that he’ll bring a baseball bat and a stun gun to future protests.

“We’re locked, cocked and ready to rock,” he said. “America is the stronghold, and here in Tucson, Ariz., we



An almost entirely white audience erupted in cheers when black anti-immigration activist Terry Anderson denounced Mexican immigrants. Black speakers are extremely popular at such events. Critics say that's because they provide window dressing for a movement that is overwhelmingly white.

SMOKESCREEN

ACTIVISTS SAY A BLACK ANTI-IMMIGRATION MOVEMENT IS GATHERING STEAM. BUT IT SEEMS TO BE LARGELY THE CREATION OF WHITE PEOPLE

LAS VEGAS, Nev. — Terry Anderson is on stage in Vegas, telling a fable about a donkey on a bridge. ¶ “Everybody’s doing everything they can to coax [the donkey] with sugar and carrots, but they can’t get him to move. Some guy walks up and says, ‘You’ve got to use kindness.’ The other guy says, ‘Show me.’ So the [first] guy picks up a two-by-four and busts the donkey in the head. The donkey gets up and walks off. The other guy says, ‘But you said use kindness.’ The guy says, ‘Yeah, but you got to get his attention.’” ¶ In Anderson’s mind, the bridge is America, and the donkey represents the millions of Mexicans who need to be whacked in the head, not offered the sugar and carrots of guest worker programs and earned paths to citizenship. Fuming about congressmen who support such programs, he says, “Not one of those people has ever had his wife walk by a construction site and get heckled by some Mexican grabbing his crotch, and usually a small crotch.” ¶ It’s the second day of the second annual “Unite to Fight” conference, a Memorial Day weekend gathering of anti-immigration hard-liners. Earlier, as speaker after speaker railed off venomous rants about Mexican invaders, Reconquista and Aztlan (conspiracy theories about alleged Mexican plans to reconquer the southwestern United States), Anderson sat with his wife in the shadows of the back row of the Cashman Center auditorium. But now that it’s his turn on the mic, the

BY BRENTIN MOCK PHOTOGRAPHY BY TODD BIGELOW



Fire and brimstone: Terry Anderson whips up an audience that loves him because of what he says — and because he's a black man saying it.

roly-poly, bow-tied orator is lighting up his audience of 200 or so mostly middle-aged and elderly white guys, who clap harder, stand longer, and whistle louder for Anderson than for anyone else on the agenda. This might have something to do with the fact that Anderson is one of only a tiny handful of African-Americans at this predominately white conference — and the only black speaker. The implied message of his presence and enthusiastic reception is crystal clear: “How can we be racist? Our beloved keynote speaker is black.”

In recent months, Anderson and a smattering of other African-American anti-immigration activists, most notably longtime Los Angeles homeless activist Ted Hayes (see interviews with both men, p. 25), have become the front men for

a campaign orchestrated and funded by white anti-immigration leaders. The campaign aims to convert black Americans to their cause, and simultaneously to provide groups like the Minuteman Project and the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) with cover against accusations of racism.

Beyond putting a black face in the spotlight as often as possible at rallies and conventions like Unite to Fight, this effort also consists of the new FAIR front group, Choose Black America — a supposedly nationwide coalition of black business and community leaders spreading the message that “mass illegal immigration has been the single greatest impediment to black advancement in this country over the past 25 years.”

“The danger here is [black activists] being co-opted by a group who may not have the African-American community’s best interests in mind,” says Shayla Nunnally, a black professor at the University of Connecticut and co-author of a Duke University study on Latino immigrants’ attitudes towards blacks. “It goes back to minorities fighting minorities, while fighting the overall oppression isn’t being addressed.”

Strange Bedfellows

Terry Anderson comes off like a true believer in the old Arab proverb, “The enemy of my enemy is my friend” — even if that friend looks a lot like a white supremacist.

In Vegas, Anderson shares the lectern with Rick Oltman, who in addition to being the western states regional coordinator for FAIR has spoken at several major events put on by the white supremacist Council of Conservative Citizens (CCC) and who was described by the CCC as a member in 1998. During his speech, Oltman drops the name of Brenda Walker, a regular contributor to the racist website VDARE.com who, among other things, has described Hmong refugees living in the United States as “drug-addicted polygamists.”

Oltman’s comments are tame in comparison to Anderson’s diatribe, a rant in which he rages about public schools being “infected with illegal alien children, who are dumb and stupid in two languages.” Anderson also presides over a posthumous tribute to Madeleine Cosman, an attorney who was a popular figure on the immigrant-bashing lecture circuit until her death last March. At the Las Vegas summit, Anderson praises Cosman’s legacy, then introduces a screening of the pseudo-documentary “Illegal Aliens & America’s Medicine,” which features Cosman’s alarmist claim that Mexican immigrants are spreading dengue fever, Kawasaki disease, and various sexually transmitted diseases, especially to their many alleged rape victims. Speaking

from beyond the grave, Cosman says, “Most of these bastards molest girls under 12, though some specialize in boys, and some in nuns.”

Four months before she died, Cosman was a guest on the “The Terry Anderson Show,” the weekly Sunday night radio pulpit from which Anderson preaches the need for black Americans to get angry about illegal immigration, to listen to white “experts” like Cosman, and to join forces with groups like the Minuteman Project and FAIR. Essentially, Anderson wants to shut down the border while tearing down the walls between urban, working-class blacks and far-right whites, at least until the country is cleansed of illegal immigrants, who both he and Ted Hayes argue present a far greater threat to blacks in America than racist whites.

The way Anderson tells it, black Americans simply do not have a choice: “If we don’t fix this and put other problems to the side, then, man, we gone,” he says in an interview with the *Intelligence Report*.

While Anderson’s stated aim is to amass a black following, he wasn’t known to most blacks outside California, where he lives in South Central Los Angeles, until he affiliated with the white leaders of the Minuteman Project. By his own description, most of his radio show’s nationwide listening audience is white. He reaches more blacks with his frequent appearances on “Urban Policy Roundtable,” a weekly TV program in California hosted by African-American columnist Earl Ofari Hutchinson, than he does with his own show.

“I’m the only one that’s really given Terry a platform to come in and talk about these issues with a black audience,” says Hutchinson. “So, he can’t go anywhere else, except with white folks.”

It’s white folks who have paraded Anderson all over the country in the past year, financing his appearances at the Unite to Fight convention in Las Vegas, a Minuteman Project summit in Arlington Heights, Ill., and a Capitol Hill rally where Anderson warmed up the crowd for anti-immigration hard-liner and U.S. Rep. Tom Tancredo (R-Colo.), among other events. When officials at white-dominated FAIR needed black figureheads for their front group, they knew Anderson was their man. He signed on as a founding member of Choose Black America (CBA), along with 10 other activists, academics, clergymen, and entrepreneurs.

The formation of CBA was announced at a FAIR-sponsored press conference last May at the National Press Club in Washington, D.C. To date, that press conference is the only verifiable action CBA has taken. It otherwise seems to exist only as a website and a public relations gambit.

“The African Americans they brought there were just to put a black face on their position,” says Hutchinson, who, unlike Anderson and Hayes, declined an offer to join CBA.

“These blacks had no other further use. [FAIR] got what they wanted, so why would they have meetings [of the CBA]? Why would they create an organization? These individuals are so loosely affiliated, what kind of organization are you going to form out of that?”

FAIR Trade

CBA is billed as a “coalition of business, academic and community leaders” who believe that “Blacks, in particular, have lost economic opportunities, seen their kids’ schools flooded with non-English speaking students, and felt the socio-economic damage of illegal immigration more acutely than any other group.” It’s portrayed as a grassroots organization, but it hardly sprang from the community. Tiny type at the bottom of CBA’s home page reads, “A project of FAIR.”

That is not a new tactic for the best-known anti-immigration organization in the United States. Other, similar front groups set up by FAIR include the Coalition for the Future of the American Worker, which claims to be a coalition of blue-collar groups, and You Don’t Speak for Me (“American



Latino Voices Speaking Out Against Illegal Immigration”), the Hispanic version of CBA.

Though he’s critical of CBA, Earl Ofari Hutchinson is no open-borders advocate. Several times this year in his *Pasadena Weekly* column, Hutchinson has written about black frustration with illegal immigration and has even warned of the potential dangers Latino immigration presents to black Americans. “The leap in Latino voting strength and the likely prospect that Democrats and Republicans can bag even more voters from the rising number of legal and illegal immigrants comes at a bad time for black politicians,” Hutchinson wrote last April, about a month before the CBA press conference.

Hutchinson tells the *Intelligence Report* that not long after that column came out, FAIR offered to fly him to D.C. and

put him up in a nice hotel if he would join their press conference, pose for a photo, and agree to be identified as a founding member of CBA. Hutchinson said no. “They assumed that essentially I was on their team, and I would be an effective advocate for their point of view as an African-American spokesperson,” Hutchinson says. He rejected the offer, he says, because of FAIR’s ties to white supremacist groups and because he didn’t want to be associated with the anti-multiculturalism attitudes of FAIR founder John Tanton, who wrote of non-white immigration in 1986: “Will the present majority peaceably hand over its political power to a group that is simply more fertile? ... As Whites see their power and control over their lives declining, will they simply go quietly into the night? Or will there be an explosion?”

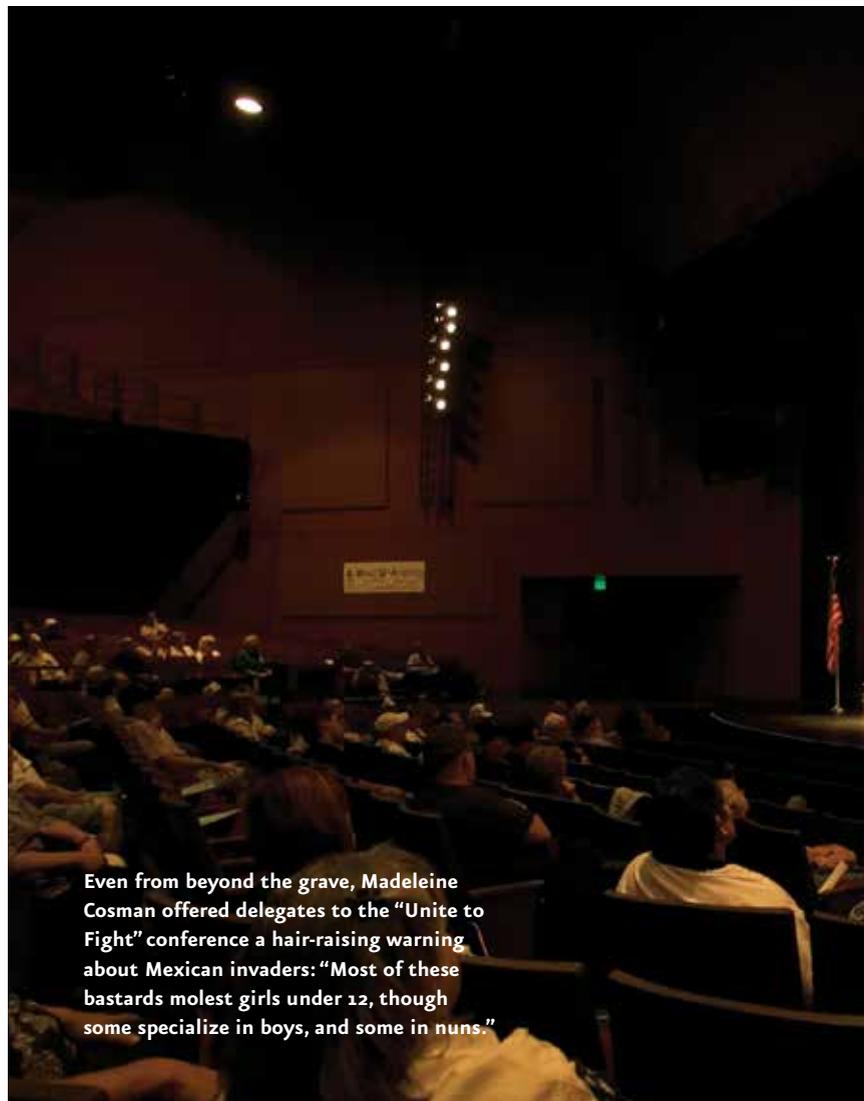
Terry Anderson has no such qualms about Tanton. In fact, records show that Anderson has received upwards of \$10,000 from Tanton’s U.S. Inc. to fund his radio show. “I know John Tanton. I’ve met him on many occasions,” Anderson tells the *Intelligence Report*. “What somebody does in front of you and what they do behind you is always going to be two different things. I just know that he has founded an organization that is at the forefront of this problem and without them we would be a lot worse off. ... If Tanton is a racist and he says illegal immigration is wrong for this country, does that make his statement wrong? No.”

Coalition of the Willing

Five of the 11 founding members of CBA were interviewed for this article. All but one said they had no idea who the other individuals in their “coalition” were before they arrived in D.C. for the press conference. James Clingman, a Cincinnati columnist and businessman, said that if he had known, he would have never shown up. “Choose Black America was just the banner under which we had a press conference,” says Clingman, who writes on economics. “There are people involved [in CBA] who I am just diametrically opposed to, like [far-right Christian evangelical] Jesse Lee Peterson and those other neo-conservative, black so-called leaders.”

Clingman says that with the exception of his personal friend, Claud Anderson, he has had no contact with any of the other CBA founders or with FAIR since the press conference. According to the rest of the CBA founders interviewed, there have been no meetings, no phone calls, and no other organizational advances since May.

The chairperson of CBA is identified in press materials as Frank Morris — the same longtime FAIR member who in 2004 ran for the board of directors of the Sierra Club as part of a well-organized but ultimately unsuccessful attempt to convert the environmental powerhouse into an anti-immigration organization. Morris did not return three phone calls seeking comment for this story.



Even from beyond the grave, Madeleine Cosman offered delegates to the “Unite to Fight” conference a hair-raising warning about Mexican invaders: “Most of these bastards molest girls under 12, though some specialize in boys, and some in nuns.”

A primary FAIR aim in creating the CBA has been to convince black Americans that Latino immigrants will take their jobs or significantly depress their wages, despite a preponderance of evidence to the contrary. Even a study by Harvard economist George Borjas, widely considered an ally by anti-immigration forces, only showed a wage-lowering effect (and a modest one at that) on the least skilled and poorest educated workers, and many other scholars dispute that finding. A new study by the nonpartisan Pew Hispanic Center found “no apparent relationship between the growth of foreign workers with less education and the employment outcome of native workers with the same low level of education.”

Such research doesn’t sway the opinion of CBA founding member Claud Anderson. The president of PowerNomics, an inner-city development corporation, concedes that he went to the press conference knowing nothing about FAIR, but he says he came away a fervent FAIR supporter. The group, he says, is pushing the right agenda. “You got silly naïve black leadership who don’t understand that those people [Latino immigrants] are not coming here to get along with black folks. They are coming here to compete with black folks.”

Asked what the government should do about the estimat-



ed 12 million illegal immigrants now living in the U.S., Claud Anderson told the *Intelligence Report*: “Put their asses on the boat and send them back.”

‘You’re Not Black’

FAIR isn’t the only organization trying to put a black face on the anti-immigration movement. The Minuteman Civil Defense Corps (see related story, p. 60), an offshoot of the original “citizens border patrol” Minuteman Project, is now identified as “a project of the Declaration Alliance,” a right-wing consortium led by African-American ultraconservative Alan Keyes, best known for his many failed runs on the Republican ticket for U.S. Senate and president. Keyes now speaks at Minuteman Civil Defense Corps events wearing a black cowboy hat.

Also, when Minuteman Project co-founder Jim Gilchrist kicked off his group’s cross-country caravan to Washington, D.C., last May 3, he picked Leimert Park, a mostly black

Black activist Terry Anderson shared the podium in Las Vegas with Rick Oltman (right), who at other moments had given similar speeches to a white supremacist group.

Los Angeles neighborhood, as the caravan’s rallying point. Gilchrist brought out the Rev. Jesse Lee Peterson, African-American head of the right-wing, Christian fundamentalist Brotherhood Organization for a New Destiny, along with Ted Hayes, the black homeless advocate, to back him up.

The rally was supposed to be an invitation to Minuteman discipleship, but it didn’t end in benediction. Faced by dozens of African-Americans calling Gilchrist a racist and labeling his black associates as “Sambos,” Gilchrist dropped the friendly face. “Minutemen, stand your ground,” he barked. Then, referring to a man leading chants against his followers, Gilchrist added, “If it’s war he wants, then let it begin here,” according to the *Los Angeles Times*.

“We confronted them and chased them out of our community with that racist nonsense,” says Najee Ali, president of the Islamic H.O.P.E. civil rights organization in Los Angeles. “We wanted to let them know that they are not welcome in our community and we were offended they chose that as their departure point.”

Ali’s May confrontation with the Minutemen was neither his first nor his last. Throughout the summer Ali hosted a number of forums on black and Latino community relationships. They were sponsored in part by the Latino and African American Leadership Alliance, which lists as co-chairs Ali, the Rev. Al Sharpton and Christine Chavez, granddaughter of union activist César Chavez. Minutemen, both black and white, showed up to heckle panel members — including California state assemblymen and Los Angeles City Council members — and to intimidate the audience.

“At first I didn’t get why they were there,” says Anike Tourse, a panelist at one of Ali’s forums representing the Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights of Los Angeles. “The panel wasn’t about immigration, it was about relationships between blacks and Latinos. But they made sure it [immigration] came up.”

During her presentation, Tourse said Minutemen sat in



the front rows making distracting noises and “a big scene.”

One of the black Minutemen, adds panelist Xiomara Corpeno, “went up at Ali and said, “You sold out your people. You don’t represent black people. You’re not black.”

Hard evidence shows it is the black Minutemen, however, who don’t represent mainstream black thought on the topic of immigration. Several major polls show that most African Americans favor the U.S. Senate’s Kennedy-McCain bill, which would allow many undocumented workers to stay in America and eventually earn citizenship. Most mainstream civil rights groups, including the NAACP and the Urban League, have come out in support of Latino immigrants. Historically black colleges and universities have aggressively begun recruiting Latinos, who have an 86% high school graduation rate, according to a recent Pew Hispanic Center study.

Sheila Jackson Lee, an African-American congresswoman from Texas, has called the immigrant rights movement “the civil rights issue of our time.”

But for Ted Hayes, it’s not that. It’s “the greatest threat to U.S. black citizens since slavery.”

Pawns in Their Game

Tall and gangly, Hayes dresses in robes and wears a mane of dreadlocks underneath an African *kufi*. Around his neck



Black anti-immigration activist Ted Hayes calls Barbara Coe “a great lady,” and marched side-by-side with the founder of the California Coalition for Immigration Reform at a recent rally. Coe also is a prominent member of a group that has described blacks as “a retrograde species of humanity.”

hangs a Black Hebrew Israelite pentagram. Hayes was a black-power advocate in the early 1980s, before he became an activist for the homeless, and you won’t hear him endorsing white supremacist websites. But he considers himself a Minuteman, and has named his own anti-immigration spinoff group the Crispus Attucks Brigade, after a black man who was first person killed in the Boston Massacre carried out by colonial Britain.

And that led to his showing up at a recent rally and marching side-by-side with a woman named Barbara Coe, founder and leader of the California Coalition for Immigration Reform. Coe, Hayes enthuses, is “a great lady.”

Coe is also a self-described member and repeat guest speaker of the Council of Conservative Citizens (CCC), a white supremacist group that has described blacks as “a retrograde species of humanity” and once compared pop singer Michael Jackson to a chimpanzee.

“That just shows Ted’s ignorance,” says Najee Ali, adding that Hayes has “no constituency” in the black community. “He aligned himself to be used as a pawn.”

Add Hutchinson: “Ted and Terry — other than immigration, they don’t have any following. They have none. They are considered, out here in Los Angeles, a joke.”

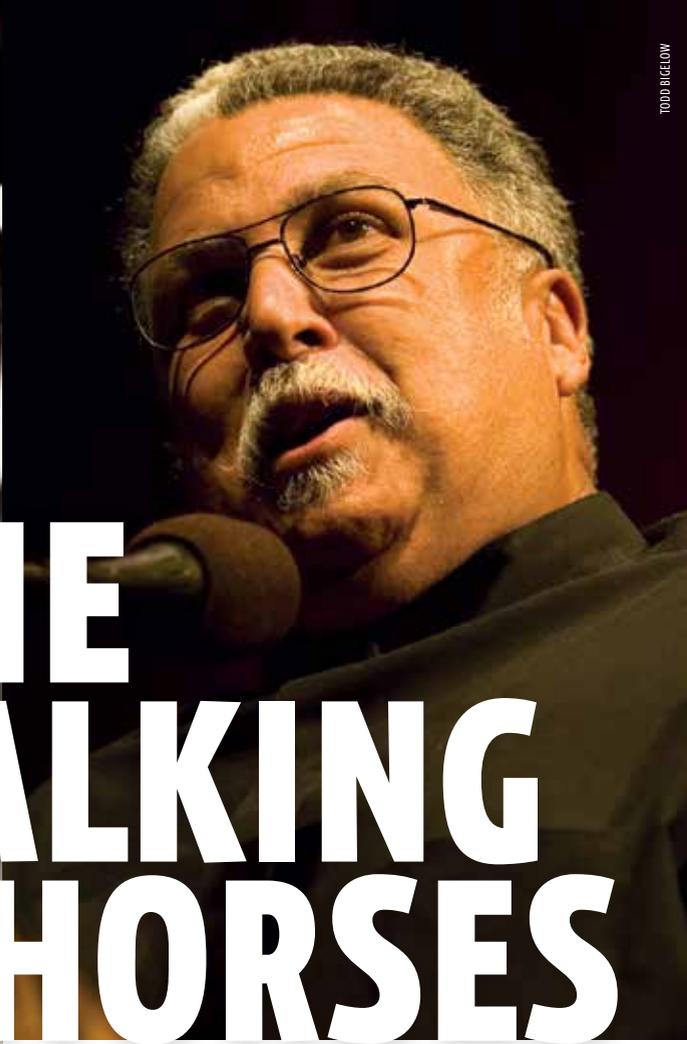
But in the world of the national anti-immigration movement, Anderson and Hayes are major players. The vitriol they spit out about Mexicans has the same incendiary tone as the rhetoric that some black nationalists and Nation of Islam leaders have in the past directed at whites. Now, black activists like Anderson and Hayes are using that same provocative, indicting tone to pick on someone their own size: Latinos, who according to the last census have just edged out blacks as the largest minority in the United States. They say it’s Hispanics who are now oppressing black communities — by depressing wages, taking jobs and killing blacks in the streets, schools and prisons. Explains Terry Anderson, “The ‘white man’ we’re fighting is the Mexicans.”

On stage in Vegas, Anderson pardons the entire white race on behalf of the four other blacks in the audience. “White folks weren’t always fair to my people. But we forgive and forget.” He then calls Latinos “the most racist people I have ever seen in my life,” and goes on to mock the idea that “Mexicans do jobs Americans won’t do,” reeling off a litany of blue-collar jobs he would gladly do: drywalling, roofing, washing cars. “I will even pick cotton,” he says. Then he pauses a beat, as if realizing what he’s just said. “Nah, I ain’t pickin no cotton!”

The audience laughs in approval of Anderson’s jolly oratory. He ends with the popular call-and-response catchphrase, delivered in the dialect of South Central Los Angeles, that marks his radio show: “If you ain’t mad...”

The audience, well-schooled in following this black man, shouts back as one: “Then you ain’t payin’ attention!”

Anderson exits the stage to a standing, cheering ovation and makes his way up the aisle, giving high fives as he goes. He spots his wife, still sitting in the dark in the far back row, and resumes his place in the shadows. ▲



TODD BICE/LOW

THE STALKING HORSES

interview

TWO PRINCIPALS IN A BLACK GROUP SET UP BY A WHITE-DOMINATED ANTI-IMMIGRATION ORGANIZATION DISCUSS THE MOVEMENT AND ITS AIMS

In May, the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), one of the country's oldest, largest, and richest anti-immigration organizations — and one with a number of links, including past funding, to white supremacist groups — organized a press conference to announce the formation of Choose Black America, a new FAIR front group designed to rally black Americans against Hispanic immigration. For the event, FAIR paid to fly 10 black academics, economists, members of the clergy and activists from around the country to the National Press Club in Washington, D.C. They claimed to represent “the vast majority of American blacks who believe that amnesty for illegal aliens would be devastating to their communities.”

The most notable and radical of Choose Black America's founding members are radio talk show host Terry Anderson and longtime homeless activist-turned-anti-immigration firebrand Ted Hayes. Both from Los Angeles, Anderson and Hayes have emerged as leaders in the black an-

ti-immigration movement.

Minuteman Project co-founder Jim Gilchrist calls Hayes the “icon for the African-American segment” of the border vigilante movement that the Minutemen form the largest part of. After years of running Dome Village, a project that provides shelter for 20 homeless families, Hayes has now formed his own Minuteman offshoot, the Crispus Attucks Brigade, named after the black Bostonian who was the 1770 Boston Massacre’s first casualty. In July, Hayes’ brigade marched alongside Barbara Coe, founder of the California Coalition for Immigration Reform hate group and a self-described member of the white supremacist Council of Conservative Citizens. (The CCC’s website that same month proclaimed that the victory of Italy’s all-white soccer team in the World Cup tournament shattered the “myth of black superiority in sports.”)

While Hayes has offered to march as well with Mexicans in support of their civil rights — so long as the march is in Mexico — Anderson is far less sympathetic. He once told a crowd that he would snatch Mexicans “out of the hospital with the IV still dripping” and deport them, but not before scanning their fingers, eyes and rectums for purposes of positive identification. A former auto mechanic who lives in south central L.A., Anderson’s Sunday night AM talk radio program “The Terry Anderson Show” is all the rage for thousands of Mexican-haters throughout the country. Fans shout out his familiar refrains — “If you ain’t mad, you ain’t paying attention!” and “My job is to make you angry!” — at rallies from Phoenix to Chicago, mimicking Anderson’s urban black inflection.

Earl Ofari Hutchinson, a black columnist in Los Angeles who’s had both Anderson and Hayes on his weekly television show “Urban Policy Roundtable” and who has himself discussed the alleged negative impacts of illegal immigration on black Americans, criticizes the two men for exploiting the issue of immigration, an issue that Hutchinson, like many blacks, views as marginal to his community’s larger concerns. “We haven’t seen them involved in any issues beyond immigration that impact the black community,” says Hutchinson. “Why all of a sudden would you align yourself with groups who have murky ties with other groups that are racist?”

The *Intelligence Report* put that question to Hayes and Anderson in recent, separate interviews that also covered their involvement in Choose Black America and their views on immigration’s effects on American blacks.

TED HAYES

INTELLIGENCE REPORT: What harm does illegal immigration cause black Americans?

TED HAYES: This illegal invasion, in my opinion, is the greatest threat to American black citizens since chattel slavery itself. They keep saying America is a nation of immigrants. This country is built on the backs of West African black chattel slaves. The immigrants came on top of that. Everything they did was based upon what we already laid down. If they keep saying this country is based on immigrants, basically we will no longer be a people.

IR: Black people will no longer be a people, or Americans will no longer be a people?

HAYES: Won’t be no other people. They will have robbed us of our civil

rights and everything else. What good are we? What do we have left? You can’t take our civil rights because it belongs to our ancestors. And the only way you going to get it, amigo, you got to kill us. It’s that serious.

IR: Do statements like that provoke violence?

HAYES: Provoke? They done already did it! They done provoked the white folks. White folks want to tear their heads off. They are getting madder and madder out here. We want them [immigrants] to know the damage you are doing to us poor black people. Now, you can go ahead and do it if you want to, but this will be the consequence of what you do. Here in Los Angeles, it’s talked about by our people because we live so inundated around the invad-

ers. They got some brothers running around here like Jesse Jackson and them talking about brown and black unity and ignoring the real issue. It’s taken a minute to get started but they starting to come around. We had a march on Hollywood [Boulevard] the other day [a July 8 rally that ended in violence from anti-racist protesters, including the injury of a police officer].

IR: What was your role in that march?

HAYES: We organized it. I led it. I don’t know why they kept saying it was the Minutemen. That was a Crispus Attucks production. Along with SOS [Save Our State, an anti-immigration hate group], they put the word out for the people. And the California Coalition for Immigration Reform — Barbara Coe and them.

IR: How well do you know Barbara Coe?

HAYES: She’s a great lady. She was right there with us, right beside us.

IR: Are you aware of her involvement with the Council of Conservative Citizens? *[Editor’s note: Coe has spoken at conventions of the CCC and recently admitted membership in the group, which has described blacks as “a retrograde species of humanity.” She routinely describes Mexicans as “savages.”]*

HAYES: I don’t know who they are.

I just spoke at a CCIR [California Coalition for Immigration Reform] meeting the other day. I tell you though, even with them rednecks out there, a lot of folks are rednecks because they’re scared. When they meet us, some of them cry, man. I remember one day we pulled up on the border — a bunch of brothers in a van, about seven or eight of us — to meet Jim Gilchrist and them down there. We get out the van and they were shaking our hands, wanting to take pictures with us and so glad to see us. What we’re doing is we’re way-laying their fears. We’re letting them know we’re not the [Black] Panthers; we’re not Jesse Jackson; we’re not Al Sharpton; we’re not Louis Farrakhan. We are a mature breed of brothers who know what the real situation is and we are not trying to hurt [white people].

IR: Do you ever get concerned that perhaps these white leaders, like Coe

and Gilchrist, may turn on you after they get what they want out of you?

HAYES: (Singing.) “Thanks for the memories.” (Laughs.) Of course I am. When I’m around the leadership, I got to know who leads and who doesn’t lead, and when to lead and when not to lead. Sometimes, I got to let them think it was their idea.

IR: What do you know about the leadership behind Choose Black America?

HAYES: Choose Black America was created by an organization in Washington, D.C., called FAIR [Federation for American Immigration Reform]. They had a news conference a couple months ago [May 23] with who

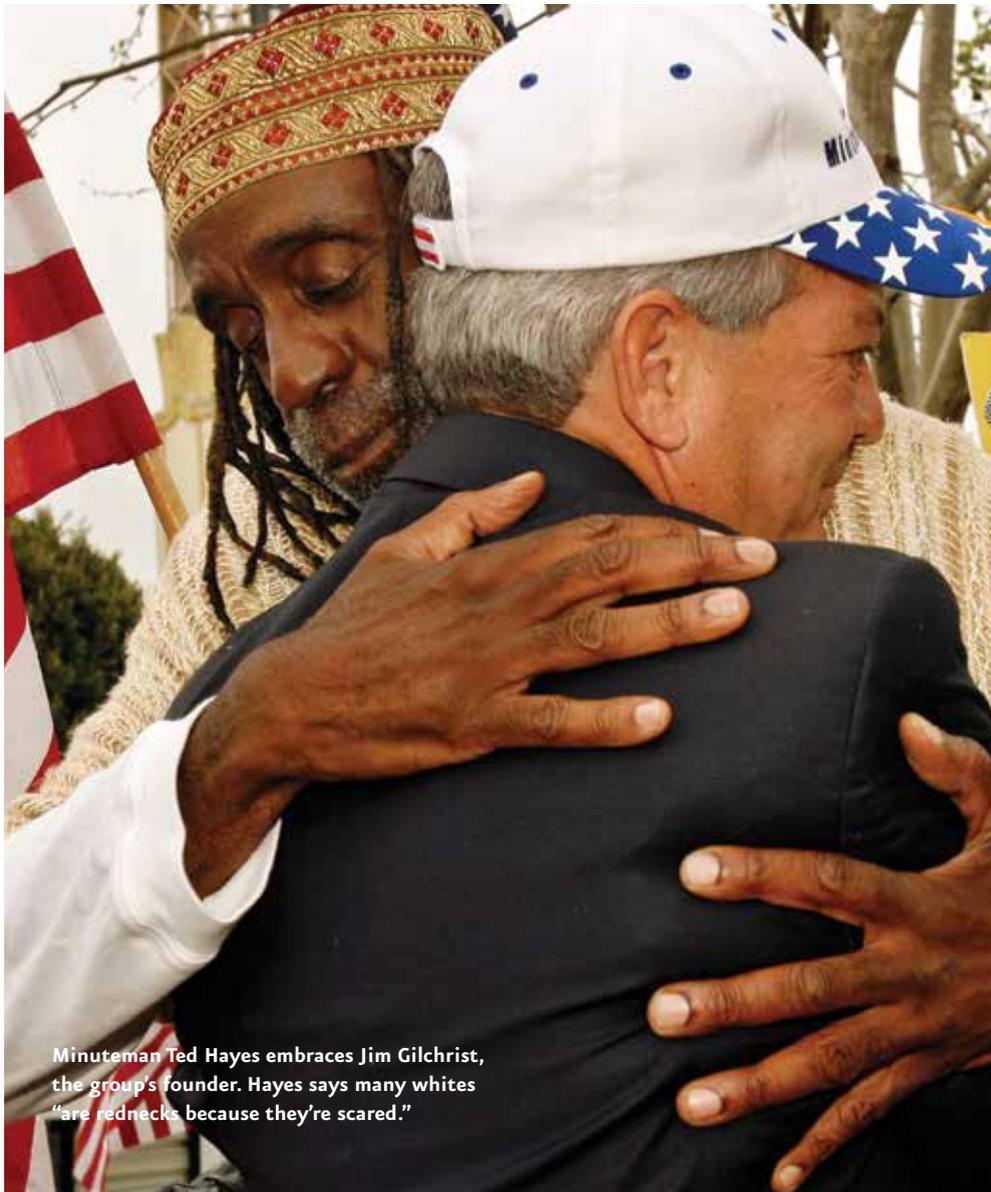
they thought were outstanding black individuals on this issue. So they flew me to D.C. I met with about 10 or 15 of them, and Dr. Frank Morris [who was named chairman of Choose Black America] was there. Dr. Claud Anderson [founder of The Harvest Institute, which aims to empower black Americans economically] was there. I’m due to call [FAIR] today because they have

funding for anything that has to do with Choose Black America.

IR: FAIR is funding Choose Black America?

HAYES: Well, Choose Black America ain’t did nothing yet. They don’t have funding. FAIR has funding for anything that moves Choose Black America. See, and the Crispus Attucks team, we’re getting on it.

“We’re letting them know we’re not the [Black] Panthers... We are a mature breed of brothers who know what the real situation is and we are not trying to hurt [white people].”



Minuteman Ted Hayes embraces Jim Gilchrist, the group’s founder. Hayes says many whites “are rednecks because they’re scared.”

IR: How many members of Choose Black America do you actually know?

HAYES: I only know one or two. I don’t know most of them guys. I just met them at the [May 23 press conference]. And see, I think that we need a more aggressive leadership in there, and that’s what I’m trying to put forward. We need to be in contact with each other and we need to meet once a month. We need to come up with a strategy plan.

IR: How many times have you all met since the press conference in May?

HAYES: That’s the only meeting we had. And it’s a powerful group. It’s the new generation of leaders there.

IR: How do you, as one of these leaders, respond to immigrants who say they deserve civil and human rights?

HAYES: Say that to Mexico! Say that to Guatemala, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Honduras! Say that to the places you running from. Don’t come here telling us about *our* civil rights. These aren’t yours; these are ours. And you can maybe holler human rights here, and we’ll give you some wiggle room on that. But you can’t have them civil rights, brother. Nobody — no

country can give up their civil rights. Ask the Russians to give up their civil rights. Ask the French to give up theirs. Ask the Japanese to give up their civil rights. They ain't going to do it. Why should we? Whassup, amigo? What you smoking?

IR: So any path to citizenship for undocumented immigrants already here...

HAYES: We have to be against that. If you allow illegal invaders to take something from you, then you done lost everything that you stand for. And then the civil rights struggle — all the people who were lynched and beat and shot and murdered and whupped and dogged and sat upon and water hosed, which, by the way, no Latinos were out there. Not one of the Mexicans came up here and tried to fight for black folks' freedom. They just sat there and watched that mess. They even had slaves themselves. So if we let them just have our country, we will have betrayed Martin Luther King and all of the civil rights movement. *[Editor's note: After Mexican and Filipino farm workers won an important victory in their efforts to organize in 1966, King sent union leader César Chavez a telegram stating, "I extend the hand of fellowship and goodwill and wish continuing success to you and your members. The fight for equality must be fought on many fronts."]*

TERRY ANDERSON

INTELLIGENCE REPORT: You have a lot of white supporters. But how successful is your message in the black community?

TERRY ANDERSON: It's hard, brother. See, black folks don't have no focus. We hold a town hall meeting about illegal immigration, and they want to bring up a thousand subjects. They want to talk about education; they want to talk about the schools; they want to talk about parking; they want to talk about police brutality. And then you got that old minority bullshit about, "We minorities, they minorities, so we got to all stick together." Then you get, "The white man hard on them just like he hard on us," and, see, this is the kind of stuff I just don't understand. Right now, the white man that they are talking about is Mexicans! It used to be the Klan, now it's the Klan with a tan.

Then I hear these handkerchief-head, slave-catching, Negro leaders who say we have to form an alliance with these people [Hispanic immigrants], like the NAACP. What a bunch of outdated, worthless people are the NAACP. I have so much disdain and hatred for these people. Them and the [Congressional] Black Caucus. They are selling us out.

IR: You say your job is to make people angry. Are you concerned that anger will lead to violence?

ANDERSON: I'm talking about righteous indignation. I'm not talking about violence in the streets. I'm

totally against that, although — and you can print this — I predict it. It's coming, and it's going to be here soon. If this thing ain't fixed in a legal way by politics or judges or government, some kind of way, there's going to be violence. There will be a race riot in this town [Los Angeles] the likes of which you have never seen.

IR: How do you feel about that?

ANDERSON: I'm not concerned about it. I don't have the luxury of being concerned. We [blacks] are now a third-class people. They [Latinos] have taken every political gain we have made. We had better representation from some of these white mayors and city councilmen [in L.A.] than we will ever get from these Mexicans. They are not going to give us anything. They don't care. Not only don't they care, but the Hispanics have a disdain for the black population. They don't want us here.

IR: Tell us about Choose Black America.

ANDERSON: Right, that's Dr. Claud Anderson and Dr. Frank Morris. Those



are a bunch of guys who know what's going on. When I got on the radio one of the first guests I ever had was Dr. Frank Morris. They don't come up with all this bullshit about, "We got to remember that we had a hard time when we came here, too."

IR: Who else do you know in Choose Black America?

ANDERSON: (Long sigh.) Their names aren't coming to me.

IR: What has Choose Black America accomplished beyond holding a press conference?

ANDERSON: There are articles being written. They're planning some other stuff right now. Basically,

"It used to be the Klan, now it's the Klan with a tan. ... They are not going to give us anything. They don't care. Not only don't they care, but the Hispanics have a disdain for the black population. They don't want us here."



TODD BICELOW PHOTO

it was a name of an organization to get the news conference. I only hope that most black people will look at it and say, “These are brothers. These ain’t rednecks.”

IR: Choose Black America is funded by FAIR [Federation for American Immigration Reform], correct?

ANDERSON: I don’t believe they’re funded by FAIR. I believe that press conference was funded by FAIR.

IR: Would you agree that FAIR doesn’t have the best reputation among blacks?

ANDERSON: What bad reputation do they have?

IR: Are you familiar with [FAIR founder and board member John] Tanton’s associations? [*Editor’s note: Tanton, architect of much of the organized anti-immigration movement, runs an anti-immigration hate group called the Social Contract Press, which is staffed by his long-time collaborator, Wayne Lutton, an officer of the Council of Conservative Citizens and one other white supremacist group. Tanton has written about Latinos’ allegedly low “educabil-*

ity” and he republished and endorsed a racist French novel about a non-white invasion of France, complete with an author’s afterword about threats to the white race.]

ANDERSON: We’re going to disavow FAIR because Tanton may or may not have had some racist friends? Because Tanton may or may not have had a racist moment in his life, we’re going to disavow the organization of FAIR?

IR: How do you feel about the stands of many Ku Klux Klan and neo-Nazi groups against illegal immigration?

ANDERSON: I read some of the stuff on [the white supremacist website] Stormfront and some of the stuff they write — it’s like *I* wrote it. And it’s not racially prejudiced. Sometimes it is, but usually it’s a nationalist thing. Am I going to stand up with Stormfront? Of course I’m not, because they’re a bunch of redneck, racist motherfuckers. But the statements they made were true. Now, I have black people tell me, “Man, you saying the same thing the KKK is saying.” Well, then we’re

both right. I’m sorry. I’m sorry that we happen to agree on this. And I think, now a lot of these white supremacist organizations are softening themselves toward us, because now they got a new enemy that’s overwhelming them.

IR: On your radio show, you seem to focus more on the cultural impact of immigration than the economic consequences for the black community.

ANDERSON: The guy who lives up the corner from me, from El Salvador, he dug up his whole front yard. They got rows of corn growing in their front yard. It’s about two feet high right now. Corn! Rows of corn. Are you listening to me?

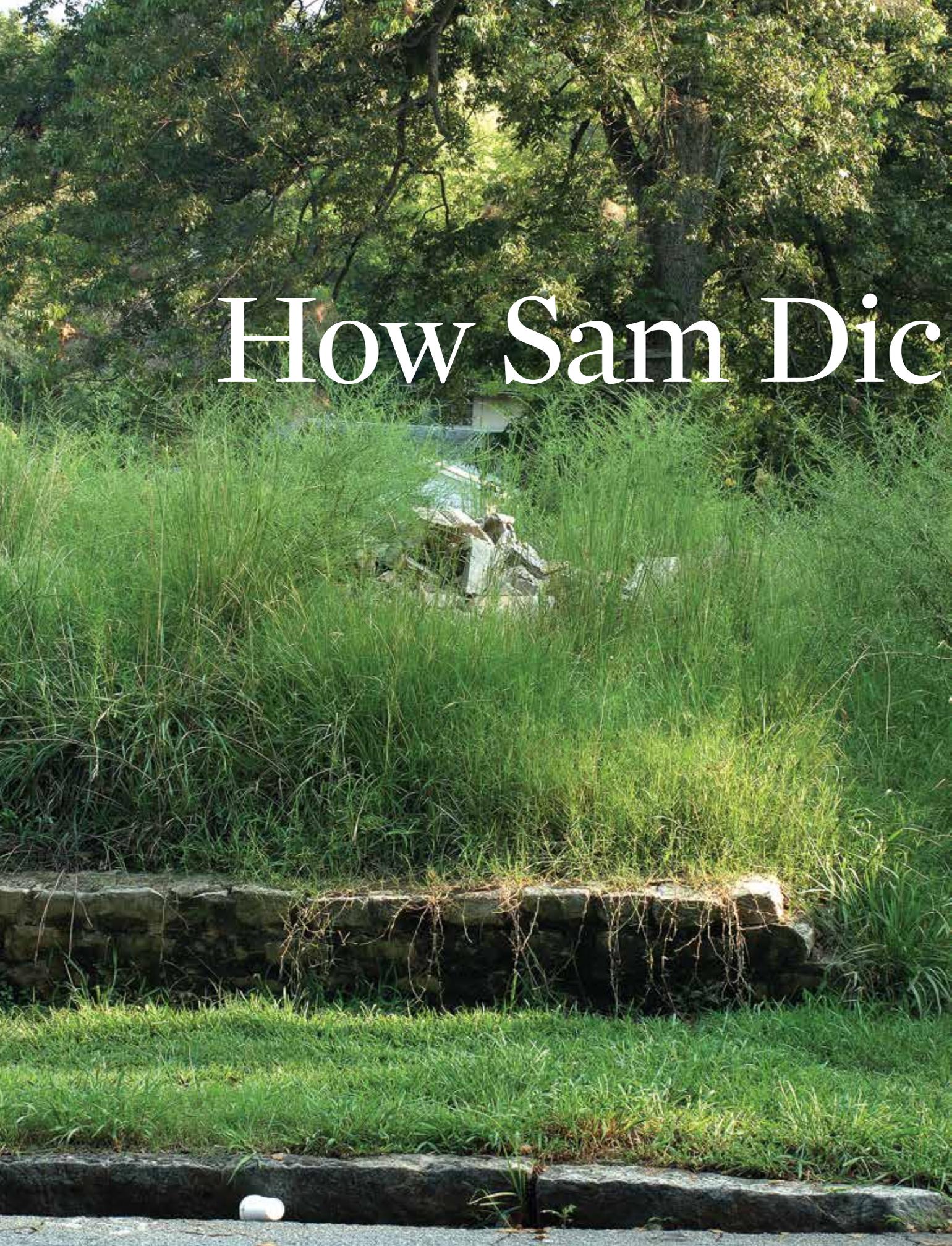
The guy two doors from him has about 20 chickens in the backyard and once a day he opens the gate and lets them out. In the next block from me, there’s a goat tied up in the backyard. They wash their clothes and hang them on the front fence — not even on a clothesline. Each house has five, six, seven cars, so there’s nowhere to park. Yeah, that has nothing to do with economics, but it makes it hard to live.

And then there’s the parties. These mariachi parties, where they bring live musical bands in their backyards and play just as loud as they can play until 2, 3, 4 o’clock in the morning. Graffiti on everything. All the billboards in my neighborhood are now in Spanish. I’m talking Kellogg’s, Ford, Toyota, GM, Seagram’s, Coors, Budweiser, you name it, it’s in Spanish. None of that is economics. It’s all cultural, and it’s a problem.

IR: Aren’t you playing toward negative stereotypes about Mexicans? Is it really fair to say all Mexican and Central American immigrants have goats and chickens in their yards?

ANDERSON: Every Mexican doesn’t have chickens in their yard, but my reality is that some of them do. Every one of them doesn’t party. But I would say an overwhelming majority of them do. All of them don’t have goats. They all don’t grow corn in their front yard, but the majority of them do. So to answer your question, no. They all don’t do it. But it’s not a stereotype when the majority do. Am I wrong? ▲

How Sam Dic



Dickson Got Rich

THE FORMER KLAN LAWYER FROM ATLANTA HAS ALWAYS BEEN INTERESTED IN MONEY.
WHAT'S REMARKABLE IS HOW HE'S BEEN ABLE TO EARN IT

One afternoon in July of 2005, Atlanta real estate investor Steven Ogletree received an unusual phone call. On the other end of the line was a local retired lawyer and real estate prospector named Sam Dickson. Ogletree had never heard of Dickson, knew nothing of his outspoken white supremacy, and was surprised when the pushy stranger urged him to undersell a plot of land in Atlanta's resurgent Vine City district. Dickson claimed to have already bought out Ogletree's three junior partners; he now needed the remaining portion to gain full title. Dickson named a price and demanded that the deed be signed over to him at once. ¶ Ogletree recoiled, refusing the offer. It took several more phone calls, offers and rejections before a flustered Dickson told Ogletree that he no longer believed he was speaking to the right person. The reason, Dickson said, was that Ogletree sounded African-American, which indeed he was. Dickson declared that "no black man was capable" of masterminding such a profitable investment, Ogletree said. ¶ The statement was a revealing burst of honesty in Sam Dickson's short but lucrative career in real estate. The year before, Dickson had declared at a conference sponsored by former Klan leader David Duke that "Negroes ... are hopeless." ¶ But not without their uses, especially when they own property. It was at that same conference that Dickson declared, apropos of not much at all, "I like money. There's no virtue in poverty. I want money." ¶ So he does. Since 2001, Dickson, a 59-year-old former Klan attorney and active veteran of numerous extreme-right causes and groups, has built a multi-million dollar business in the niche field of tax lien and title acquisition. His success has depended in no small part on keeping his otherwise well-known racism concealed from his targets, many of whom are poor and black. According to those who have observed and worked with Dickson, his profits have been earned through a combination of bullying, stealth, and legal pretzel-making in the arcane world of tax lien purchases, redemptions and foreclosures. When contacted, Dickson declined to comment on the charges. ¶ Though unusual for the surfacing of racist bile, Ogletree's anecdote is consistent with other reports of Dickson's methods. ¶ "Before he insulted me, he tried to swindle me," says Ogletree. "Everything he told me was an exaggeration. He called me at midnight and threatened me, using jargon, as if he had some special powers because he

BY ALEXANDER ZAITCHIK PHOTOGRAPHY BY STEVEN THACKSTON

passed the bar. I wasn't intimidated by him, but [what if] he does this to defenseless old ladies, and makes it sound as if a siren is coming to their door — it's just evil."

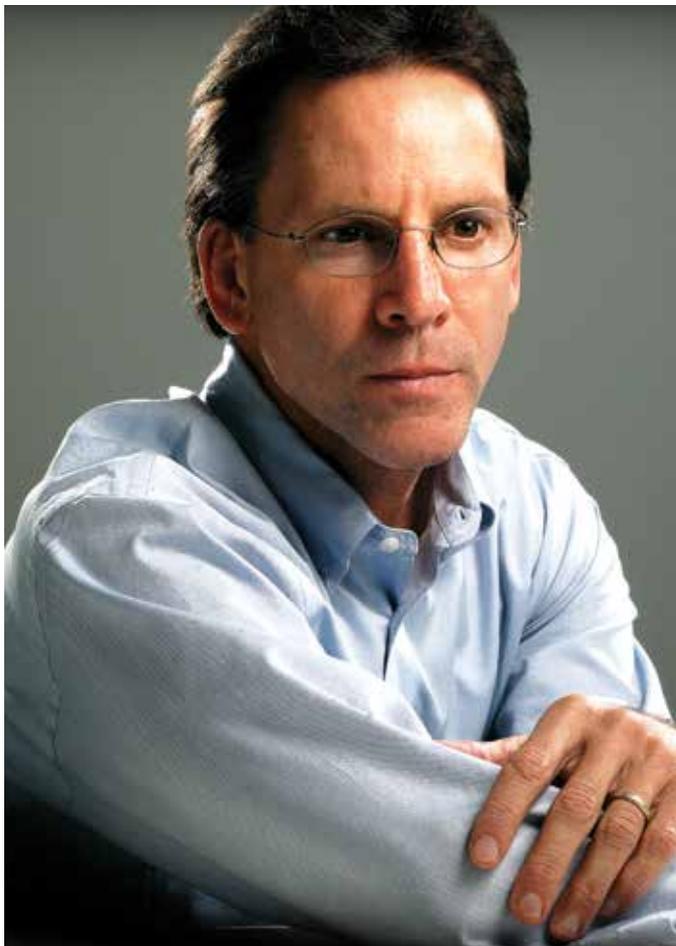
It's profitable, too.

'Bullying Title'

Famous for their complex legal and procedural nuances, tax lien and deed auctions are essentially how cities and counties collect delinquent property taxes. In the case of south Atlanta's newly revitalized black neighborhoods, where Dickson is most active, the lots in question are sometimes little more than narrow strips of overgrown weeds.

But in today's high-growth Atlanta, where land values are soaring in neighborhoods considered worthless a decade ago, these craggy patches are worth chasing.

The chase begins when someone like Dickson purchases an unpaid tax debt. The purchaser (or "transferee," because the tax debt has been transferred to him) then has a legal obligation to notify the owners of record of the property that the execution of the unpaid tax debt has been transferred to him. If the notice to an owner of record is returned undelivered, the transferee has an obligation to try to identify his whereabouts and notify him. At this stage the property owners can clear the tax debt by paying the amount owed, plus certain fees and interest at the statutory rate, to the transferee.



But the clock is ticking. If the transferee's bill goes unpaid too long, he can force a sale of the property. At such an official tax sale, there is rarely much money left over for the property owners after the taxes, interest, fees, and other expenses are paid. Faced with this prospect, the property owners may end up selling their property to someone like Dickson to get what they can.

"Sam Dickson creates a sense of false urgency about the back taxes," says Dan West, a disgruntled former business partner of Dickson's who runs a real estate firm specializing in tax lien and deed acquisition. "He won't inform people of their full rights. He'll twist the information to gain their interest in the lot."

There is an industry phrase for Dickson's style: "Bullying title." It's not illegal, but it's not a pretty sight.

Nightmare on Ormond Street

Deborah Hobson has seen Dickson the Bull charge. In 1993, Hobson's mother and father died within a month of each other. They left no will, but Hobson didn't think she needed a piece of paper to tell her that she and her two sisters had rights to her mother's "shotgun shack" at 76 Ormond Street in southwest Atlanta. Hobson paid the taxes on the land until 1995, when she fell behind. In September, 2003, Sam Dickson bought the tax deed on the south Atlanta property for \$7,000.

Here began Deborah Hobson's self-described "nightmare."

Within days of acquiring the deed, Dickson approached Hobson about buying her interest in the property. She was entertaining the idea of selling, she says, until she realized that Dickson had no intention of offering anything near fair market value; his first offer was \$1,500 on a lot worth between \$35,000 and \$60,000. She told him that she did not want to sell the land. Instead, she would try to pull together the money needed to redeem the tax deed and retain all her pre-existing rights to the property, possibly by cracking open her 401(k) account.

That's not what Sam Dickson wanted to hear. Hobson says that he stepped up pressure on her and her sisters to sell the property at once, telling them to forget ever trying to pay his bill. Unable to convince Deborah Hobson, Dickson began contacting her sisters independently, playing one off the other, whispering that their family spokesperson in the matter, Deborah, did not have their best interest at heart and was costing them money.

At one point, Dickson even tracked down a Hobson sister at the hospital where she was being treated for a head injury. He suggested he come down and she sign the papers then and there.

"When we refused to sell, he got aggressive. He was relentless. I felt like I was being stalked," remembers Deborah Hobson. "I considered trying to get my Cingular Wireless records and suing him for harassment."

"If any of these people he approaches knew who he was, they'd want nothing to do with him." dan west

“Before he insulted me, he tried to swindle me. Everything he told me was an exaggeration. He called me at midnight and threatened me, using jargon, as if he had some special powers because he passed the bar.”

steven ogletree



“He’d leave these threatening letters on my door,” says Hobson. “They’d say, ‘I know you’re bitter because you lost your land, but you aren’t going to get it back so you might as well take what you can get.’ It was like, how dare we question him! He’s a liar and a snake in the grass.”

Worn down and eager to be rid of Dickson, the Hobson sisters hired a lawyer to sell their property to someone else. The other buyer offered them more than Dickson — but still less than what the property was worth — but by then money was no longer the sisters’ main concern.

“It got so ugly that we took the path of least resistance,” explains Deborah Hobson. “We still didn’t get fair market value, but I would have given it away just to keep that evil man from getting his hands on my mother’s house.”

It was after months of dealing with Dickson and his associates that Hobson learned of her suitor’s Klan connections and extreme views on race. After running an Internet search on Dickson, she was furious and horrified.

“I started to have nightmares about him,” she says. “I couldn’t believe this man was coming to my home, that I ever talked business with him. It will always haunt me.”

Weaned on Hate

Samuel Glasgow Dickson was born in Atlanta in 1947, the son of a Presbyterian minister. He was a precocious, right-wing youth. At 14 years old, he argued against the integration of his liberal Presbyterian Church; by 16, he had become an active Goldwater conservative — anti-Communist and pro-states’ rights. At the University of Georgia in the late ’60s, Dickson was elected president of the Young Republicans and state

chair of Young Americans for Freedom, a national Golderwaterite organization founded by William F. Buckley in 1960.

Dickson graduated from UGA Law in 1972 and set up a general practice in Atlanta. Throughout the ’70s and ’80s, Dickson would offer legal counsel to the Georgia Ku Klux Klan and establish relationships with white supremacists around the world, particularly in Britain. In 1978, he ran on a segregationist platform for lieutenant governor, garnering 11% of the vote.

Along with fighting liberals and integration at home, Dickson fought left-wing forces abroad. Most notably, he belonged to the Council on American Affairs, the American branch of the World Anti-Communist League, a global network of cold warriors that financed anti-left operations around the world. The league provided arms and cash to militias and rebel movements from Guatemala to Afghanistan, often outside the limits of U.S. and international law.

With the 1991 collapse of the Soviet Union, Dickson became what he calls “a great Russophile” and dedicated himself to the preservation and exaltation of the white race, under siege from Miami to Moscow. Freed from the trappings of American patriotism implicit in the cold warrior’s pose, Dickson became a full-fledged antigovernment white nationalist.

Dickson’s post-Cold War efforts to save the white race have consisted largely of intellectual exercises. Although he belongs to the Council of Conservative Citizens — a hate group with ties to some elected GOP officials that is the contemporary incarnation of the pro-segregation White Citizens Councils — and was a close personal friend of the late leader of the far-right British National Party, John Tyndall, Dickson himself prefers the lectern and the study to the soapbox. (Occasionally, though, he will still

take to the courtroom. In 1996, he filed a suit against an Atlanta suburb that sought to ban the flying of the Confederate stars and bars during a parade associated with the Olympics.)

Dickson also has had a long association with Holocaust denial organizations (see story below), including membership on the editorial board of *The Barnes Review*, a journal that specializes in that topic.

His most regular appearances over the last 15 years have been his lectures at the biannual conference of *American Renaissance*, the journal addressing “racial differences and their consequences,” launched by Jared Taylor in 1991. The pseudo-academic monthly gives a genteel sheen and articulate voice to what is essentially a racist vision of ethnically “pure” states. Dickson’s keynote AR speech of May 2006 bemoaned the state of crisis in which the white race found itself, nowhere more so than in America.

“There comes a time,” declared Dickson, “when the crisis is such that only a Corsican lieutenant can restore things.” (The reference is to Napoleon Bonaparte, who crowned himself emperor of France.) Dickson went on to argue that his “old friend” David Duke’s strong showing in the 1991 Louisiana governor’s race — “better than Hitler” — during a period of relative prosperity bodes well. We merely await, Dickson said, an economic catastrophe: “The worse the better. Let the bad times roll. That will be our opportunity.”

When the bad times roll, they are unlikely to hurt Sam Dickson much. According to Fulton County records, the list of liens in Dickson’s name totals more than 200. That fact will do much to keep him out of harm’s way when the white race’s catastrophic “opportunity” rolls around.

To be exact, it will place him in Key West, Fla., where Dickson owns a home and plans to retire.

But not just yet.

What’s in a Name?

If Dickson had managed to gain title and “flip” Deborah Hobson’s property, he would have deposited the profits with a chuckle. The entity Dickson employed in the Hobson case was named “Community Renewal and Redemption LLC” — a cynical ploy in light of Dickson’s profound loathing for blacks and hostility toward any “community” other than the white race. Other ironically titled limited liability companies organized by Dickson in recent years include “Progressive Development Alliance LLC,” “United Community Redemption LLC,” “United Community Uplift LLC,” and “Teutoberg Collections LLC.”

The last of these is a not-so-sly reference to the forest in which German tribes defeated Roman legions in the first century A.D. The name may have been the idea of Dickson’s main business partner and heir apparent, 31-year-old Joshua Buckley. Like Dickson, Buckley took to extreme-right politics young, joining the violent neo-Nazi organization SS of America in 1991. (He is no longer a member.) Currently, Buckley publishes *Tyr*, an annual “radical traditionalist” anthology named after the pre-Christian, Germanic god of the sky. The collections “celebrate the myths, culture, and social institutions of pre-Christian, pre-modern Europe,” an age of zero immigration and tall, blond forest tribes living out a martial, pagan ethos. While mostly backward looking, *Tyr* does feature interviews with contemporary figures like Alain de Benoist, the prolific French writer, historian and founder of the far-right think-tank Nouvelle Droite (New Right).

In business as in ideology, Buckley is Dickson’s protégé. Together they have mastered the art of buying tax deeds, tracking down vulnerable heirs, entering their lives, and

From Atlanta to Asunción

Sam Dickson’s political activities, from radical anti-Communism to Holocaust denial, stretch across the Western Hemisphere

Sam Dickson’s right-wing political activities began in high school, when he teamed up with local Golderwaterites. Since then, the Atlanta white supremacist and mini-real estate mogul (see story, p. 30) has been tied to numerous extremist groups and movements in the U.S. and around the world, from major Holocaust denial organizations to the Ku Klux Klan he frequently represented in court.

During the Cold War, Dickson was a member of the World Anti-Communist League, an international collection of right-wingers steeped in white supremacy and anti-Semitism. These tendencies became overt under

the leadership of Dickson associate and British-born neo-Nazi Roger Pearson, who chaired the league in 1978-79. Pearson recruited former Nazis and allied the organization with every anti-Communist nation except one: Israel. In 1979, Dickson, as an American delegate to the league’s conference in Asunción, Paraguay, explained the group’s anomalous support for the Palestine Liberation Organization to *The Washington Post*: “Israel has made herself repugnant... . Occasionally, one has to decide that the enemy of mine enemy is not my friend.”

According to the *Post*, among those attending the 1979 conference were “former

Nazi SS officers, two neo-fascists from Italy reportedly wanted for terrorist acts, members of Alpha 66, a right-wing Cuban exile group, and Pedro Ibanez Ojeda, who attended as Chilean President Augusto Pinochet’s personal envoy.” The Latin American wing of the league, which hosted the event, grew out of the remnants of Los Tecos, a World War II fascist group.

After the Cold War, communism disappeared from Dickson’s enemies list. His longstanding obsession with race filled the vacuum. He now summarizes his philosophy as one of “racial nationalism” — “My race

getting what they want.

Dealing With the Devil

Summer Hill. Pittsburgh. Grant Park. The Bluff.

A decade ago, small overgrown plots in these Atlanta neighborhoods were ignored by real estate developers. Today, as Atlanta continues to sprawl in every direction, feeding off its reputation as cosmopolitan hub of the New South and drawing thousands of young professionals back to the city, these once-neglected neighborhoods are hot — “hotter than a firecracker,” according to one local developer.

As competition for tax delinquent property in this environment increases, so does the presence of Sam Dickson and his protégé, Joshua Buckley. While growing their business, say many of their peers, they’ve changed the rules of the game. Once upon a time, prospectors respected each other’s investments, but Sam Dickson was apparently the first to break this unwritten rule and is notorious for aggressively feeding off the work and investments of others by finding a back door into fractured ownership situations.

“Sam Dickson is essentially the terrorist of the Atlanta real estate community,” says Andy Desmond, an Atlanta-based real estate genealogist, “if we define terrorist as one who is determined to win at any cost, with little or no regard for fairness, disclosure, truth, and compromise.”

“Those of us who work within established rules to resolve tax delinquencies and repair fractured real estate titles despise him, not just the heirs whom he strong-arms,” says Desmond. “I’m surprised his non-disclosure, half-truth, and bullying tactics haven’t led to censure or disbarment, but I have no doubt they’ll eventually catch up with him.”

Whatever his business rivals may think of his tactics, those in the black community are just as disturbed by his politics.

“If any of these people he approaches knew who he was, they’d want nothing to do with him,” says Dan West, Dickson’s white former colleague.

Indeed, Dickson goes out of his way to conceal his racial views while playing the role of developer in Atlanta’s black neighborhoods. The Klan attorney even donated \$4,000 to the black-owned SUMMECH Community Development Corporation, according to Janis Ware, the group’s executive director and the former president of the Atlanta Housing Authority. When making his tax-deductible donation to the affordable housing developer, Dickson told Ware that he “appreciated what [she] was doing for the community.”

When he said this, Dickson likely appeared as a sweet and sincere Southern gentleman, as he did at first to Deborah Hobson, who later would feel shame at being taken in by Dickson, even for a moment.

“The devil doesn’t always come at you with red horns and pitchfork,” she says.

Hobson isn’t the only person who’s run into Dickson to invoke Satan in describing the man and his racket.

Komicheal Johnson runs the black-owned Atlanta development firm, J.L.W. Homes and Communities. Over the years he’s bought numerous properties from Dickson, and has only recently become aware of his views on race. While he would prefer not to deal with Dickson at all, he says it’s not so simple. If he doesn’t buy Dickson’s property, another developer will, one that builds poor quality or unaffordable homes, and who does not have strong community backing.

“I’ve seen it at least 10 times,” says Johnson. “I’ll pass on a piece of Dickson’s property. Then he’ll sell it to someone who makes a terrible product. He’s a nutcase, no doubt, but my hands are tied. How do

is my nation.” This is lens through which Dickson views all of American and even world history. Every war, every technological advance, every economic trend is interpreted solely through its impact on the white race. The automobile, for example, is a tragic development for Dickson because it allowed whites to escape the cities and thus “delay confronting” the race issue.

Dickson has been on intimate terms with the leading lights of the racial nationalist movement. When movement theorist Revilo Oliver died in 1994, Dickson performed master of ceremonies duties at a memorial symposium put on in his honor by the National Alliance, a leading neo-Nazi group. Dickson paid homage to Oliver in part by leading the small audience in song, including off-key versions of “Finlandia” and “Auld Lang Syne.” The Georgian’s love of

European nationalist song is heartfelt, and has led David Duke to publicly gush, “He can sing all of the songs from our heritage!”

Dickson’s involvement with Holocaust denial extends beyond his respect for Oliver, who coined the term “Holohoax.” In 1989, Historical Review Press, a purveyor of Nazi books, music and memorabilia linked to British Holocaust denier David Irving, was incorporated under Dickson’s name. (Irving is known to have stayed at Dickson’s Key West home while avoiding criminal charges in Europe.) Dickson also writes for the *Journal of Historical Review*, another journal specializing in Holocaust denial.

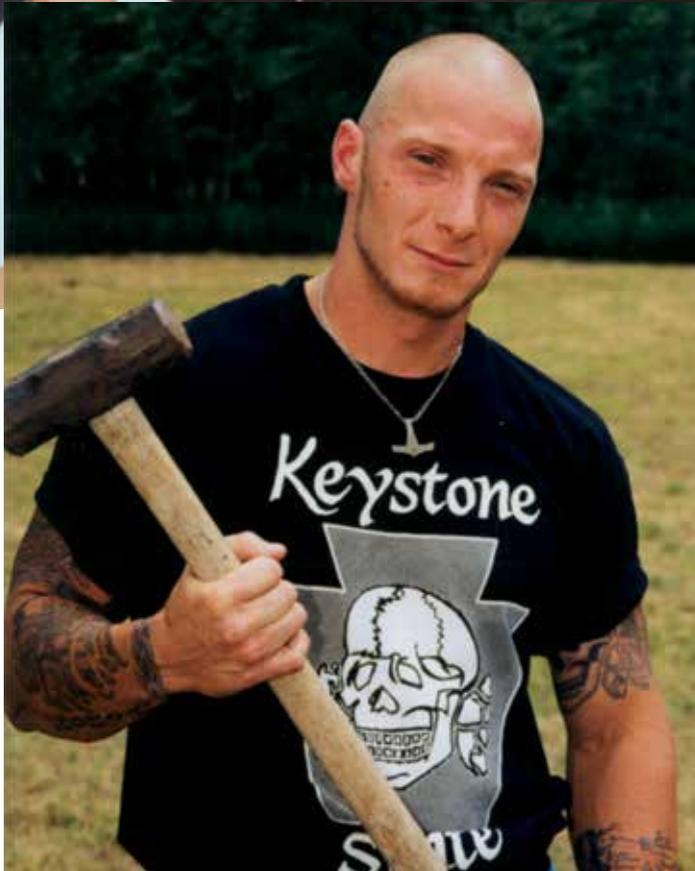


Revilo Oliver, who died in 1994, is still revered in the more self-consciously “intellectual” sectors of the white supremacist world.

Dickson’s most notable contribution to the *Review* is the 1987 essay, “Shattering the Icon of Abraham Lincoln,” which argues that Lincoln was an atheistic and brutal dictator who forced an unnecessary war on a country that did not want or need one. The article has been distributed widely on the Internet and is frequently referenced by neo-Confederate and other far-right groups in discussions of Lincoln.

“There appears to be no logical reason,” writes Dickson in the essay, “why [the United States] could not have [remained half slave, half free] given responsible leadership and good will on both sides, until slavery was eliminated by the progress of technology.”

— Alexander Zaitchik



AS THE POWER OF THE CENTRALIZED HAMMERSKIN NATION DECLINES, A RISE IN INDEPENDENT SKIN CREWS MAY BRING A NEW ERA OF VIOLENCE

MOTLEY CREWS

BY DAVID HOLTHOUSE



Last Memorial Day weekend, three racist skinheads stood side-by-side to pose for a photo at the Imperial Klans of America compound near Dawson Springs, Ky., where the IKA hosts the annual white power gathering Nordic Fest. Two of them — Eric Fairburn and Brien James, both founders of the Hoosier State Skinheads — flipped off the camera while holding a red, white, and black flag upside down. The flag displayed the marching hammers symbol of Hammerskin Nation, a coalition of regional skinhead groups that dominated the United States skinhead scene for almost a decade. By posing with the flag upside down, Fairburn, James, and their accomplice declared the reign of Hammerskin Nation finished. Lest there be any mistaking their intent, the skinhead in the middle, a member of the Keystone State Skinheads, held his arms downward, fists closed, a deliberate inversion of the Hammerskin Nation signal of crossed arms up.

The photo is a remarkable symbol of the rapid and treacherous balkanization under way among organized skinheads in America, as well as a telling indicator of how the skinhead scene in this country, now more than ever, is less the revolutionary political movement its adherents claim than a disjointed criminal subculture. The skins in the photo are behaving like gangbangers, not race warriors. They're "dissing" the Hammerskins, their fellow Aryans, right down to the gang signs.

These trends parallel an alarming resurgence in skinhead

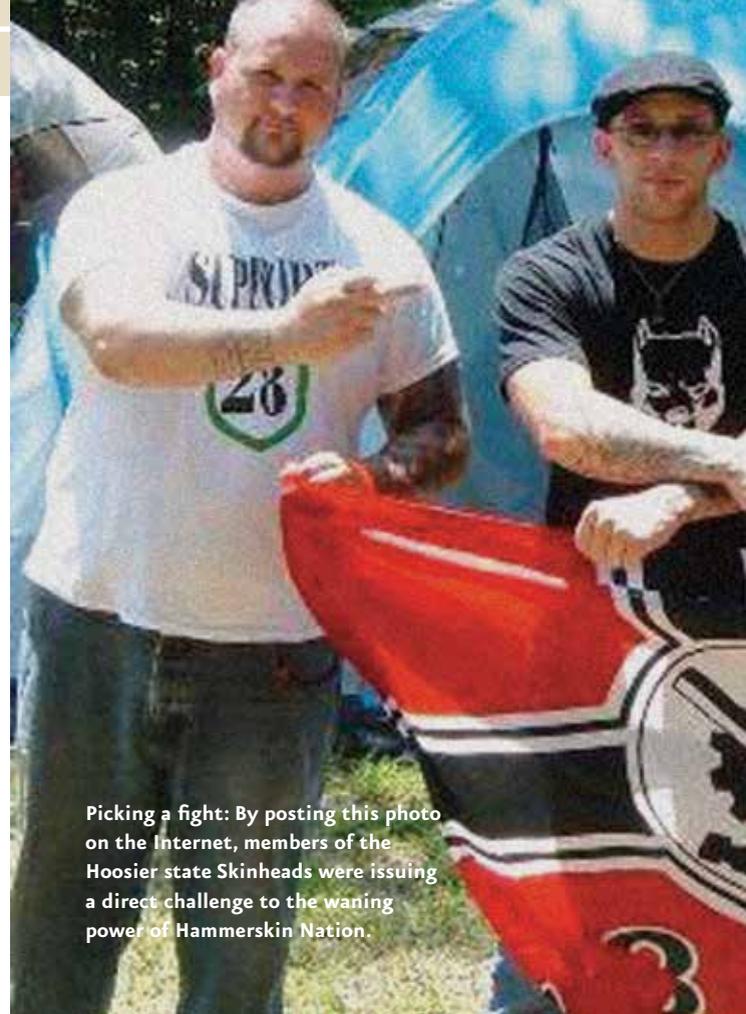
activity nationwide, which continues to intensify. At the beginning of 2002, there were 18 skinhead crews active in the United States, most of them under the control of Hammerskin Nation. That count has now more than tripled to 59 active crews, only six of which belong to Hammerskin Nation.

As the power of the Hammerskins has waned, the skinhead scene has entered a free-for-all phase, with new and unaffiliated local, state, and regional crews proliferating rapidly. More and more of these newcomers subscribe to the ultra-violent ethos and disorganized crime profiteering of a chaotic band of Midwest-based gangster skins known as the Vinlanders.

While there's no skinhead census, and no official statistics on skinhead-specific crime, cops on the street that specialize in tracking skins say the facts are clear. "Skinhead activity has easily doubled in the last couple of years, and the Vinlander influence is huge," says Matt Browning, a detective with the Mesa, Ariz., police department who has investigated white power gangs in his region and their nationwide connections for 10 years, including two years undercover. "They're more violent, they're more technically savvy than before in terms of using the Internet to organize, and, while they're still motivated by race and politics, it's also about money now."

Bloodshed and Retaliation

The ongoing devolution of the skinhead scene began with what will live in infamy in skinhead lore as "the pool cue and blowtorch incident." It happened in mid-1999, when Hammerskin Nation's power was peaking, with about 600 Hammerskins distributed across five regional divisions. To become a Hammerskin, a skinhead who wanted to join had to



Picking a fight: By posting this photo on the Internet, members of the Hoosier state Skinheads were issuing a direct challenge to the waning power of Hammerskin Nation.

be a "prospect" for one year, then a "probate" for six months. All this time, and forever after, they were required to pay \$10 a month in dues to their local chapter, and \$10 a month to Hammerskin national leaders in Dallas, who asserted dominion over skinheads nationwide, portrayed Hammerskin

RACIST SKINHEADS

a timeline of the movement

CIRCA 1969

The original skinhead subculture explodes among urban, working-class youths in Britain, combining style elements drawn from white "Mods" and West Indian "Rudeboys." Though tinged with soccer hooliganism, traditional skinhead culture is not racist (to this day, there are black "trad" skins).

EARLY 1980s

British skinhead scene factionalizes. White power skinheads develop a separate subculture based on the white nationalist music of "Rock Against Communism" bands like Skrewdriver, Skullhead, and No Remorse who opposed the "Rock Against Racism" concerts of anti-racist skins.



CORBIS/BETMAN

CIRCA 1982

Racist skinheads begin to appear in U.S. in significant numbers.

CIRCA 1986

Romantic Violence, also known as CASH (Chicago Area Skinheads), takes form as one of the first true racist skinhead gangs in the United States, followed in short order by the Confederate Hammerskins in Dallas.



Former California Klan leader Tom Metzger forms the Aryan Youth Movement, a skinhead division of his white supremacist group White Aryan Resistance (WAR).



Nation as elite, and enforced strict codes of conduct.

Early that summer, these leaders issued a direct order to the members and two probates of the Indiana chapter of the Northern Hammerskins that set in motion a cycle of bloodshed, retaliation, and dissent that continues to shape the

level and nature of skinhead criminal activity in this country and abroad.

The order was simple: Hammerskin leaders had determined that a certain Hammerskin was no longer worthy of membership due to his persistent sexual propositioning of a fellow member's wife. They directed the Indiana Hammerskins to seek out this offender, inform him of their decision, and then "remove" his Hammerskin "colors," meaning any patches, pins or other markers indicating his affiliation.

Looking back, the Dallas shot callers may wish they'd been more specific on the meaning of "remove." When a pack of five Indiana Hammerskins tracked down the offender, they not only roughed him up and tore off his colors, they held him down, burned off his Hammerskin tattoos with a blowtorch, and then shoved a pool cue up his rectum.

The Hammerskin leaders were outraged and banished the attackers for exceeding their orders. Basically, the five Indiana skinheads were punished for being too violent. Eight of the other Indiana Hammerskins turned in their patches in protest of the punishment and together, the 13 former Hammerskins formed a new, rogue crew they called Outlaw Hammerskins, which represented the first serious challenge to Hammerskin Nation authority.

From their very beginning, the Outlaw Hammerskins represented a new breed of racist skinhead. They avowed white power, yet listened to black gangsta rap. They had neo-Nazi tattoos, yet dripped with gold chains. They wore Doc Martens, but also gold teeth. They formed close ties with the Hell's Angels, working security at the outlaw biker gang's events (the father of Jeremy Maske, one of the founding Outlaw skinheads, was the president of the Indiana chapter of the Hell's Angels at the time).

Within a few months, the Outlaw Hammerskins had

1988

Skinhead violence erupts across the United States, with scores of violent attacks and murders recorded over the next four years.

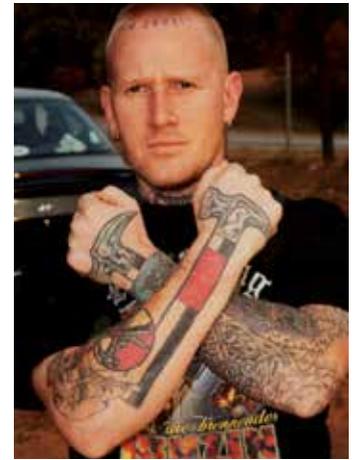
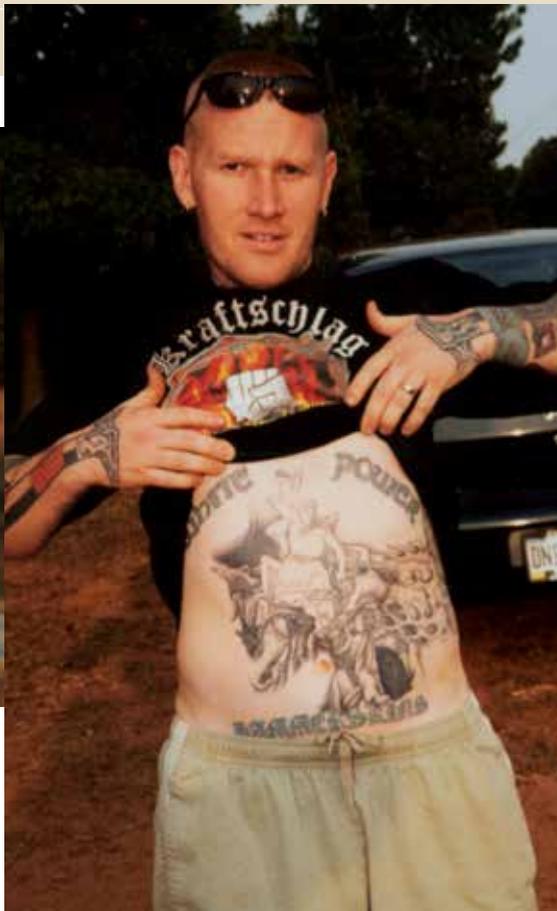
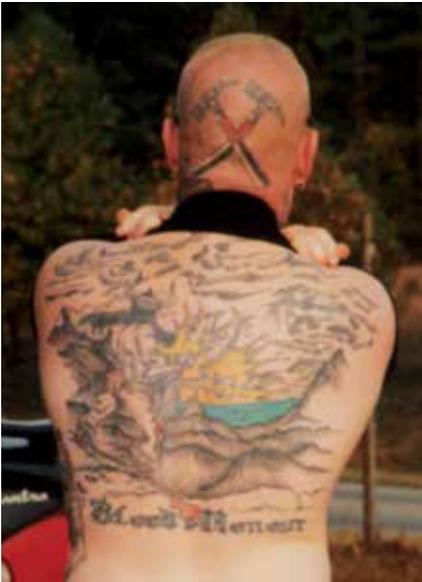
Tom Metzger and son John organize the first hate rock festival,



A flying chair breaks the nose of television talk show host Geraldo Rivera during a brawl between skinhead gang leaders and African-American activists on the set of "The Geraldo Rivera Show."

Members of the Confederate Hammerskins patrol Robert E. Lee Park in Dallas, beating any non-white they come across. The gang is ultimately linked to 40 crimes, including the vandalism of a Dallas synagogue. Police foil a plot by armed Hammerskins to destroy Jewish businesses on Nov. 9, the 50th anniversary of Kristallnacht, the Nazi pogrom also known as the "Night of Broken Glass."

Ethiopian immigrant Mulugeta Seraw is beaten to death by members of East Side White Pride, a Portland, Ore., gang with close ties to WAR.



chapters across Indiana and Wisconsin. Their creed was “take it to the extreme.” If another skinhead crew mocked them for being “whiggers” (white “niggers”), Outlaw Hammerskins would beat them down. If attacked with fists and feet, Outlaw Hammerskins would retaliate with bats and knives. If a rival pulled a knife, an Outlaw Hammerskin pulled a gun.

“We do remain open and hospitable to other racials who pass through our cities and states. However, we do not tolerate disrespect,” they announced on their website. “Meaning we don’t talk shit. There is no ‘next time.’ We’ll light you up on the fucking spot.”

Eastern Hammerskins member Bob Himes, who runs a Pennsylvania tattoo shop, displays a body covered in skinhead iconography, including the crossed hammers (right) that symbolize Hammer-skin Nation.

Falling Hammers

On Memorial Day weekend 2000, less than a year after the Outlaw Hammerskins formed, three vanloads of Outlaw Hammerskin hooligans showed up at the Imperial Klans of America compound, looking to start trouble at Nordic Fest, which at that time was heavily attended by Hammerskin Nation skinheads. The Outlaw Hammerskins skins were heavily armed, and when IKA security refused to allow them into

1991

In June, more than 60 Aryan National Front (ANF) skinheads and Klansmen march through downtown Birmingham in a dramatic show of force.

1994

Regional Hammerskin factions unite under the common banner of Hammerskin Nation (HSN).



1992

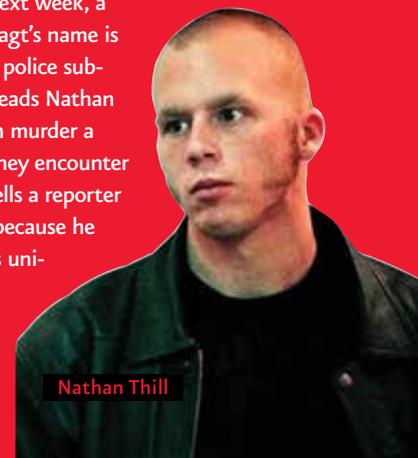
In April, members of the skinhead gang ANF murder a homeless black man in Birmingham, Ala., after attending a Hitler birthday party.

1995

Southern California skinhead Randall Rojas beats a homeless black man to death behind a fast-food restaurant.

1997

Bruce Vander Jagt becomes the first American police officer killed in the line of duty by a racist skinhead when he’s gunned down in Denver by 25-year-old racist Matthaus Jaehnig after a high-speed chase. The next week, a dead pig bearing Vander Jagt’s name is dumped outside a Denver police substation, and Denver skinheads Nathan Thill and Jeremiah Barnum murder a West African immigrant they encounter at a bus stop. Thill later tells a reporter that he killed Oumar Dia because he was “wearing the enemy’s uniform” — his black skin.



Nathan Thill

the festival, they fired a volley of shots into the air, putting Hammerskin Nation on notice.

The following year, Outlaw Hammerskins showed up in force at Nordic Fest, making it clear the event was no longer Hammerskin Nation's exclusive skinhead stomping ground. In part because of this loss of face, Hammerskin Nation membership numbers began to wither. Today, Hammerskin Nation is more like Hammerskin Hamlet. It's down to about 150 members. "Hammers have been dropping their patches all over the place," says Detective Browning. The decline of the Hammerskin Nation has been fueled by the insurrection of the Outlaw Hammerskins, lawsuits filed by hate crime victims, and widespread discontent with Hammerskin Nation's elitism among working-class, anti-authoritarian racist youths.

Still another big factor was the collapse of Panzerfaust Records, a hate rock music company that distributed popular Hammerskin Nation-affiliated bands like Max Resist, Bound for Glory, and the Mid-Town Boot Boys. Panzerfaust's owner, Anthony Pierpont, poured hundreds of thousands of dollars into Hammerskin Nation festivals and legal battles after he founded the label in 1998, but had to scuttle the company last year after the *Intelligence Report* revealed he's of Mexican descent. (Despite being a "mud person," Pierpont is still active in the business side of organized hate. His most recent venture is manufacturing T-shirts for National Socialist Movement commander Jeff Schoep and National Alliance chairman Erich Gliebe; see related story, p. 11).

Rise of the Regional Crews

Infighting caused the Outlaw Hammerskins to implode in 2002, but by then they'd made an indelible mark on skinhead culture. Instead of leading to a return to power for Hammerskin Nation, the demise of the Outlaw Hammerskins sparked the still-ongoing surge of independent, regional crews that

have continued the Outlaw Hammerskin tradition of openly challenging and disrespecting Hammerskin Nation and its only ally, the Portland, Ore.-based regional crew Volksfront.

Two of these new, unruly crews, the Hoosier State Skinheads and the Ohio State Skinheads, rose directly from the ashes of the Outlaw Hammerskins. The Hoosier State Skinheads were co-founded by former Outlaw Hammerskins Brien James and Eric Fairburn (see profiles, p. 50 and p. 49). James and Fairburn also attended the first meeting in Central Ohio in 2003 of the Ohio State Skinheads, whose founders include other former Outlaw Hammerskins. (Ohio State Skinheads now has three local chapters in Ohio).

The largest statewide crew now active is the Keystone State Skinheads, which formed in September 2001 in Harrisburg, Pa. (One of its five founders, Steven Smith, is a former Aryan Nations member who was recruited into the neo-Nazi movement while an Army soldier stationed at Fort Bragg, N.C.) The Keystone State Skinheads now has nine chapters across Pennsylvania and sponsors regular concerts and "white power picnics." Its logo is a pit bull or bulldog in a circle made of chain against a red, black, and white background (see logos chart, p. 56).

The Ohio State Skinheads, Hoosier State Skinheads, and Keystone State Skinheads are all also part of the Vinlander Social Club, a.k.a. the Vinlanders, a skinhead "warrior clan" devoted to drinking, fighting, and a racist variant of Odinism, a form of ancient paganism once practiced by Vikings. Fairburn, James, and other Hoosier State and Ohio State Skinheads founded the Vinlanders in 2004; today, that group has about 200 full members. Unlike Hammerskin Nation, which requires even probationary members to renounce their allegiance to any other skinhead crew, the Vinlanders allow and even encourage dual membership. A Vinlander can be an Ohio State or Hoosier State Skinhead, and vice-versa.

1998

Independent Nazi Skins gang leader John "Polar Bear" Butler ambushes and kills two Anti-Racist Action members in the desert outside Las Vegas on the Fourth of July.

1999

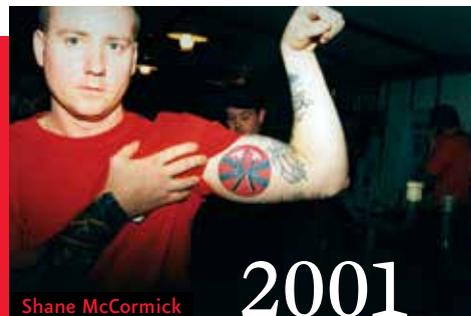
Florida skinheads attack interracial couples, killing a woman and a child in two separate incidents.

Five ousted members of the Northern Region of Hammerskin Nation form a renegade outfit they call Outlaw Hammerskins.

Hammerskin Nation reorganizes and throws its first Hammerfest, the group's signature hate rock festival, in rural Bremen, Ga. More than 600 skinheads from across the country attend.

2000

While Hammerskin Nation remains the nation's largest skinhead organization, the number of HSN chapters drops from 27 to 19.



Midland Hammerskin Shane McCormick (above) stabs a black man in a Missouri restaurant.

Hammerfest attendance drops to 220 as HSN's elitist posturing and relentless attempts to dictate the rules of skinhead culture in the U.S. breed widespread resentment.

“Everyone [in Arizona] wants to be Vinlander now,” says Detective Browning. “The Vinlanders have very quickly grown from a little skinhead group in the Midwest to a national force with a great web presence. The bigger they become, the more power they have, and they’re getting bigger.”

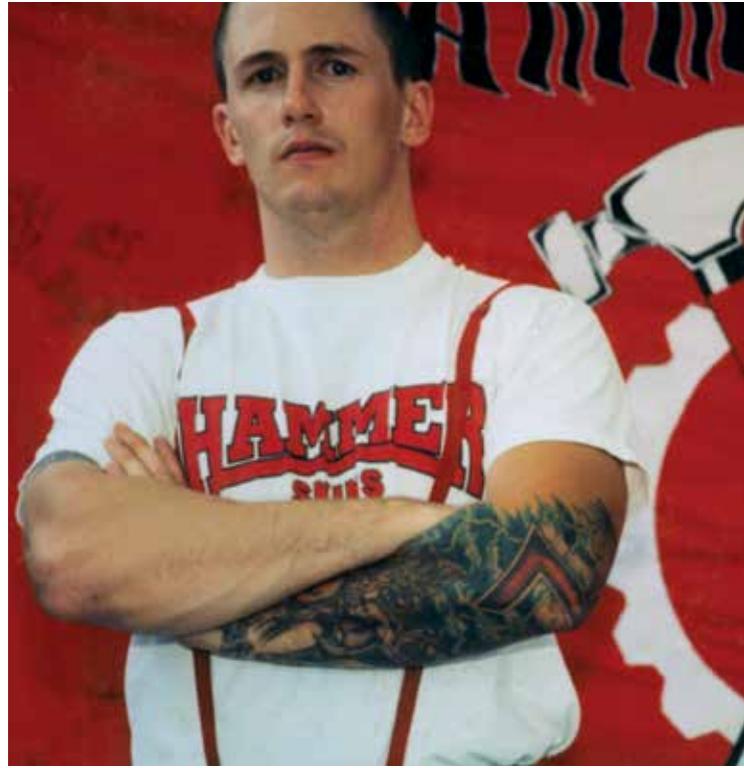
On Oct. 22, 2005, on the Logan, Ohio, property of Outlaw State Skinheads member Kevin Kislingbury, the Vinlander Social Club hosted the first official Blood and Honour council, a unity meeting of regional skinhead crews also known as the Council of 28. The meeting was attended by at least 60 representatives of more than a dozen skinhead crews including Hoosier and Ohio State Skinheads, Keystone State Skinheads, the New Jersey Skins, the Canyon State Skins (Arizona), and the Maryland Skins (one of the fastest growing state crews), as well as the Imperial Klans of America and the National Alliance.

Conspicuously absent at the Blood and Honour council was anyone representing Hammerskin Nation or Volksfront.

Recruitment Commerce

According to the minutes of the meeting, the council members decided they would meet once a year in the future, and that any group “meeting the council criteria” would send two representatives. They also established a “uniform code of appearance and conduct” for “large scale public actions,” and designated the neo-Nazi National Alliance as their official “political outlet.”

The former Outlaw Hammerskins also reversed themselves on the issue of hate rock, according to the minutes, deciding by majority vote to “explore the option of holding events for the general public for profit.” This was a major shift. Hammerskin Nation and Volksfront have a long history of organizing hate rock festivals to raise money and also of channeling hate rock CDs and neo-Nazi flags, shirts, pins,



planning the existence of the chapter in Austria where such patches are banned by law. The Outlaw Hammerskins broke away, they announced they would have nothing to do with the shady business of hate rock or recruitment commerce. With the exception of the Keystone State Skinheads, the council crews had all followed suit.

So what changed their minds?

Perhaps the hate rock company representatives who also

2002

Skinhead Kevin A. Johnson beats a man to death outside the Courtesy Diner in St. Louis while spewing anti-Semitic epithets, although his victim is not Jewish.

The Outlaw Hammerskins implode due to infighting.

HSN’s power continues to wane.

Hammerfest attendance dwindles to 150.

2003

The number of skinhead chapters nationwide more than doubles, due mostly to the rapidly increasing strength of independent, regional skinhead crews, most notably the Hoosier State Skins (Indiana and Illinois), the Ohio State Skinheads, and the Pennsylvania-based Keystone State Skinheads.

Kurtis William Monschke, head of the Washington state chapter of Volksfront, helps three other racist skinheads use baseball bats and rocks to beat to death a homeless white man in Tacoma.



Kurtis Monschke



RACIST SKINHEAD GLOSSARY

14/88: Common white supremacist code. 14 stands for the “14 words” slogan coined by David Lane, who is serving a 190-year sentence for his part in the assassination of a Jewish talk show host: “We must secure the existence of our people and a future for white children.” 88 means “Heil Hitler,” as H is the eighth letter of the alphabet.

28: Shorthand for Blood and Honour, a skinhead group.

38: Confederate Hammerskins, the southern faction of Hammerskin Nation (see below).

Boot party: Beating a victim to the ground then stomping and kicking him or her with steel-toed boots.

Braces: Suspenders.

Crew: Skinhead gang or faction.

Colors: Marks identifying affiliation; can be tattoos, patches on jackets, etc.

Curbing, curb job: Breaking a victim’s jaw or neck by forcing his or her face against a street curb and kicking the back the of the victim’s head; popularized in the 1998 cult movie, “American History X.”

Dr. Martens (a.k.a. Doc Martens): Brand of durable boots popular with skinheads as well as young people in all walks of life, though skins lace the boots differently (see “straight-laced”) and wear either red or white laces (see below).

Honey sock: Pool ball in a sock wrapped in tape so it doesn’t split open when used as a weapon.

Featherwood: Female skinhead.

Five words: “I have nothing to say.” Skinheads are exhorted to give this standard response to any and all media and law enforcement inquiries.

Fred Perry: Brand of polo shirt favored by skinheads.

Fresh cut: A newly indoctrinated skinhead whose head has recently been shaved for the first time.

Hammerskins: A nationwide skinhead syndicate, also known as Hammerskin Nation, with regional factions and chapters that once dominated skin subculture nationwide.

HSN: Hammerskin Nation.

HHFH: “Hammerskin Forever Forever Hammerskin.”

Hang-around: A young person who associates with skinheads but is not yet a probate (see below), akin to a gang-banger “wannabe.”

Probate: A “member in waiting” who is on probation for a set amount of time before he or she becomes a full-fledged member of a skinhead crew.

RAHOWA: Short for “Racial Holy War,” a slogan that originally came out of the neo-Nazi Church of the Creator; also the name of a defunct band.

Red laces: Bootlace color indicating the wearer has shed blood for the skinhead movement. Racist skinheads will often randomly attack non-whites to “earn” their red laces.

Spider web tattoo: Racist skinhead “badge of honor,” often worn on the elbow, indicating wearer has committed murder for the skinhead movement.

SHARP: Short for Skinheads Against Racial Prejudice, commonly known as SHARP skins, who often battle racist skins.

Skinbyrd: Female skinhead.

Straight-laced: A complex boot-lacing system favored by racist skins who lace their boots in horizontal, straight lines rather than X or cross patterns.

White laces: Bootlace color identifying a skinhead as being “white power,” as opposed to a non-racist (“traditional”) or anti-racist skin.

ZOG: Shorthand for “Zionist Occupation [or Occupied] Government,” reflecting the neo-Nazi conspiracy theory that the American government is secretly controlled by a powerful Jewish cabal.

attended the Council of 28 convinced the skinhead leaders there that if they would just put down their mead drinking horns and pick up their thinking caps, they could make serious money. “The Vinlanders have the backing of the hate rock record labels now, the labels are bringing money to the table,”

2004

Non-Hammerskin crews continue to evolve and unify.

Members of the Hoosier State Skins and Ohio State Skinheads — including several former Outlaw Hammerskins — form the Vinlander Social Club, also known as the Vinlanders, a skinhead “warrior clan” devoted to drinking, fighting, and a racist form of Odinism, a pagan religion once practiced by Norse Vikings.



Billy Roper (right), a former National Alliance official who now heads White Revolution, has repeatedly tried to bring racist skinheads into the mainstream of the radical right.

skinheads. For example, the Burnden County Hooligans, a New Jersey crew, consists entirely of Polish-speaking immigrants).

Skinhead criminal activity in the United States is still far less severe than in Moscow or, for that matter, Prague or Paris. But as independent crews continue to proliferate, and the ultra-violent skins of the Vinlanders and similar groups vie with the leftovers of Hammerskin Nation, it seems likely that skinhead activity here will grow, as it has recently after about a decade in remission.

So far, most of the serious violence has been contained within the white power world (for example, the vicious beating the Vinlanders gave a National Socialist Movement speaker and two of his comrades at this year's Nordic Fest). But as any gang cop knows, the most dangerous member of a street gang is not the "O.G." ("Original Gangster") with a well-established street reputation, but the newbie looking to do whatever it takes to make a name for himself and his gang. The skinhead scene in this country has become a land of the white power up-and-comers, each of them a human hand grenade, just

says Detective Browning.

White power music, after all, is a more lucrative underground trade in Europe than dealing in hashish, according to Interpol. The demand for American skinhead music is tremendous there both because there are far more skinheads and because it's illegal for hate rock bands to perform, record, or even rehearse in most European countries. So while skinheads in Europe for the most part consider their American counterparts to be drunken buffoons — and with good reason — they are dependent upon the

disorganized crime of U.S. skinheads to supply them with merchandise they otherwise couldn't have.

For these reasons, U.S. skinheads wield huge influence overseas, especially in Germany and the former Soviet Union, where there are 30,000-50,000 skinheads in Moscow alone, according to Russian police. They terrorize and kill non-whites and Jews at a rate unimaginable in this country. In Russia, skinhead culture, much of it exported from the U.S., has brought death and destruction for a generation. (There is also some European influence on U.S.



2005

The Vinlanders host the first official Blood and Honour Council, a unity meeting of regional skinhead crews also known as the Council of 28 (B is the second letter of the alphabet, H is the eighth; hence, 28 stands for Blood and Honour). The council is attended by at least 60 members of more than a dozen white supremacist groups.

2006

Skinhead resurgence parallels rise in skinhead-related criminal activity.

THE GODFATHERS

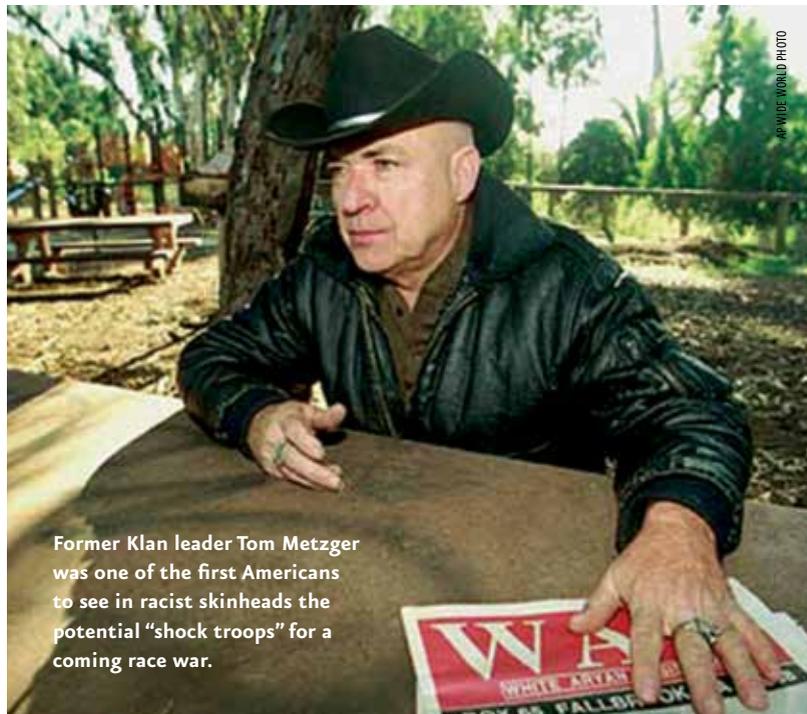
ONCE, RACIST SKINHEADS WERE REGARDED AS TOO EXPLOSIVELY VIOLENT TO BE POLITICIZED. TWO FORMER KLANSMEN CHANGED ALL THAT FOR GOOD

When young racists across the United States began emulating white-power British skinheads in the 1980s, it soon became apparent they had neither the discipline nor the charismatic leadership of the Nazi SS soldiers they idolized. They were loose cadres of ultra-violent outcasts, prone to poorly planned bursts of vicious, high-profile criminality, who found themselves as shunned by the leaders of established white supremacist organizations as they were by mainstream society.

That began to change after two Klansmen-turned-neo-Nazi leaders — Tom Metzger in the mid-to-late 1980s, followed by Bill Riccio in the early 1990s — showed that it's possible, at least for a while, to harness skinhead rage in the service of a larger racist cause. Where other hate group leaders saw drunken, unmanageable miscreants, Metzger and later Riccio saw disaffected but malleable foot soldiers in need of a father figure — potential “shock troops” in the coming race war.

Like drug kingpins who use gangbangers to sling crack, these two merchants of hate enlisted and organized racist skinheads to do the dirty work of the white power movement. By doing so, they shifted the way racist skins are viewed by adult hate group leaders. While skinheads are still as likely as they ever were to get drunk and beat each other up or spontaneously commit a random murder, it's become the standard for neo-Nazi organizations like the National Socialist Movement and the Creativity Movement to seek out and recruit skinheads.

Metzger and Riccio showed the potential value racist skins hold for the white power movement in terms of generating publicity, fundraising, recruiting, and, when



Former Klan leader Tom Metzger was one of the first Americans to see in racist skinheads the potential “shock troops” for a coming race war.

deemed necessary, brute force and intimidation. But these two self-appointed guidance counselors for neo-Nazi youth also unwittingly demonstrated the collateral damage skinheads cause their handlers when they learn their lessons all too well.

TOM METZGER

With his black cowboy hat and brash swagger, Thomas Linton Metzger has carefully cultivated an outlaw image over his 30-year-career as a racist. The tough-talking television repairman and former California grand dragon

of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan was the first major racist leader in the United States to invite skinheads into the organized white supremacist fold.

Metzger's youth outreach efforts even predated the arrival of racist skinhead culture in the U.S. in the early 1980s.

In 1979, when teenager Greg Withrow created a furor by starting a "White Students Union" at his northern California high school, Metzger took Withrow under his wing, ultimately transforming Withrow's fledgling organization into the Aryan Youth Movement (AYM), a junior-varsity version of Metzger's own organization, White Aryan Resistance (WAR). Metzger then began inserting AYM's teen newsletter into WAR newspapers.

When the first domestic crop of racist skinheads began sprouting in the early-to-mid 1980s, White Aryan Resistance and the Aryan Youth Movement quickly moved to become the first hate groups where skinhead culture and exploits were celebrated rather than shunned. "I was the first in the country to recognize skinheads and befriend them" Metzger told a reporter in 2004.

Metzger tailored his pitch to suit the skins' affinity for rebellion, portraying his group as anti-authoritarian and pro-working class. "WAR wears no uniform, carries no membership card, takes no secret oath," he said.

Metzger and a handful of skinhead protégés made the rounds of television talk shows, defining skinhead culture for the shocked audiences of Oprah Winfrey, Geraldo Rivera and Phil Donahue. He established a 24-hour WAR telephone hotline, with outgoing racist messages scripted for skinheads, and supplied early skinhead crews with free bundles of WAR and AYM publications to distribute on their own turf. These tactical moves were intended to make all racist skinheads and potential skinheads feel part of a growing national phenomenon.

While he formed a particularly close alliance with American Front (one of the first skinhead crews to develop chapters in multiple states), Metzger wasn't choosy. In 1988, he and his son John threw the first-ever hate rock festival, Aryan Fest, which was open to all skinheads. Skins from all over the country traveled to the festival in Oklahoma. From that point on, Metzger was a sought-after speaker at rallies and concerts sponsored by a variety of crews.

One of Metzger's most devoted followers was Dave Mazella, a California skinhead who took part in the traveling

"Operate like a Nazi submarine! Use your periscope! We have to infiltrate! Infiltrate the military! Infiltrate your local governments! Infiltrate your school board! Infiltrate law enforcement!"

skinhead circus Metzger put together for the talk shows. "Tom Metzger was like a father to me," Mazella later said. After their nationally televised appearances, Metzger promoted Mazella to vice president of AYM, where he reported directly to John Metzger.

When word reached WAR's Fallbrook, Calif., headquarters that independent skinhead gangs in the Pacific Northwest were rapidly gaining strength, Metzger dispatched Mazella to Portland, where the WAR emissary used videotapes of his talk show shenanigans to get in with the members of East Side White Pride. John Metzger also sent ESWP a letter of introduction that read in part, "You'll get a feel of how we work when you meet Dave Mazella."

In Portland, Mazella arranged for ESWP members to talk to Tom Metzger directly on the phone, and drove the Portland skins around in his van to local high schools, where they distributed AYM papers. He led them in violent attacks to prove his bona fides.

On Nov. 12, 1988, three weeks after WAR's emissary arrived in Portland, ESWP skinhead Ken Mieske beat to death an Ethiopian immigrant. The first person Mieske called after the murder

was John Metzger. After Mieske and two other ESWP skins pleaded guilty to murder, the Southern Poverty Law Center sued both Metzgers on behalf of the victim's family and won a \$12.5 million wrongful death verdict that ruined the Metzgers financially.

While the money trouble and public scrutiny forced Metzger to stop networking directly with skinheads, he maintained the WAR hotline and kept publishing white supremacist pamphlets.

In 1993, then 17-year-old Richard Campos was arrested for a series of firebombings in Sacramento, Calif. His targets included the house of a Sacramento city councilman, an NAACP office, the office of the Japanese American Citizens League, a synagogue, and a state anti-discrimination office. Investigators found that Campos had called the WAR

hotline to listen to Metzger's messages 34 times in a single month just before he carried out the bombings, which Campos had credited to the "Aryan Liberation Front," a domestic terrorist organization of which he was the only member. Campos told police he'd become "racially aware" after reading a White Aryan Resistance flier. Campos was tried as an adult, convicted, and sentenced to 17 years in prison.

Since the civil judgment against him, Metzger has advocated "lone wolf" white supremacist activism, which is leaderless and covert. A lone wolf, according to Metzger, "gathers intelligence and carefully digests and develops this information into thoughts and suggestions." Then he acts.

Metzger, who recently moved to Warsaw, Ind., continues to speak at skinhead rallies, although his organization is now little more than a publisher. In January 2004, he addressed a crowd of about 100 skinheads at a hate rock festival outside Phoenix that was organized by the Portland, Ore.-based skinhead crew Volksfront. "Don't operate like a battleship," he shouted. "Operate like a Nazi submarine! Use your periscope! We have to infiltrate! Infiltrate

the military! Infiltrate your local governments! Infiltrate your school board! Infiltrate law enforcement!”

And remember, he said, “You are not domestic terrorists. You are freedom fighters.”

BILL RICCIO

“Send us your broken toys, and we’ll fix them,” Bill Riccio said to the camera.

It was 1992 and Riccio, then 35, was starring in the HBO documentary “Skinheads, U.S.A.” that detailed life inside the Aryan Youth Front, a skinhead crew organized by Riccio and based in Birmingham, Ala. Though he was not connected to Metzger, Riccio had originally called his loyal band of racist misfits White Aryan Resistance. He changed the name to avoid confusion, but kept calling the backwoods shack he rented “the WAR House.”

The WAR House was equal parts skinhead recruiting station, clubhouse, and crash pad. It was where Riccio, a former Klan chaplain, kept his toy soldiers, who were white teenaged boys, many of them runaways. He plied them with beer, and systemically indoctrinated them in racial hatred and his own special brand of neo-Confederate Hitler worship.

As Riccio explained in the documentary, his ultimate goal was to reclaim the South for pure Aryans. “Those nigger-loving race traitors can go move to San Francisco or somewhere else where they might feel more welcome among its large gay population,” he said.

Though based in Birmingham, at the height of his influence, in mid-1992, Riccio was the de facto Nazi youth troop leader of a network of at least 70 skinheads in Alabama, Florida and Georgia. (Riccio worked closely with the Confederate Hammerskins.) Skinheads from as far away as York, Pa.,

made pilgrimages to the WAR House. By that time, Riccio had been convicted in 1979 of possessing a sawed-off shotgun, in 1981 of violating probation by illegally possessing a firearm, and in 1985, again, for illegal possession of a firearm, as well as marijuana.

While Metzger benefited from the media attention and the revenue gen-



erated by his skinhead outreach, Riccio seemed to simply adore being adored. He didn’t profit from his skinhead followers — the WAR House was funded by his small auto-parts business — but he did enjoy their unconditional loyalty.

“I wish Bill would have been my biological father,” one of the teenaged AYF skins says in the HBO documentary. “He *is* my father. He’s all these youths’ father, every single one of us.”

Riccio worked hand-in-hand with Alabama Klan leader Roger Handley. In November 1991, they co-hosted a huge skinhead and Klan gathering on Handley’s farm. The two co-organized

a white power march by 150 skinheads and Klansmen through downtown Birmingham the following June. (When Handley was later brought up on sodomy charges involving a teenaged boy, Riccio defended him, dismissing the accusations as false and obviously part of a law enforcement conspiracy to defame the Klan.)

The lessons Riccio taught were not child’s play. Skinheads under his sway committed at least two murders in Alabama. In one of those cases, three skins were arrested for beating and kicking a homeless man to death under a railroad trestle in April 1992, just hours after attending an Adolf Hitler birthday party at the WAR House. One of the killers, then 17-year-old Confederate Hammerskin Mark Lane, had written on his application that he wanted to join the movement “to benefit my race and help my brothers and sisters of the Aryan persuasion destroy all the scum and degenerates of our land.”

Four months later, in August 1992, the WAR House was raided as part of multi-state sweep of white supremacist groups. Police found guns and grenades on Riccio’s property, and arrested him again for illegal weapons possession.

After serving 15 months in federal prison on a conviction for that felony, Riccio moved back to the WAR House and renewed his devotion to the Klan, eventually becoming Imperial Kludd, or national chaplain, of the North Georgia White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

Today, Riccio still occasionally shows up at Klan events with a detail of skinheads in tow, and some of the first generation of broken toys he wound up and turned loose, who are now in their mid-to-late 20s, remain active in the white supremacist movement.

As the judge who sentenced him in 1992 put it: “It is [Riccio’s] apparent ability to organize and mobilize disenchant-

Racist skinhead culture has long brimmed with violence and venom.
But there are thugs, and then there are thugs' thugs

TEN WHO TERRIFY

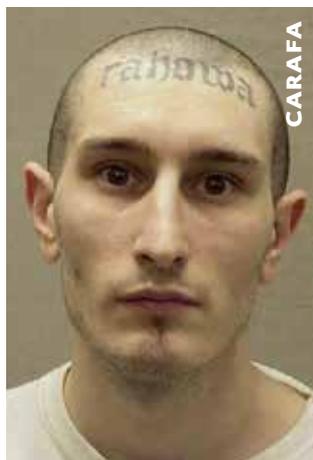
The racist skinhead scene in America is typified by violence — over drugs, women, ideology, race, and just about anything else that could come up after a night of swilling beer. Since the first skinheads appeared in the United States in the early 1980s, they have periodically terrified mainly urban populations in places like Denver, Los Angeles, Portland, Salt Lake City and Boston, along with many smaller towns. But even within a world that is accustomed to violence, there have been a number of predators who are vastly more frightening than the rest. What follows are portraits of 10 of those individuals, including several who remain active and a number of others who are in prison or appear to have dropped out of the racist movement. Their stories are presented here as a cautionary tale, a graphic illustration of the kinds of people and criminal activity produced by the racist skinhead scene.

Gabriel Carafa, 25

THE HATED

Never one for discretion, Gabriel Carafa decided to advertise his racist skinhead ideology by having “RA-HOWA” (short for “Racial Holy War”) tattooed across his forehead in large gothic script. The skin of Carafa’s torso is riddled with crudely inked runes, swastikas, SS bolts, and the clear-cut phrases, “Race War” and “Kill Niggers.”

A former member of the Latin Kings whose gang name was “King Shaggy,”



this convicted drug dealer has been a “governor” (the highest ranking member in

New Jersey) in the neo-Nazi World Church of the Creator (now known as the Creativity Movement) and a member of The Hated, a skinhead crew active in New Jersey as well as Florida.

Carafa’s hate crime record includes convictions for bias intimidation and making terroristic threats. These stemmed from an October 2002 incident in which Carafa arrived at a 7-Eleven in Seaside Heights, N.J., to find the store closed. When the store’s Hindu manager refused to open the

locked door, Carafa punched through the store’s front window, then yelled threats and racial slurs, including “let’s run this nigger over!” He served three years in prison for his crimes.

Upon his release in 2005, Carafa moved in with former cellmate Craig Orler, a fellow member of The Hated who possessed a large cache of weapons, some of them stolen. Carafa agreed to help Orler find a buyer for the guns in exchange for a split of the profits. On April 25, 2005, Carafa sold

a Winchester rifle with the serial number removed for \$100 to a man he believed to be a fellow white supremacist, who in fact was a federal informant. Three weeks later, Carafa called the man and offered 11 more guns for sale, quoting a price of \$1,000 for seven shotguns, three rifles, and a handgun. The informant accepted.

Next, Carafa offered to sell him an M-16. Then he started talking bombs. Carafa eventually supplied the undercover operative with 60 pounds of urea, a type of chemical fertilizer that is high in nitrogen. When Carafa bragged about the urea he'd obtained being of higher quality than the fertilizer used by Timothy McVeigh, authorities decided to end the six-month undercover operation rather than run the risk of Carafa and Orlor actually detonating a fertilizer bomb. Both members of The Hated were arrested and later pleaded guilty to selling guns without a federal license and possessing firearms despite prior felony convictions (Orlor had past convictions for burglary and assault).

"We are pleased that this dangerous criminal is going to prison," said New Jersey Attorney General Zulima V. Farber. "This defendant's violent strain of racism and his access to firearms made him a grave threat to our communities."

Now back in prison for up to 15 years, Carafa's tattoos may prove to be a grave threat to his own safety.

Eric "The Butcher" Fairburn, 32

VINLANDER SOCIAL CLUB

Back in the 1990s, when he was also known as Eric Wolf, this tall and brawny skinhead, unmistakable for having "MURDER" tattooed in large letters across the front of his neck, was the rhythm guitarist for the Church of the Creator hate rock band RAHOWA. He also dallied in the business side of hate rock as marketing director for Resistance Records when the nation's leading racist music label was still based in Detroit.

After Michigan tax authorities raided Resistance's offices in 1997, Fairburn moved to Washington, D.C., where he went to work for Holocaust denier Willis Carto's extreme-right political advocacy organization, Liberty Lobby. He also edited the white supremacist E-mail newsletter "Wolfreign Update."

Fairburn has always exhibited what criminologists term "poor impulse control." During his tenure at Liberty Lobby, he went to the home of Willis Carto's business partner, Todd Blodgett, to collect a debt. Blodgett, who lived in a wealthy suburb in Virginia, wasn't home, so Fairburn broke into Blodgett's garage, stole a chainsaw that Blodgett had inherited from his grandfather, and cut down every single tree and shrub on Blodgett's heavily wooded property.

In 1999, the neo-Na-

zi lumberjack moved to Florida, where he worked as a particularly scary repo man and whiled away his off hours with Dungeons & Dragons, the popular role-playing game. In 2000, he turned up in Indiana and began associating with the newly formed Outlaw Ham-



merskins (OHS). In 2002, he and OHS leader Brien James (see profile, below) founded the Hoosier State Skinheads.

That same year, after seeing the movie "Gangs of New York," Fairburn renamed himself the "Butcher" after the character in the film played by Daniel Day Lewis, William "Bill the Butcher" Cutting, a one-eyed crime lord and sadist who hates all non-whites and Irish immigrants. Fairburn also began carrying a large sledgehammer, and cultivating a reputation for unpredictable and abusive conduct,

especially toward women. In one instance, he tossed a female friend's dog out of a car window in heavy traffic during an argument.

"I threw her new dog out my car window at 70 mph on I-70 westbound," Fairburn boasted in an Internet posting. "It got really fucked up and died quickly as a truck behind me nailed it with its back tires after trying to avoid it. It exploded. Great stuff."

In 2003, Fairburn relocated to Springfield, Mo., and moved in with the ex-girlfriend of Midwestern Hammerskin leader Shane McCormick. When McCormick and another Hammerskins confronted Fairburn at the woman's home, Fairburn stabbed McCormick (he survived).

Animus had already been rising between Hammerskin Nation crews, including McCormick's, and independent, regional skinhead gangs like the Hoosier State Skinheads. Fallout from the stabbing brought a bitter feud that continues to verge on open warfare. In a post to a skinhead message board in late 2003, Fairburn wrote: "To the shit talking Hammerskins out there or their leaders who mislead the other hammers under them: ... I am ready for Valhalla or prison to do what is right. ... We are sick of the lies, tired of the BS, we are calling you out: either listen to the truth or fight for your lives for the lie. YOUR CHOICE."

In 2004, Fairburn and James formed the Vinlander Social Club (see timeline, p. 38). In 2005, the Vinlanders hosted representatives of independent skinhead crews from around the country at the first official Blood & Honour USA Council, which aims to create a united front to challenge the waning authority of Hammerskin Nation. At the council meeting, 15 skinheads, including Fairburn, stood in a circle and passed the “mead horn,” a ritual in the racist variant of the Odinist religion. Waiting his turn, Fairburn stood with a spare mead horn slung over his left shoulder, along with his trademark sledgehammer.

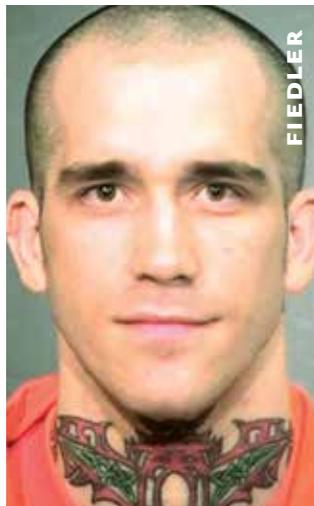
Joshua David Fiedler, 26 SS GUARDIANS/UNIT 88

Now serving a 21-year prison sentence for pulling a home invasion robbery, 28-year-old Josh Fiedler recently posted an online advertisement for prison pen pals. In it, Fiedler professes his love of comic books, animals, and poetry. He makes no mention of his blood-spattered past.

From 2001 until his most recent incarceration in 2005, Fiedler was the leader of a Phoenix skinhead crew, alternately called SS Guardians and Unit 88, whose members were involved in at least two murders, numerous brutal assaults, and other acts of violence and racial intimidation that brought skinhead criminal

activity in Phoenix to a level the city had not witnessed since Jimmy Miller’s crew goose-stepped down Central Avenue in 1990 (see Miller profile, below).

Fiedler shamelessly court-



ed the media, holding a press conference in March 2003 at a park located in a predominantly minority neighborhood where he instructed the skinheads under his command to pick up trash for the cameras and told television reporters, “We’re here for the community.”

The skinhead park clean-up was an attempt by Fiedler to counter the negative publicity generated by the murder of a young white man with a pacemaker who was kicked and stomped to death outside a pool hall by several of Fiedler’s followers in late 2002. “My son was so disfigured the bouncer [who found him] couldn’t tell what race he was. We couldn’t have an open casket,” said Cole Bai-

ley Sr., the victim’s father. “They kicked through bone and into temporal lobe.”

Appearing at the press conference alongside Fiedler was his second-in-command, Sean Gaines, the gang’s chief enforcer, who has a well-earned reputation for extreme violence. Gaines’ rap sheet includes arrests for beating a Latino man over the head with a two-foot long tree branch, car theft, and beating a Jewish boy into unconsciousness. Gaines is currently awaiting trial for capital murder after allegedly acting as the ringleader in the February 2002 mutilation and murder of a drug addict suspected of stealing money from Fiedler’s girlfriend. Another of Fiedler’s lieutenants, Jason Shakofsky, is now awaiting trial for attempted murder for allegedly stabbing and slitting the throat of his crewmate and ex-girlfriend.

Fiedler’s own criminal record stretches back to 1997, when he was arrested for possession of LSD and received probation. A short time later, he and a fellow skinhead fired more than 40 rounds from assault rifles into a fleeing car; Fiedler was convicted of felony endangerment and aggravated assault and served three years in prison. About six months after he was paroled in early 2001, Fiedler attended a bonfire where skinheads torched a Jewish star. He was arrested at the scene for violating

the conditions of his release when police officers found him in possession of two handguns and a 14-inch Bowie knife.

“Mr. Fiedler is a clear, viable threat to the community,” his probation officer wrote in a pre-sentencing report. “He was given counseling while in prison and also received his GED, yet he continues to violate the law.”

Fiedler was released from prison once again in January 2003. Around the time of the park clean-up media stunt, he described prison as a near perfect, racially segregated environment. “Blacks with blacks, whites with whites, Hispanics with Hispanics,” he told a reporter. “It’s an ideal society.”

Luckily for Fiedler — not to mention the rest of the world — he’ll be enjoying that ideal society until at least 2022.

Brien James, 30 HOOSIER STATE SKINHEADS/ VINLANDER SOCIAL CLUB

Even in the violent world of racist skinhead subculture, there are thugs, and there are thugs. Brien James, co-founder of the Vinlander Social Club, is a thug’s thug. In the opinion of neo-Nazi activist and longtime James antagonist Bill White, the beefy tattoo shop owner from Indiana is “nuts and violent — a joke you want to keep away from you because you know he’s going to do so something to bring the cops over.”

Like punch and stomp a man to the brink of death at

a party for refusing to seig heil, as James did in Indianapolis in 2000. “I have been tried for attempted murder and multiple batteries and hate crimes,” James boasted years later. “My JTTF [Joint Terrorism Task Force] file is a mile long.”

James began his gang career young, when he and some childhood friends in Knightstown, Ind., formed a gang called the Knightstown Boys. In his late teens, James became involved with the



Klan before helping to found the Outlaw Hammerskins in 1999 in the first direct challenge to the authority of Hammerskin Nation.

Online, James uses the screen name “Hando2000,” an apparent reference to the character Hando, played by Russell Crowe in the 1992 cult film classic, “Romper Stomper.” In the movie, Hando is the leader of a racist skinhead gang in Australia. Like Hando, James

has a reputation for trying to exert total control over whatever skinhead crew he’s running with by acting as the “brains” behind the outfit, as well a good portion of the brawn. Invariably so far, the demands of his huge ego have led James to eventually split from his current crew to form a new gang, with himself as its self-appointed leader.

In 2002, James left the Outlaw Hammerskins to found the Hoosier State Skinheads along with Eric “The Butcher” Fairburn (see profile, above).

In October of 2005, James helped convene a “Blood & Honour” coalition of 17 white supremacist groups in yet another direct challenge to the de facto national leadership of the Hammerskins. This challenge was also reflected in the creation by James, Fairburn and others of the Vinlander Social Club, a coalition of regional skinhead crews — including the Hoosier State Skinheads, the Ohio State Skinheads, and the Keystone State Skinheads — that do not recognize the authority of Hammerskin Nation.

Tensions between the Vinlanders and other neo-Nazi groups exploded in Kentucky at last May’s hate-rock festival known as Nordic Fest. The violence was sparked by Missouri National Socialist Movement member Steven Boswell, who started a speech touting NSM accomplishments by telling his audi-

ence that the white supremacist movement could not succeed “by belonging to a social club where all we do is drink and shoot the shit every Saturday night.”

James and fellow members of the Vinlander Social Club took the comment personally. They rushed Boswell immediately after his speech and beat him in front of his wife and young daughter. Other NSM members were attacked as well in the melee that ensued. NSM member Gary Robinson described his comrade Austin Ibarra’s face as looking “like hamburger covered in bootprints.”

Notch one more party wrecked by Brien James and company.

Randall Lee Krager, 32 VOLKSFRONT

At 6-foot, 2-inches and 240 pounds, with “FEAR” tattooed across the knuckles of his right hand and a large swastika stamped on his thick neck, Volksfront



founder Randall Krager is an imposing figure whose continuing, heavy influence on skinheads in the Pacific Northwest has deep roots.

Krager has been involved in the skinhead subculture since at least 1989. That year, when he was 15, Krager was arrested along with several other skinheads and charged with racial intimidation for allegedly assaulting three teenagers near a park in Portland, Ore. During the attack, assailants pummeled a Hispanic girl in the face while shouting, “Why aren’t you white?”

Krager was sent to a juvenile detention center.

The next year, he attended the civil trial of White Aryan Resistance leader Tom Metzger — who was being sued by the Southern Poverty Law Center for his role in encouraging the skinhead murder of a black man in Portland — and told a reporter that Metzger was a “cool guy ... one of the nicest guys you’d ever meet.”

By the time Krager turned 18, police had encountered him 28 times.

That year, 1992, Krager was sentenced to 27 months in prison for putting an African-American man into a coma with a single punch. During sentencing proceedings, Krager reportedly shouted “Fucking Jew pig!” at court officials.

Krager’s white supremacist beliefs were reinforced in prison. While inside, he networked with skinheads outside, laying the groundwork for his Volksfront

neo-Nazi gang. Krager assumed leadership of Volksfront immediately upon his release in October 1994.

But Krager didn't stay out of prison for long. Weeks after his release, he called a local anti-racist skinhead and threatened to kill him. Krager was arrested and pleaded guilty to first-degree intimidation. He served 14 months and was released in early 1995.

Led by Krager, Volksfront maintained a highly visible presence in Portland until 2001, when the gang essentially went underground, citing "police and governmental pressure" to explain its disappearance.

Volksfront resurfaced in 2001 and, to the amazement of many who knew Krager, officially renounced violence. "[K]icking in someone's head will not make them our political allies. ... We know that violence created by stupidity or machismo will and can destroy organizations," read a notice on Volksfront's website.

In a blatant and brutal violation of this supposed policy — a policy that appears to have been a public relations gambit more than anything else — Volksfront's Washington state chapter leader, Kurtis William Mon-schke, joined three other racist skinheads in 2003 in beating to death a homeless man in Tacoma using baseball bats and rocks. But this mindless violence hardly destroyed Volksfront. By 2004, Krager's gang has

chapters in seven states.

That January at Aryan Fest, a white power festival in Arizona hosted and policed by Volksfront, representatives of Krager claimed to have purchased five acres of land in Oregon as the beginnings of a white homeland. Although Krager officially stepped down from his leadership position later in 2004, today he continues to control the group from the shadows.

Clark Martell, 44

CHICAGO AREA SKINHEADS

In April 1987, six members of the Chicago Area Skinheads (CASH), one of the first racist skinhead gangs formed in the United States, busted into the apartment of a 20-year-old woman who'd quit the gang, and who the CASH skinheads suspected of having black friends. Once inside, the racist skinheads, including CASH founder Clark Martell, who was then 26, pistol-whipped the former skinbyrd, sprayed mace in her eyes, and painted a swastika and "Race Traitor" on her wall with her blood.

That assault came in the midst of an 18-month crime spree by Martell and 15 to 20 followers that also included assaults on six Hispanic women, swastikas painted on three synagogues, and numerous incidents of vandalism to Jewish-owned business.

Martell, who hailed from Blue Island, Ill., about 20 miles south of Chicago, was a violent neo-Nazi years before

he was a skinhead gang leader. In 1979, when Martell was a member of the American Nazi Party, he was sentenced to four years in prison for attempting to firebomb the Cicero, Ill., home of a Hispanic couple and their five children. He served 30 months.

In the mid-1980s, Martell began performing around Chicago with his punk rock band Romantic Violence. Starting in 1985 or 1986, Martell passed out American Nazi Party newsletters between his band's sets, along with copies of *National Socialist Skinhead* magazine, for which Martell was a cartoonist. Martell corralled a following among young racist skins eager to copycat their British brethren, but his neo-Nazi recruiting drive also caught the attention of Chicago's numerous "traditional," non-racist skinheads, including a number of African Americans (according to Chicago punk lore, the city's skinhead scene was founded by black traditional skinheads).

Enjoying the advantage of vastly superior numbers, non-racist-turned-anti-racist crews such as Skinheads of Chicago (SHOC) routinely ganged up on CASH skins at shows and in the streets. "They grew out of what we are — the punk scene — so it's up to us to combat them," a member of the Chicago Anti-Racist Action (ARA) crew told the *Chicago Tribune*. "We have more responsibility than anybody else to bring them down."

By the time Martell and the other five CASH skins were arrested for the grue-

some April 1987 attack on a former member, CASH had been more or less beaten into submission by Chicago's anti-racist skins. But Martell had already proven he was ahead of his time. When he first started recruiting for CASH, there were likely fewer than 200 racist skinheads in the U.S. By 1989, when he was convicted of home invasion, aggravated battery, and robbery and sentenced to 11 years in prison, there were more than 3,000.

Martell was released in 1992 after an appellate court overturned a different, prior conviction on which his lengthy sentence was based. In 1997, new Martell cartoons appeared in the racist skinhead periodical *Right as Reina*. That was the last the skinhead world heard of Clark Martell, though he's been neither forgiven nor forgotten by anti-racist skins in Chicago and elsewhere. "I can clearly remember the fearless leader of CASH writing all sorts of letters to punk and alternative magazines sucking up to black people once he spent about six months in [prison]," a punk rocker using the screen name SeattleTroll posted to the online punk rock discussion forum finntroll.net earlier this year. "Of course, he still got his ass kicked by every Irish SHOC skin when he got out of jail."

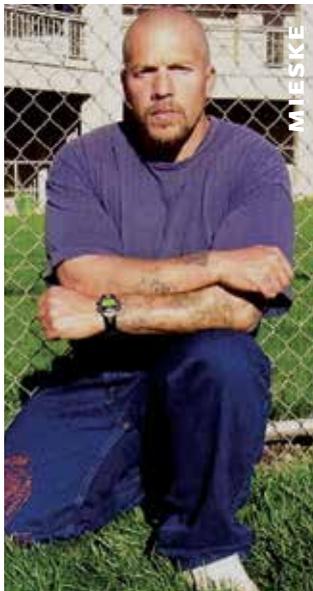
Kenneth Mieske, 41

East Side White Pride

The first inkling of the fury that lurked inside Kenneth

Mieske came when he was not quite three. One day, when his adoptive mother sent the boy to time out in his bedroom after a minor incident, the diaper-clad tot took less than two minutes to strip the bed of sheets, tear down the curtains and upend a chest of drawers. The toddler's strength stunned her, as did the force of his anger. It was a rage, Mieske's mother told author Elinor Langer, that would only build with time.

As Mieske later wrote in his poem, "Senseless Vio-



lence": "Victims all around me/I feel nothing but hate/
Bashing their brains in/
Is my only trade/Senseless violence is the only thing I know/
Piles of corpses never ending, watch them grow/
Kill my victims for pleasure and for fun/
Beat them over the head. Shoot them with my gun/
Line them up

against a wall. Shoot them. Watch them die/I love to hear the agony, they vomit, scream, and cry"

As a young adolescent in Portland, Ore., Mieske got into Satanism and began using drugs. A friend later said that roughhousing with Mieske was "like playing with a Doberman." In 1984, he began playing in local death metal bands. A fellow musician gave him the prophetic nickname "Ken Death."

In 1986, when he was 21, Mieske went to prison for burglary. Inside, he immersed himself in the hate-filled theology of Christian Identity. By the time he was released in fall of 1987, the skinhead scene in Portland (and the nation) was on the rise, with established gangs whose numbers were growing. Mieske joined East Side White Pride (ESWP), an affiliate of Tom Metzger's White Aryan Resistance (WAR). He also became lead vocalist of the death metal band, Machine. In September of that year, Metzger sent Dave Mazzella, vice president of WAR's youth arm, to Portland to spur ESWP on to commit brutal assaults, a tactic that culminated in the infamous November 1988 murder of Ethiopian immigrant Mu-lugeta Seraw.

Mieske and two other ESWP skinheads were drinking beer and party-hopping on a Saturday night when they turned onto a street they found partially blocked by another

car. Seraw, a graduate student, was being dropped off by two friends who were also Ethiopian immigrants. The skins begin yelling at the other car to move, flashing their headlights. When they realized the race of those blocking their path, the night took an irrevocable turn. The Ethiopians and the skins both got out of their cars. Mieske smashed the taillights and right rear window of the Ethiopians' car with a baseball bat. Then he brought the bat down on Seraw's head. Seraw crumpled to the ground, where Mieske hit him again, then again, splitting his skull and killing him.

All three of the ESWP skins — Mieske, Kyle Brewster (see blotter item, p. 9) and Steven Strasser — were arrested and later pleaded guilty to murder, assault, and racial intimidation. Mieske was sentenced to life in prison. In a subsequent civil suit brought by the Southern Poverty Law Center, a jury returned a \$12.5 million verdict against Metzger and WAR for encouraging ESWP members to commit violence.

Mieske will be eligible for parole in 2018. Racist skinhead crews and neo-Nazi websites still honor him as a "Prisoner of War."

James Lee Miller, 33 Arizona Hammerskins

On Oct. 9, 1990, as 17-year-old Jimmy "Soda Pop" Miller awaited trial as an

adult in Phoenix, Ariz., on six counts of arson, robbery, and assault, a state-appointed psychologist petitioned the court on Miller's behalf.

"He did not impress me as a rabidly delinquent or antisocial individual," Kevin Buckley argued after meeting with Miller. "He certainly does not have the character of a leader."

That remarkable assessment might have amused Miller's minions in the Arizona Hammerskins, and no doubt would have surprised the targets of his violence. Superior Court Judge Gregory H. Martin didn't buy it, and when Miller was convicted, Judge Martin sentenced him to five years in prison. Thus ended the explosive first phase of Miller's career as a skinhead gang leader.

Jimmy Miller's association with the Arizona Hammerskins had begun in the fall of 1989, around the time he dropped out of Scottsdale Alternative School. Within a year, he was second-in-command in the organization — the right-hand man of the skinhead leader and Tom Metzger protégé, Case Colcord.

Miller and Colcord reveled in organizing high-profile media stunts that doubled as recruiting tools. Together, they led demonstrations in which they displayed Nazi banners and chanted racist and anti-Semitic slurs. On Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday, the two marched down Central Avenue in Phoenix,

chanting, “Nigger, nigger, nigger! Out, out, out!” On Adolf Hitler’s birthday, they marched in front of a local synagogue brandishing Nazi insignia.

A month after the Martin Luther King march, Miller began the rampage that finally landed him in prison.

In February of 1990, Miller attempted to fire-bomb the home of Jason “Fishbone” Mosely, a teenage member of a rival, anti-racist skinhead group known as the SHARPs, for Skinheads Against Racial Prejudice. But Miller had the wrong condominium. Fortunately for the elderly couple inside, Miller’s homemade bomb bounced off the window screen. Prior to the bombing, Miller had called Mosley’s mother late at night and threatened to kill her and her “mongrel” son (Mosley was of mixed race).

Soon after that attack, Miller and a small group of Hammerskins visited Sean “Warbaby” Cooper at his grandparents’ home. As punishment for leaving the Hammerskins — and out of fear that he would start another group and challenge Hammerskin primacy — they beat Cooper and sliced away his crossed-hammer tattoo with an X-Acto knife. Six days after this brutal assault, Miller led a boot party against Kaipō Stant, another SHARP skin, and stole Stant’s Doc Martens boots.

In May, Miller attempt-

ed a second firebombing at the home of anti-racist skinheads. This explosive successfully cleared the window of the Phoenix apartment, but the two targets escaped to safety.

Miller was arrested that September. During his trial he claimed to be reformed and said he was eager to have his tattoos surgically removed. (A SHARP skin who testified at his trial tauntingly suggested that Miller was afraid he’d become somebody’s prison “cupcake.”) Despite these promises and the appeals of psychologists like Kevin Buckley, Miller was tried as an adult and convicted.

After serving two years of his sentence, Miller was released on parole in April of 1993.

Against the rules of his parole, and despite the fact that he was living with his grandmother, the young ex-con soon resumed leadership of the Arizona Hammerskins. During the mid-1990s, he expanded his role to become a leader of the Hammerskin Nation, his group’s national organization. He also distributed a skinhead newsletter to juvenile detention facilities throughout the country.

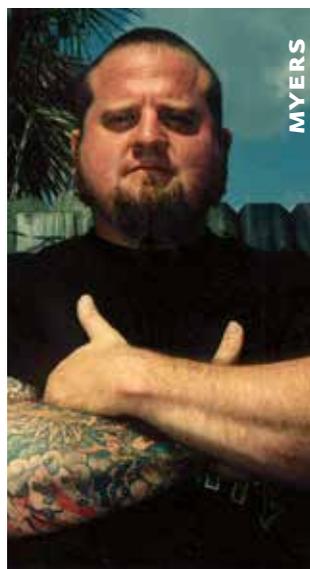
By the turn of the millennium, Miller seemed to have faded from the skinhead scene. A 2004 posting on the message board at Skinheadz.com referred to Miller as “one time leader of the Arizona Hammerskins,” and grouped the once fearsome Miller with “other old

time skins.”

Richard Myers, 32 American Front/ Confederate Hammerskins

In 1990, when he was only 17, Richard “Richie” Myers was named the Florida state leader of the American Front (AF), a nationwide white power skinhead gang that was started in the mid-1980s in San Francisco. The five founders included David Lynch, who later moved to Port St. Lucie, Fla., to become AF’s Eastern States Commander, and Bob Heick, aka “Nazi Bob,” one of the skinheads involved in the infamous brawl on the set of *The Geraldo Rivera Show* in November 1988.

Lynch and Myers were the driving force behind a thriving racist skinhead scene in Florida in 1990, as the American Front systematically absorbed local crews statewide and engaged in blood feuds with anti-racist skinheads.



When Myers discovered in October 1990 that AF’s North Florida “director of regional operations” was secretly Jewish, he laid a trap at a skinhead party house in Daytona Beach rented by Fran Mercuri. (Mercuri was then Florida chairman for Tom Metzger’s neo-Nazi organization, White Aryan Resistance, which worked hand-in-glove with American Front.) Myers ordered the North Florida officer, John Daly, to attend a mandatory officers meeting at the beach house. After Daly arrived, Myers and six other AF skinheads pummeled and kicked him while one shouted, “Die, Jew boy, die!” They then attempted to drown him in the surf.

Daly’s attackers later testified that they watched Daly’s body begin to float out with the tide, then left, excitedly discussing plans to get their spider web tattoos, indicating they had killed an enemy of the skinhead movement. But Daly was not quite dead, and after they had gone, he dragged himself ashore and later drove to a hospital, where he reported the attack to police.

Myers was arrested and charged with attempted first-degree murder, conspiracy to commit aggravated battery, and aggravated battery under Florida’s then-new hate crimes law, which enhances sentences for violent crimes motivated by racial or religious bigotry.

During his trial, when Myers was asked to raise his right hand, he instead threw

up a Hitler salute. Tried as an adult, Myers was convicted in 1991 and sentenced to 10 years in prison.

Not long after his release, Myers soon re-immersed himself in skinhead activity. He attended a St. Patrick's Day hate rock festival organized by the Confederate Hammerskins in March 2002, and now appears to be leading the Florida Hammerskins chapter. He is also once again associating with David Lynch, who crawled out of the woodwork last year, apparently to relaunch American Front. Earlier this year, two Salt Lake City skinheads in their early 20s pleaded guilty to randomly attacking a black man as part of an American Front initiation.

Jessica Nelson, 31

Unit 88

A dirty blonde with glacial eyes and an equally icy temperament, Jessica Nelson has a sweet smile that spreads across her face like Novocain.

Born in Huntington Beach, Calif., Nelson moved to Arizona when she was in the eighth grade. She enlisted in the Army after graduating from high school. After leaving the military, she had a son (who is now 13), developed an on-again, off-again methamphetamine addiction, and starting having trouble with the law, racking up a felony forgery conviction, a DUI, and misdemeanor charges

for making false statements.

In May 2001, Nelson became romantically involved with Phoenix skinhead leader Joshua Fiedler (see profile, above), who worked in a tattoo shop she frequented. When Fiedler was sent back to prison for violating his probation in the fall of 2001, he arranged for Nelson and her son to stay, rent-free, at the



home of two of his tattoo clients, Bruce and Marie Mathes, setting in motion the chain of events that would lead to one of the most brutal skinhead murders in recent memory.

Not long after Nelson moved into the home, Bruce's brother, Mark, a middle-aged drug addict and petty criminal who had fled to Arizona to dodge a warrant in Washington state, also joined the household.

Nelson worked as a se-

curity guard, saving money in anticipation of Fiedler's release. One morning in late February 2002, she discovered an envelope with \$600 in it had gone missing. Suspecting Mark Mathes — who was not home at the time — she called Sean Gaines, Fiedler's second-in-command, who told her to call back as soon as Mathes returned, according to police reports and transcripts of Nelson's later accounts to homicide investigators.

That evening, sometime after 9 p.m., Mathes came in the back patio door while Nelson was outside smoking. She offered Mathes a beer, snuck inside to call Gaines, and then returned to the patio, where she petted a cat, made small talk, and waited.

Soon enough, Gaines and two other Unit 88 skinheads—longtime Fiedler associate Patrick Bearup and “fresh cut” Jeremy Johnson — entered the yard swiftly, carrying a shotgun, a large knife, and a baseball bat, respectively.

According to police reports, Gaines pointed the shotgun at Mathes, shouting, “You fucked up!”

Under orders from Gaines, Johnson began beating Mathes about the legs and back with the baseball bat. After Mathes fell, Gaines allegedly bashed him in the head with the shotgun's butt, knocking him unconscious. The four skinheads dragged Mathes into an

alley and lifted him into the trunk of a car.

They drove to a remote area about an hour north of Phoenix known as Swastika Mine.

“What are we going to do with him?” police say Gaines asked Nelson.

“You know what we have to do,” she replied.

Nelson and Bearup ripped Mathes' clothes from his body. Noticing a cheap ring on one of his fingers, Nelson tried to slip it off, but the finger was too swollen, so Bearup allegedly helped her cut off the finger using wire clippers while Mathes screamed. Gaines then allegedly smashed Mathes head with the shotgun butt, repeatedly, until he fell silent.

The four skinheads then dragged Mathes to the side of an embankment and threw him over a guardrail. Hoping to prevent identification through dental records, police say, Gaines pumped two shotgun blasts into Mathes' face.

Johnson was arrested on Sept. 10, 2003, and confessed. Nelson, Bearup and Gaines were arrested the following day. When police showed her Mark Mathes' ring during one interrogation session, Jessica Nelson sat back in her chair and cackled.

Nelson pleaded guilty to a lesser charge of kidnapping (as did Johnson) in exchange for her testimony against Gaines and Bearup, who remain jailed awaiting trial for capital murder. ▲

SKIN SYMBOLS

INSIGNIAS AND TATTOOS OF THE RACIST SKINHEAD UNDERGROUND



American Front



Volksfront



Blood and Honour, Klan, Odinist iconography



Ohio State Skinheads/
Vinlanders



Keystone State
Skinheads



Vinlanders probate patch



Old school
RAC logo



Skinhead merchandise
distributor



Hate rock label patch



United Kingdom
skinhead patch



Celtic Cross tattoo



American Thule
Society



Totenkopf tattoo
("My Honor is True")



Skinbyrd
patch



Norse runes
tattoo



White power fist w/ laurels



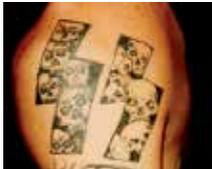
Independent skin tattoo



Hate rock band patch w/Thor's Hammer



Triskelion ("three sevens") tattoo



SS lightning bolts tattoo



Fenris Wolf Pagan/Odinist symbol tattoo



Thor's Hammer tattoo



Hammerskin Nation



Northwest Hammerskins



Skrewdriver life rune patch



Council of 28/Blood and Honour Council



88 boots tattoo



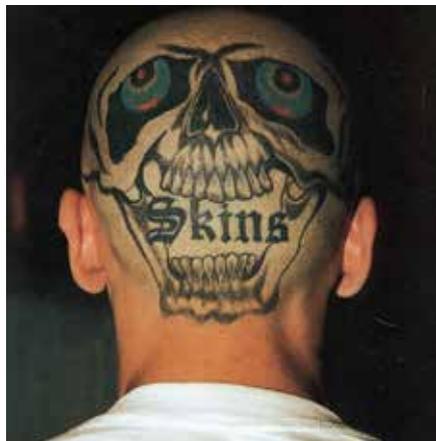
Confederate Hammerskins



Western Hammerskins



Skynbird spinning swastika tattoo w/ 14/88



Skin skull tattoo



Eastern Hammerskins



Hammerskin prospect patch



Nazi skin iconography tattoo



Crucified skin tattoo ("One people, One Empire, "One Leader")



Totenkopf (death's head) patch w/ 14/88



Midland Hammerskins



"Hammerskin Forever, Forever Hammerskin"



Northern Hammerskins



Hammerskin Celtic Cross tattoo



Arizona gubernatorial candidate Don Goldwater (far right), who has suggested sending illegal immigrants to work camps along the border, has found an admirer in Tom Tancredo (second from right), an immigrant-bashing congressman from Colorado.

ELECTING EXTREMISM

Around the U.S., right-wing radicals are running for everything from national political office to a county mosquito control board

BY ALEXANDER ZAITCHIK

In 1989, notorious white supremacist David Duke ran for a vacant seat in the Louisiana state legislature and won. Despite repeated efforts — and winning more than 670,000 votes, a majority of the state’s white voters, in a 1991 gubernatorial bid — Duke would fail to convert this electoral victory into higher office. But the former Klan leader remains convinced that the road to national power for those who share his views runs through local and state assemblies. At last year’s European American Conference, a racist pow-wow Duke organizes annually, he implored audience members to enter politics — and start small.

“State representative races can be won with modest budgets and small staffs, while affording the winner possible major media attention and the ability to file and promote legislation that can materially improve our people’s plight,” proclaimed Duke, citing personal experience.

“Most importantly, a state representative office is winnable for political novices and provides an excellent springboard for higher office.”

This electoral strategy for building an extremist political movement in the U.S. was recently echoed by neo-Nazi John Ubele in an essay posted on the website of the Nationalist Coalition, a white nationalist group. In “The 2006 Elections: A Call to Action,” Ubele expounds upon the positive uses of local campaigns, even failed ones, in helping lay the groundwork for a “national pro-White political party.” These include heightened exposure for extremist ideas and organizational and management experience for activists.

One extremist who has gained both exposure and experience in 2006 is Larry Darby. As a candidate in a two-way Democratic primary race for attorney general of Alabama, Darby lived up to his recently earned reputation as an anti-Semite and Holocaust denier. While campaigning, Darby made headlines by stating the Holocaust did not occur, telling an Associated Press reporter that no more than 140,000 Jews died in Europe during World War II, most killed by typhus. His outspoken atheism — and support for legalizing marijuana — pushed Darby even further outside the conservative mainstream of Alabama politics.

Yet, despite his views, his (later abandoned) atheism, and his near total lack of resources, Darby managed to poll 44% of the vote — more than 163,000 votes.

While some of the lessons of Darby's success are particular to the race — Darby ran against a political unknown, was listed first on the ballot, and was at least a vaguely familiar name to many Alabamians — one lesson from his race and those of David Duke applies across the country: Dark-horse candidates with extremist views and unsavory allies can make surprisingly strong runs for office and poison public discourse in the process.

What follows are snapshots of 2006 political races featuring candidates that have espoused extremist views or are allied with hate groups.

RAY MCBERRY (Georgia)

Office sought: Governor

As the far-right anti-establishment candidate in Georgia's Republican gubernatorial primary, Ray "States' Rights" McBerry urged voters to back his vision of a return to "the Bible and the Constitution." The 38-year-old president of Dixie Broadcasting and hate group leader positioned himself against both "the downtown Atlanta establishment" and "the federal leviathan in Washington," fusing strident anti-immigrant rhetoric with paeans to God and the Old South.

McBerry is chairman of the Georgia branch of the racist League of the South

and has ties to the extremist Constitution Party, which includes many radicals who seek to impose Old Testament law on the United States. He is also tied to the neo-Confederate Southern Party of Georgia. If elected, he promised to hold a state referendum on the return of the Georgia state flag of 1956, which included a small representation of the Confederate battle flag and was adopted as a symbolic protest against early civil rights advances such as the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision to desegregate schools.

The longest plank on McBerry's platform was his plan to end illegal immigration, which he called a threat to Georgia's "way of life". He promised to secure state borders using "all ... resources at our disposal" and to apprehend undocumented immigrants residing in the state, which already has some of the toughest anti-immigration legislation in the country. To accomplish this purge, McBerry cryptically called for the use of "numerous state departments ... not currently involved." Once rounded up, McBerry wanted to bill Washington for expenses accrued holding the prisoners "until they are removed from Georgia." In May, McBerry spoke at an anti-immigration rally in Montgomery, Ala., in which participants waved baseball bats and shouted anti-Mexican slurs.

On July 18, McBerry lost his primary bid to incumbent Gov. Sonny Perdue, taking 11.6% of the total, or 48,444 votes.

SHAWN STUART (Montana)

Office sought: State House of Representatives

How does a Republican candidate for the Montana House of Representatives get his own party to disown him and back the Democrat, even before a Democrat has been nominated? Ask Shawn Stuart. The 24-year-old Iraq veteran from Butte neglected to mention his involvement in the neo-Nazi National Socialist Movement during his interview with local Republican leaders. When reports of Stuart's extremist activities surfaced in the March 25 issue of the *Montana Standard*, it

was too late for his affiliation to be changed; he and the state Republican Party were stuck with each other. On April 10, the Montana GOP announced it would back the Democratic candidate in District 76, which contains around 3,000 registered voters.

Chuck Butler, a state Republican spokesman, told the *Missoula News* that had the party known about Stuart's extremist ties, it would not have welcomed him.

Stuart's activities were not that deep a secret. In the first weeks of 2006, two months before he announced his candidacy to applause at a Republican event, Stuart was openly listed as the contact for the newly established Montana chapter of the NSM, the nation's largest neo-Nazi organization. Stuart had by then also posted numerous articles on extremist websites and appeared as a guest on "The Hal Turner Show," a violently neo-Nazi shortwave program beamed out of New Jersey.

DON GOLDWATER (Arizona)

Office sought: Governor

"I need 643 \$5 contributions in the next few weeks or the likelihood of an AZ/Mexico border fence ever being built is in perilous jeopardy."

So declared the website of Don Goldwater in late June. The plea captures both the anti-immigrant populism of the candidate and the regional backlash against illegal aliens that Goldwater hopes to ride into the governor's mansion.

Like the uncle Barry whose name he does not hesitate to invoke — "The name you know. The name you trust" is among his campaign slogans—Don Goldwater is no stranger to controversy. In June, Goldwater made headlines calling for illegal immigrants to be rounded up and sent to "work camps" where they would construct a wall along the border and "clean the areas of the Arizona desert that they're polluting."

Goldwater's statement was immediately condemned by U.S. Rep. Jim Kolbe and Sen. John McCain, both Republicans of Arizona, who said the candidate's statements reflected "a stunning lack of respect for the basic values of a

generous and decent society.”

If he makes it past the Sept. 12 primary, Goldwater promises to deploy the Arizona National Guard along the Mexican border as his first act in office.

JOHN UBELE (Florida)
Office sought: Pasco County Mosquito Control Board

Twenty-eight-year-old John Ubele wants to help rid Pasco County of mosquitoes. Judging by his ties to a succession of neo-Nazi groups, mosquitoes are just the beginning. Indeed, Ubele sees his election to the Pasco Mosquito Control Board as the first step on the way to state and national office.

“Let’s make 2006 the year we explode onto the political scene,” wrote Ubele on the website of the neo-Nazi Nationalist Coalition (this breakaway group was recently formed by the Tampa and Denver chapters of National Vanguard, which itself earlier split off from the neo-Nazi National Alliance). “Every other race has politicians in office which represent their interests. It’s time [whites] have politicians to represent ours.”

To become one of those politicians, Ubele will first have to unseat five-time incumbent Rosemary Mastrocolo, a retired nurse. “I don’t know what he knows about mosquito control,” Mastrocolo told the *St. Petersburg Times*. “He hasn’t gone to any meetings.”

JAMES HART (Tennessee)
Office sought: U.S. House of Representatives

Notorious eugenicist James Hart, after being kicked off the ballot by the executive committee of the Tennessee Republican Party in March, is mounting a write-in campaign in the state’s 8th Congressional District.

In 2004, Hart won 78% in the Republican primary and polled 60,000 votes in the general election despite losing to

Democrat John Tanner. Two years later, Hart is once again vowing to keep “less favored races” from passing on their “poverty genes,” thus turning America into “one big Detroit.” Hart, 62, has argued that if American society had been integrated before the mid-20th century, the automobile, the airplane and the light bulb would never have been invented.

In his “Eugenics Manifesto,” he declares: “Equality is man’s most dangerous myth. All men do not have an equal right to life, liberty and the pursuit



THE NEW ORLEANS TIMES PICAYUNE

of happiness. Only the ethical, moral and law abiding have a right to liberty; only the productive and creative have a right to life; and only the wise have a right to the pursuit of happiness.”

GLENN MILLER (Missouri)
Office sought: U.S. House of Representatives

A former member or leader of the National Socialist Party of America, the Carolina Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, the Confederate Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and the White Patriot Party, Miller is running this year as a write-in candidate in Missouri’s 7th Congressional District after being denied ballot access as a Democrat. The website of the former Green Beret, whty.org (“Let’s get er done!! VOTE WHITE!!”), features links to the sites of David Duke, the White Patriot Party, the National Alliance, and Stormfront.org, a clearinghouse for neo-Nazi news and views.

In 1986, after months of leading his White Patriot Party in paramilitary

marches through several Southern cities, Miller was convicted of violating a court order that prohibited him from engaging in paramilitary activity (lawyers from the Southern Poverty Law Center were part of the prosecution team). Evidence revealed that active-duty Marines had helped him obtain stolen military weapons. Miller responded by going underground and declaring war on the United States, “race traitors” and Center co-founder Morris Dees. He was caught months later.

Today, Miller may be best known for having fingered others on the radical right in a 1988 sedition trial. After testifying against his one-time friends and colleagues, the former truck driver served three years in prison before being freed and moving to Missouri. Despite being known as a traitor to his movement, Miller has teamed up with fellow white supremacist Alex Linder to produce a racist newspaper that has been distributed around the country.

ART JONES (Illinois)
Office sought: U.S. House of Representatives

Art Jones, an insurance broker and former National Socialist White People’s Party “stormtrooper,” appeared in the March Republican primary for Congress in Illinois’ heavily Democratic 3rd Congressional District. Jones’ opponent, retired part-time clown Ray “Spanky” Wardingly, defeated him amid low turnout.

During the campaign, both men took pains to play down their pasts. Jones, 58, told a local reporter that he is no longer a white supremacist. Although his campaign literature touted his past membership in the neo-Nazi NSWPP, he called that “ancient history.”

“I [now] consider myself a white racist,” Jones clarified. “I define ... a white racist as someone who believes in the greatness of his people’s past and the destiny of his people’s future.”

Jones’ opponent, meanwhile, who retired from professional clowning in 1995, also urged voters to forget his past. “That was a long time ago,” Wardingly told *The Forest Park Review*. “After a while, you say, ‘Enough is enough.’ I just put away that little red wig.”

TONY DOLZ (California)

Office sought: State Assembly

Tony Dolz has a unique biography for a vigilante border crusader. A founding member of the Minuteman Project, Dolz is a naturalized Hispanic immigrant who speaks English as a second language and is married to a naturalized immigrant from Europe. He has also spent much of his adult life in the famously liberal northern European states of Norway, Sweden and Denmark.

But none of that stopped Dolz from volunteering in the Arizona desert in April 2005 to “protect our borders” with the group that was characterized by President Bush as a “vigilante” organization, or from emerging as a rising star in southern California’s anti-immigration activist scene. On June 6, Dolz won 76% of the vote in the Republican primary for California’s 42nd District, which includes the greater Los Angeles enclaves of Santa Monica and Malibu.

Dolz’s website prominently features a “Hall of Heroes” containing just four names – Minuteman co-founders Chris Simcox and Jim Gilchrist, U.S. Rep. Tom Tancredo (the Colorado Republican who has publicly claimed that illegal aliens are coming to the United States in order to kill Americans), and Barbara Coe, who heads the California Coalition for Immigration Reform (CCIR) hate group and is also a member of the white supremacist Council of Conservative Citizens (that group has said non-white immigration is turning the U.S. population into “a slimy brown mass of glop”). Dolz’s relationship with Coe is not a distant one – he said in his candidate statement that he works for CCIR as her “national security analyst.”

RANDALL TERRY (Florida)

Office sought: State Senate

Randall Terry, the controversial founder of the anti-abortion group Operation Rescue and longtime advocate of theocracy, is challenging Republican incumbent Jim King for a state Senate seat in Florida’s 8th District. Terry has earned an international reputation for his anti-abortion activism, having orga-

nized and participated in hundreds of protests resulting in more than 40,000 arrests. His most infamous acolyte, James Kopp, was charged in the 1998 assassination of a doctor near Buffalo, N.Y., and sentenced to 25 years to life.

At a 1993 anti-abortion rally in Fort Wayne, Ind., a local newspaper quoted Terry declaring, “Our goal is a Christian nation. ... We have a biblical duty; we are called by God to conquer this country. We don’t want equal time. We don’t want pluralism. Theocracy means God rules.”

As a candidate, Terry mixes his Bible thumping with heated rhetoric against gays, immigrants and lawyers.

AUSTIN FARLEY (Tennessee)

Office sought: State House of Representatives

Austin Farley, 34-year-old member of the racist Council of Conservative Citizens and co-host with James Edwards of the far-right radio program “The Political Cesspool,” ran for state representative in Tennessee’s 97th District. Farley’s platform included a law that would make it illegal to change the names of contentious Tennessee parks and Civil War monuments, such as Jefferson Davis Park.

“The Political Cesspool” is the recipient of a Dixie Defender award from the Sons of Confederate Veterans, an extremist-led Southern heritage group (see story, p. 3), and it is regularly plugged on the white supremacist Stormfront.org website. Incredibly, the Memphis City Council also has made the show’s two hosts “Honorary Memphis City Councilmen,” citing their program for “outstanding contributions to the community.” The program’s guest list reads like a Who’s Who of leading anti-Semites, white supremacists, Holocaust deniers, neofascist politicians, neo-Confederates and hate group leaders.

On Aug. 3, Farley lost his bid with just 16% of the vote.

JIMMY D. GILES (Mississippi)

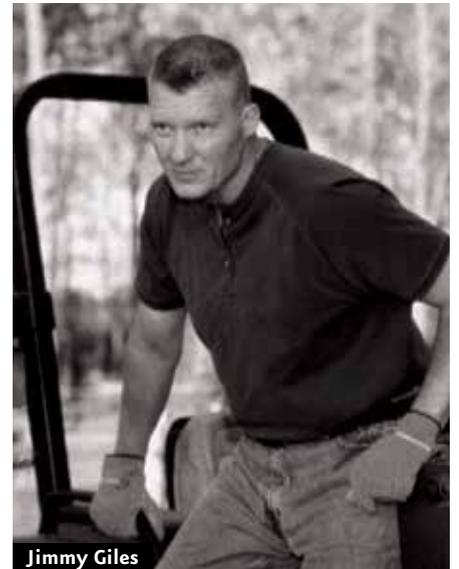
Office sought: U.S. House of Representatives

The declared “anti-Zionist” and “pro-White” independent candidate for

Louisiana’s 3rd Congressional District, Jim Giles just wants to “be left alone to be happy and safe and productive.” And the best way to accomplish this, he says, is “separating the races.”

Giles, who has previously run for governor, Senate and Congress, is a former systems engineer for IBM and current Internet radio station owner and organic farmer. On his campaign website (“Working for Whites” is his slogan), he concedes that his “biggest personal flaw is my hot temper, but we need some real men in Congress and not just sissies.” He goes on to complain about “the Jewish owned media,” affirmative action, and a host of similar matters.

In his official platform, Giles calls for abolishing “titles of nobility” (a common goal for the radical right, many of whose adherents believe lawyers have such a title); ending of all immigration for 50 years and deportation even of those immigrants who have been amnes-



ties; ending the ability of the “private” Federal Reserve Board to issue currency (another radical right bogeyman); and ending all relations with Israel.

In a 2004 interview with the *Jackson* (Miss.) *Free Press*, Giles called the conflict in Iraq “a war for the Jews” and added that Jews “run our country for the most part.” “All politics and all life is about race,” he added. “There is no escaping that reality.” ▲

RUCKUS ON THE RIGHT

Angry former supporters of the Minuteman Civil Defense Corps are questioning group founder Chris Simcox's accounting BY DAVID HOLTHOUSE

The Little Prince is under siege. Chris Simcox, founder and president of the Minuteman Civil Defense Corps (MCDC), is accustomed to defending himself against the constant barrage of criticism from human rights activists on his political left flank. But now he's under attack from the right as well, as prominent anti-immigration leaders across the country blast Simcox with accusations that he's a charlatan, a sellout, and a traitor to their cause.

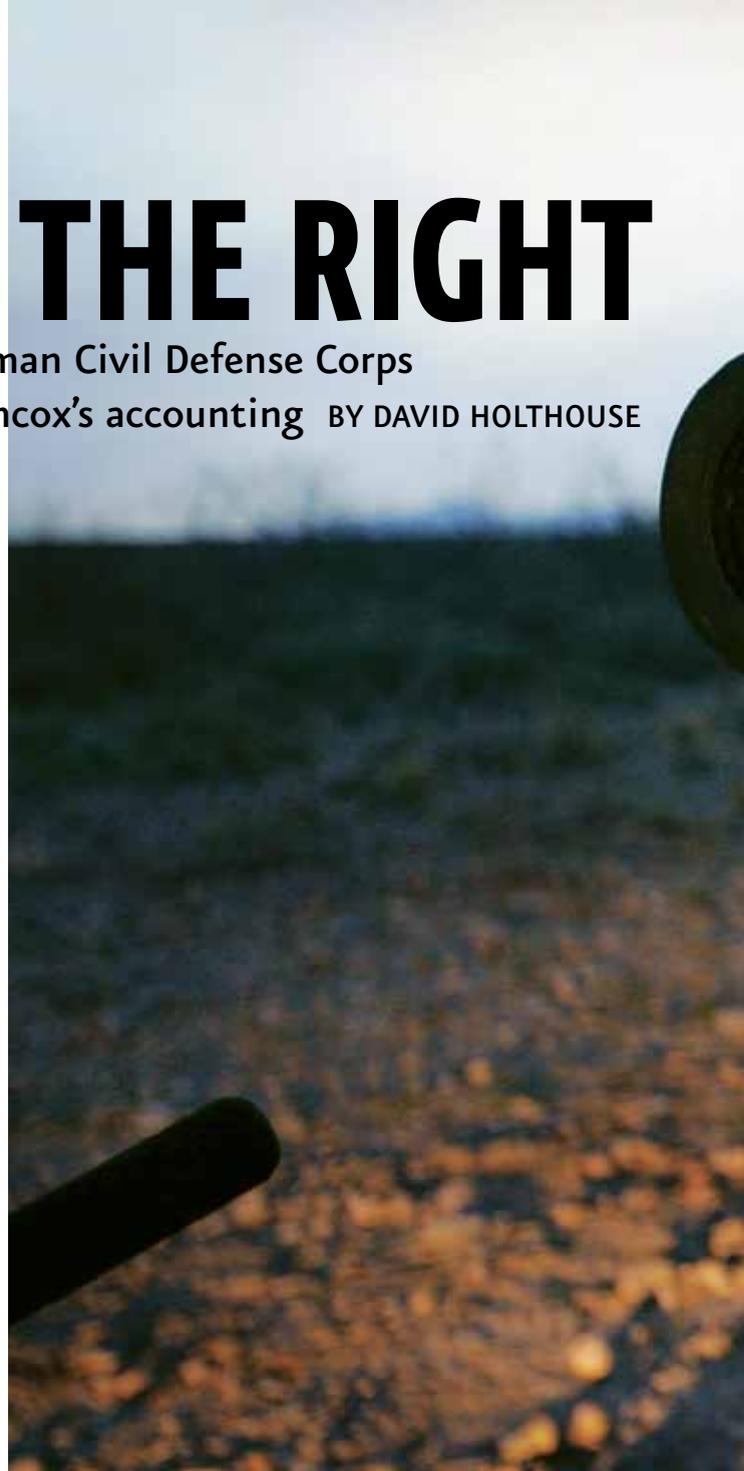
"Simcox doesn't seem to know that his days on the Minuteman gravy train are ended," says California Coalition for Immigration Reform hate group leader Barbara Coe.

Other former allies who've lined up against Simcox include Jim Gilchrist, who co-founded the original Minuteman Project with Simcox last year; American Border Patrol hate group head Glenn Spencer; anti-Semite and former Minuteman Civil Defense Corps (MCDC) field team chief Joe McCutchen; Americans for Mass Deportation founder Liz DeMarco; and Save Our State hate group leader Joe Turner.

The pivot point on which Simcox's own kind have turned against him is his refusal to account for the \$1.6 million to \$1.8 million in private donations he estimates MCDC has raised, including \$600,000 for the "Minuteman Border Fence," the object of a slick fundraising campaign with a stated goal of \$55 million. Simcox has pledged the money raised by the campaign will go to build a high-tech security barrier along 70 miles of private ranchland on the Arizona border. Mass-mailed MCDC solicitations and full-page color advertisements in *The Washington Times* since mid-April have promoted the Minuteman Border Fence as an "Israeli-style" barrier "based on the fences used in Gaza and the West Bank." Fundraising illustrations depict a 6-foot trench and coils of concertina wire backed by a 15-foot steel-mesh fence crowned with bulletproof security cameras. Estimated cost: \$150 per foot.

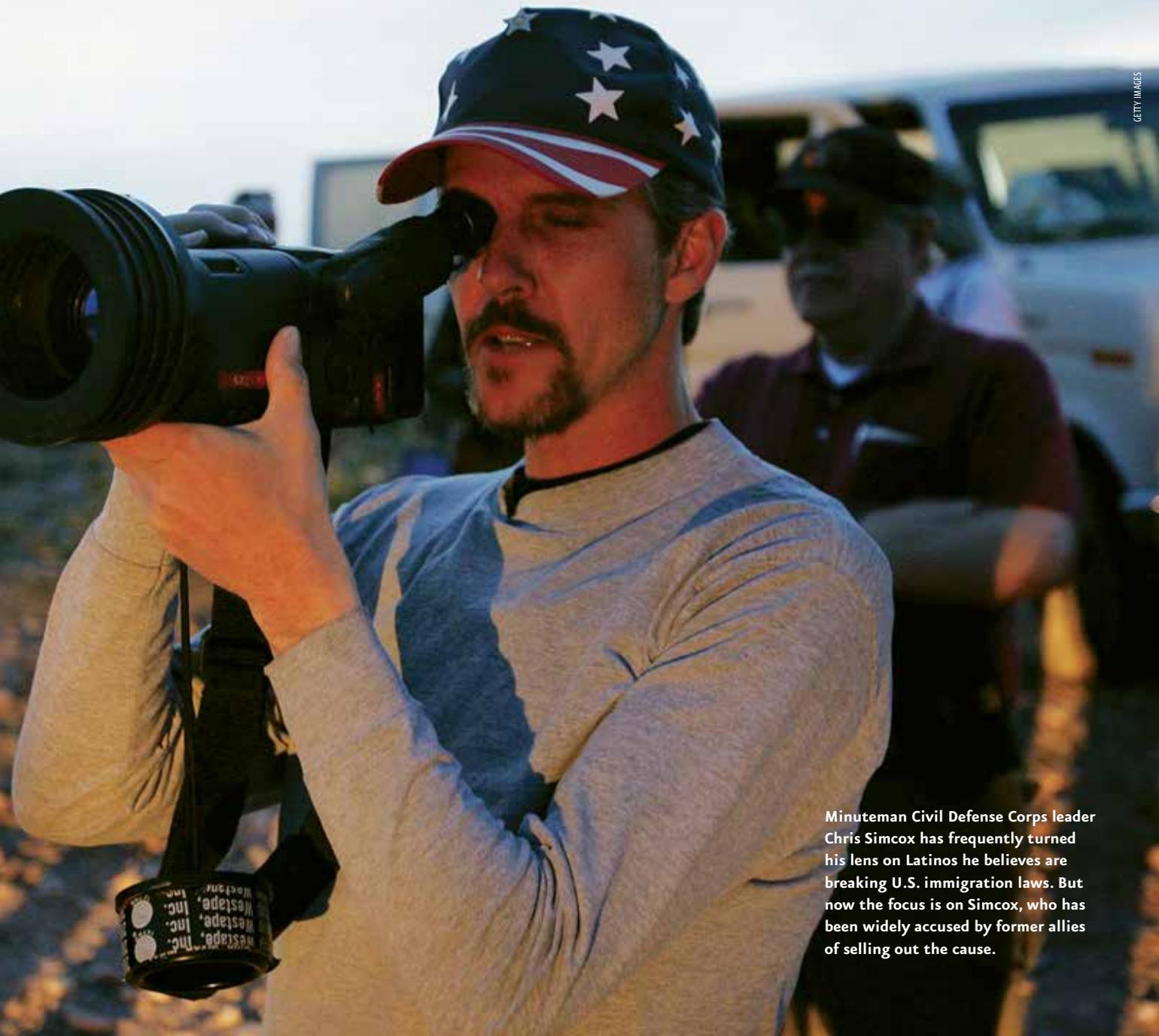
Construction began Memorial Day weekend with much fanfare. Since then, MCDC volunteers have erected just over two miles of five-strand barbed wire attached to metal posts. What they have built is a standard cattle fence, which costs about \$1.50 per foot, or about one one-hundredth the cost of the advertised "Israeli-style" barrier.

So far, in other words, the Minuteman Border Fence hasn't come to much. "It wouldn't stop a tricycle," American Border Patrol's Glenn Spencer posted in a recent online tirade. "It's shameful that [Simcox] would deceive the American people in this way."



Simcox did not respond to three E-mails and two voice-mail messages seeking comment for this story. But in an open statement to the media he released in late July, he denied deceiving MCDC donors. "The next section [of the fence] built will be the full Israeli-style fence, with construction commencing soon," he promised. "Our precise timetable will depend upon resolving a few lingering engineering issues. It will NOT depend upon the ill-informed hostility of those seeking our failure, or wishing to stir up controversy and increase donations to their foundering organizations."

Simcox has denied all requests by current and former MCDC members and donors as well as journalists to release any MCDC



Minuteman Civil Defense Corps leader Chris Simcox has frequently turned his lens on Latinos he believes are breaking U.S. immigration laws. But now the focus is on Simcox, who has been widely accused by former allies of selling out the cause.

financial records. He will not say where the money is, how much has been spent, or for what, and he lashes out at anyone inside or outside his organization who dares question his honesty or authority. Gary Cole, the MCDC's former national director of operations, said he was fired last summer for "asking too many questions about the money."

Two Simple Questions

Simcox's stonewalling may be his undoing. According to a July 20 article in *The Washington Times*, a right-wing newspaper with a long track record of strident anti-immigration editorializing and pro-Minuteman reporting, "A growing number of Min-

uteman Civil Defense Corps leaders and volunteers are questioning the whereabouts of hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, of dollars in donations collected in the past 15 months, challenging the organization's leadership over accountability."

The article also reported that, "[MCDC] members said money promised for food, fuel, radios, computers, tents, night-vision scopes, binoculars, porta-potties, and other necessary equipment and supplies never reached volunteers who have manned observation posts."

The *Washington Times* piece was based in part on interviews with Cole and with former Minuteman field coordinator Mike Gaddy, who said that Simcox rejected Gaddy's offer

last year to pay for an auditor with his own money to “answer growing concern among the ranks about the group’s finances.”

“[Simcox] told me what he did was his business,” Gaddy said.

When Simcox wanted to reach potential MCDC donors, he advertised in *The Washington Times*, because anti-immigration activists — his core supporters — hold the newspaper in high regard. For this reason, there was no way Simcox could wave off the revelations in the July 20 article as unfounded accusations from the liberal media, as he has past reports on his organization’s fundraising practices.

Still, he attempted to control the damage with this response to the *Washington Times* article, posted to the MCDC website: “Critics are obtaining false information from disgruntled people who have been terminated from staff or from leadership involvement because they could not meet MCDC standards. Consequently, these dismissed Minutemen have no actual knowledge of MCDC finances.”

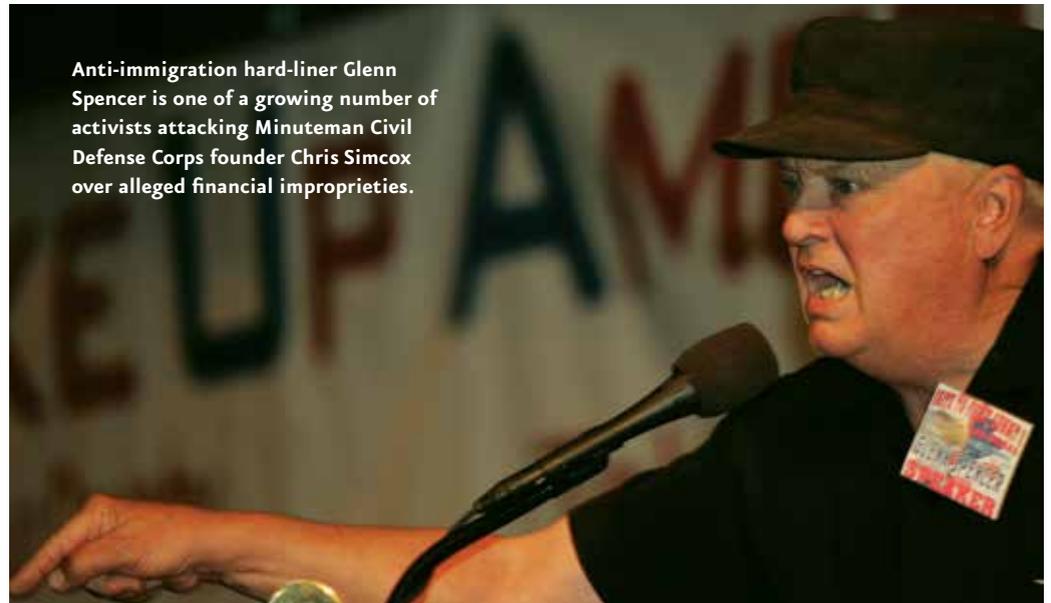
Washington Times Managing Editor Fran Coombs fired back. “Chris Simcox and company can attack this newspaper all day long, which is ironic given the coverage we have given their issue and their organization over the years,” Coombs wrote on the newspaper’s website. “But the story isn’t about the *The Washington Times*. It’s about the money that countless American citizens contributed in good faith to the Minutemen because they believed in the cause of securing our nation’s borders. So it’s time for [Simcox] to stop the runaround and to start answering two very simple questions: Where’s the money, and how’s it being spent?”

Simcox still declined to answer. And he isn’t required by law to divulge any financial information because the Minuteman Civil Defense Corps is not registered as a nonprofit corporation with the Internal Revenue Service. Last September, Simcox told reporters the application had been submitted. But MCDC spokeswoman Connie Hair told *The Arizona Republic* in early August — almost one year later — that the group “plans to meet all the filing requirements later this month,” adding that “delays with the complex paperwork [have] slowed the process.” (The IRS website contains step-by-step instructions on establishing a nonprofit organization and provides a toll-free number for those with questions).

In his late July statement, released the same week as the *Washington Times* story, Simcox claimed that “all donations which have been received have been recorded, processed, and banked by a highly reputable and responsible caging company which special-

izes in nonprofit accountability. Funds are safely and appropriately held in a secured bank account, overseen by a certified public accountant and a lawyer, disbursed by an authorized escrow agent only against approved, invoiced expenses”

The “highly reputable and responsible” accounting company hired by MCDC to oversee donations is Houston-based American Caging, Inc. Maureen Otis, president of American Caging, released a statement confirming that “since the day MCDC was incorporated, my company has acted as the comptroller and escrow agent for MCDC.” But that may do little to alleviate the concerns of MCDC donors, since American Caging apparently has some trouble keeping its own books in



Anti-immigration hard-liner Glenn Spencer is one of a growing number of activists attacking Minuteman Civil Defense Corps founder Chris Simcox over alleged financial improprieties.

TODD BICELOW PHOTO

order. The Texas Comptroller of Public Accounts office lists the status of American Caging Inc. as “not in good standing” because it “has not satisfied all state tax requirements.” (American Caging Inc.’s biggest client is Declaration Alliance, a right-wing consortium established by Alan Keyes in 1996 to oppose legalized abortion and civil rights for gays and lesbians. MCDC is identified on its website as “a project of Declaration Alliance,” leading Simcox critics to speculate that Declaration Alliance may be taking a large cut of MCDC donations.)

Simcox’s assurances of financial regularity did not dissuade the editorial board of *The Washington Times* from scolding him in a July 25 editorial: “As supporters of the Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, we were disheartened to read ... about questions and criticisms of Chris Simcox’s management of the organization,” it began. “The truth is that no one except Mr. Simcox knows how much money has been donated and what it has been used for. So far, Mr. Simcox has been unable to come up with a good explanation — at least one that can be independently verified.”

The editorial called for immediate “transparency” in MCDC’s finances. But Simcox still did not open his books. Instead, he pledged that MCDC would release a detailed finan-

cial report no later than Nov. 15, as required by the IRS.

Money Trails

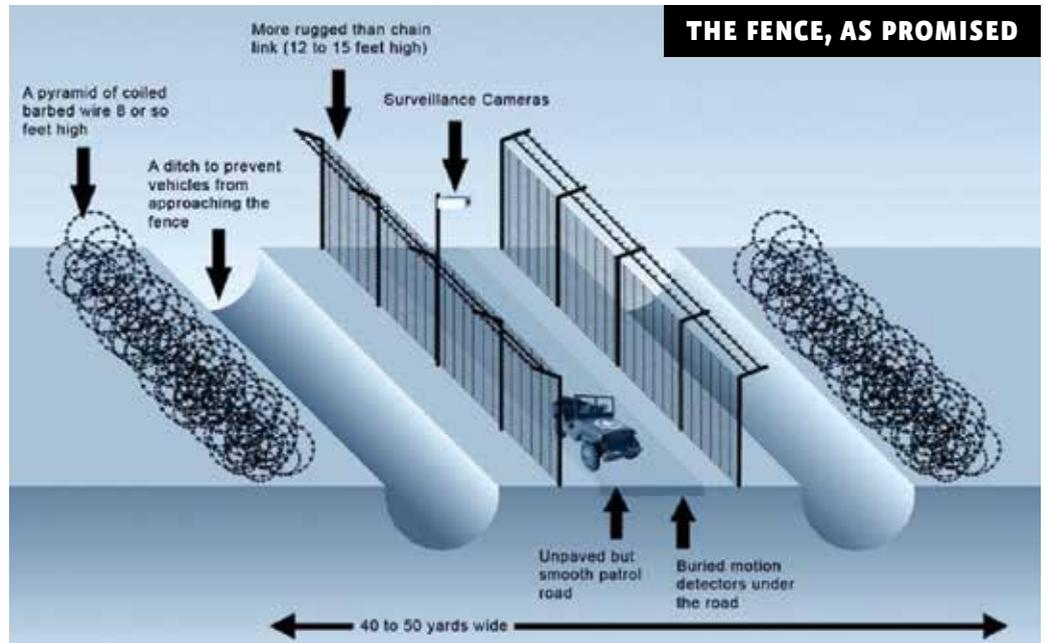
In the meantime, the financial records of Minuteman PAC, Inc., a political action committee formed this year and chaired by Simcox, offer some insight into Simcox's spending priorities. A separate entity from MCDC, Minuteman PAC, Inc. is registered with the Federal Elections Commission and is therefore required by federal law to file periodic financial reports, which are open to public inspection. The first of these reports was made public July 13. It shows that Minuteman PAC had received \$214,015 in donations at that point — this money is above and beyond what MCDC has raised — and had disbursed \$97,076, leaving cash on hand of \$116,939.

Although the publicized mission of Minuteman PAC is to raise money to support the campaigns of political candidates who support the Minuteman mission, it had made only \$5,000 in campaign donations at the time of the FEC filing. The vast majority of Minuteman PAC expenditures — \$87,432 — went to pay direct-mail fundraising and advertising bills.

The five politicians who received Minuteman PAC donations of \$1,000 each are U.S. Reps. John Hostettler (R-Ind.), Tom Tancredo (R-Co.), and Steve King (R-Iowa); Arizona congressional candidate Randy Graf; and Minuteman Project co-founder Jim Gilchrist, who ran for Congress last year in Orange County, Calif., and lost.

Gilchrist and Simcox publicly battled for control and camera time during the original Minuteman Project, when Simcox's high-handed leadership style earned him the sarcastic sobriquet, "The Little Prince." But following the conclusion of the month-long "citizens border patrol" operation in Arizona last April, the co-founders appeared to arrange an amicable parting and division of the public relations spoils. Gilchrist kept the Minuteman Project name and announced that he was handing over "border watch" operations to Simcox, who would manage them as president of a new group, Minuteman Civil Defense Corps. As head of the Minuteman Project, Gilchrist said he would focus on pressuring employers not to hire illegal immigrants, what he called "internal vigilance."

It's unclear how the Minuteman Project co-founders divvied up the donations received while the month-long operation was under way — or if the donations were divvied at all. Mike Gaddy, the former MCDC field coordinator and former president of its New Mexico chapter, told the *Intelligence Report* that Simcox kept most, if not all, the money for himself.



FENCE FACTS

A by-the-numbers look at the minuteman fence project

\$600,000
proposed cost of border fence

70
number of miles the border fence was to cover

\$150.00
cost per foot of proposed fence

\$1.50
actual cost per foot of standard cattle fence erected by mcdc volunteers

2
number of miles of cattle fence erected since memorial day '06

Gaddy, who worked side-by-side with Simcox during the original Minuteman Project, said the intense national media coverage the operation received drove tens of thousands of dollars in small donations to the offices of the *Tombstone Tumbleweed*, a newspaper that was then owned by Simcox. (Former MCDC national coordinator Gary Cole used the same “tens of thousands” estimate in the *Washington Times* article). Gaddy said that some of the checks were made out to Simcox, some to Gilchrist.

“I asked Chris how the donations were being handled. He stated all of the checks and donations directed to Gilchrist were being separated and given to him. At the time, I believed him,” Gaddy said. “Later, I asked some of the people who were working in the *Tumbleweed* office how the donations were being accounted for. I was told that regardless of who the donations were designated for, they all went into the same account – the one belonging to Simcox.”

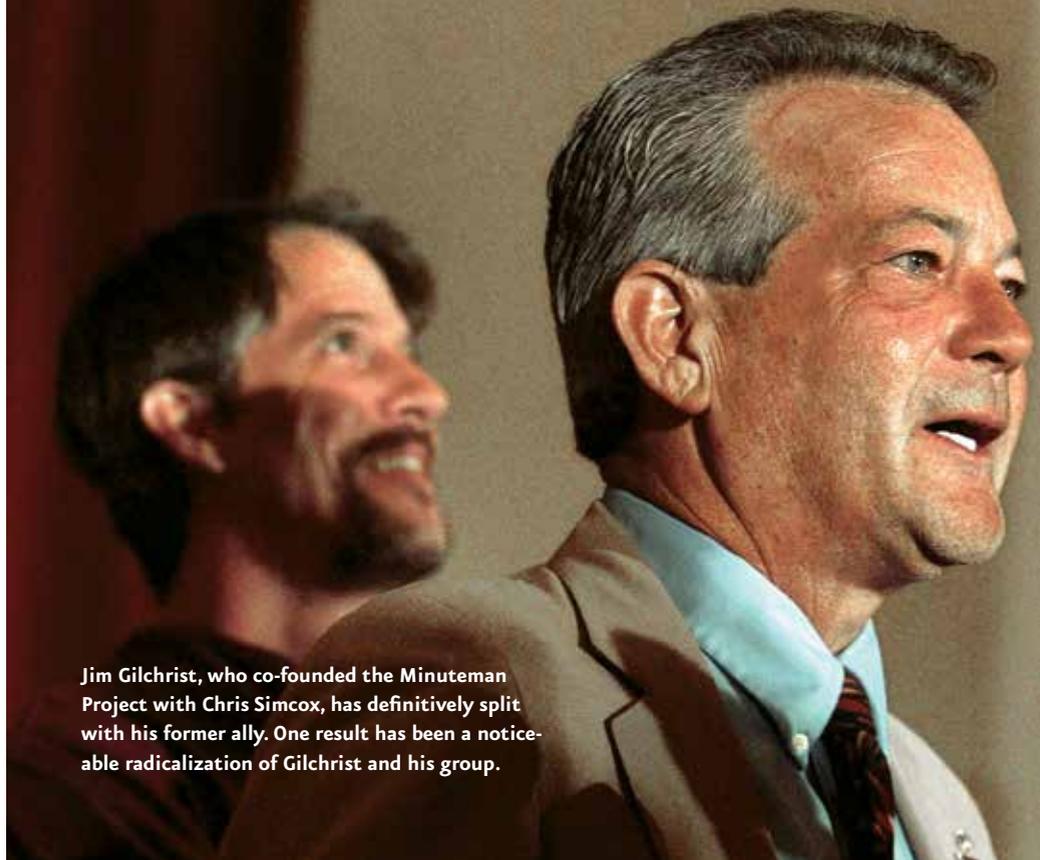
Gilchrist vs. Simcox

Gilchrist and Simcox are now headed for a showdown near the streets of Laredo.

Two days after the *Washington Times* article came out, Gilchrist distributed this statement: “The Minuteman Civil Defense Corps does not represent all the Minutemen throughout the United States nor do they represent the Minuteman Project whose only founder is Jim Gilchrist. The Minuteman Project does not have any business dealings with the Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, whose President is Chris Simcox.”

After distancing himself from Simcox, Gilchrist announced he was getting back in the border-watch game with “Operation Sovereignty,” promoted on his website as “an observation and reporting vigil along the U.S.-Mexico border in the Laredo, Texas, area that will launch September 11 and continue through federal election day, November 7.”

Gilchrist’s partners in Operation Sovereignty, according to his website, are Glenn Spencer’s American Border Patrol and the Texas Minutemen, a rogue Minuteman outfit that is not affiliated with Simcox. Both groups are fueled by far more radical ideology than Gilchrist has endorsed the past. The Southern Poverty Law Center has long listed American Border Patrol as an anti-Mexican hate group. And the leaders of the Texas Minutemen in June told a Young Republicans club



Jim Gilchrist, who co-founded the Minuteman Project with Chris Simcox, has definitively split with his former ally. One result has been a noticeable radicalization of Gilchrist and his group.

that ranchers should be allowed to shoot “diseased Mexicans” trying to cross the border under the same international agreement that allows them to shoot diseased cattle. Gilchrist appears to be radicalizing as part of his overall strategy to siphon away support from the MCDC, and establish himself as the one true leader of the Minutemen.

Enraged by Gilchrist’s encroachment on this turf, Simcox fired off this Aug. 8 rant in a mass E-mail to MCDC members and donors: “Minuteman Project ‘founder’ Jim Gilchrist is about to lead his band of volunteers to the slaughter in the Laredo area beginning September 11th. MCDC does not sanction this suicidal plan of Gilchrist’s. It is imperative that all MCDC volunteers stay away from this dog and pony show disaster in the making.” At the same time, Simcox announced that a new MCDC border watch operation “along the entire southern border” would begin Oct. 1, also with operations near Laredo. “We have new equipment and many new volunteers, but we must stick with MCDC and steer clear of the Gilchrist, Texas Minutemen, Glen Spencer American Border Patrol radicals,” he wrote. “We can only pray for them and hope they do not self destruct, get someone killed and ultimately tarnish the Minuteman movement. Even if they do, we shall rise above by sticking with our rational game plan.”

Save Our State founder Joe Turner then jumped into the fight on Gilchrist’s side. “This [attack on Gilchrist] is by the same individual that has raised potentially hundreds of thousands of dollars (nobody knows and Simcox ain’t telling) to build an Israeli-style border fence, when, to date, weeks after his announcement, not one foot of Israeli-style border fencing has been constructed. Barbed wire cattle fencing isn’t that expensive, and it doesn’t stop illegal aliens,” Turner wrote in a statement Save Our

State members. “Simcox was a nobody until Gilchrist made him a ‘somebody.’ And this is how he repays Gilchrist?”

Turner concluded, “God Bless Jim Gilchrist, the Minuteman Project and their joint efforts with the Texas Minutemen and American Border Patrol this fall.”

A Modest Salary

In the midst of all this online bloodletting, MCDC’s relentless fundraising has continued. In a letter dated July 28 that was mailed to tens of thousands of past MCDC donors nationwide, Simcox began: “Dear friends, I’m writing you today from the hot, dusty Arizona border. As you know, we launched construction of the ‘Minuteman Border Fence’ over Memorial Day weekend. And let me tell you, the ‘Pro-Illegal Immigration’ crowd was not happy about it.”

The letter continued, “We are going to stay here and continue building this fence until the job is done — and done right!” Then it struck a somber tone: “With the blazing summer upon us, the stamina of our valiant Minutemen is taxed to the uttermost limit. So if you’re proud as I am of the civilian patriots building our ‘Minuteman Border Fence,’ won’t you please consider sending a \$20 gift today? And if you can send a larger contribution, we’ll be able to cover even more border miles.”

Unlike previous Minuteman Border Fence solicitations, it made no mention of any “Israeli-style” design, leaving its recipients to imagine for themselves the actual nature of the fence “our valiant Minutemen” are toiling to build, mile by excruciating mile. This omission of design specifics may have been the product of advice Simcox received from Diener Consultants, one of the country’s largest right-wing political consulting and fundraising machines. At around the same time Simcox broke off from Gilchrist to form MCDC, he contracted with Diener, which is based in Chicago and led by Phillip Sheldon, son of Traditional Values Coalition founder and vitriolic gay-basher Rev. Louis Sheldon.

The younger Sheldon is known for brokering the ghoulish deal in which Response Unlimited, a direct-mail marketing firm, obtained a list of donors to Terry Schiavo’s legal fund from the brain-dead woman’s parents several days before her death in March 2005. Earlier this year, Response Unlimited — “the nation’s best and most comprehensive source of mailing lists for conservative and Christian mailers and telemarketers” — began offering for sale a list of 61,000 Minuteman Civil Defense Corps donors at a price of \$120 per thousand names. “These donors realize that a porous border potentially means unfettered access for illegal drugs and terrorists to infiltrate our country,” Response Unlimited says

in its pitch. “Count is expected to increase rapidly over the coming months.”

Simcox has refused to reveal how much Response Unlimited is paying MCDC in return for its donor rolls or how much MCDC is paying Diener Consultants to keep trying to enlarge that donor list. But Simcox has answered one pressing question — that of how much he’s taken for himself from MCDC coffers.

So far, he said this July, not one dime.

“I am not salaried by MCDC,” he said. “In light of these malicious attacks, I will, this one last time, reveal personal information to answer the critics. ... My present source of income has been the honorariums and fees received from organizations who request me for speaking engagements. I have also received money from selling my life story for a movie that will soon go into production. Even with those combined sources of income, I have made just enough to keep my head above water. The remainder of my living expenses is covered by my devoted and dedicated wife, who shares my passion for the MCDC mission.”

Simcox then stated, “I do foresee a need come the new year for me to request a modest salary to maintain my role as president of MCDC. If the board and national directors do not agree then it will be necessary for me to leave the organization and return to teaching [Simcox used to be a private school teacher]. Or I may need to go get a job at Wal-Mart or Home Depot!”

Where Simcox will stand next year in the movement that made him famous — if not rich, as he claims — seems most uncertain. For now, he continues to act as if he is looking down from on high, occasionally deigning to respond to critics amidst the rabble. But if MCDC’s numbers don’t add up in a public accounting before the Nov. 15 deadline, the Little Prince’s castle may crumble. ▲

Also contributing: Susy Buchanan and Janet Smith.



Chris Simcox faces his supporters, many of whom have grown restive under his leadership.

CANADA

U.S. Probes Neo-Nazi Website After 'Death Threat' to Canadians

Police and federal agents in Missouri began looking into American neo-Nazi Alex Linder in late July, after his Vanguard News Network (VNN) website said it would be patriotic to murder a judge and several others in Canada.

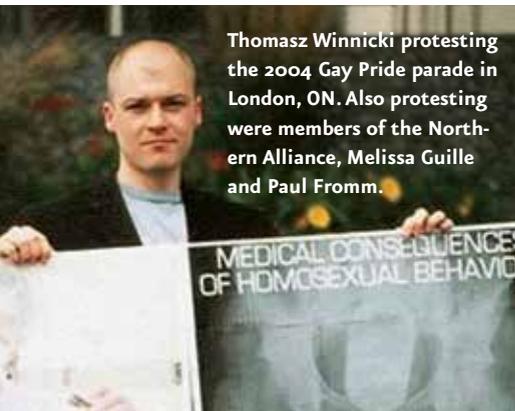
The comment, which Linder admits to writing, came after the jailing in Canada of Tomasz Winnicki. Canadian Justice Konrad von Finckenstein sentenced Winnicki to nine months for refusing to obey a court order that banned him from posting racist messages online. The quasi-governmental Canadian Human Rights Commission and Ottawa human rights lawyer Richard Warman, who lodged the original complaint with the commission, were also involved in the case.

"Killing Warman, 'judge' von Finckenstein, or any of the jews [sic] who make up the dictatorial 'human rights' council ... would be a genuine act of patriotism," Linder wrote about a week after Winnicki was sentenced.

Police in Kirksville, Mo., where Linder lives, were looking into the case with the assistance of the FBI, Warman said. Linder's service provider shut down the site when Canadian officials complained, but it went up again a short time later.

Linder told a Canadian reporter that "there was no death threat made," adding that "what I've said is absolutely legal in the U.S." But Warman, who along with the commission has taken added security measures recently, couldn't disagree more.

"To me, it's incitement to murder," Warman told the *Intelligence Report*. "It's surrounded by violent rhetoric, and then you say that killing a number of people would be a 'patriotic act.' I just don't think there's any question about it."



Tomasz Winnicki protesting the 2004 Gay Pride parade in London, ON. Also protesting were members of the Northern Alliance, Melissa Guille and Paul Fromm.



Anti-racist leaders and human rights organizations warned dark-skinned fans to stay away from the former East Germany, including the state surrounding Berlin, to avoid being killed there by racist skinheads. The right to travel without passports was suspended by the government in an effort to prevent foreign neo-Nazi hooligans from staging racist attacks during the games. A German neofascist party produced a World Cup guide calling for Germany to have an all-white team. A clash with racial overtones resulted in the arrest of 429 German and Polish fans in Dortmund. Rallies and marches by German neofascists were planned but banned by authorities. Right in the middle of the games, a group of right-wing extremists in the state of Saxony burned a copy of Anne Frank's diary and an American flag at a public rally.

Even in the aftermath of the games, which ended on July 9, German officials were reacting to the spotlight on racism that the World Cup brought. Late that month, police made raids in six different German states in a crackdown on neo-Nazi CDs, including the one that was distributed at some Cup games.

These events unfolded in the context of rising right-wing extremism in Germany. The nation's intelligence service reported recently that the number of neo-Nazis had risen to 4,100 in 2005 from 3,800 the year before, while the number of "right-wing extremists" willing to engage in violence rose by 400 to 10,400. There are attacks on dark-skinned foreigners and Germans almost weekly, with around 100 people murdered in right-wing violence since German reunification in 1990.

European racism has been particularly pro-

GERMANY

'A Time to Make Friends' Didn't Always Turn Out That Way

The 2006 World Cup, the showcase of soccer that drew over 1 million fans to Germany for a month this summer, was supposed to highlight a new Germany, an idea underlined by the games' official slogan: "A Time to Make Friends."

Unfortunately, it didn't always turn out that way.



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

nounced in world of soccer, which is easily the leading spectator sport on the continent. Even as European teams have added more and more players of color, racist chants and taunts have grown common, especially in the German, Spanish and Italian leagues. That was underlined a month after the games ended, when a Croatian victory over Italy was marred by the sight of some 60 Croatian fans forming a human swastika during a warm-up match.

UNITED KINGDOM

After Knife Attack, British Seek U.S. Help to Shutter Website

British authorities are reportedly in talks with the Department of Justice in an effort to shut down a U.S.-based website called Redwatch that compiles photographs and personal information about anti-racist activists, trade unionists and even members of Parliament. Politicians have blamed the site for providing information used to launch several attacks on so-called “traitors,” including the near blinding of one man.



UPI/POOL (GAMMA) DAILY POST

Alec McFadden

The site is registered to the violent British neo-Nazi group, Combat 18, and is said by British authorities to be run by two British men and one American. While it does not explicitly call for attacks on its targets, its motto makes its ultimate intent clear: “Remember places,

traitor’s faces, they’ll all pay for their crimes.”

The site, which was the target of an anti-racist campaign in 2004, came under renewed scrutiny this spring, when union official Alec McFadden was assaulted shortly after his photo and home address were featured on Redwatch. An unknown man came to McFadden’s doorstep in May and used a knife to slash his head, face and arms in front of his two young daughters.

Under British law, the site could be shut down easily if it were based on servers there. But because it is housed on U.S. servers, the First Amendment makes it difficult to censor unless it crosses the line into explicit criminal incitement.

Still, opponents of Redwatch, including some members of Parliament, were heartened this June, when they learned that U.S. law enforcement had helped block a Polish version of the site, also based on U.S. servers, from reaching Poland. Polish officials asked for American help after the May stabbing of a man in Warsaw who had been featured on the site.

It’s unclear whether Redwatch could be shut down by legal action in the United States. Case law suggests that it is extremely difficult to close down websites or other types of publications that contain information such as that carried on Redwatch. But there are some favorable precedents. In a civil case filed in 1998 by Planned Parenthood against anti-abortion extremists, a federal appeals panel upheld a decision in the so-called “Nuremberg Files” case, where a Georgia-based site featured photographs and personal information about doctors and others involved in abortion. The site was judged to amount to a “true threat” and ordered closed.

SPAIN

Spanish Holocaust Denier Arrested

Pedro Varela, former head of one of Europe’s oldest and most active neo-Nazi groups, was arrested in northeast Spain and charged with defending genocide. Police seized 5,000 copies of some 20 books at Varela’s Europa bookstore in Barcelona.

Varela was freed on bail, but could face up to five years in prison. He was charged under laws adopted in 1995, 20 years after the death of Gen. Francisco Franco, the extreme-right dictator who was an ally to Hitler and Mussolini.



In better days, Spaniard Pedro Valera demonstrated alongside Briton David Irving. Hard times have fallen on both men.

Varela headed for years a neo-Nazi group called CEDADE, the Spanish-language acronym for his Spanish Circle of Friends of Europe. CEDADE dissolved in 1993, but Varela continued to run its bookstore and publishing house.

In 1997, Varela was arrested for similar offenses and sentenced

to five years in prison. Ultimately, however, he won a long legal battle and avoided serving time.

Varela was only the latest of a rash of European Holocaust deniers to be arrested and prosecuted. The best-known case is that of British writer

Democracy vs. Theocracy

Two books — one by a liberal and the other from a conservative — warn that America is in danger of becoming a theocracy

AMERICAN THEOCRACY: THE PERIL AND POLITICS OF RADICAL RELIGION, OIL, AND BORROWED MONEY IN THE 21st CENTURY

By Kevin Phillips
New York: Viking Penguin, 2006
\$26.95 (hardback)

KINGDOM COMING: THE RISE OF CHRISTIAN NATIONALISM

By Michelle Goldberg
New York: W.W. Norton, 2006
\$23.95 (hardback)

Not since the 1920s, when the attention of the country was riveted by the Scopes “Monkey Trial,” has the United States seen such a clash between mainstream secular society and literalist interpreters of the Bible. Between a quarter and a third of all Americans today are self-described Christian fundamentalists, many of whom reject the separation of church and state. It has become common for conservative politicians and even state Republican parties to declare that the United States is a “Christian nation.” Never before have far-right religious ideologues had such access to power in Washington — indeed, never has the country come closer to a religious government than what we have today.

This is the conclusion — a difficult one to disagree with — of both Kevin Phillips, a key Republican strategist, and Michelle Goldberg, a writer for the liberal magazine Salon.com. Phillips puts it like this: “The excesses of fundamentalism ... in the United States rank with any Shiite ayatollahs, and the last two presidential elections mark the transformation of the GOP into the first religious party in U.S. history.”

That is not to say that America is on the brink of full-fledged theocracy— both Goldberg and Phillips are far too careful

to leap to such a erroneous conclusion. But both of them fear that future societal shocks, ranging from war to economic crisis, could provoke a situation in which those who seek to impose a religious government could rise to the top.

Goldberg’s short book, *Kingdom Coming*, is in many ways the clearer and better written of the two — and it will likely interest more readers of this magazine because of the way she traces links between past American radical groups, from the John Birch Society to the militia movement of the 1990s, and what she terms today’s “Christian nationalists.”

Of particular interest is Goldberg’s history of the influence of Christian Reconstruction, a radical theology whose backers seek to impose Old Testament law on the United States. Goldberg does a particularly good job of showing the connections that run from Reconstruction’s founding thinker J. Rousas Rushdoony all the way to the Bush White House. She explores the “dominionist” take on Christianity, out of which Reconstructionism grew, and how it plays out in the far-right mega-ministries of men like D. James Kennedy and James Dobson.

“It makes no sense to fight religious authoritarianism abroad while letting it take over at home,” Goldberg concludes. “Our side, America’s side, must be the side of freedom and Enlightenment, of liberation from stale constricting dogmas.”

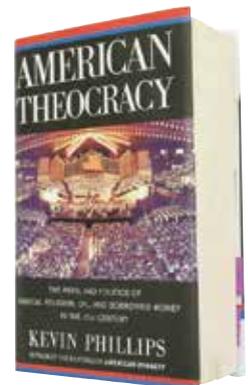
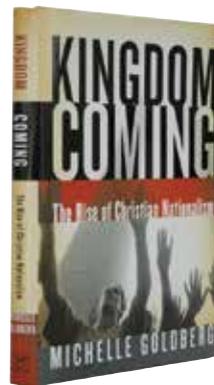
Phillips has his differences with Goldberg, to be sure — he argues, for instance, that the rise of the religious right is fundamentally a response to secular efforts to push religion out of the public square in the 1960s and 1970s

— and he also offers a more complex vision. Although his title is “American Theocracy,” the book really makes a three-part argument: America has become over-dependent on oil, which now drives much of our foreign policy; radical Christianity, coupled with the “Southernization” of American politics, has led to the transformation of the GOP into a religious party; and soaring debt and imperial hubris are likely to lead to the collapse of American ascendancy.

At the core of the book, where he discusses the religious right, Phillips traverses much of the same ground as Goldberg. “No leading world power in modern memory has become a captive, even a partial captive, of the sort of biblical inerrancy — backwater, not mainstream — that dismisses modern knowledge and science,” he concludes.

The latest parallel, he says, was Spain in the early 17th

century, after it had



abandoned religious tolerance and thrown out both Muslims and Jews. Although the church’s inquisitors at that time doubtless rejoiced, it wasn’t long before the once-great Spanish empire collapsed entirely. That, Phillips suggests unhappily, is the fate that could soon face America. ▲

—Mark Potok

Policing the Undocumented

Passing anti-‘illegal alien’ laws may make politicians popular, but the result will be costly litigation that their localities will lose **BY MARY BAUER**

In recent months, a number of localities — including Avon Park, Fla., and Hazleton, Pa. — have proposed ordinances to regulate immigration by punishing those who aid and abet “illegal aliens.” While this might sound like a reasonable idea — who, after all, wants to support illegal behavior? — the ordinances are deeply flawed, unconstitutional, and will lead to discrimination against all immigrants and many minorities.

A “model” ordinance has been making the rounds of various cities around the country. What it proposes to do is to punish people who hire, rent to, or sell to so-called “illegal aliens.” But what the law does not do is tell local employers, landlords and businesspeople how to do that without running afoul of other laws — like the Fair Housing Act and civil rights laws that prohibit racial and ethnic profiling. It does not tell a landlord how to identify an illegal alien; in many cases, it does not even tell a landlord who would qualify as an illegal alien.

In practice, it is not that easy to pick out an “illegal alien.” Even the phrase lacks definition. The immigration code acknowledges literally hundreds of immigration categories, but illegal alien is not one of them. Asking local landlords and businesspeople to decide who is illegal is not only unfair to them; it will inevitably lead to landlords and businesspeople deciding that renting or

selling to some categories of people — all people who look foreign or speak with an accent, for example — is just too risky. That is called discrimination. We can all agree that it is illegal and unfair. And if these ordinances pass, it is inevitable.



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

The federal government already regulates the hiring of all employees by requiring workers to complete I-9 forms and by prohibiting the knowing employment of workers without proper authorization. Whatever we think of the federal scheme, states and localities are not free to enact their own, alternate programs. The legislative history of the federal law governing the hiring of workers — the Immigration Reform and Control Act — is pretty clear about this: “[t]he penalties contained in this legislation are intended to specifically preempt any state or local laws providing civil fines and/or criminal sanctions on the hiring, recruitment or referral of undocumented aliens...”

Passing anti-“illegal alien” laws may

make local politicians popular, but the result will be costly litigation that their localities will lose. The ordinances will never take effect, and the localities will lose lots of money as a result because they will have to pay not only their own lawyers, but the lawyers who challenge the ordinances as well. In the meantime, they will send the message to many of their residents — including Latinos and immigrants legally present in the U.S. — that they are not wanted. How’s that for a lose-lose proposal?

The proposed ordinance recently defeated in Avon Park is based on one being circulated in the anti-immigrant camp. It contained a proposal to prohibit the city from operating in a language other than English. At first blush, this may make some sense to some people, too. Virtually everyone agrees that it’s a good idea for people in the U.S. to learn English. But learning another language is not merely a question of will; it takes a long time to become even moderately proficient in a second language, especially as an adult. These kinds of provisions violate the legal rights of both community members and government officials and employees. The provision infringes upon the fundamental constitutional right of residents to petition government and to express their views. Courts have declared such provisions to be illegal in a number of cases, including the well-known case involving Arizona’s English-only provision in *Yniguez v. Mofford*, 730 F. Supp. 309 (D. Az. 1990).

In the end, it is the responsibility of our federal government to address the many policy issues associated with immigration. Localities would best serve their citizenry by calling on Congress to deal with those issues, rather than by passing illegal ordinances that will land them in hot water. ▲

Mary Bauer is the director of the Southern Poverty Law Center’s Immigrant Justice Project. Prior to the defeat of Avon Park’s proposed resolution, she sent a letter to the town’s mayor and City Council members, warning them of problems with the law. The letter is available at www.splcenter.org/avonpark.

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 2005 government report estimated occur annually. This listing carries a selection of incidents from the second quarter of 2006 (any additional listings may be found on the Southern Poverty Law Center's Web site at www.intelligenceproject.org.)

ALABAMA

Decatur • May 30, 2006

Black paint was sprayed on the windows of a Methodist church offering Hispanic ministries one day after many Latinos rallied for amnesty for illegal immigrants.

Russellville • May 6, 2006

Members of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan held a rally.

CALIFORNIA

Bakersfield • May 6, 2006

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

Chino • June 26, 2006

Shayne Allyn Ziska, 44, a former officer at the California Institute for Men, was sentenced to 17 1/2 years in prison for helping a white supremacist prison gang, the Nazi Low Riders, assault inmates and distribute drugs.

Davis • April 13, 2006

Christopher Jon Vochatzer, 29, pleaded no contest to felony assault with a deadly weapon in connection with an April 2005 baseball bat beating. Vochatzer also confessed to gang and hate crimes, causing great bodily harm and use of a deadly weapon after he beat a man who his skinhead group thought was "not racist enough" to suit them. He was sentenced to 28 years in prison.

Jamul • May 16, 2006

Anti-Mexican graffiti was left on a Mexican restaurant that was then set afire.

Santa Ana • June 23, 2006

Abel Castaneda was sentenced to 10 years in state prison for shouting racial epithets at a black man and threatening to kill him while wielding a knife in August 2005.

COLORADO

Boulder • April 21, 2006

Phil Martinez, 40, was sentenced to 10 years in prison for breaking a black college student's jaw during an altercation in June 2005.

CONNECTICUT

Greenwich • April 21, 2006

Swastikas and anti-Christian epithets were scrawled on chalkboards at a church and religious statues were destroyed.

Washington • April 20, 2006

Fliers from the Imperial Knights of the Ku Klux Klan were scattered in driveways throughout a neighborhood.

West Hartford • May 4, 2006

Copies of the anti-Semitic tabloid *The Truth at Last* were distributed in a neighborhood.

FLORIDA

Tampa • May 7, 2006

Racial epithets were scrawled on the walls of a church.

INDIANA

Elkhart • June 18, 2006

Racist graffiti was spray-painted on a white man's car.

Marshall • May 1, 2006

Fliers from the white supremacist American Thule Society were distributed at a local store.

LOUISIANA

New Orleans • June 1, 2006

Stickers from the neo-Nazi National Alliance were pasted on stop signs in a neighborhood.

MARYLAND

Bowie • April 26, 2006

Racial slurs and swastikas were spray-painted on a sign at a church and in a neighborhood.

Perryville • May 5, 2006

Racist graffiti was spray-painted

on a school.

MASSACHUSETTS

Springfield • May 16, 2006

A swastika was spray-painted on the mayor's garage.

Westborough • April 16, 2006

Anti-Semitic symbols and words were spray-painted on several homes, driveways and cars in a neighborhood.

NEW JERSEY

Wayne • May 27, 2006

TEXAS

Houston • April 22, 2006

Keith R. Turner, 17, and David H. Tuck, 18, were charged with aggravated sexual assault for allegedly using ethnic slurs and attacking a 17-year-old Hispanic boy.

Threatening messages were left on a Hindu family's home.

NEW YORK

Brooklyn • April 18, 2006

Two white teens, Anthony David, 18, and Michael Goldberg, 17, were sentenced to five years' probation and community service after pleading guilty to attempted first-degree assault as a hate crime for attacking a black man in August 2005.

East Hampton • April 29, 2006

A 15-year-old teenage boy was arrested for allegedly yelling anti-Hispanic slurs and threatening Latino teens with a machete and a chainsaw.

Jay • April 28, 2006

Stephen Schicchi, 19, was sentenced for his role in an alleged bias attack against a black man in degree endangerment and third-degree menacing for allegedly throwing a concrete slab at a white woman's van.

NORTH CAROLINA

Morganton • May 25, 2006

Grady Allan Carswell, 36, was sentenced to 20 months in federal prison for erecting a burning cross in front of a black couple's house in 2004.

OHIO

Columbus • April 7, 2006

Copies of a racist letter advocating abortion to keep black birth rates down were sent to 350 dormitory rooms at Ohio State University.

OREGON

Corvallis • April 29, 2006

A support center for lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender students at Oregon State University was vandalized.

PENNSYLVANIA

Jackson Township • June 4, 2006

A racial slur and the letters "KKK" were spray-painted on the cars, garage doors and mailbox at the home of a Jamaican family.

Levittown • May 8, 2006

Anti-Semitic graffiti was spray-painted on a fence.

TENNESSEE

Meigs County • June 29, 2006

A cross was burned in a gay man's front yard and an offensive message was left at his home.

TEXAS

Waco • April 2, 2006

A white man allegedly used anti-Muslim and ethnic slurs and attacked a female Muslim student

AP WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

Kill 'em All!

The Council of Conservative Citizens' favorite Native American speaks out on Islam, communism, and pedophilia **BY ALEXANDER ZAITCHIK**

In 1987, a dreadlocked alien landed in the jungles of Central America with a few days to kill. He spent them hunting a team of commandos led by "Rocky" co-star Carl Weathers.

Before finally meeting his match in future California governor Arnold Schwarzenegger, the alien disemboweled a future governor of Minnesota named Jesse Ventura. Before that, he sent the death howls of future Kentucky gubernatorial hopeful Sonny Landham echoing across the jungle canopy.

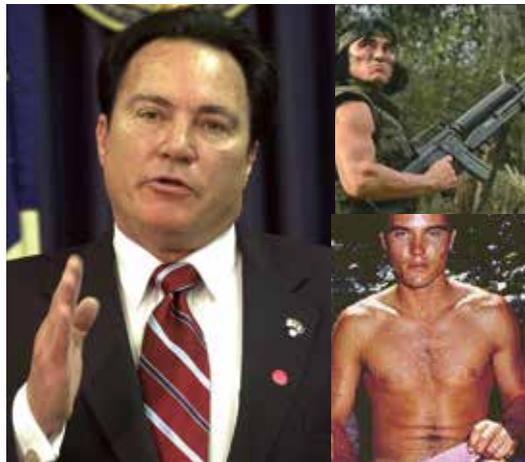
No visitor to the set of "Predator" could have predicted the monster-action movie would provide America with two governors. If forced to pick a future politician among the cast of bodybuilders, pro wrestlers and action-film vets, the smart money would have landed on Sonny Landham, the only candidate in the "Predator" troika to fall short in his bid for office.

True, Landham had starred in porn films like "They're All Sluts" (1975) and "The Love Bus" (1976). And yes, the actor of Cherokee descent had a history of violent behavior so long that the insurance company that underwrote "Predator" assigned him a full-time bodyguard as a condition of his casting.

But Sonny Landham is a political animal, always has been. As a student in the 1960s, he supported the far-right presidential tickets of Barry Goldwater and George Wallace. A religious native of Georgia, Landham says he had "mixed feelings" about the "communist-funded" civil rights movement. In 2003, he ran as an anti-establishment candidate in Kentucky's GOP primary for governor. He soon pulled out of the race, citing personal reasons.

As Landham mulls another run for

the governor's mansion, he remains a staunch advocate of "states' rights forever." Estranged from the "communist" government of George W. Bush, he has found a political home as an honorary board member at the Council of Conservative Citizens, a hate group that grew out of the segregationist White Citizens Councils. Landham



Three faces of Sonny Landham (clockwise from upper right): A tough guy commando in "Predator"; a porn star in pink underpants; and an honorary board member of the Council of Conservative Citizens who proposes to "commence genocide" in the Muslim world.

recently lent his star power to the new CCC-produced film "America Under Attack."

Who is attacking America?

"The camel dung shovelers," Landham explained to the *Intelligence Report*.

"Abdul, Fuzzy Wuzzy, and rest of the camel jockeys are our enemies," he said. "The answer is air power. We should bomb every man, woman and child in the Muslim countries. They're hiding weapons and breeding terrorists. We need to commence genocide in the region. Islam is not a religion."

When asked how this policy prescription fits with his professed evan-

gelical Christianity, Landham scoffed.

"Un-Christian?" he asked. "Nobody said that after Dresden! They're the enemy. Bomb every house. Then send in the troops to see if anything is left. Who are we kidding? The camel dung shovelers can't even spell 'democracy.'"

Landham offers a slightly more progressive domestic agenda. It includes affordable health care, random drug testing for doctors, reindustrializing America ("we need to be a steel economy"), bringing back the draft, overturning *Roe v. Wade*, and purging Arab and communist influence from Hollywood, which Landham says is pushing a "pedophilic agenda" to rot America from within.

"Hollywood has gone berserk," said Landham. "There is a lot of pedophilia in that town. It has a long history. Judy Garland was servicing Columbia's Harry Cohen as a young girl."

Landham also is alarmed by the oil conspiracy. "Big Oil is backing Greenpeace to keep the Alaska Natural Wildlife Reserve closed and drive up prices," he explained. "When I think about running for governor, I wonder, 'Can I afford the gas to campaign across the state?'"

Space does not allow for a full mapping of Landham's America-destroying coalition of communists, civil rights activists, pedophiles, oil execs, environmentalists, and camel dung shovelers. To get the whole story, contact the Sonny Landham Foundation about speaking engagement rates and availability. For \$1,000, Landham will explain the world and regale guests at your private or corporate function with stories from the sets of TV shows like "Hardcastle and McCormick" and films like "Predator," which may yet produce another governor.

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