

INDIAN BLOOD: NATIVES FACE VIOLENCE AND HATE



Intelligence Report

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L.A.

BLACKOUT

PLUS

THE NEW CRUSADERS

'Radical Traditionalists' Savage the Jews

Aging Aryans Gather to Rage,
Marry, and Threaten a Lynching

**THE MEXICAN MAFIA
BRINGS 'ETHNIC CLEANSING'
TO SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA**



The 'Synagogue of Satan'

BY MARK POTOK, EDITOR

FROM A MAKESHIFT pulpit inside an Indiana Quality Inn, a baby-faced priest angrily denounces the Jews, saying they mean to “destroy all Christian nations.”

In offices in State Line, Pa., an intense, bespectacled man tirelessly recounts how the 1911 *Catholic*



Encyclopedia “predicts the anti-Christ will come from Jewry” and warns of the Jews’ role in the coming “New World Order.”

At a gathering near the Philadelphia airport, men in priests’ collars and brown monk’s robes rage against the “Judeo-Masonic” conspiracy to destroy the Catholic Church, the “Marxist-Jewish” scheme to wreck American schools, and even an elaborate 9/11 plot, “predicted by the Blessed Virgin Mary 84 years ago.”

For most Americans, the world of “radical traditionalist Catholicism” is so remote and little-known — it entered the nation’s consciousness, just barely, with revelations about the strident anti-Semitism of actor Mel Gibson and his father, Hutton — that it may seem wholly irrelevant to the modern world. Is it really important what a group of people, many excommunicated and most gathered behind the walls of their monas-

teries and other institutions, think about the Jews? That many believe there was no Holocaust? That some say every pope since 1958 has been illegitimate, and a few even insist the real pope has been kidnapped?

The fact is, it does matter. As explained in a remarkable and sweeping story by the *Intelligence Report*’s Heidi Beirich, the best estimates suggest there are 100,000 radical traditionalists in America, a number that appears to be growing. And while the size of this movement is dwarfed by the 70 million mainstream Catholics in this country, these energetic men and women are having an influence.

For one thing, the open anti-Semitism that characterizes the movement is leaking into other subcultures, some of them especially dangerous.

Last September, Father Nicholas Gruner, leader of the International Fatima Rosary Crusade and a key player in the radical traditionalist milieu, celebrated a special morning Mass at the Washington, D.C., conference of *The Barnes Review*, a Holocaust denial journal, also attended by neo-Nazis and other white supremacists. In February 2006, John Sharpe, head of the Legion of St. Louis and another leading radical traditionalist, sold books at a conference of the racist magazine *American Renaissance* that also played host to neo-Nazi David Duke. (Last December, Duke spoke to a Holocaust denial conference hosted by the Iranian government.)

In one case, the simmering anti-Semitism of the radical traditionalists may even have affected the thinking of a serial-killing terrorist. A new book by Maryanne Vollers, *Lone Wolf: Eric Rudolph: Murder, Myth, and the Pursuit of an Ameri-*

can Outlaw, suggests that Rudolph may have been influenced by radical traditionalism, in addition to his known ties to the neo-Nazi theology of Christian Identity.

The movement also may be gaining influence on the larger political scene. A case in point is that of Christopher Ferrara, leader of the American Catholic Lawyers Association. Ferrara, who writes for the anti-Semitic, radical traditionalist journal *The Remnant*, was the lawyer for the family of Terri Schiavo and a key player, along with Republican and Christian Right leaders, in getting Congress to pass a law to keep the severely brain-damaged woman alive. It was later overturned.

In the United States, we are accustomed to thinking of race as the critical fault line splitting our society. But in the world at large, religion is just as divisive.

From Iraq to the former Yugoslavia to uncounted other regions, religiously based violence has recently torn apart societies that once included people of different faiths living together in peace. Even in the United States, with its strong tradition of religious pluralism, religious conflicts seem to be increasing almost yearly.

One would think that radical traditionalists would understand this. After all, Catholics historically have been among the most despised minorities in America, with hatred of “papists” driving the Know Nothing party in the 1850s and swelling the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s to almost 4 million members. The same kind of demonization that Catholics were subjected to in the past is now being practiced by extremist Catholics who describe all Jews as the “synagogue of Satan.” ▲



COVER PHOTO: GETTY IMAGES

ON THE COVER

44 L.A. BLACKOUT

As the black population of Los Angeles continues to drop rapidly, and tensions between blacks and Latinos rise, the powerful, prison-based Mexican Mafia is directing the many Latino street gangs under its control to harass, assault and even murder blacks in a southern California “ethnic cleansing” campaign. In a **related interview** (p. 54), a gang expert discusses how and why this order is enforced.



JOHN SUGG

11 Aging Aryans

The 25th World Congress of the Aryan Nations, the once-powerful neo-Nazi group that was decimated by a 2000 lawsuit, featured racist rants about war, brown-skinned immigrants and lynching a kid on a bike. It also included an “Aryan” wedding, complete with shouts of “Heil Hitler.”



18 The New Crusaders

Some 100,000 “radical traditionalist Catholics,” people who angrily reject many of the Vatican’s teachings, may form the largest group of hardcore anti-Semites in America. Even though many have been excommunicated, these extremists have built a network of groups, websites, churches and monasteries.



JACKIE MERCANETTI

34 Indian Blood

A recent hate crime in Farmington, N.M., has thrown light on the pervasive problem of violence directed at American Indians, especially in towns near reservations, and Alaska Natives. These men and women comprise 1% of the U.S. population, but account for 2% of victims of racially motivated hate crimes.

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A prominent member of a group pushing "conversion therapy" for gays has set off a firestorm with an essay arguing that Africans were "better off" as slaves.

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One-time presidential candidate Pat Buchanan's new book is a white nationalist screed. But that hasn't stopped it from climbing the best-seller charts.



AP WIDE WORLD PHOTO

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Opposing abortion and homosexuality seem like clear-cut issues for the Christian Right. But is that also true of opposition to immigration?

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At a fundraiser for the Texas Minute-men, a hard-line anti-immigration group, the talk is of an enemy culture, enemy migrants, and enemy pigs.

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A new book co-authored by anti-immigration leader Jim Gilchrist and John Kerry-basher Jerome Corsi is a jumbled mess of incoherent thoughts and prose.

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Anthony Pierpont was hounded out of the white supremacist movement for racial indiscretions. Living well, Pierpont says now, has been the best revenge.

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.



AP WIDE WORLD PHOTO

REP. RUSSELL PEARCE

INTO THE MAINSTREAM

Candidates' Immigration Salvos Bring Campaign Troubles

“Oops.”

That might as well have been the re-election campaign slogan for Arizona State Rep. Russell Pearce. When the Republican pressed “send” on an E-mail to supporters in October, Pearce distributed an article from the neo-Nazi National Alliance website — and unleashed a firestorm of controversy around an already embattled campaign.

Pearce later claimed that he never read the entire National Alliance article in question, an anti-Semitic screed entitled “Who Rules America? The Alien Grip on Our News and Entertainment Media Must Be Broken.” He told *The Arizona Republic* that “the title and first few paragraphs” appealed to him, so he sent it around to a group of supporters.

It was the second time in two weeks the hard-line former sheriff from North Mesa found himself confronted with charges of racism and extremist views on immigration. Earlier that month, Pearce drew fire for endorsing a reprise of “Operation Wetback,” a 1950s program of forced deportation.

“We know what we need to do,” Pearce said on a Phoenix radio show. “In 1953, Dwight D. Eisenhower put together a task force named ‘Operation Wetback.’ He removed, in less than a year, 1.3 million illegal aliens. They must be deported.”

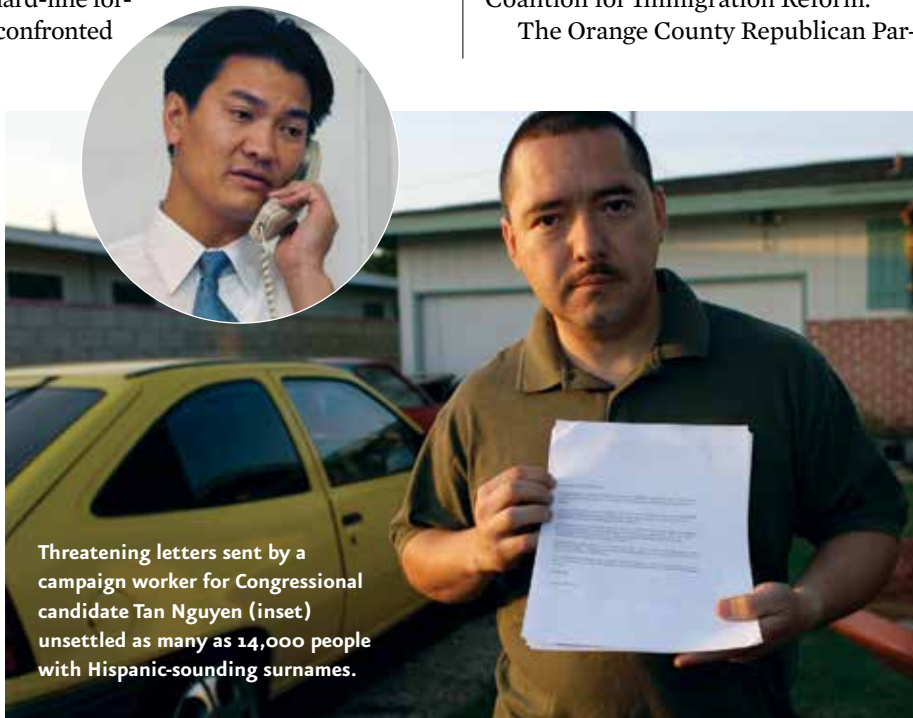
When critics jumped on the use of the derogatory word “wetback,” Pearce defended himself with gusto, describing his critics, including fellow Republicans, as “sissies.” “In the ’50s, [the term] was common. In the ’60s, it was common,” Pearce said. “You don’t use it today because people have tried to make it offensive. Things change,

and you know what? Who cares?”

As a result of the twin controversies, Pearce lost several key endorsements during the run-up to the Nov. 7 election, including that of U.S. Rep. J.D. Hayworth (R-Ariz.), an anti-immigration hard-liner. Arizona State Sen. Carolyn Allen, also a Republican, told reporters that Pearce had “lost his moorings. He’s driving himself mad about this [immigration debate].”

Pearce was not the only politician to get into seriously hot water over immigration. In Orange County, Calif., Tan Nguyen, Republican candidate to represent the 47th Congressional District, admitted in late October that a staff member had sent out Spanish-language letters to as many as 14,000 people with Hispanic-sounding surnames. The letters falsely warned that legal immigrants would be jailed for voting (naturalized citizens can vote) and falsely claimed that anti-immigrant organizations could access a database with the names of all new registered voters (no such database exists). They were printed on apparently forged letterhead from the California Coalition for Immigration Reform.

The Orange County Republican Par-



AP WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

Threatening letters sent by a campaign worker for Congressional candidate Tan Nguyen (inset) unsettled as many as 14,000 people with Hispanic-sounding surnames.

ty immediately withdrew its support for its candidate, calling for Nguyen to quit the race, while Republican Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger described the “extremely alarming” letters as a “hate crime.” Nguyen, who campaigned mainly on opposition to immigration, fired the staffer who he claimed was solely responsible for the letters and vowed to stay in the race. Both the FBI and the state attorney general’s office opened criminal investigations into the letters, which may have violated voting rights laws.

BLACK SUPREMACISTS

Miami’s Frightening Black Messiah — Free at Last?

Yahweh Ben Yahweh, born Hulon Mitchell Jr. and known as “Grand Master of All, the God of the Universe, the Grand Potentate, the Everlasting Father and the persecuted Messiah” to his followers in the infamous Nation of Yahweh cult, has appealed to end his parole supervision, citing ill health and imminent death.

The cult leader was convicted in 1990 on charges relating to 23 murders linked to the black-supremacist Nation.

Mitchell, now 70, rose to prominence in the 1970s as the charismatic leader of a Miami-based Black Israelite organization. Mitchell founded the Nation of Yahweh on the idea that blacks were God’s chosen people, constituting one of the 12 lost tribes of Israel. According to Nation theology, Mitchell is the Messiah sent to vanquish “white devils” and lead blacks to the Promised Land as Moses led the ancient Hebrews out of Egypt.

Combining black supremacism and Old Testament messianism, the Nation of Yahweh was known in its early years mainly for its wacky theories, white-robed adherents, and commu-

nity revitalization projects in Miami and surrounding Dade County. This relatively benign image was overtaken in the 1980s by investigations into the cult’s role in 23 gruesome murders in the Miami area, including the mob slaying of a temple dissident beheaded with a dull machete and the murders of several whites whose ears were hacked off as trophies.

In 1990, Mitchell was convicted of conspiracy in relation to the killings, which included multiple beheadings (one witness was a renegade temple member who was attacked by Mitchell followers who tried to saw through her neck with a knife but failed to complete the job). In a decision aided by dubious rulings from the bench, Mitchell was acquitted of a more serious racketeering charge tying him directly to the murders. He served 11

years of an 18-year sentence and was released on parole in 2001.

As a condition of his parole, Mitchell was forbidden any contact with Nation members, though they still consider him their leader and Messiah.

“He is not a risk of flight. He is not a danger to the community,” argued Mitchell’s attorney in September.

“He is frail and he is dying. It’s time for [parole restrictions] to be removed.”

Many Black Israelite groups like the Nation of Yahweh practice a theology that is a kind of color-reversed version of the religion of white supremacist Christian Identity groups, which consider Aryans the “true Hebrews” and people of color soulless animals. Neo-Nazi Tom Metzger, leader of White Aryan Resistance, has said of such black supremacist groups, “They’re the black counterpart of us.” Although in recent years Nation of Yahweh literature has played down the cult’s racism and eliminated calls for violence, the group remains black supremacist and is heavily laced with



HULON MITCHELL JR.

anti-Semitism.

NEO-CONFEDERATES

Anti-Immigration Congressman Joins Neo-Confederates

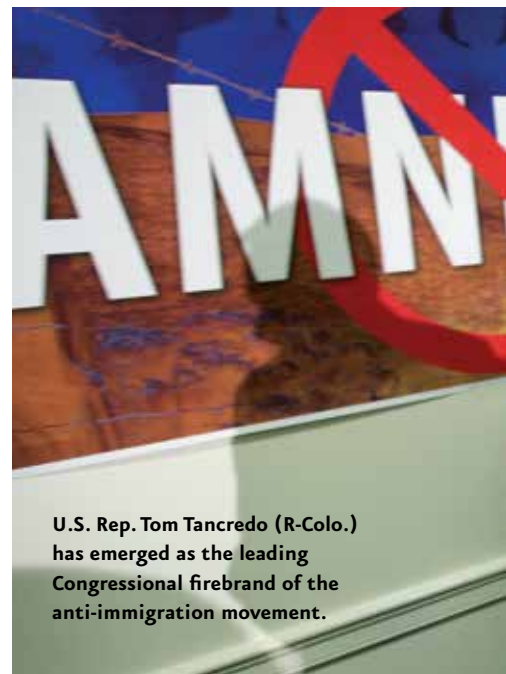
On Saturday, Sept. 9, around 200 people attended a barbecue featuring Colorado Congressman Tom Tancredo, head of the House Immigration Reform Caucus.

For Tancredo, it was to be a barbecue with a nasty aftertaste.

While proceeds from the \$15-a-plate fundraiser went to Americans Have Had Enough!, a conservative nonprofit organization that lists Tancredo as its honorary chairman, the event was advertised by the South Carolina chapter of the League of the South (LOS), a neo-Confederate hate group, as its own.

“Congressman Tom Tancredo will be our guest,” the state League of the South website announced. “Join us at the State Museum for two hours of vital information, fellowship, and good food.” The bulletin identified prominent League of the South member Lourie Salley as the event’s information contact.

The podium from which Tancredo spoke was draped in a Confederate



U.S. Rep. Tom Tancredo (R-Colo.) has emerged as the leading Congressional firebrand of the anti-immigration movement.

battle flag, and men in period Confederate battle dress populated the event. The gathering also had a very literal neo-Confederate flavor: The promised “good food” was provided by Piggie Park restaurant chain owner Maurice Bessinger, a well-known League of the South supporter who caters most of the hate group’s events and has been widely criticized for selling books defending slavery.

Tancredo’s appearance was part of a five-day sweep through South Carolina, which hosts an early GOP primary. Rising to his friendly audience, Tancredo blasted Sen. Lindsay Graham (R-S.C.) for being soft on immigration and basked in the long applause that followed his harangues against illegal immigrants and “the cult of multiculturalism.”

At the close of Tancredo’s speech, several men wearing Confederate army uniforms stood up and started to sing the first notes of “Dixie,” the minstrel song turned Confederate anthem about a freed slave pining for plantation life. According to Tancredo spokesman Carlos Espinoza, the congressman joined in the singing.

After an account of Tancredo’s appearance was published on the South-



GETTY IMAGES

“OVERHEARD”

“There were 2,000 either illegal aliens or their sympathizers... . If it were not for police there, they probably would have killed all 200 of us.”

JIM GILCHRIST, head of the anti-immigration Minuteman Project, discussing counter-protesters at a Los Angeles anti-immigration march, on the July 10 edition of CNN’s “Anderson Cooper 360”

“Ken Lay was neither black nor poor, as James Byrd was, but I’m angry because Ken was the victim of a lynching.”

Rev. **WILLIAM LAWSON**, pastor emeritus of Houston’s Wheeler Avenue Baptist Church, delivering a July 12 eulogy that compared the late head of Enron Corp., who died before being sentenced for looting the company, to a man dragged to death by white supremacists

“Without [affirmative action, African-American Congresswoman Maxine Waters] would not have a job that didn’t involve wearing a paper hat.”

ANNE COULTER, in her Aug. 9 Universal Press Syndicate column

“It’s time to have a Muslims checkpoint line in America’s airports and have Muslims be scrutinized. You better believe it, it’s time.”

MIKE GALLAGHER, host of the Salem Radio Network’s “The Mike Gallagher Show,” discussing national security Aug. 15 on FOX News

“God is the one who chooses our rulers. ... [I]f you’re not electing Christians, then in essence you are going to legislate sin.”

Republican Senate candidate **KATHLEEN HARRIS**, the former Florida secretary of state accused of favoring President Bush in the 2004 presidential race, quoted on Aug. 24 in *Florida Baptist Witness*

“[He] should get a reward that it wasn’t a boy. I actually was thrilled to see it was only a girl.”

Host **MICHAEL SAVAGE**, on the Sept. 27 edition of Talk Radio Network’s “The Savage Nation,” discussing an employee of the ultraconservative *Washington Times* charged with soliciting a 13-year-old girl for sex

“The real problem [is that] Congressman Mark Foley was a homosexual [and] homosexuals tend to be preoccupied with sex.”

PAUL WEYRICH, head of the conservative Free Congress Foundation, equating the Florida Republican’s alleged pedophilia with homosexuality on the Oct. 4 edition of National Public Radio’s “All Things Considered”

“This little mafia in there looked upon the pages, I guess, as their — sort of their personal preserve.”

MSNBC political analyst **PATRICK BUCHANAN**, on the Oct. 9 edition of MSNBC’s “Scarborough Country,”



National Socialist Movement Rally • Nov. 11, 2006

About 20 members of the neo-Nazi National Socialist Movement (NSM) rallied this fall at the statehouse in Austin, Texas, to protest illegal immigration. It was only the latest anti-immigration rally by NSM, which has begun to grow again recently after nearly collapsing last summer. NSM is far from the only hate group that has been working to exploit the immigration issue. Since last summer, the Georgia Knight Riders of the Ku Klux Klan, National Vanguard, the White People's Party, North East White Pride, White Revolution, the Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and many others have held similar protests.

ern Poverty Law Center's website on Sept. 12, Espinoza told reporters that the League of the South had nothing to do with the event, calling LOS "a very racist and horrible group that is desperately trying to seem relevant by attaching themselves to an event that they had nothing to do with."

Public records show the room at the museum was rented by Richard T. Hines, a longtime neo-Confederate activist who in 2003 argued that Strom Thurmond, who as leader of the segregationist Dixiecrats in 1948 promised a radio audience that the party would keep "niggers" out of whites' churches, schools and homes, was "never a racist." In 1997, Hines was identified by the white supremacist Council of Conservative Citizens as a member.

Tancredo spokesman Espinoza played down the extremism of the neo-Confederates who attended and helped organize the event. "These aren't racist people who spew out hate. These are just people remembering and cherishing their past," Espinoza told *The Denver Post*.

Not everyone in Tancredo's district agreed. On Sept. 14, the clergymen of the Greater Metro Denver Ministerial Alliance, representing 40 black churches, issued a joint statement with the Latino clergy group Confianza that condemned Tancredo's appearance at the South Carolina event.

"To join in singing 'Dixie,' to walk into a room that has a huge Confederate flag in it, that should have been his notice to walk out," Rev. Steven Dewberry of Denver's New Horizon Christian Community Ministries told the *Rocky Mountain News*. "Their [Confederate] past is our anguish, our slavery, our lynchings."

ACADEMIC RACISM

On CNN, Racist Theorist is an Expert on Intelligence

On Oct. 11, CNN medical correspondent Dr. Sanjay Gupta reported on a new study by J. Philippe Rushton, a

psychology professor at the University of Western Ontario. Aside from his slightly bemused tone, Gupta introduced Rushton as he might any academic psychologist. The subject of the segment was a controversial piece of research conducted by Rushton purporting to show that males, on average, are smarter than women.

It was hardly the first time Rushton had argued for the superiority of certain groups of people based on genes. Although you never would have known it from the treatment CNN afforded Rushton, the British expatriate is among the world's most notorious race scientists. He has been ridiculed and attacked as a racist by many leading scholars, including Stanford population biologist Mark Feldman, who described one of his main books as "laughable." University of Washington psychology professor David Barash wrote that "bad science and virulent racial prejudice drip like pus" from the same book.

Also unmentioned in Gupta's segment were Rushton's ties to the Pioneer Fund,

which he has headed since 2002. Started in 1937 by textile magnate Wycliffe Draper, the Pioneer Fund's original mandate was to pursue "race betterment" by promoting the genetic stock of those "deemed to be descended predominantly from white persons who settled in the original thirteen states prior to the adoption of the Constitution." Today, it funds extremely controversial studies of race and intelligence, as well as eugenics, the "science" of breeding superior human beings. Rushton himself has received over \$1 million in Pioneer funds.

Rushton, who has been investigated for allegedly violating Canadian hate-speech laws, first courted infamy in 1989 when he published work focusing on the sexual characteristics of different races. His findings: Blacks have larger genitals, breasts and buttocks—characteristics that Rushton alleges have an inverse relationship to brain size and, thus, intelligence.

At the end of its piece, CNN did briefly quote a woman specializing in "gender studies" who complained that studies like Rushton's were "political," not scientific, in nature. But it was clear that neither she nor Gupta had any idea who Rushton was. None of the controversy surrounding Rushton — his leadership of the Pioneer Fund, his claims of an inverse relationship between genital size and intelligence, or the many criticisms of real scientists — got even a mention.

RADICAL PROPAGANDA

Report: *Washington Times* Editors Motivated by Racism

The Washington Times has long been a controversial mouthpiece for the far right. But few could have guessed how pervasive the moral rot seems to be at the very top of the small but politically connected institution.

In an Oct. 9 cover story for the left-wing magazine *The Nation*, Max Blumenthal alleged that the top two editors at the *Times* — Wes Pruden

and Fran Coombs — embody a brand of conservatism "characterized by extreme racial animus and connections to nativist and neo-Confederate organizations." Based on interviews with more than a dozen sources, Blumenthal painted a picture of an editorial culture in which racism is endemic and sexual harassment is tolerated. One unnamed senior *Times* staffer was quoted as describing Managing Editor Fran Coombs as a "really hard-core ideological white supremacist."

How hard-core?

Former *Times* editor George Archibald told Blumenthal that when he once showed Coombs a photo of his nephew's black boyfriend, Coombs "went off like a rocket" about the "niggerfication of America" and said, "If my daughter went out with a black, I would cut her throat."

Another current senior staffer remembers Coombs saying, "Women are naturally inferior to me." Yet another *Times* employee, also unnamed, told Blumenthal that Coombs "will literally stand there and scan websites and look for anything that's anti-Hispanic, that's immigrant-bashing, and he will order the editors to go with it."

According to the article, Coombs is

by many *Times* employees not only for his words, but also for his actions. Blumenthal reports allegations that in 2004 Coombs repeatedly sexually harassed *Times* marketing consultant Melissa Hopkins, including "forcibly kissing" her in the back of a taxi, according to Hopkins' lawyer. Blumenthal alleges that Coombs then orchestrated an internal cover-up.

After publication of Blumenthal's article, the *Times* editors in question denied the charges of racism and sexism. They also denied Blumenthal's report of a behind-the-scenes power struggle at the newspaper to remove Pruden and Coombs.

In a letter sent to the newspaper's staff, *Times* Editor Wes Pruden dismissed the article's content as "the speculations of addled idle minds. People who spread rumors and talk to rumormongers just have too much time on their hands and should, in their retirement, get another hobby."

Reaction to the piece by at least some *Times* staffers was of a different kind. Despite the numerous revelations in the article, Blumenthal wrote on his website that one said, "It didn't come close to capturing just how much of a cancer Coombs and his benefactor,



Wes Pruden, have been on the *Times*.”

NEO-NAZIS

Wisconsin Monument to Hitler Draws Neo-Nazis, and Trouble

Eighty-seven-year-old Theodor Junker says he doesn't want any trouble. The retired farmer and ex-Waffen SS soldier just wants to tend quietly to his Hitler memorial, which lies off a single-lane gravel path deep in the woods of southern Wisconsin.

But trouble is what he got in August, when five carloads of neo-Nazis pulled onto his property to pay respects to Junker and his shrine. Junker, who emigrated to the United States from Germany in 1955, does not yet have a zoning permit to host “large events” as defined by the county and was summarily fined \$2,000 for allowing about 25 members of the neo-Nazi National

Socialist Movement (NSM) to gather at his memorial. According to the court judgment, the money will be returned if Junker does not violate zoning regulations within the next year.

Junker claims that he did not invite the NSM members, who rallied in Madison the next day. “A guy called me and said he wants to show [the memorial] to two or three people from Iowa,” he told a local newspaper. “All of a sudden, they came with 20 people.”

Junker has invested three years and \$200,000 of his own money in the memorial, which includes a large rendering of the First Amendment, and has promoted it by giving an extensive tour and interview to a reporter for a small local newspaper. The centerpiece is a granite pedestal holding two portraits of Hitler.

The still heavily accented Junker has been a repeat guest on the official NSM radio program “Nazi America,” on which his shrine is referred to as “America’s Feldherrnhalle,” a reference to the “Hall of Commanders” that honors German military leaders in Bavaria.

During one appearance on the show, Junker discussed his proud service in Nazi uniform during World War II and why Hitler should be remembered fondly by the world.

“This memorial should live forever,” said Junker, calling it “his life’s dream.”

ECO-RADICALS

Animal Rights Activists Get Prison in Web Threat Case

First there was the Chicago Seven; now there’s the SHAC Seven. At least that’s how historic some animal rights radicals view the precedent-setting conviction last March 12 of six activists from Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty (SHAC), a Philadelphia-based animal-rights outfit that published detailed personal information about its enemies on its website.

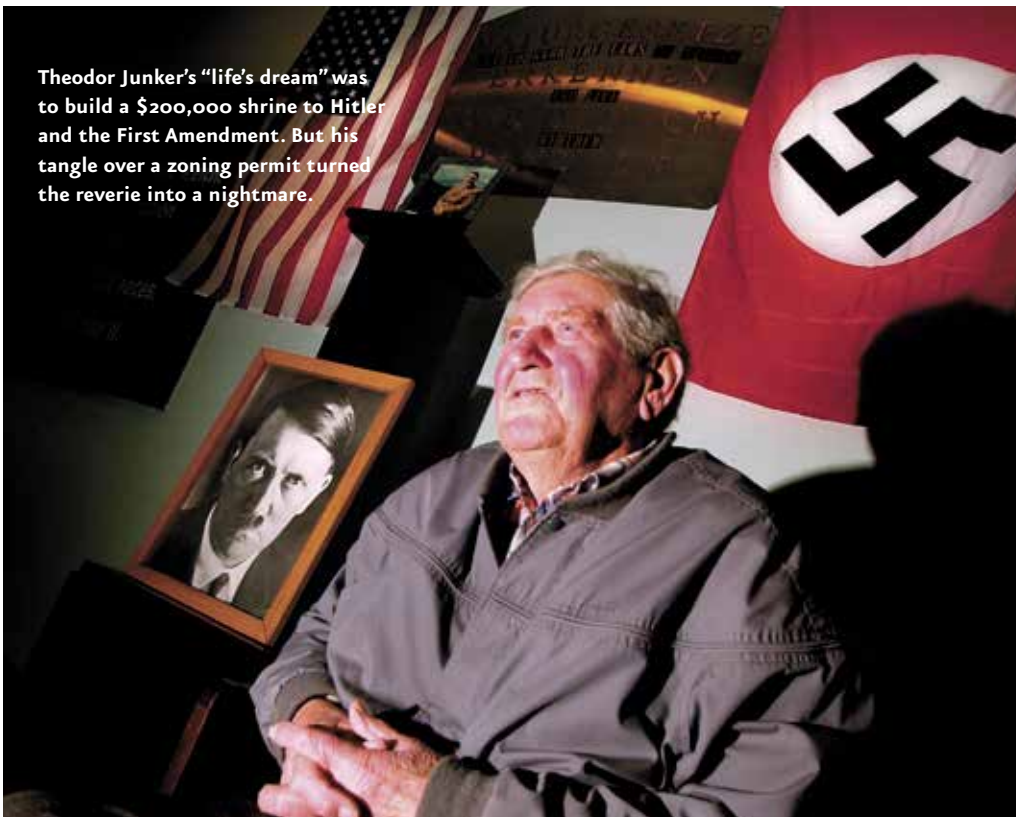
Five months later, in September, six SHAC activists were sentenced on charges of using the website to incite harassment of employees of Hunting-

don Life Sciences, which tests drugs and household products on animals, and of firms that did business with Huntingdon. The prison sentences ranged from one to six years. The six convicted activists and the organization itself, which was the seventh defendant, also were ordered to pay \$1 million in restitution to their targets.

The government alleged that SHAC and its activists waged a five-year campaign against the company that included posting the names, addresses and phone numbers of Huntingdon employees and those who do business with the company. The group also posted the names and addresses of churches and schools attended by Huntingdon employees and their children. Many of those listed on the SHAC website saw their homes vandalized and received threatening E-mails, faxes and phone calls.

The SHAC Seven were the

Theodor Junker’s “life’s dream” was to build a \$200,000 shrine to Hitler and the First Amendment. But his tangle over a zoning permit turned the reverie into a nightmare.



THE (WALSWORTH COUNTY) WEEK

THE BLOTTER

UPDATES ON EXTREMISM AND THE LAW

JULY 3

Two white men in **Clarendon County, S.C.**, were charged with kidnapping and sexually assaulting a 15-year-old black girl and a black woman in what officials described as racially motivated attacks. Police said that one of the two, Jeremy Shaw Sweat, 24, had links to a **Ku Klux Klan** group.

JULY 27

A federal jury in **California** convicted four leaders of the **Aryan Brotherhood** — Barry “The Baron” Mills, Tyler “The Hulk” Bingham, Edgar “The Snail” Hevle and Christopher Overton Gibson — on charges that they used murder and intimidation to protect their drug-dealing operations behind bars. All told, more than a dozen people face the death penalty in a federal racketeering case involving dozens of murders that aims to dismantle the notoriously vicious prison gang.

AUG. 9

A member of the **Nazi Low Riders**, a white supremacist prison gang, was arrested for allegedly conspiring to kill a **Crestline, Calif.**, police officer. Michael David Cottler is suspected of plotting with Michael McGee to kill an officer who was to testify against McGee in a pending criminal case. Cottler has been in and out of prison for the last decade.

AUG. 16

Two white supremacist brothers in **Oregon** pleaded guilty to smashing synagogue windows with rocks engraved with swastikas during a service. Jacob Laskey, one-time prison affairs coordinator for the neo-Nazi **Volksfront** group, and Gabriel Laskey face sentences of up to 10 years in federal prison for conspiracy and 20 years for damaging religious property in the 2002 attack on Temple Beth Israel in **Eugene**. Jacob Laskey also faces an array of other charges related to weapons violations and several alleged attempts to have witnesses in the case murdered. In 1994, another man tied to Volksfront fired 10 armor-piercing bullets into Temple Beth Israel.

AUG. 23

Troy Stafford of **Belleville, Ill.**, who claims affiliation with the recently created neo-Nazi group **National Socialist Freedom Movement** of Clifford Herrington and recent membership in the **National Socialist**

Movement of Jeff Schoep, was indicted for threatening in two letters to kill President Bush in a bomb attack. Stafford faces up to five years in federal prison if convicted.

SEPT. 6

A jury found Michael Williams guilty in the death of Rose Johnston, who was stabbed and burned to death in a **Madera County, Calif.**, orchard. The jury also found that Williams’ murder of Johnston, whom he had never met, was related to his involvement in a white supremacist gang, the **Small Town Peckerwoods**. The other defendant in the case hung himself in prison before the trial began.

SEPT. 8

A police raid on the home of a **Chicago** firefighter netted more than 60 guns and a host of **Nazi** paraphernalia, including a bulletproof vest with swastika patches and posters of Adolf Hitler. Ted Kozak, 55, was charged with two counts of felony unlawful use of a weapon by Cook County prosecutors. Police said that other arrests could follow and that the investigation was ongoing.

SEPT. 11

Federal prosecutors charged David McMenemy of Sterling Heights, Mich., with second-degree arson affecting interstate commerce after he allegedly crashed his car into the Edgerton Women’s Health Center in **Davenport, Iowa**, in an attempt to destroy the clinic that he mistakenly believed provided abortions. According to the National Abortion Federation, there have been 305 arson attacks and bombings or attempted bombings directed at abortion clinics since 1977.

SEPT. 27

Neo-Nazi skinhead James Torkelson was extradited from Oregon to **California** to face charges of carrying out two murders during a robbery in **San Diego County**. If convicted, Torkelson could face the death penalty or a sentence of life in prison, on top of the 40-year sentence he is currently serving for kidnapping and assault in Oregon. Torkelson was arrested in January 2002 while leaving a property owned by a **Ku Klux Klan** member that county police had placed under surveillance.

first defendants to be convicted under the federal Animal Enterprise Terrorism Act, which greatly strengthened penalties for crimes directed at businesses using animals. The case was legally remarkable because none of the defendants were accused of personally making threats or carrying out vandalism, and the SHAC website

did not directly suggest such actions. A similar case was brought successfully in 1998 by Planned Parenthood against anti-abortion extremists who had published personal information of abortion providers, but it was an easier-to-prove civil lawsuit and not a criminal prosecution. In the Planned Parenthood case, a judge ultimately

described the Georgia-based anti-abortion website where much of the information was published as a “true threat” and ordered it shut down.

SHAC’s defense team sought to portray their clients as animal-lovers who committed “crimes of compassion” and had their hearts in the right place.

The most notorious among those

sentenced is Kevin Kjonaas, a 10-year veteran of animal-rights causes who was SHAC's president until his indictment in 2004. The Minneapolis native, who received a sentence of six years, began his career with a college dining hall campaign for vegan food.

In other news about extremist animal-rights groups, three Seattle activists apparently associated with the increasingly violent Animal Liberation Front (ALF) have claimed responsibility for a violent attack on a homeless man. According to local press reports, the activists allegedly ambushed and beat the destitute man over a dispute involving his dog. During the attack, the three assailants reportedly screamed, "Animal Liberation Front!" and "ALF!"

EXTREMISTS IN THE MILITARY

Pentagon Whistle-Blower Resigns After Reprimand

A Department of Defense investigator who went public with allegations of extremists and gang members being tolerated in the armed forces has left the military. Scott Barfield resigned Aug. 15 from his position at Fort Lewis, near Tacoma, Wash., after being reprimanded for violating regulations on interactions with the media.

Barfield went on the record with the *Intelligence Report* regarding his investigations of extremists in the U.S. armed forces out of frustration at what he perceived to be an insufficient response by military leaders to a growing problem. He had also spoken earlier to the *Chicago Sun-Times* about street gang members joining the military.

"I knew [talking to the media] would eventually cost me my [military] career, but I figured I could move somewhere else," Barfield told the *Tacoma News-Tribune*. Barfield has since found employment as a patrol officer with the police department in the town of Renton, Wash., near Puget Sound.

In the *Report* article, which was

widely quoted in newspapers including *The New York Times*, Barfield said that neo-Nazi and white power extremists "stretch across all branches of service, they are linking up across the branches once they're inside, and they are hard core." He also said that the military brass had consciously downplayed his reports. "Recruiters are knowingly allowing neo-Nazis and white supremacists to join the armed forces, and commanders don't remove them from the military even after we positively identify them as extremists or gang members," Barfield said.

In a letter to the Southern Poverty Law Center that arrived more than 10 weeks after the SPLC's report on extremists in the military was delivered to the Pentagon, Under Secretary of Defense David Chu suggested that the report's conclusions were exaggerated and declined to investigate further.

But cases such as those spotlighted by the *Report* continued to crop up. Just days after the report was released in July, military authorities arrested Chad Blair, 25, a petty officer with the Coast Guard Air Station on Cape Cod, Mass. Blair admitted posting Klan recruitment flyers in bathrooms at a local airport last March, and now faces a court martial (Blair had been taking anger management courses at the airport relating to a domestic violence charge). The flyers displayed an image of a hooded Klansman on horseback carrying a sword. "This is the time for action," they declared. "Be a TRUE New England Patriot—Join the Klan."

Among the charges Blair faces is possession of explosive material. Investigators also seized seven rifles and pistols from Blair's residence.

Blair was still on active duty at press time, but under orders to remain on the Cape Cod base. According to *The Boston Globe*, military officials determined that Blair was not posting

the fliers as an act of hate against the airport's manager, Quincy Mosby, who is black. But Mosby, an Air Force veteran, strongly condemned the fliers. "It really appalls me seeing someone in a branch of the armed forces promoting that type of behavior," he said.

BLACK SEPARATISTS

Nation of Islam Leader Turns Over Reins of Power

GETTY IMAGES



LOUIS FARRAKHAN

Suffering with severe swelling of the prostate, Minister Louis Farrakhan has relinquished control of the black separatist Nation of Islam, raising the possibility that the group's racist ideology could moderate under new leadership.

Farrakhan, who fought a bout with prostate cancer in 1998, announced in September that he was turning over day-to-day operations of the Nation to a panel that includes his medical adviser, chief of staff, and one son, Mustafa Farrakhan. He said he had lost 30 pounds, was dehydrated, and suffered from serious pain.

Farrakhan has led the Nation since the late 1970s, when he wrested control of the organization away from Wallace D. Mohammed, a son of long-time Nation leader Elijah Muhammad. Although Mohammed had wanted to turn the Nation to orthodox Muslim teaching, Farrakhan stuck to the ideology propounded by Elijah Muhammad — a belief system that includes the idea that a black scientist named Yacub created whites, seen as inherently evil "blue-eyed devils," in a test tube 6,600 years ago. Farrakhan was also known for his anti-Semitic and anti-gay remarks.

Eight years ago, during his first encounter with prostate cancer, Farrakhan announced that he was moderating his views and returning to orthodox Islam. But he failed to follow up on that prom-



AGING ARYANS

The 25th Aryan Nations Congress featured racist rants about war, brown-skinned immigrants and lynching a kid on a bike **BY JOHN F. SUGG**

JOHN F. SUGG

The old Echo Theater on the courthouse square in Laurens, S.C., is now dubbed the World Famous Redneck Shoppe. It's crammed with racist memorabilia, from cheap Confederate flag flip-flops and bikinis, to T-shirts that announce, "Ain't Racist, Just Never Met a Nigger I Liked." The shop's operator, John Howard, boasts that he's been a "member of the Ku Klux Klan for 40-some years."

On Sept. 16, the Redneck Shoppe was packed with avowed racists from across the nation and even Europe — a "unity" gathering sponsored by Aryan Nations.

As the boisterous convention drew to a close, a black child, maybe 8 years old, rode past the Echo.

Howard, pointing a stubby finger at the kid, loudly sneered: "There's a nigger there I'd like to hang."

Snorts and hoots and hollerin' greeted Howard's invitation to a child lynching. One fellow in tattered overalls slapped his thigh and began an exaggerated pantomime of pulling a rope.

Oddly enough, the 24-hour orgy of racism billed as Aryan Nations' 25th World Congress began the night before with a love story.

On Friday evening, "Senior Pastor" Jonathan Williams, the leader of Aryan Nations, married an

John Sugg is the group senior editor of Creative Loafing Newspapers.

Alabama couple. The bride, Carrie, wore appropriately Aryan tattoos and a beige gown. The groom, Joseph Frieda, sported the powder-blue uniform shirt of Aryan Nations. The ceremony was the conventional “I do” ritual — conventional if you ignored Williams’ bodyguard standing stage right dressed in ebony Klan robes and a towering black hood.

Beaming after the nuptials, Williams ended the ceremony with an enthusiastic swinging-arm Nazi salute. “Heil Hitler!” “Heil Hitler!” exclamations softly rippled through the 20 well-wishers.

Preparing for War

The true believers in an all-white America arrived Saturday morning. They came from Florida, Washington, Wisconsin, Idaho, Arkansas and most of the states in the Deep South. At least two crossed the Atlantic to attend.

The leadoff speaker was the hulking “Pastor” Paul Brimie, the head of Aryan Nations’ prison outreach program. The towering giant, described adoringly by colleagues as a “pit bull of Yahweh,” had swapped his muscle- and tattoo-displaying tank top for clerical garb. “Everyone here knows who we hate, who we’re against and who is against us,” he proclaimed. “We must PREPARE FOR WAR!”

Run out of Idaho after losing \$6.3 million in a law-

suit in 2000, Aryan Nations fractured, moved and has been attempting to reassemble itself. Currently, there are two major factions, one based in South Carolina, the other in Alabama.

The smaller remnant, run by the thickly bearded August Kreis III, is based in Lexington, S.C., a suburb of Columbia.

Lincoln, Ala., is home to the larger faction — the one sponsoring the world congress. That group’s leader, Williams, lives in Conyers.

Why two sets of Aryan Nations? A large part of the answer is simple lust for power: Two different sets of racists, each claiming to be heir to the well-known Aryan Nations legacy. And then there is ideology. Both contingents hate Jews. But Kreis’ brigade has decided to embrace Arabs — even promoting Al-Qaeda as doing the Lord’s work as long as Muslims are killing Jews. Williams was incensed at such heresy. “I sympathize with Arabs, yes, sympathize because their lands have been stolen by Jews,” he said. “But we have nothing for them [Arabs]. The simple fact is that they aren’t white.”

Williams’ contingent has an estimated 200-300 members on its rolls. “We’ve grown 35% this year,” boomed Williams to a cheering audience at the congress. The Aryan Nations Congress attracted about 170 men and women, more than double last year’s attendance, according to organizers.

Sieg Heiling 101

During the congress, staccato blasts of whites-fighting-for-whites oratory were interspersed with that staple of all conventions, milling around vendors’ tables. Big sellers included “The Apple Story” booklet, which claims Jews are descendants of Lucifer; and CDs, such as the Definite Hate rock band’s “Welcome to the South” album, whose cover features an empty noose dangling from a leafless tree.

Many parents brought their children to play amid the swirling white, red, green and black Klan robes, and swastika-emblazoned banners. During a break, two moms, one holding a babe, the other corralling a toddler in camouflage jammies, could be overheard chatting about things that worry all mothers. “At that age,” said one, “you’ve always got to keep an eye on them.”

But normalcy ended there. One of the moms, in a turquoise blouse, is married to a Georgia Klansman and had a large KKK cross-and-drop-of-blood medallion around her neck. The other woman, wearing tight jeans and heavy blood-red



John Howard, owner of the Redneck Shoppe and a Klan member for more than 40 years, reacted typically when he saw a black child on a bike last September. “There’s a nigger I’d like to hang,” he said.

lipstick, sported a T-shirt emblazoned with “88” — code for “Heil Hitler.”

A dozen or so groups — ranging from the venerable Klan’s multitude of splinters, to upstart outfits such as Arkansas-based White Revolution, to Nazis of various stripes — sent delegates to what Aryan Nations leaders described as a “unity conference” of white supremacy.

There was even a German Nazi in attendance, Peter Josef Boche, who runs a racist church in Berlin. At one point, Boche was surrounded by a group of women and girls. The stubble-faced German, accompanied by his properly blonde daughter, was leading a practice session in how to rakishly throw up the right arm in a stiff-armed “Heil Hitler!” salute.

‘Blood in the Streets’

Josh Fowler, nattily robed in green, swaggered onto the Echo’s stage flanked by two bodyguards, one bearing a round shield adorned with the Klan cross. The youthful grand dragon of one of South Carolina’s Klan outfits brought the audience to its feet in cheers by announcing that what he “really hates is white women with little mongrel babies.”

Fowler was followed to the podium by Virgil Griffin, a legendary Carolina Klan relic who participated in a 1979 Greensboro, N.C., confrontation that ended with the slaying of five left-wing union organizers. No one was ever convicted for the crime, yet an Aryan Nations officer named Ryan Brennan told the assemblage that Griffin “is my hero. Five commies went to hell that day.”

With fists slugging the air, Griffin urged the crowd to “get every weapon you can get. We’re gonna hit back.” His most vitriolic comments were reserved for Hispanics. “They breed like rats, worse than niggers, and send their money back to Mexico,” Griffin roared. “Only thing I got for them is a bullet right between the eyes. Ship their dead butts back to Mexico.”

Rick Spring is the dapper Aryan, one of the few remaining confidants of the late Aryan Nations founder, Richard Butler. Clad in black jacket and pants, the only signal of what Spring is about is his elegantly

embroidered red, gold and powder-blue Aryan Nations armband.

He has a knack for explaining things. For example, about those swastikas on fluttering flags and tattooed on his colleagues’ arms and heads, Spring opined, “They’re just good luck signs. Some people say they’re Nazi symbols, but that’s not what I see.”

And on violence? “Aryan Nations is the whipping boy,” he said. “The only time we’re violent is when violence is brought to us.”

The scariest of the Aryan Nations speakers was Ryan Brennan, who lives in South Carolina. He capped his speech with a dance across the stage, a la Mick Jagger, and a bellowed challenge: “You want to



When he isn't busy sieg-heiling or denouncing blacks as “soulless mud people,” Aryan Nations Senior Pastor Jonathan Williams can be found performing “Aryan” weddings interspersed with “Heil Hitler” exclamations.



A recent essay on the website of a group that thinks it's possible to "cure" homosexuals ignited protests from gay rights groups and even a psychology professor, Warren Throckmorton (right), who quit the group as a result. But the essay, which attacked the civil rights movement and defended slavery, did not cause James Dobson (far right) to cancel an invitation to the group to address his Focus on the Family conference.



ONE MORE ENEMY

Ideologues of 'conversion therapy' for gays have never approved of homosexuals. But the revelation that one of them also believes Africans were 'better off' as slaves has ignited a firestorm **BY BRENTIN MOCK**

A prominent member of the National Association for Research & Therapy of Homosexuality (NARTH) is under fire for publishing an essay in which he argues that Africans were fortunate to have been sold into slavery, and that the civil rights movement was "irrational."

"There is another way, or other ways, to look at the race issue in America," writes Gerald Schoenewolf, a member of NARTH's Science Advisory Committee. "Africa at the time of slavery was still primarily a jungle... Life there was savage ... and those brought to America, and other countries, were in many ways better off"

NARTH is a coalition of psychologists who believe it's possible to "cure" homosexuality, a position rejected by the American Psychological Association and the American Medical Association. The controversy over Schoenewolf's apology for slavery has battered the so-called "ex-gay" movement with accusations of racial bigotry for the

first time. The movement's leaders and their close allies at Christian Right powerhouses like James Dobson's Focus on the Family have failed to condemn Schoenewolf's inflammatory arguments.

Titled "Gay Rights and Political Correctness: A Brief History," Schoenewolf's angry polemic was published on NARTH's webpage. In addition to his outrageous historical claims about the conditions of life in Africa, he writes that human rights proponents are intellectually stunted. (Schoenewolf draws upon Swiss child psychologist Jean Piaget, who theorized four stages of intellectual development, with the most advanced stage consisting of abstract and complex thinking. "[F]ollowers in the Human Rights Movement" have not reached this stage, according to Schoenewolf.)

Schoenewolf, a psychotherapist who lives in New York City, is the director of The Living Center, an online therapy center for people in the arts. He has authored

14 books, among them *The Art of Hating*, in which he writes that, "Many people talk about hate, but few know how to hate well."

When interviewed for this article, Schoenewolf stood by his comments on the intellectual inferiority of civil rights movement supporters. "The civil rights movement has from the beginning and today seen itself as good and others are evil, like slaveowners are evil," he said.

During the interview, Schoenewolf lambasted civil rights, women's rights, and gay rights. "All such movements are destructive," he said. He also claimed the American Psychological Association, of which he is a member, "has been taken over by extremist gays."

Schoenewolf's essay first appeared on NARTH's website in the fall of 2005, but apparently went unnoticed by critics until mid-September 2006, when the executive director of the National Black Justice Coalition, a black gay and lesbian advocacy organization, delivered to NARTH a formal letter of protest.

"In the name of propriety, respect, common decency and professional integrity, the National Black Justice Coalition strongly urges NARTH to issue a public apology on the front page of its website for publishing such an outrageous and offensive article," wrote H. Alexander Robinson. "We also hope that you reevaluate your relationship with Dr. Schoenewolf, whose peculiar views have no place in civilized discourse."

Then, in late September, the gay rights group Truth Wins Out called on Focus on the Family to cancel a speaking appearance by NARTH executive director Joseph Nicolosi scheduled for a Focus on the Family conference held Sept. 23 in Palm Springs, Calif.

Nicolosi appeared as planned. But the Schoenewolf essay was erased from NARTH's website the same day as the Focus on the Family conference. Then, on Oct. 6, NARTH posted this statement to its website: "NARTH regrets the comments made by Dr. Schoenewolf about slavery which have been misconstrued by some of our readers. It should go without saying that we do not wish to minimize the suffering of those who have been mistreated because of race, sex, religious beliefs or sexual orientation." The statement makes no mention of the civil rights movement.

Nicolosi has yet to publicly address the future of Schoenewolf's relationship with NARTH. He also did not respond to multiple voicemail messages and E-mails seeking comment for this article. Michael Haley, manager of Focus on the Family's homosexuality and gender department, likewise did not respond. Calls and E-mails to Focus on the Family press

managers also went unanswered.

For now, Schoenewolf remains a member of the NARTH's Science Advisory Committee. This committee has "the authority of opinion and the authority of their recommendations," over what is published by NARTH, according to former committee member David Blakeslee, who resigned in protest over the Schoenewolf essay Sept. 29. "Whenever a scientific organization speaks inaccurately about science and conflates it with politics, the general public can be significantly misled and harmed," he wrote in his letter of resignation.

Interviewed by the *Intelligence Report*, Blakeslee added: "Schoenewolf's article was so over the line that it justifiably outraged a number of people."

Even so, other NARTH members have leapt to Schoenewolf's defense on the organization's official blog, whose administrator, "Sojourner," summed up the outcry over the essay as "lies and distortion, in an attempt to discredit NARTH [sic] and Dr. Schoenewolf [sic]."

"Just because Schoenewolf said some good can come out of a bad situation [slavery] does not make him a racist," the NARTH administrator wrote. "It was just his opinion and does not reflect NARTH's position on the topic."

So what exactly is NARTH's position on equal rights for non-whites? On the NARTH webpage, the section marked "NARTH and Civil Rights" states: "It is NARTH's position

that science, not activism, should inform legal decisions and public policies," a position that could easily be read to support Schoenewolf's hostility towards the civil rights movement. NARTH's position statement is particularly ironic in light of the organization's close relationship with Focus

on the Family, which clearly engages in political activism.

Blakeslee isn't the only NARTH supporter to sever ties with the organization over its failure to denounce Schoenewolf.

"This was a slam dunk. They should have said, 'These are not our views.' People have asked them to clarify what they meant by this and [instead] they've in fact defended it," says Warren Throckmorton, a professor of psychology at Grove City College and a former member of NARTH.

Before the Schoenewolf controversy, Throckmorton was slated to present at NARTH's annual conference in November in Orlando, Fla. Now, he's pulled out, and wants nothing to do with the group.

"This stuff about political correctness and slavery is very far outfield," he said. "I'm appalled by it, and a lot of people within NARTH are as well, but they don't have the authority to speak out on it. And those who do have the authority aren't." ▲



"Africa at the time of slavery was still primarily a jungle... Life there was savage ... and those brought to America, and other countries, were in many ways better off."

GERALD SCHOENEWOLF

SELLING RACISM

Pat Buchanan's latest book is a white nationalist screed. But that hasn't stopped it from climbing the best-seller charts

BY ALEXANDER ZAITCHIK

Since the start of his latest book tour, Patrick Buchanan has appeared on just about every major television and cable network in the country, often more than once. He's been on NBC's "Today" show, the three most watched news programs on FOX, CNN's "Lou Dobbs Tonight," HBO's "Real Time with Bill Maher," and countless dozens of radio programs. Together, these appearances have made Buchanan's new book, *State of Emergency: The Third World Invasion and Conquest of America*, a runaway bestseller.

The one-time presidential candidate is no stranger to the major media, being personally acquainted with many of those who interviewed him. A veteran columnist with the Creators Syndicate and an analyst for MSNBC, Buchanan was a founding member of three prime-time network or cable channel talk shows and has written for many of the nation's major newspapers and magazines. That might explain the kid-gloves treatment he got from virtually all his interviewers, most of whom did not seem to have read or understood the book they were helping to publicize.

In fact, the book reflects racial views that have now veered to the extreme. White America is changing color, Buchanan argues – "one of the greatest tragedies in human history." The Mexican government is involved in a plot to take over the Southwestern United States, and parts of this country already look like the "Third World." America, despite what its founders

wrote, was a nation formed not on the basis of creed but rather a homogenous ethnic culture. To put it plainly, *State of Emergency* is a white nationalist tract. The thesis is that America must retain a white majority to survive as a nation. It is rooted in a blood-and-soil nationalism that is more blood than soil. The echoes of Nazi ideology are clear and chilling. As Buchanan helpfully explained to John King, who was interviewing him in one of his several CNN appearances: "We gotta get into race and ethnic questions."

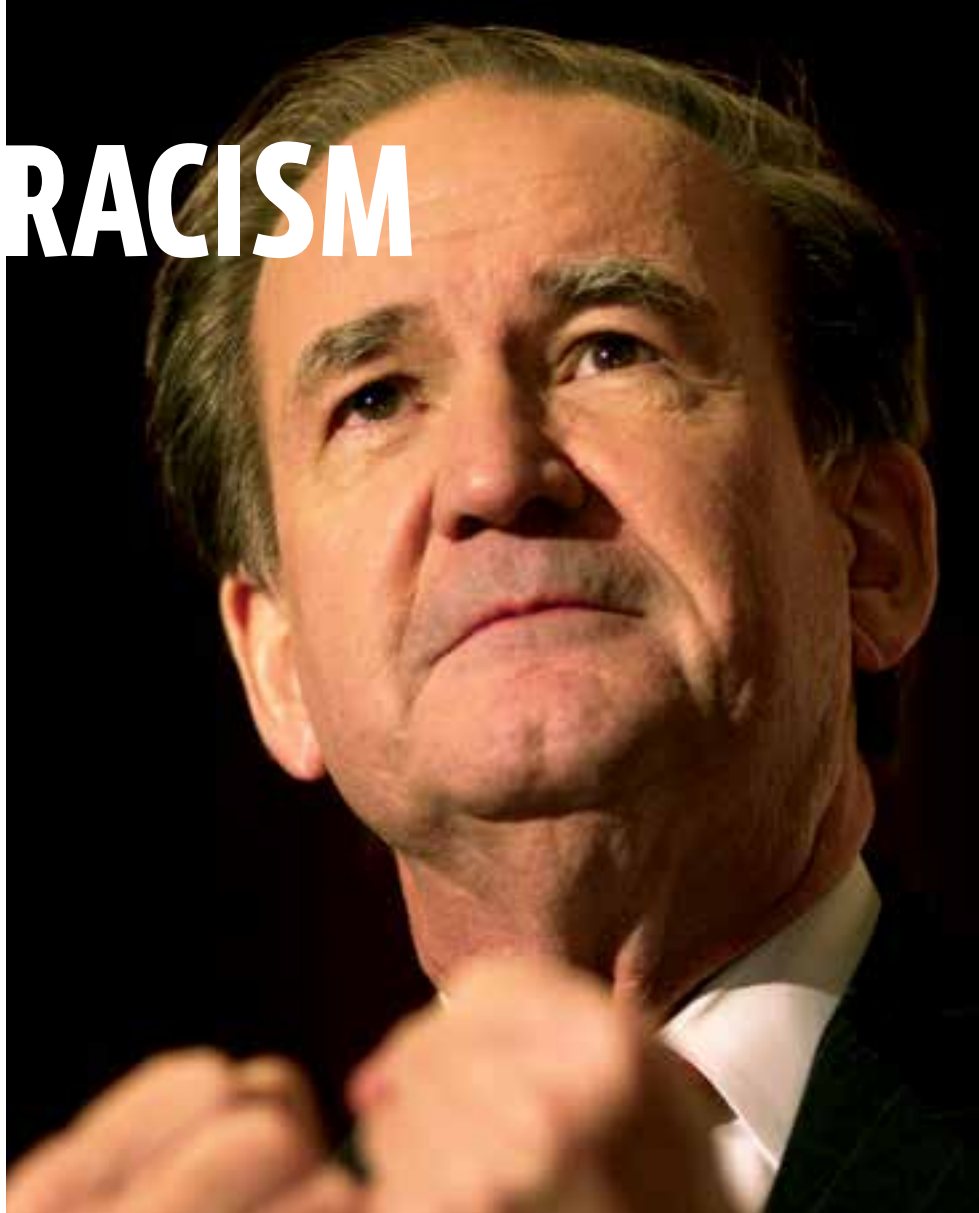
State of Emergency unapologetically reflects Buchanan's insistence on the centrality of race to the United States and its culture. "This idea of America as a creedal nation bound together not by 'blood or birth or soil' but by 'ideals' that must be taught and learned ... is

demonstrably false," Buchanan writes in the book.

Simply put, America is not a nation of ideas. It is a nation of people – white people. Buchanan is especially overt in making this case when he endorses the view of his late mentor and editor, Sam Francis, that American and European civilizations could never have been created without the "genetic endowments" of whites. He goes on to describe discussions of race as "the Great Taboo"; to ignore the role of race, he adds, is "like not telling one's doctor of a recurring pain that could kill you."

None of this seems to bother Buchanan's cheerleaders.

"Congratulations on the response to your book," said Lou Dobbs, the CNN anchorman who has made a profession of attacking illegal immigration as he



GETTY IMAGES

introduced his old CNN colleague. Dobbs then offered up his own view that President Bush was carrying on an “outright war” against middle-class Americans by allowing illegal immigration. Wrapping up the interview, Dobbs concluded: “The book is *State of Emergency*. It’s No. 3 on the best-selling list. ... I’m going to repeat it one more time. The book is *State of Emergency*. Pat Buchanan, always good to talk to you. ... [Y]ou’ve got a lot of readers, so keep it rolling.”

Dobbs isn’t the only one helping Buchanan to keep his book rolling.

James Edwards, a former volunteer in Buchanan’s 2000 presidential campaign and currently host of the Memphis AM radio show “The Political Cesspool,” did his part, too. But this show was no mainstream broadcast. It has featured an array of past and present Klansmen and neo-Nazis, a veritable “Who’s Who” of the radical right. In an exultant E-mail sent out by the radio show after Buchanan was featured, long-time white supremacist Harold Covington, writing under the alias Winston Smith, celebrated. “Don’t ever let anyone tell you that this broadcast doesn’t matter, my friends,” he wrote, “because when the likes of Pat Buchanan agrees to be on your program, he does so only after his people have researched the program and decided it’s in their interest.”

State of Emergency is not the first book to reflect Buchanan’s racist philosophy. In 2002, Buchanan’s *The Death of the West* warned white Christendom against a looming demographic tipping point. (The book’s message so energized former Klan leader David Duke that Duke fantasized on his own radio show last year about winning the presidency with Buchanan as his running mate.) It was in that book — edited by Francis, chief ideologue of the white supremacist Council of Conservative Citizens — that Buchanan first began using the explicit language of white nationalism. In his footnotes to *The Death of the West*, the former Nixon speechwriter even cited the late William Pierce, author of the race-war novel *The Turner Diaries* and the founder of America’s then-leading neo-Nazi group, to back

up his own arguments.

Once again, to make his case in *State of Emergency*, Buchanan relies on a trove of extreme-right sources. His urgent call for thwarting the “invasion” of non-European immigrants leans heavily on material written by hate group members or postings on hate sites, with citations to nearly every sector of the hate movement, from neo-Nazis to neo-Confederates. He cites the work of white supremacist James Lubinkas; Edward Rubinstein

Buchanan knows the oldies-but-goodies, quoting English politician Enoch Powell approvingly at the beginning of his final chapter. Powell was dumped by the Tory leadership in 1968 for claiming that non-white immigration would cause “rivers of blood” to flow in Britain; he has been a white nationalist icon ever since.

Buchanan is especially enamored of his deceased friend Sam Francis, the white supremacist who was fired in 1995 by *The Washington Times* for breaking the “race taboo” and went on

PATRICK BUCHANAN: IN HIS OWN WORDS

“Our ancestors were not paralyzed by guilt. Confident in their culture and civilization, they believed in their superiority over what Kipling had called the ‘lesser breeds without the law.’”

“Thus the world’s finest five-star hotel, the United States of America, becomes the flophouse for the planet.”

“Was not Western civilization vastly superior to the indigenous civilizations it encountered and crushed, from the Aztecs and Incas in the Americas to the Muslim, Hindu, Buddhist, Taoist civilizations from Africa to the Far East?”

“A new border war has begun with the first signs of an ‘intifada’ to retake control of the Southwest.”

“Though the South remained segregated [before the Civil Rights movement], culturally, we were one.”

“This idea of America as a creedal nation bound together not by ‘blood or birth or soil’ but by ‘ideals’ that must be taught and learned ... is demonstrably false.”

of a white nationalist think tank called the National Policy Institute; Clyde Wilson, a board member of the racist and secessionist League of the South; and Wayne Lutton, a veteran immigrant- and gay-hater. Buchanan also quotes Lutton’s anti-immigrant hate journal *The Social Contract*.

Buchanan is equally schooled in hate from abroad, mentioning work of British white supremacist Derek Turner that was published in the American hate journal *The Occidental Quarterly*, which argues that “the civilization and free governments that whites have created” will collapse as they become a minority. And

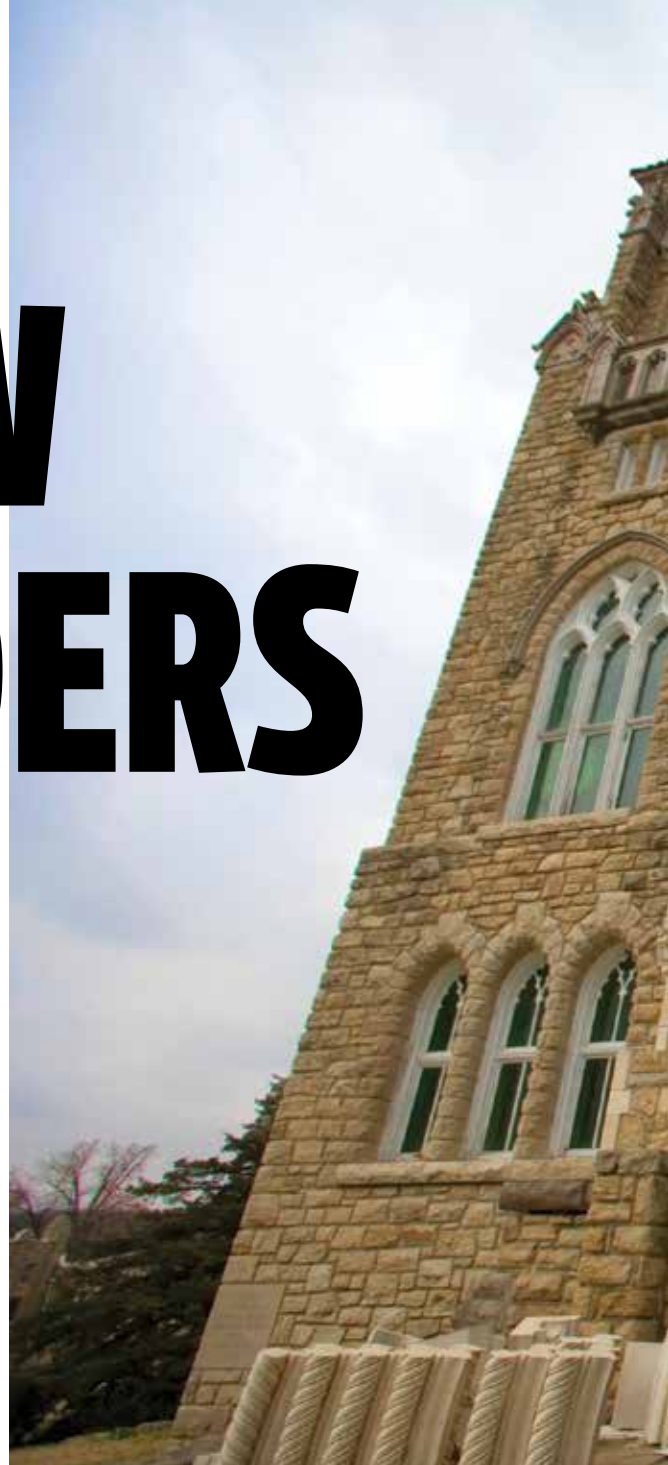
to a 10-year career editing the *Citizens Informer*, a bimonthly newsletter put out by the Council of Conservative Citizens, which grew out of the segregationist White Citizens Councils of the 1950s and ’60s. Far more than Buchanan’s friend and editor, Francis was his mentor. Buchanan knows Francis’ racist oeuvre inside and out, citing some seven Francis pieces. Buchanan’s basic argument in *State of Emergency* — that America should be a white country and that dark-skinned immigrants threaten it — was made by Francis for years.

Now, through his old friend Buchanan, Francis continues to be heard

THE NEW CRUSADERS

**‘RADICAL TRADITIONALIST’
CATHOLICS, WHO REJECT THE
TEACHINGS OF THE MODERN
PAPACY, MAY FORM
AMERICA’S LARGEST GROUP
OF ANTI-SEMITES**

BY HEIDI BEIRICH



Fucking Jews!”

So began Mel Gibson’s now infamous anti-Semitic rant to Los Angeles sheriff’s deputies who pulled him over on suspicion of drunken driving last July. “The Jews are responsible for all the wars in the world,” the world-famous movie actor continued, before asking his arresting officer: “Are you a Jew?”

After his tirade made international news, Gibson promptly disappeared into an addiction clinic. He left behind a statement, released through a spokesman, begging the Jewish community for forgiveness and suggesting that booze was to blame. He was, he wrote, “in the process of understanding where those vicious words came from during that drunken display.” But their origin is easy enough to pinpoint — the extremist Catholic beliefs Gibson learned at the knees of his anti-Semitic father.



Gibson's dad, Hutton Gibson, is an important player in the shadowy world of radical traditionalist Catholicism, also known as "integrism" or Catholic separatism. This religious subculture's teachings have little in common with the modern Roman Catholic Church and its universalistic theology. Hutton Gibson, for one, is a well-known Holocaust denier who believes the Second Vatican Council reforms of the 1960s, which made the church vastly more tolerant of other faiths, were the result of "a Masonic plot backed by the Jews." He is particularly incensed by the council's historic declaration, "Nostra Aetate," which condemned "all hatreds, persecutions, displays of anti-Semitism leveled at any time or from any source against the Jews." In Gibson's world, the Second Vatican Council's liberalizing reforms are rejected and anti-Semitic teachings and conspiracy theories are heartily embraced.

Like father, like son.

Mel Gibson has his own traditionalist house of worship near Los Angeles — a church,

The Society of St. Pius X is adding a new chapel to its compound in St. Marys, Kan. Like much of the radical traditionalist Catholic movement, the organization is expanding despite a theology shot through with anti-Semitism.

funded entirely by him, that is not recognized by the Los Angeles Roman Catholic Archdiocese. It is unclear what is said in the hallowed halls of the Holy Family Chapel, since, unlike virtually all other Catholic churches, it is closed to the public. What is known is that Gibson is reported to have blamed Jews for forcing him to cut a scene, in which Jews and their descendants are held responsible for the murder of Christ, from his 2004 film, “The Passion of the Christ.” Sounding a bit like he did that July night in Malibu, Gibson told *The New Yorker*: “If I included that in there, they’d be coming after me at my house. They’d come to kill me.”

Few Americans defended Mel Gibson’s drunken rant about the evils of the Jews. But radical traditionalist Catholics did. A three-year investigation of this subculture by the *Intelligence Report* has found that these Catholic extremists, including the Gibsons, may well represent the largest population of anti-Semites in the United States. Organized into a network of more than a dozen organizations (see profiles, p. 28), scores of websites and several extremist churches and monasteries, radical traditionalists in the U.S. are preaching anti-Semitism to as many as 100,000 followers. A few, such as the lawyer for Terri Schiavo’s family, Christopher Ferrara, are even movers and shakers in important right-wing Republican circles.

Jew-Bashing at the Holiday Inn

The Philadelphia airport Holiday Inn is an odd place to celebrate a Catholic mass, especially in a city filled with lovely churches and an extraordinary, century-old Romanesque cathedral. But the inn is where the radical traditionalist Catholic outfit, *Catholic Family News* (CFN; see also group profile, p. 29), held its annual conference in 2003, dressing up one end of a drab conference room with an altar, incense, and a statue of the Virgin Mary, and transforming it into a church.

The rest of the hall looked rather different. Vendors set up folding tables along almost every inch of the remaining walls, piling them high with books, videotapes and Catholic accessories. The stacks were notable for the prominence of anti-Semitic and extremist materials, from *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* to Hutton Gibson’s *Is the Pope Catholic?* to CFN head John Vennari’s popular anti-Semitic conspiracy tract, *The Permanent Instruction of the Alta Vendita* (see also story, p. 24). Priests in Roman collars staffed many tables; brown-cloaked



A persistent myth, promoted by the Catholic Church in the Middle Ages, accused Jews of draining the blood of Christian children in order to make matzoh.

monks manned others.

CFN conferences hearken back to the era before the Roman Catholic Church enacted the liberalizing Vatican II reforms, which removed from the weekly Mass prayers for the conversion of the Jews and also ended the centuries-old practice of celebrating the Mass in Latin, the Vatican’s official language. At the Holiday Inn in 2003, Sunday’s religious activities started with a now rarely celebrated hour-long recitation of the rosary. After that, apostate priests conducted a rendition of the Latin Mass, a format dating to the Middle Ages, before an audience remarkable for the veils that covered every woman’s hair and the time it spent on its knees.

Vatican II did not ban these time-honored celebrations, and many Catholics who call themselves “traditionalists” continue to worship in this manner in churches that remain an official part of the Holy See (these churches are awarded an “indult” that allows them to continue celebrating the Latin Mass). The vast majority of those who practice Catholicism in this older form are unrelated to the radical traditionalist Catholics who gathered in Philadelphia. Indeed, the groups that gave presentations at the CFN conference preach a theology specifically rejected by the Vatican, and many have been declared schismatic, or officially separated from the church.

The participants at the CFN conference spent most of their time bashing Jews and, in particular, dwelling on the perils of much-feared “Judeo-Masonic” plot. As preached from the pulpit that day, the alleged conspiracy involves ancient, shadowy fraternities such as the Masons and the Illuminati, who are seen as puppets in a Jewish master plan aimed at destroying the Catholic Church. The theory is laid out in great detail in Venarri’s *Alta Vendita*, which has been compared to *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, an infamous tract also alleging a global plot by the Jews.

But the “Judeo-Masonic” plot wasn’t the only fearful conspiracy that was described that day. There was also the “Marxist-Jewish” scheme that is ruining our schools, the “Jewish-homosexual” alliance that is destroying the priesthood, and, naturally, the 9/11 conspiracy, which has to do with the fact that the 2001 terrorist attacks were actually “predicted by the Blessed Virgin Mary 84 years ago.”

The Passion of the Anti-Semites

The Philadelphia Jew-bashing was not a one-off. Several

such conferences are held quietly around the country each year, and they attract thousands upon thousands of people. The *Intelligence Report* also attended a radical traditionalist conference held in 2005, a year and a half after CFN's. Put on by the St. Joseph Forum (SJF; see group profile, p. 32) of South Bend, Ind., the conference was held at a Quality Inn up the road from Notre Dame, the esteemed Catholic university seen by conference attendees as fatally corrupted by multiculturalism and religious tolerance.

The SJF conference, attended by more than 250 people, was awash with extremists. A favorite of the crowd was Father Stephen Somerville, who Mel Gibson employed as his spiritual adviser during the filming of "The Passion of the Christ." Somerville was suspended in 2004 by the Vatican for schismatic behavior and is a popular speaker at radical traditionalist Catholic conferences. At the forum, he raged at "a corrupt subculture or network of homosexuals" ruining the priesthood.

But the most extreme comments of the weekend came from Brother Anthony Mary of the Slaves of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, a monastery and order based in Richmond, N.H. (see group profile, p. 32). (The Slaves were founded in the 1950s by Boston-based priest Leonard Feeney, an anti-Semite ultimately excommunicated by the Vatican.) Mary's presentation was entitled, "The Fruits of Zionism."

"The perpetual enemy of Christ is the Jewish nation," Brother Mary roared, explaining that the aim of the Jews is

to "destroy all Christian nations." Mary blamed Jews for both world wars — an opinion also mouthed by the drunken Mel Gibson — and a coming world government. Professing from the pulpit a "great hatred" of Jews, Brother Mary declared that "Jews are the synagogue of Satan" — a phrase that is also part of the official ideology of the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations.

"We must always and everywhere," he added, "oppose Jewish schemes."

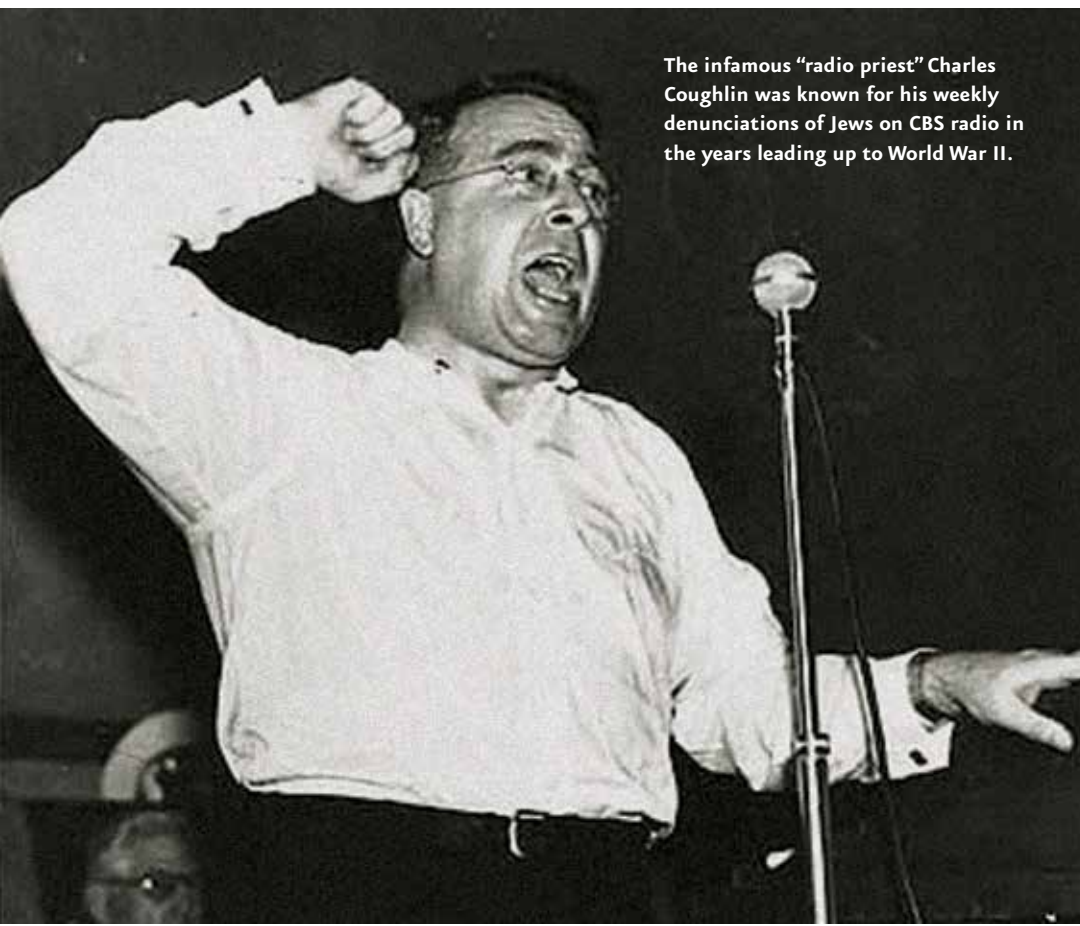
An Unsavory Tradition

Since the colonial period, American society has been marred by sometimes savage anti-Catholic prejudice, an antipathy that mushroomed as waves of Irish, Italian and German Catholics arrived here in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Anti-Catholic hatred fueled the 1850s rise of the Know Nothings, the largest third party in U.S. history, and it also drove the resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s, when nearly 4 million Americans became members.

Yet some of America's greatest peddlers of hate have themselves been extremist Catholics. The best known of these was Father Charles Coughlin, the Michigan "radio priest" who at his height in the late 1930s was spewing pro-Nazi propaganda to 3.5 million listeners on his CBS radio broadcasts. Repeating common anti-Semitic canards, Coughlin blamed the Great Depression on an "international conspiracy of Jewish bankers"; Jews also got the blame for communism. Two weeks after the German national pogrom

known as Kristallnacht, Coughlin blamed the Jews for their own persecution, making him a hero in the German press. Also in 1938, Coughlin published an article in his *Social Justice* weekly — which at one point had 1 million subscribers — attacking Jews, atheists and communists. Parts of the article were plagiarized directly from the English translation of a 1935 speech by Hitler's propaganda minister, Joseph Goebbels. Coughlin was finally forced off the air in October 1939, the month after Nazi Germany's invasion of Poland.

Two other priests, both now dead, serve as the primary inspiration for today's radical traditionalist Catholics. The first is Father Denis Fahey, an Irish priest who died in 1954 and was much admired by Cough-



The infamous "radio priest" Charles Coughlin was known for his weekly denunciations of Jews on CBS radio in the years leading up to World War II.

TWO TREATISES

A pair of recent books that attack the Vatican and its current policies form the core of radical traditionalist teachings

As in the long-ago days of St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas, today's radical traditionalist Catholics make their fiercest arguments through the publication of treatises. Two recent works, in particular, throw down the radical gauntlet.

The first major bombshell dropped by contemporary radicals is the anti-Vatican diatribe, *We Resist You to the Face*, which was published in tandem in 2000 by *Catholic Family News* (see group profile, p. 29), a similar publication called *The Remnant* (see profile of *The Remnant Press*, p. 31), and the group *Tradition in Action* (see group profile, p. 33). The "you" of the title refers to the late Pope John Paul II, depicted in photos in the book as a bug-eyed man in civilian apparel.

The book's basic argument is that the church has been on the wrong course since Vatican II, especially on three issues: "desacralization," meaning changes in the Mass; "egalitarianism," meaning democratizing policies that weaken "papal monarchy"; and "ecumenism," a concept of religious unity under which even those with "false religions" can be saved. The book ends with a statement that is clearly schismatic: "Catholics who truly love the Church have the duty to resist" all manner of "progressivism," particularly if it comes from the pope. After citing approvingly an order from 638 A.D. expelling practicing Jews from Spain, the final essay in *We Resist You* also argues that the most egregious mistake now being committed by the post-Vatican II church is "not combating the errors of the Jewish religion."

Not least because of its title, Alphonse Matt, publisher of the conservative Catholic newspaper, *The Wanderer*, describes *We Resist You to the Face* as "an angry, aggressive statement" (Matt's estranged nephew, Michael J. Matt, runs *The Remnant*, a radical traditionalist Catholic publication). For Alphonse Matt, whose family has been in the Catholic publishing business for three generations, the book's authors are "on a schismatic trajectory that can only have tragic consequences."

The corollary to *We Resist You* is *The Great Façade: Vatican II and the Regime of Novelty in the Roman Catholic Church*. Published by *The Remnant Press* (which also publishes *The Remnant*) in 2002, *The Great Façade* was written by two men. Christopher Ferrara was the lawyer for the parents of Terri Schiavo, the woman in a persistent vegetative state who became a cause célèbre for Christian Right leaders who unsuccessfully fought to prevent her feeding tube from being removed in 2005. His co-author, Thomas E. Woods, was once a member of the neo-Confederate League of the South, a Southern secessionist group with white supremacist ideology that Woods now says he has nothing to do with.

The book, which developed out of a series of essays in *The Remnant*, expands on the arguments made in *We Resist You*. In it, Ferrara and Woods savage post-Vatican II church leaders for having led a "debacle" culminating in the "widespread infiltration" of the church by homosexuals, part of an "ecclesiastical disease that is raging out of control." *The Great Façade* also attacks "Judaized, semi-gnostic" sects said to be deforming the church through their ecumenical events, and warns of the Masonic threat, citing *The Permanent Instruction of the Alta Vendita*, an anti-Semitic tract (see also story, p. 24). And *The Great Façade* decries changes made in 1964 to the Mass to excise the words, "We pray for the perfidious Jews."

Ferrara remains a true believer. But his co-author Woods told the *Intelligence Report* in late 2005 that he had cut his ties to Ferrara and had "spent the past 18 months trying to mend fences with people we attacked in *The Great Façade*." Woods, who is now the associate editor of the more mainstream magazine, *The Latin Mass*, declined further comment last September on the theological views he espoused in *The Great Façade*. But in earlier correspondence with the *Report*, Woods said he had "no interest in being involved in a 'traditionalist movement' that permits no disagreement even on matters not strictly of faith," adding that he would not "work toward the establishment of a Catholic monarchy in the U.S."

— Heidi Beirich

lin — just as he is also admired by today's neo-Nazis, some of whom have contributed a number of his quotes to "1,001 Quotes By and About Jews," a feature on the racist Stormfront website.

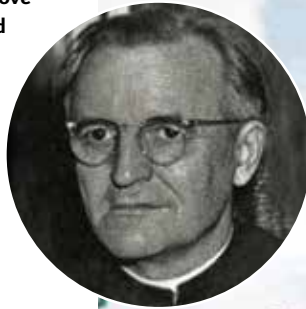
Fahey was a prolific author whose main topic was the inherent evil of the "Jewish Nation." Repeating classic anti-Semitic allegations, Fahey blamed nearly all iniquity on Jews. According to an article by Sandra Miesel in *Crisis*, a conservative Catholic magazine, Fahey "enjoyed quoting papal policy statements against Jews, coyly refused to reject the long-debunked *Protocols [of the Elders of Zion]*, praised the anti-Semitic activities of [automaker] Henry Ford, and denied the death toll from the Holocaust." Taking on the church's main bogeyman in the early 1900s, Fahey laid atheistic communism directly at the feet of the Jews: "The real forces behind Bolshevism are Jewish forces, and Bolshevism is really an instrument in the hands of the Jews for their establishment of their future Messianic kingdom."

While spouting the same kind of anti-Jewish propaganda as the Nazis, Fahey crafted an argument that he believed should exempt him from the label of anti-Semite. Fahey claimed he didn't hate the Jews per se, but merely opposed their "naturalistic aims." Since he also argued that Jews can't help but work to further those aims — communism, the destruction of Christianity, and the like — this was a distinction without a difference. (Today's radical traditionalist Catholics, including the Society of St. Pius X, a far-right powerhouse that has thousands of supporters, continue to claim they are not anti-Semitic, just against "Jewish naturalism.")

Along with Coughlin, Fahey is the main source for *The Plot Against the Church*, a 1967 book supposedly written by 12 clerics under the pen name "Maurice Pinay." Similar to the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, the book blames Jews, also referred to as the "synagogue of Satan," for every evil that has befallen Catholics from



The late priests Denis Fahey (left) and Leonard Feeney were key early thinkers of the radical traditionalist Catholic movement. Feeney is buried near a chapel in Still River, Mass. (right), that still promotes his ideas but is less radical than a group of Feeney followers based in Richmond, N.H.



Roman times to the present. Citing ancient papal writings, the book suggests that Jews be expelled or enslaved, segregated and forced to wear visible marks. It's little wonder that modern neo-Nazis praise Pinay's work. But so do large numbers of radical traditionalist Catholics, and the book is sold by Omni Christian Book Club (see profile, p. 31), the favorite bookseller of today's radical traditionalists.

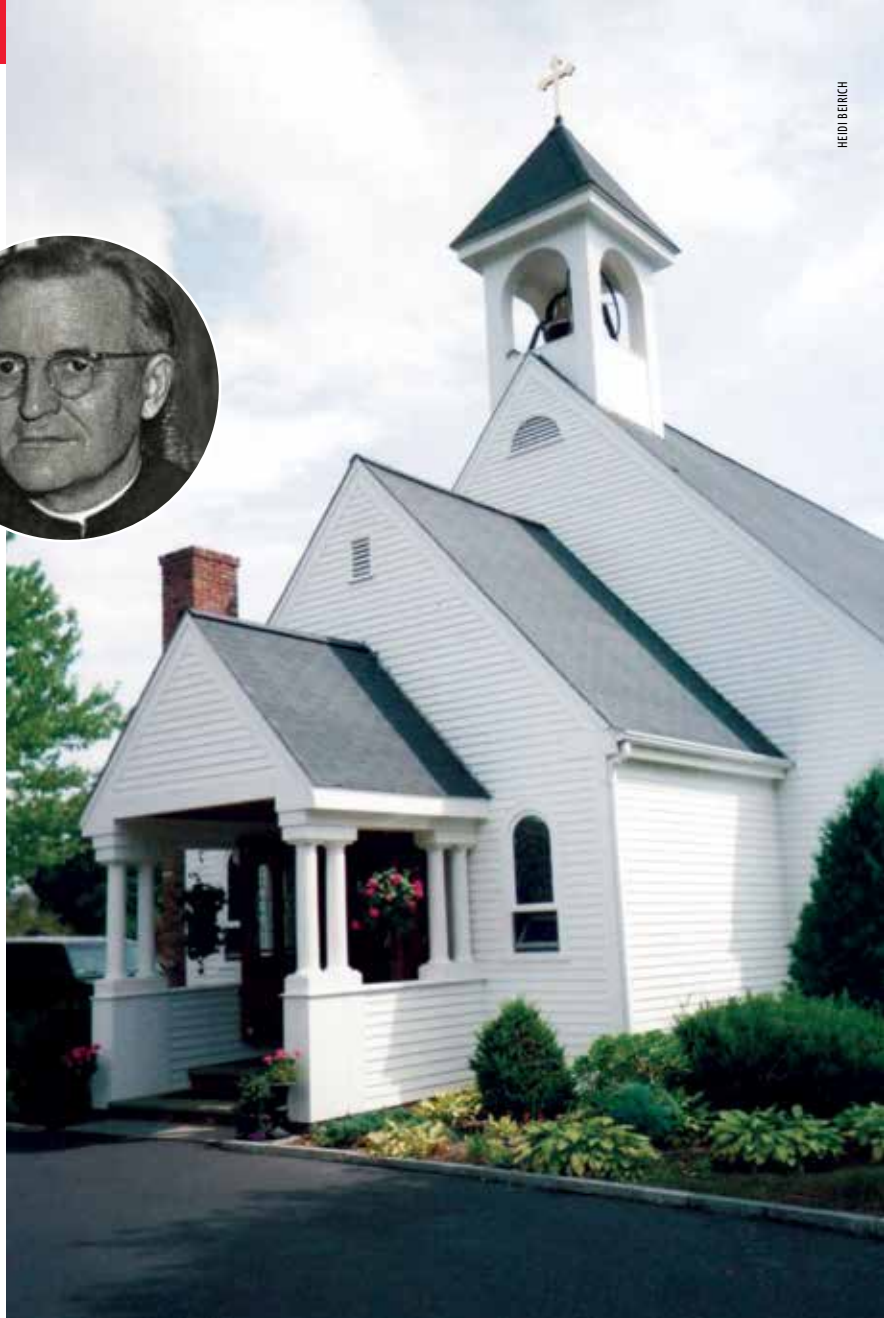
The Beat Goes On

The second great inspiration for contemporary radical traditionalists is Father Leonard Feeney, another fervent anti-Semite who was for years a leader of Boston's St. Benedict Center, a Jesuit institution. Feeney is best known in Catholic circles for his especially hard-line version of the "no salvation outside the church" doctrine.

Feeney also is known for preaching against Jews on the Boston Common with his followers. Although he was finally excommunicated for disobedience in 1953, he rapidly founded his own order, Slaves of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, and started a newsletter, *The Point*, that was suffused with anti-Semitism. Feeney's newsletter blamed Jews for controlling and biasing the press and for creating communism. One article lambasted Jews for their role in the "anti-hate" initiatives that it despised. Another, published in April 1958, was entitled "Newspapers and *The New York Times*: Other Jews and Minister Sulzberger" and summed up the Jewish "problem" like this: "Essential to the understanding of our chaotic times is the knowledge that the Jewish race constitutes a united anti-Christian bloc within Christian society, and is working for the overthrow of that society by every means at its disposal."

Feeney did reconcile with the church in 1974, four years before his death. But his anti-Semitic ideas remain popular in radical traditionalist Catholic circles and in the New Hampshire monastery (see profile, p. 32) his followers started, which still endorses his anti-Semitic ideology, to the point that a New Hampshire bishop lambasted the monastery's teachings in 2004 as "blatantly anti-Semitic" and "offensive."

The bishop isn't the only one who sees Feeney as anti-Se-



HEDD BENCH

mitic. One white supremacist has created an online archive of Feeney's writings (fatherfeeney.org) for the benefit of fellow Aryans. It is part of the so-called "World White Web."

A Dynamic Movement

Today's radical traditionalist Catholics — the theological descendants of Feeney and Fahey — are part of a thriving, energetic movement, even if it is one that is tiny when compared to the approximately 70 million Americans who are mainstream Catholics. The dozen or so organizations that make up this movement read each other's writings, buy each other's conference tapes, and co-publish major theological works. They put on conferences several times each year that are served by circuit-riding preachers like Brother Mary and Father Nicholas Gruner.

The movement is important for a number of reasons. It is growing, and spreading its anti-Semitic teachings, at a time

CATHOLICS AND CONSPIRACIES

BY HEIDI BEIRICH

The Roman Catholic Church has always been an attractive target for conspiracy theorists, due in large part to its elaborate and sometimes mysterious-seeming rituals, its associations with secret societies like the Knights Templar and the Rosicrucians, and even its sometimes defensive reaction to scandals like the revelations of recent years about child-molesting priests.

But what's most remarkable is that the church has also become a target for large number of *Catholic* conspiracy theorists — and the tales these paranoid believers spin make *The Da Vinci Code* look like the work of a novice.

There are literally dozens of conspiracy theories that circulate, in particular, in the world of “radical traditionalist” Catholics. They range from the notion that the “perfidious” Jews are engaged in a global plot against the church and Christianity to the idea that Pope Paul VI (1963-78) was secretly poisoned, imprisoned by renegade Vatican officials, and replaced with a surgically altered, professional actor.

What follows are descriptions of the two most popular conspiracy theories embraced by radical traditionalists. Both attempt to explain how Vatican II (1962-65), the liberalizing church council that offered an olive branch to Jews and is the traditionalists' chief bogeyman, could ever have come to pass.

The Judeo-Masonic Conspiracy

By far the most popular conspiracy theory in the radical traditionalist pantheon is the idea that Jewish Masons, or alternatively Masons under Jewish control, have been working secretly for some 300 years to take over and deform the Catholic church — the so-called Judeo-Masonic conspiracy.

The best-known iteration of this theory appears in a book by *Catholic Family News* (see also group profile, p. 29) editor John Vennari, *The Perma-*

nent Instruction of the Alta Vendita: A Masonic Blueprint for the Subversion of the Catholic Church. The book claims to present, along with Vennari's commentary, supposedly secret Masonic papers (the “Alta Vendita”) that detail plans to subvert the church by creating priests secretly favoring “modern thought rooted in the French Revolution's ‘Declaration of the Rights of Man’.”

Vennari argues that Jews push the rationalistic beliefs of the Masons, who supported notions of human equality and social progress, as a tool to serve Jewish interests. Vennari keys in on the idea that when Jews were finally given nominal equal rights early on in France's Third Republic (1870-1940), the separation of church and state became a reality — anathema to Vennari.

Catholic fears about Masonic power have not been limited to Vennari. Pope Leo XIII (1878-1903), for one, branded Freemasonry an enemy of “religion and society” and wrote in an 1884 encyclical that Masons sought to impose a Kingdom of Satan on earth. The notorious French Catholic anti-Semite, Eduard Drumont, called for excluding Jews from society in his *La Libre Parole* newspaper and took part in an international anti-Masonic congress held in Italy in 1894.

Enthusiasts of the Judeo-Masonic conspiracy theory see their enemies as largely successful. They typically believe that the plotters have actually held the papacy ever since 1958 and were the engineers of the Vatican II reforms.

The Cardinal Siri Thesis

A second conspiracy theory, often referred to as the “Cardinal Siri thesis,” essentially builds on the

alleged Judeo-Masonic plot. But it adds a “sedevacantist” twist — the idea that the papacy has been filled by false popes for decades.

According to this theory, Giuseppe Siri, an archconservative cardinal from Genoa, was elected pope at the 1958 conclave of cardinals, and this election was signaled in the traditional manner, with billows of white smoke pouring from a Vatican chimney. Vatican officials at the time said there had been a mistake in the fire pit, but Siri supporters claim that he was actually unseated through the nefarious machinations of liberal cardinals, who replaced Siri with Cardinal Angelo Roncalli. Roncalli became the first “false” pope, known to the world as John XXIII.

In 1963, when the papacy fell empty once more, Siri was again bested by evil forces within the church, Siri conspiracy theorists allege. Although Siri won election, they claim, he was replaced by Cardinal Giovanni Battista Montini, who became the second “false” pope,

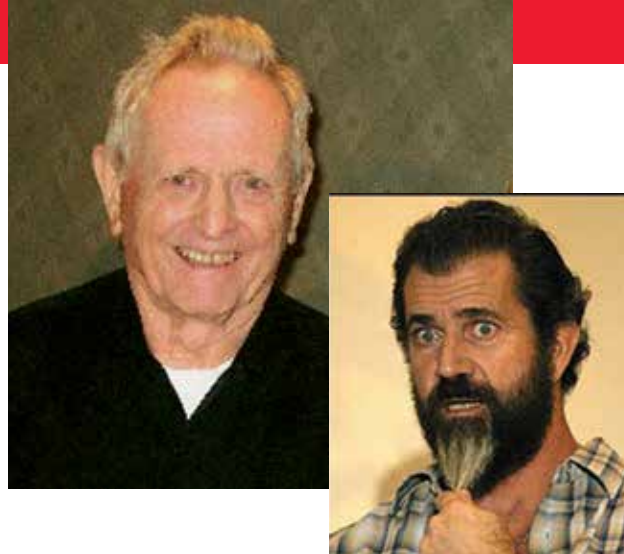


Paul VI. Some Siri partisans blame not only liberal cardinals but also unspecified outside forces that threatened the Vatican with nuclear annihilation if Siri were actually seated as pope.

Siri conspiracy theorists say that the cardinal was then exiled to a Roman monastery and ordered to remain silent. As proof, they cite a 1985 interview Siri gave in which he said, “I am bound by the secret. ... I can say nothing.” Some also claim that he told a Vietnamese priest in 1988, the year before he died, that he was the true pope. And many blame Siri’s plight on B’nai B’rith, an international Jewish humanitarian organization, saying it is part of the Judeo-Masonic plot.

Ultimately, Siri partisans argue, there has been no true pope in power in Rome since 1958. One major problem for the conspiracy theorists: Cardinal Siri remained in full communion with the church throughout his life, celebrating the post-Vatican II Mass and defending the church reforms the

Like father, like son: Radical traditionalist Hutton Gibson (near right) is the apparent source of the anti-Semitic ideas harbored by actor Mel Gibson.



when anti-Semitism and religious conflict generally are clearly resurgent around the world. Some of the most radical of the traditionalists are increasingly interacting with neo-Nazis and their fellow travelers. For example, John Sharpe, head of the anti-Semitic Legion of St. Louis (see profile, p. 30), attended the 2006 conference of *American Renaissance*, a racist publication that specializes in race and intelligence. That same year, Father Gruner, leader of the International Fatima Rosary Crusade (see profile, p. 30), attended a conference of *The Barnes Review*, a Holocaust denial journal. Gruner celebrated a special Mass at the Washington, D.C., conference, which was also attended by an array of long-time neo-Nazis, white supremacists and other anti-Semites.

The radical traditionalists may also be gaining influence on the larger political scene. The best example of this is Christopher Ferrara, the lawyer who in 1990 started the American Catholic Lawyers Association to defend “Catholics in religious and civil liberties cases.” Ferrara writes for anti-Semitic traditionalist journals like *The Remnant*. He recently said Pope Benedict XVI had “abased himself by entering a synagogue.” He uses Robert Sungenis, a particularly venomous anti-Semite, to staff the “Apologetics Desk” at his legal organization. But he also was the lawyer for the family of Terri Schiavo, the brain-damaged Florida woman whose feeding tube was removed in 2005 after a protracted court battle. In that role, Ferrara rubbed shoulders with key Republican and Christian Right leaders who convinced Congress to pass a law to protect Schiavo that was ultimately killed by the courts.

If radical traditionalists belong to a particular sect — and many do not — it is most typically the Society of St. Pius X (SSPX; see also story, p. 26), a sprawling international group that publishes reams of anti-Semitic writings on its website and is based, in the United States, in Kansas City, Kan. In the late 1980s, Pope John Paul II excommunicated all SSPX priests and declared the sect formally in schism, but it has continued to grow. In America, 20,000 to 30,000 people are members.

Many of these radical traditionalists embrace “sedevacantism,” a word derived from the Latin that refers to a period when “the see [or seat] is vacant.” While the term is the official Roman Catholic word for the period between a pope’s death and the election of his successor, many radicals are sedevacantists in the sense that they believe that there has not been a real pope for years (typically, since 1958). Some have adopted conspiracy theories about rigged papal elections and even the idea that the authentic pope is secretly being held in captivity (see related story, p. 24).

The radicals’ understanding of what has gone wrong with the

Pope John Paul II, one of the most popular pontiffs in modern history, is seen by many Catholic conspiracists as one of a succession of “false popes” that began in 1958.



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

world boils down to a few basic things. They believe that most of the theological developments within the church since Vatican II have been egregiously wrong, especially with regard to reconciling with Jews and the followers of other faiths. They despise the Vatican's ecumenical outreach efforts. And they lament the fall of the Latin Mass and argue that the new Mass, "Novus Ordo," does not guarantee salvation. Through it all, disdain and even outright hatred for Jews flows like a poisonous river.

A Joyless Faith

For the vast majority of Catholics, the existence of an anti-Semitic, sedevacantist subculture is highly distressing. The church has worked extraordinarily hard in recent

decades to distance itself from anti-Semitic teachings and the idea of forcing its view of the world on unbelievers. And, by most accounts, it has been successful, with many Jewish and organizations from other faiths praising its efforts. Abe Foxman, head of the Anti-Defamation League, signaled his gratitude after the 2005 death of Pope John Paul II, who, he said, "revolutionized Catholic-Jewish relations" by denouncing anti-Semitism as a "sin against God and humanity." More recently, Pope Benedict XVI's repeated clarifications of statements he made about the Islamic faith in September reflected a commitment to interfaith dialogue.

Yet the ranks of the radical traditionalists seem to be swelling. Michael Cuneo, a scholar of Catholicism, wrote in his 1997 book *The Smoke of Satan* that weekly attendance

RADICAL POWERHOUSE

The Society of St. Pius X, which has chapels and schools across the United States, remains a font of anti-Semitic propaganda **BY HEIDI BEIRICH**

The powerhouse organization of the radical traditionalist Catholic world is a sprawling international order called the Society of St. Pius X (SSPX), founded by the late French archbishop, Marcel-François Lefebvre, in 1970. Although there have been recent attempts by the Vatican to pull SSPX back into the Catholic mainstream, the organization, all of whose priests were excommunicated in the late 1980s, has continued to publish anti-Semitic materials, flirt with Holocaust denial and reject any reconciliation with the Catholic Church.

Lefebvre was always on the hard right. During World War II, he supported the pro-Nazi Vichy regime, a puppet government in the part of France not occupied by the Germans. He lamented the eventual liberation of the country, describing it as "the victory of Freemasonry against the Catholic order of Petain. It was the invasion of the barbarians without faith or law!"

Lefebvre later was on an advisory committee to the Second Vatican Council (1962-65), which enacted several liberalizing and modernizing reforms within the church. But the

archbishop refused to sign the council's final reports on religious liberty and the modern church, the first sign of a rebellion that would only grow in later years. In 1970, he founded SSPX as a seminary in Ecône, Switzerland.

In 1974, Lefebvre publicly denounced as heretical the Vatican II reforms and the subsequent adoption of the new Mass, celebrated in local languages instead of traditional Latin. As a result, Pope Paul VI ordered the archbishop to shut down his Swiss seminary. But Lefebvre refused to comply, leading the Vatican to suspend his right to perform priestly functions (a step short of excommunication) in 1976.

In 1988, Lefebvre took his most radical step yet, consecrating four bishops in defiance of the Vatican. Pope John Paul II responded by excommunicating Lefebvre and all SSPX priests, and declaring SSPX in formal schism with the church.

The following year, police arrested fugitive French war criminal Paul Touvier, who had been hidden for years by the order, at an SSPX monastery in Nice, France. Touvier was later convicted of ordering the execution of

seven Jews in 1944.

Also in 1989, one of Lefebvre's "bishops," Englishman Richard Williamson, gave a speech to a Canadian church in which he decried the alleged persecution of Holocaust denier and neo-Nazi Ernst Zundel by the Canadian government. Williams, then rector of SSPX's main North American seminary in Winona, Minn., told his audience: "There was not one Jew killed in the gas chambers. It was all lies, lies, lies." The Canadian government reacted by banning all SSPX publications.

In the course of his struggle with the Vatican, Lefebvre became a hero to many, emerging as the world's leading critic of church reforms ending the Latin Mass and reaching out to other religions. Already by the mid-1970s, priests ordained by the archbishop were starting chapels and seminaries in the United States. Today, SSPX's American operation, headquartered in Kansas City, Kan., claims 103 chapels and 25 schools, in addition to Kansas City-based Angelus Press. Scholar Michael Cuneo has estimated SSPX has up to 30,000 U. S. adherents.

It is in *The Angelus*, published

at American chapels of the Society of St. Pius X had been growing at about 10% annually since the late 1980s. Today, SSPX, which raises its own funds without help from Rome, employs 336 member priests in 27 different countries, teaches 226 seminarians in six international seminaries, runs 130 priories, and serves more than 600 Mass centers. The group also runs nine retreat houses, 14 major schools, and another 50 schools connected to priories or chapels.



French Archbishop Marcel-François Lefebvre, who founded the Society of St. Pius X in 1970, is the spiritual father of the radical traditionalist movement.

monthly by the SSPX press, and on SSPX's website (www.sspx.org), that the radical anti-Semitism of the order is most evident today. One example now on the website is a 1997 *Angelus* article by SSPX priests Michael Crowdy and Kenneth Novak that calls for locking Jews into ghettos because "Jews are known to kill Christians." It also blames Jews for the French Revolution, communism and capitalism; suggests a Judeo-Masonic conspiracy has destroyed the Catholic Church; and describes Judaism as "inimical to all nations."

Another document reproduced on the SSPX's current website is a 1959 letter from Lefebvre's close friend, Bishop Gerald Sigaud, who also rejected the Vatican II reforms. "Money, the media, and international politics are

for a large part in the hands of Jews," Bishop Sigaud wrote. "Those who have revealed the atomic secrets of the USA were ... all Jews. The founders of communism were Jews."

The Angelus Press sells anti-Semitic tomes like Hilaire Beloc's *The Jews*, which blames Jews for Bolshevism and corrupt financial practices, and Monsignor George Dillon's *Freemasonry Unmasked*, which purports to explain a centuries-old Judeo-Masonic plot to destroy the Catholic Church. More recent SSPX publications include the 2005 pamphlet *Time Bombs of the Second Vatican Council*, by Franz Schmidberger, the former superior general of the SSPX. Schmidberger denounces Third World immigration into Western countries as "destroying our national identity and, furthermore, the whole of Christianity,"

Stephen Hand, a respected Catholic theologian and editor of the Web-based Traditional Catholic Reflections and Reports, wrote in 2000 of his worries about the growth of the movement. "Integrism," he said in his book *Tradition, Traditionalists and Private Judgment* in a reference to radical traditionalist Catholicism, "is a bitter affair, a joyless 'faith.' It thrives on polemics, on opposition and hatred."

There is little question that much of the world is seeing a resurgence of ethnic and religious hatreds and accompanying violence. As dangerous conflicts between Christianity and radical versions of Islam multiply around the globe, the last thing humanity needs is still one more

and accuses the Jews of deicide.

Other extremists published in the pages of *The Angelus* (and carried on the SSPX's current website) include the late Father Denis Fahey; John Vennari, head of *Catholic Family News* (see profile, p. 29); and Robert Sun-genis, the particularly virulent leader of Catholic Apologetics International (see profile, p. 28).

Through it all, SSPX denies all allegations of anti-Semitism.

But even some fellow radical traditionalists have accused SSPX of that and worse. *Fidelity*, a magazine run by hard-liner E. Michael Jones (see *Culture Wars/Fidelity Press* profile, p. 29), in 1992 charged a principal SSPX leader in Kansas City of Hitler worship and promoting Nazism to his students. Although the man accused by *Fidelity* hotly denied the charges, the students quoted by Jones stood by their allegations.

In recent months, Pope Benedict XVI has extended an olive branch to SSPX members, inviting them to return to the church. But the sect's leaders rejected the suggestion outright. As a result, Benedict last September approved an institute for French priests who left the movement. The pope's move marked the effective end to efforts by the Vatican to bring the SSPX sect back into the Catholic fold.

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

THE DIRTY DOZEN

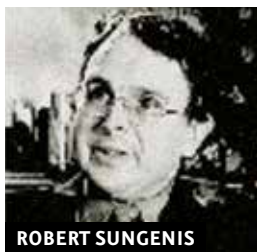
Traditionalist Catholic groups are scattered around America and the world. But only a handful preach anti-Semitic hatred

There are hundreds of traditionalist Catholic chapels around the United States that celebrate the Latin Tridentine Mass and dislike many of the liberalizing reforms enacted by the Second Vatican Council of the 1960s. But only a handful of these organizations qualify as part of the “radical traditionalist Catholic” movement that is characterized by open anti-Semitism and blames Jews for conspiring to destroy the Catholic Church and a number of other iniquities. The movement is far from unified, with these groups engaging in seemingly endless infighting and now splintered into an array of very small groups. The exception is the Society of St. Pius X, which has scores of chapels in the United States and many more elsewhere (see story, p. 26). What follows are profiles of 12 radical traditionalist groups in the U.S. that exhibit varying degrees of anti-Semitism, typically focusing in on conspiracy theories that accuse the Jews of corrupting the church and society. Because of that ideology, they are being added to the Southern Poverty Law Center’s list of hate groups.

CATHOLIC APOLOGETICS INTERNATIONAL State Line, Pa.

www.catholicintl.com/index.htm

Catholic Apologetics International (CAI) was founded in 1993 by Robert Sungenis, a man who would develop into one of the most rabid and open anti-Semites in the entire radical traditionalist movement. Sungenis, who was born into a Catholic family but became a Protestant before returning to the Catholic Church in 1992, was taken seriously in mainstream Catholic circles for many years, even producing two religious



ROBERT SUNGENIS

series for EWTN, a Catholic television station. That ended in 2002, when Sungenis published a 33,000-word, anti-Semitic attack on a joint statement by the National Council of Synagogues and the Bishops’ Committee for Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs that criticized the Catholic Church’s history of attempting to convert Jews. The article repeated a series of ancient anti-Semitic canards, relied on anti-Semites like Father Denis Fahey as authorities, and even praised Fahey and Father Charles Coughlin (the viciously anti-Semitic “radio priest”

of the 1930s) as “dedicated Catholic priests who lived impeccable lives and defended Holy Mother Church from every sort of Satanic deception.” As a result, EWTN pulled Sungenis’ TV series and removed all mention of him from its website; in a similar way, *Envoy* magazine also removed Sungenis from its website. Since then, Sungenis has gone even further into anti-Semitic conspiracy-mongering, frequently reminding people that the 1911 edition of the *Catholic Encyclopedia* “predicts the anti-Christ will come from Jewry.” His CAI website has several articles attacking Jewish “power,” including one by the Rev. Ted Pike, head of the National Prayer Network, that blames Jews for establishing a “New World Order” and refers to the alleged “Jewish origins of bolshevism, Jewish dominance of Hollywood and the media, [and] Jewish control of Congress.” Sungenis is also a columnist for *The Remnant* (see profile, p. 31), where, in a piece entitled “The New World Order and the Zionist Connection,” he detailed a massive conspiracy aimed at Satan ruling the earth. “Among the major forces in the ascent of the New World Order,” he explained, “are the Jews, Judaism and the land of Israel.” Sungenis is also familiar with the world of non-Catholic anti-Semitism, as shown by his citations of Michael Collins Piper, a

“journalist” who has worked for years for Willis Carto, a leading anti-Semite and Holocaust denier.

CATHOLIC COUNTERPOINT

Broomhall, Pa.

www.catholiccounterpoint.com

Established in 1999, Catholic Counterpoint, a publishing enterprise that



JOHN MAFFEI

Vennari, who has also attacked the Jews in his own writings, wouldn't let him sell Gibson's materials because they were “too extreme.” Maffei had better luck at the 2006 conference of *The Barnes Review*, a journal specializing in Holocaust denial published by radical anti-Semite Willis Carto, where he sold those materials and more.

Maffei also sells writings by Father Charles Coughlin, a leading American anti-Semite of the 1920s and 1930s, and even a book by neo-Nazi Artie Wheeler that outlines a complicated 9/11 conspiracy theory. Maffei, who also sells alternative health products including “miracle soap” and a book on how doctors actually make people sick, told the *Intelligence Report* in 2006 that “unknown forces” destroyed his car and blew up his garage after he conducted an interview with Wheeler.

specializes in the most extreme radical traditionalist materials, is run by John Maffei, who worships at a Society of St. Pius X (see story, p. 26) chapel. An example of the material he produces and sells is a video, entitled “Synagogue of Satan,” by Father John O'Connor, an anti-Semite and Holocaust denier. The video, Maffei writes in his promotional materials, includes “all [O'Connor's] presentations on the Zionist movement and how it controls the U.S. thru [sic] the banking system ... and their bringing us into two world wars. ... Few have the courage to speak the truth about the six million Jews that supposedly died in the concentration camps of Germany. This is a history course that will set you free.” Maffei is also a big fan of Hutton Gibson, the anti-Semitic father of actor Mel Gibson. His website is filled with photos of the elder Gibson, and Maffei sells Gibson's books at the many radical conferences he attends. At one such event, put on by *Catholic Family News* (CFN; see profile, p. 29) in 2003, Maffei told a participant that CFN head John

CATHOLIC FAMILY NEWS/CATHOLIC FAMILY MINISTRIES, INC.

Niagara Falls, N.Y.

www.cfnnews.org

Catholic Family Ministries, which publishes the monthly *Catholic Family News* (CFN), is run by John Vennari, a former monk at the Holy Family Monastery in Berlin, N.J., who says he is now part of the official Vatican press corps. Vennari is a contributor to the radical traditionalist book *We Resist You to the Face*, whose last sentence tells reader that the Catholic Church is afflicted with “Jewish errors.” In his CFN newspaper in 2003, Vennari called Judaism “part of the Kingdom of Satan” and accused the Talmud of “teaching of contempt” for Christ. His newspaper also regularly publishes columns by Joseph Sobran, who was fired by the conservative *National Review* over his anti-Semitism and has written for the *Journal of Historical Review*, a leading Holocaust denial publication. Vennari has also

accused the church of being overrun by homosexuals. But he is probably best known for his exposition of the so-called Judeo-Masonic conspiracy theory, which claims that Jewish Masons have been infiltrating the church since the 1700s in order to destroy the institution and install a puppet in the Vatican. Vennari's booklet on this topic, *The Permanent Instruction of the Alta Vendita*, is essential reading in radical traditionalist circles. CFN holds yearly conferences that feature prominent Catholic extremists including American Catholic Lawyers Association head Christopher Ferrara (see also story, p. 18), Father Nicholas Gruner (see International Fatima Rosary Crusade profile, p. 30), and Michael Matt (see The Remnant Press profile, p. 31). At the 2003 CFN conference, Vennari decried Vatican ecumenical outreach



JOHN VENNARI

as “pandering to other faiths, especially Jews.” Vendors at CFN conferences have sold wildly anti-Semitic books including *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and Hilaire Beloc's *The Jews*.

CULTURE WARS/FIDELITY PRESS

South Bend, Ind.

www.culturewars.com

E. Michael Jones, a former hippie who says he spent his honeymoon stuck in traffic while trying to reach the 1969 Woodstock Festival, started down the road of radical traditionalism in 1981, when he founded *Fidelity* magazine after being fired as a professor at South Bend's Catholic women's college, St. Mary's. According to religion scholar



E. MICHAEL JONES

Michael Cuneo, *Fidelity* was devoted to exposing wrongdoing in the church with a special emphasis on sex, a topic Jones seems obsessed with. Jones developed a reputation for his frequent clashes with other radical traditionalists, notably Father Nicholas Gruner (see International Fatima Rosary Crusade profile, p. 30). (For his part, Gruner told Cuneo that Jones was “secretly a Jew.”) In 1996, Jones changed the name of his magazine to *Culture Wars*, and he has increasingly focused on the alleged evils of the Jews as he adds to his “continuing series on the Jews.” The magazine’s cover stories over the last year or so are instructive: “Judaizing: Then and Now,” “John Huss and the Jews,” “The Converso Problem: Then and Now,” “The Judaism of Hitler,” “Shylock Comes to Notre Dame” and so on. Jones runs through all the usual anti-Semitic canards — the ideas that “Jewish media elites” run the country, that Jews are “major players” in pornography, and that Jews are behind Masonry and the French Revolution — but that’s only the start. He also accuses Jews of poisoning society with thinkers such as Karl Marx (a devotee of Satan, says Jones) and Sigmund Freud (who set off an epidemic of sexual sin, he says). And he describes the World War II Nazi genocide of the Jews as “a reaction to Jewish Messianism (in the form of

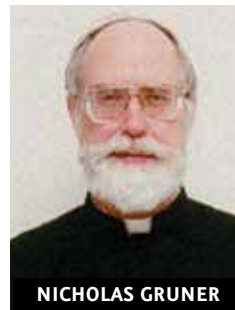
Bolshevism).” Last April, in an article raging about a new president of Notre Dame University, Jones charged that anyone who went to a mainstream university would emerge “with a Jewish world view ... and maybe a Jewish spouse.” Jones, who has written nine books and hundreds of articles, regularly cites extremist sources, especially the *American Free Press* run by veteran anti-Semite Willis Carto. He also has taken up race, most obviously in his “Rooted Culture” conferences that include a trip to Germany. The 2005 trip theme would be familiar to any neo-Nazi — “the continuing deracination in Germany.” Jones has one other line of business that would be familiar to the racist right: the “neo-ethnic songs” he sells as part of a bid to create what he calls a true “Volk” music.

THE FATIMA CRUSADER/INTERNATIONAL FATIMA ROSARY CRUSADE

Constable, N.Y.

www.fatima.org

The International Fatima Rosary Crusade, known popularly as the Fatima Center, takes its name from Fatima, Portugal, the place where the Virgin Mary is said to have appeared to three peasant children in 1916 with a series of revelations. The center was founded in 1977 by Father Nicholas Gruner, a Canadian who became obsessed with Fatima after an Italian priest told him that he had a special calling to promote devotion to the Virgin Mary. The following year, Gruner launched *The Fatima Crusader*, a quarterly that Gruner claims now has some 1 million readers. The publication has carried anti-Semitic articles such as the 1992 piece, “The Program of Christ Against the Plans of Satan,” which denounced what it saw as Jewish “naturalism” and blamed Jews for putting “the Christian state in danger.” The *Crusader* also has staunchly defended the work of Father Denis



NICHOLAS GRUNER

Fahey, a hard-core anti-Semite whom it called “brilliant.” In an interview with Catholic scholar Michael Cuneo, Gruner accused a fellow radical traditionalist, E. Michael Jones (see *Culture Wars* profile, p. 29), of being “secretly a Jew” who was “planted in the American Church to confuse Catholics and sow hatred against people like myself.” The Fatima Center heavily promotes a conspiracy theory about the Vatican allegedly working to hide the so-called “Third Secret of Fatima” from the faithful. (Among other things, the theory accuses Pope John XXIII of making a blasphemous pact with Moscow that prevented the Vatican from denouncing communism and has resulted in Satanism flourishing “inside ... the Vatican itself.”) In 1995, Gruner was ordered to report to his bishop in Italy, but did not; as a result, the Vatican suspended Gruner from his priestly duties in 2001 (a lesser sanction than excommunication). Gruner owns a share of *Catholic Family News* (see

profile, p. 29), helped publish the schismatic book *We Resist You to the Face*, and is a regular speaker on the radical traditionalist circuit. In 2005, for instance, Gruner told an audience at the annual St. Joseph’s Forum conference that Masons — by which he meant the Jews — “sacrificed their babies to the pagan gods.” Gruner

also rubs shoulders with hard-line Holocaust deniers, selling his wares at a 2006 conference of the anti-Semitic *Barnes Review*.

LEGION OF ST. LOUIS/IHS PRESS

Norfolk, Va.

www.legionofstlouis.com

John Sharpe Jr., a graduate of the U.S. Naval Academy and a former submarine officer and media spokesman for the Atlantic Fleet, runs both the Legion of St. Louis (LSL) and IHS Press — two of the most nakedly anti-Semitic organizations in the entire radical traditionalist Catholic

pantheon. LSL explicitly pledges in its vision statement to unite Catholic men around the teachings of Father Denis Fahey and other anti-Semites, particularly Hilaire Beloc, author of the anti-Semitic book *The Jews*. It calls for the creation of self-contained communities of Catholic “militants” who intend “to wage ... real ideological and political war” against their enemies, “the Judeo-Masonic tendencies of the modern social order.” LSL’s bulletin brims with anti-Semitic materials from the likes of Ernst Zundel, the neo-Nazi author of *The Hitler We Loved and Why* who is now in prison in Germany for Holocaust denial, and the *American Free Press*, a newspaper run by veteran American anti-Semite Willis Carto. Sharpe blames the 9/11 attacks not on Al Qaeda, but on “Judeo-Masonry.” “The temporal power that the Jews have achieved since ... 1789 is both pervasive and relatively unchallenged,” he writes. “[T]he current and historical mortal enemy of Christian civilization is Judeo-Masonry.” At the 2006 conference of *American Renaissance*, a racist magazine specializing in theories of race and intelligence, Sharpe sold his two-volume set *Neo-CONNED!*, which has several articles by racists and anti-Semites. LSL also serves as the U.S. distributor for Britain’s St. George Educational Trust, which sells a catalogue of anti-Semitic books including works by the late “radio priest” Charles Coughlin, Holocaust denier Michael Hoffman’s *Strange Gods of Judaism* and Henry Ford’s *The International Jew*. The trust’s board includes convicted Italian terrorist Roberto Fiore, who Sharpe has described as a close personal friend, Society of St. Pius X (SSPX; see profile, p. 26) priest Michael Crowdy, and other hard-liners. Sharpe also has written articles for *The Angelus*, published by SSPX, including “Judaism and the Vatican,” which blames Jews for three centuries of political liberalism. In *The Angelus*’ June 2003 issue, Sharpe approvingly cites the assertion of his mentor, Father Denis Fahey, that “every sane thinker must be an anti-Semite.” Sharpe’s parents, John Sr.

and Judith, run a similar radical group, the In the Spirit of Chartres Committee, which sponsors regular conferences in Phoenix and hosts an array of radical traditionalist speakers.

OMNI/CHRISTIAN BOOK CLUB

Palmdale, Calif.

www.omnicbc.com

Omni is a leading purveyor of radical traditionalist Catholic materials, including a cornucopia of rabidly anti-Semitic and conspiratorial writings. Run by Phil Serpico, son of the former aerospace technician who started the organization in 1958, Omni describes the Jews as “the first civilization to practice the belief in racial supremacy, and the chief advocate of that practice today.” That’s mild compared to the offerings that grace Omni’s book catalogue, including Richard Harwood’s *Did Six Million Really Die?* (published by neo-Nazi Ernst Zundel); Henry Ford’s *The International Jew*, available abridged or in a deluxe, four-volume set; Arthur Butz’s Holocaust-denying *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (“a must read into the biggest hoax in world history, who’s behind it, how they’ve profited from it, and what can be done to put an end to it”); several issues of the late Father Leonard Feeney’s Jew-bashing monthly *The Point*; *The Judaic Connection*, describing a Judeo-Masonic conspiracy against the Catholic Church; and even defenses of Hitler. Omni also sells masses of anti-government conspiracy materials that decry the United Nations, the World Trade Organization, and the supposedly imminent “New World Order.” Overall, Omni sees the Vatican II church reforms as a con pulled off by liberal bishops, and pledges to expose “elements detrimental to the survival of our culture and civilization” and to supply “an alternative source of facts for a more meaningful understanding of world and local events.” Finally, Omni also sells *Coast Lines Depots: Los Angeles Division*, a 1992 book by the younger Serpico, who turns out to be a railroad buff who runs another

website specializing in that topic (www.omnirr.com).

THE REMNANT/THE REMNANT PRESS

Forest Lake, Minn.

www.RemnantNewspaper.com

The biweekly newspaper *The Remnant* was started in 1967 and edited for decades by the recently deceased Walter L. Matt, who had worked for his family’s conservative newspaper *The Wanderer* but left over a dispute about the Vatican II church reforms. *The Remnant* has been edited since 2002, when Matt died, by his youngest son, Michael J. Matt, and features a Who’s Who of radical traditionalist writers. These include columnist Mark Alessio, American Catholic Lawyers Association head Christopher Ferrara (see story, p. 22), Robert Sungenis (see Catholic Apologetics International profile, p. 28), and John Vennari (see *Catholic Family News* profile, p. 29). Although *The Remnant* describes itself as a loyal opposition to the Vatican, it has consistently attacked “Nostra Aetate,” the Vatican proclamation seeking to reconcile with the Jews, railed against the “takeover” of the church by homosexuals, decried ecumenism, and fretted about the much-feared coming of the “New World Order.” In a 2000 article in the newspaper, Vennari praised the anti-Semitic priest Denis Fahey and demanded that “Jewish rabbis ... repudiate their blasphemous Talmudic errors and convert.” More recently, in a February 2006 article, Vennari and Matt criticized Pope Benedict XVI for visiting a synagogue in Cologne without exhorting the Jews there to convert. Last August, Alessio used the pages of the newspaper to defend actor Mel Gibson after his drunken anti-Semitic tirade, arguing that Gibson had been victimized by “a year-long, merciless slander campaign on the part of Jewish activists (and their apostate Catholic cronies)” who objected to his recent film “The Passion of the Christ.” A year earlier, Alessio had attacked Anti-Defamation League-sponsored tours of the U.S. Holocaust Museum,

describing them as an effort to indoctrinate Catholic educators into the “holocaust religion.” The newspaper has also carried repeated attacks on the Masons, who it sees as a primary enemy of Catholicism. The most extreme columnist at the paper, however, is Sungenis, author of a two-part, 2005 series entitled “The New World Order and the Zionist Connection.” Sungenis’ articles repeat almost every anti-Semitic canard, from the allegation that Jews run Hollywood to the claim that Jews were behind communism. Using materials by hard-line Holocaust denier Willis Carto, Sungenis even reminded readers that the Antichrist, when he arrives, will be a Jew.

SLAVES OF THE IMMACULATE HEART OF MARY

Richmond, N.H.

www.catholicism.org

At the end of a dirt road atop a wooded mountain in southwestern New Hampshire, the Slaves of the Immaculate Heart of Mary own a complex of three main buildings, the basement of one of which is used as a church. Members of the larger Slaves community live in the surrounding country, sending their children to a school run by the organization. The Slaves are followers of the anti-Semitic priest Leonard Feeney, a “genius” who started the organization after he was excommunicated in 1953. The group began operations in Boston, but later moved to Still River, Mass., where it became known for such unusual practices as allowing one nun to remain married after taking her vows and raising children communally. After the founder’s death in 1978, the organization broke up into several factions, with the most radical setting up shop in Richmond (the old Still River site is now known as St. Benedict Abbey). Today, the Slaves continue to endorse Feeney and to defend him from charges of anti-Semitism, despite his well-documented hatred of the Jews. (One unsigned 1958 article in Feeney’s rabid publication, *The Point*, summed up the situation like this: “Essential

to the understanding of our chaotic times is the knowledge that the Jewish race constitutes a united anti-Christian bloc within Christian society, and is working for the overthrow of that society by every means at its disposal.”) Like Feeney, the Slaves today see the Vatican II reforms as the product of Jewish pressures and argue that the “Jewish nation is at enmity with Our Lord’s Plan.” They have denounced the Vatican’s moves to reconcile with Jews as “capitulation to the tyrannical demands of the most insidious elements within Jewry (e.g., the Vatican audiences granted to the pro-abortion, pro-homosexual, anti-Christ Jewish Anti-Defamation League).” In fact, the Slaves say that Jews will be the first people to accept the Antichrist and will quickly join “in launching the most savage persecution of the Church in the history of the world.” This kind of ugly rhetoric earned the Slaves a sharp rebuke in 2004 from Bishop John B. McCormack of Manchester, N.H., who called their teachings “blatantly anti-Semitic” and “offensive to all people of good will.” That didn’t stop the Slaves’ Brother Anthony Mary,

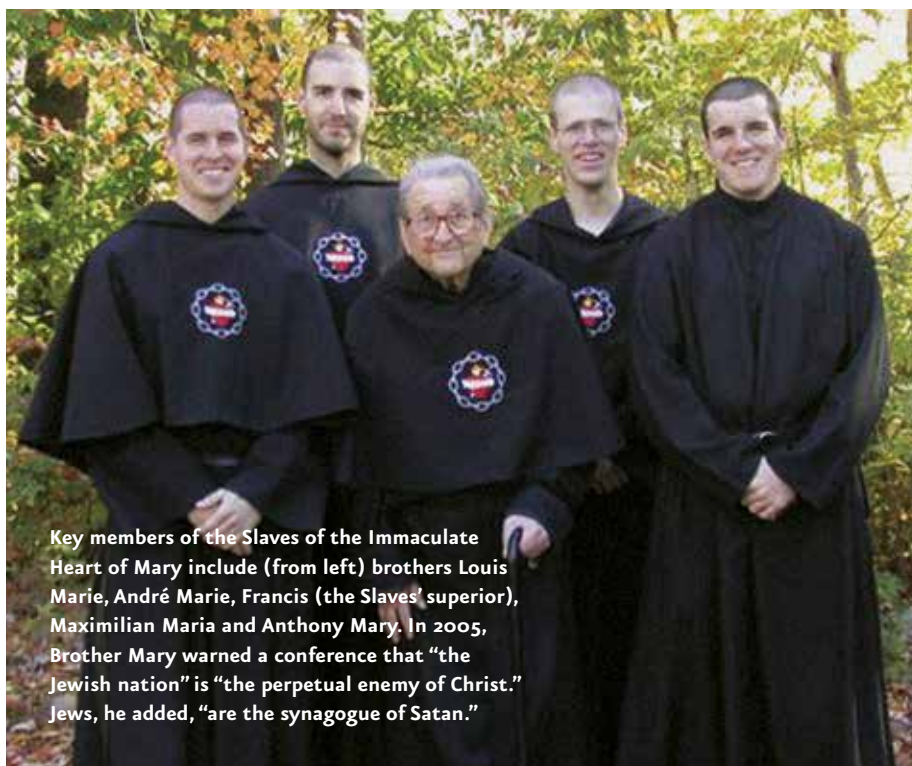
while lecturing at the 2005 St. Joseph Forum’s conference (see story, p. 18), from describing the “Jewish nation” as “the perpetual enemy of Christ” and saying that the Virgin Mary had threatened the Jews with “blood and terror if it’s required.” The Slaves, who also inveigh against “feminists, sodomites, and those who advocate the sin of birth control,” hold annual conferences that feature prominent radical traditionalist Catholics from around the country. Last August, speakers included John Sharpe (see Legion of St. Louis profile, p. 30) and Father Nicholas Gruner (see International Fatima Rosary Crusade profile, p. 30).

ST. JOSEPH FORUM

South Bend, Ind.

www.stjosephforum.org

A privately run organization dedicated to “addressing the root causes of the crisis in the Church,” the St. Joseph Forum specializes in popularizing the writings of the anti-Semitic Irish priest, Father Denis Fahey, through its “Project Awaken” program. In several books, the late Fahey



Key members of the Slaves of the Immaculate Heart of Mary include (from left) brothers Louis Marie, André Marie, Francis (the Slaves’ superior), Maximilian Maria and Anthony Mary. In 2005, Brother Mary warned a conference that “the Jewish nation” is “the perpetual enemy of Christ.” Jews, he added, “are the synagogue of Satan.”

wrote that society and the church had been twisted by “the leadership of the Jews, who wield such enormous power in the modern world through the subjection of man to production and production to finance.” The forum decries what it describes as the Jews’ “Naturalistic Revolution” — materialism and rationalism — and urges battle against “the visible and invisible” forces working to destroy Christianity. The group raises funds to distribute Fahey’s writings and has put on an annual conference in South Bend for 11 years. The conferences typically bring together some of the most extreme voices in the radical traditionalist world, including John Vennari (see *Catholic Family News* profile, p. 29), E. Michael Jones (see *Culture Wars* profile, p. 29), Father Nicholas Gruner (see International Fatima Rosary Crusade profile, p. 30), John Sharpe (see Legion of St. Louis profile, p. 30), and Brother Anthony Mary (see Slaves of the Immaculate Heart of Mary profile, p. 32), who described Jews at the 2005 conference as “the perpetual enemy of Christ.” Tapes of the forum conferences are sold by the Saint Augustine Institute of Catholic Studies, a publishing arm of the Slaves of the Immaculate Heart of Mary.

ST. MICHAEL’S PARISH/ MOUNT ST. MICHAEL

Spokane, Wash.

www.stmichaels.org

Formed in 1978 when radical traditionalist Francis Schuckardt bought a Tudor-Gothic building on a bluff overlooking northern Spokane, Wash., St. Michael’s Parish has long been a center of extreme-right Catholic activities. Schuckardt, who argued that the liberalizing Vatican II church reforms were part of a demonic conspiracy to destroy the church and inaugurate an atheistic world order, lost control of the group in 1984 during a major scandal: Four young male acolytes accused him of sexual assault right around the same

time that a newspaper published an exposé that detailed abusive cruelty inside the compound, including severe beatings of children and one case where a child was fed rotten carrots and then made to eat her own vomit. Schuckardt’s successor is Mark Pivarunas, who was consecrated a “bishop” in defiance of the Vatican by renegade Mexican Archbishop Moises Carmona Rivera. Under Pivarunas, St. Michael’s Parish has remained an anti-Semitic organization, selling books like John Vennari’s *The Permanent Instruction of the Alta Vendita* (see story, p. 24), which details a “Judeo-Masonic” conspiracy to destroy the church. On the group’s website are Pivarunas writings that condemn Vatican II for “promot[ing] the work of the anti-Christ” and for its efforts to reach out to Jews and Muslims even though, he argues, those religions have “persistently attacked the Catholic Church throughout history.” At a St. Michael’s conference last October, Australian John Lane gave a talk earnestly recounting how he had learned “about the *Protocols of Zion* [a book alleging a Jewish plot to take over the world], I mean, the whole story.” Lane also spoke reverently of meeting Hutton Gibson, the actor Mel Gibson’s father and a hard-line anti-Semite. Pivarunas chimed in with a condemnation of Pope John Paul II’s outreach to Jews, which included a visit to a German synagogue. Such attitudes aren’t new at St. Michael’s. In the mid-1990s, when the religious scholar Michael Cuneo visited, his official guide told him: “We know that Freemasons and Jewish leaders have wanted for centuries to bring on a one-world government, and we know that the Church was the only thing really standing in their way.” St. Michael’s, which is part of the larger Congregation of Mary Immaculate Queen, has 800 lay adherents, a cloistered residence for nuns, a church, and an academy for students from kindergarten through high school.

TRADITION IN ACTION

Los Angeles, Calif.

www.traditioninaction.org

Tradition in Action was formed in 1995 by Marian Horvat and is dedicated to creating “counter-revolutionaries” — people willing to fight changes in the church, starting at the time of the French Revolution, that were supposedly wrought by Masons, Jews, and “other seminal secret forces.” Horvat was joined in 1996 by a Brazilian church scholar named Atila Sinke Guimarães, who like Horvat was a former leader in the far-right Catholic anti-abortion group, the American Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family and Property, which threw them out in 1998. Tradition in Action is particularly angry with the late Pope John Paul II, arguing that before him the Catholic Church “was vigilant for 2,000 years against the enmity of the synagogue.” Horvat helped Guimarães launch the 1997 English edition of his *In the Murky Waters of Vatican II*, an attack on the Vatican II reforms. Guimarães moved to the United States to join Horvat in 1999, and has been here ever since. Guimarães has also been writing for John Vennari’s *Catholic Family News* (see profile, p. 29) since 1998, and for Michael Matt’s *The Remnant* (see profile, p. 31) since 1999. Guimarães, Vennari, Matt and Horvat collaborated in the 2000 anti-Vatican book *We Resist You to the Face*, in which the four authors “respectfully suspend obedience to the Pope” and declare themselves in a “state of resistance” to the Vatican II reforms. The book also condemns John Paul II for accepting gun control and the United Nations, and even for allowing pop singer Bob Dylan to perform for him. Tradition in Action goes further than that, however. On its website, it cites approvingly church actions against Jews over the centuries, listing a series of religious edicts condemning Jews for usury and blasphemy, and banning marriage between Catholics and Jews. In the same vein, the site approvingly quotes the infamous 1492 edict of Ferdinand and Isabella, the Catholic monarchs of Spain, that expelled from the country all Jews who declined to convert to Christianity. ▲

INDIAN BLOOD

FROM THE BEGINNING,
WHITE AMERICANS HAVE
BRUTALIZED AMERICAN INDIANS.
HALF A MILLENNIUM LATER,
THE HATE GOES ON

by susy buchanan
photography by jackie mercandetti

FARMINGTON, N.M. — William Blackie's money ran out near midnight. His luck soon followed.

It was a Saturday night, last June 4, when Blackie, a 46-year-old Navajo, left the bar at the Anasazi Inn on foot, walking west along one of Farmington's main drags. He later told police he'd only made it as far as the parking lot of the American Furniture store, a few blocks from the inn, when three white youths in a white pickup, who later admitted they were trolling for a victim, pulled alongside. They offered to give him a ride if he'd buy them beer with their money.

Blackie agreed, and one of the men, C.L. Carnie, 20, got out of the cab and into the bed of the pickup, leaving Blackie to slide in next to passenger Freddie Brooks, also 20. In the driver's seat was 18-year-old John Winer, 6-foot, 5-inches, a ball cap pulled over his shaved head.

As the truck pulled away from the parking lot it headed the wrong direction, away from town.

Winer announced they weren't buying beer after all. Instead, he said, they were going to a "party" in a secluded area just north of town known as The Glades, a scrubby system of juniper- and sage-lined trails frequented by teenage partiers and mountain bikers.

Blackie sensed trouble. He asked Winer to pull over so he could relieve himself and Winer did, but no sooner had Blackie stepped out than he was clocked hard and fast in the head with a club. He fell to the ground and tried to crawl away as the men stomped and kicked his prone body, shouting, "Die nigger! Just die!"

When Blackie's pockets revealed only crumpled receipts and a bottle of medicine, Winer later told police they decided to "cut their losses," and left their victim bleeding in the desert. The taillights of the truck disappeared into the night.

Blackie didn't need a mirror to know he was in a bad way. He could smell the blood pouring from the gaping wound in his head, and taste it streaming past his lips. Blood coated his neck and arms and quickly saturated his T-shirt.

When he was sure the attackers had

Chili Yazzie, a local leader of the Navajo Nation, lost his right arm to an unprovoked attack by a white hitchhiker in 1978. Nevertheless, government officials credit the "reasonable radical" with calming racial tensions that threatened to explode into violence last fall.





gone, Blackie dialed 911. He told the dispatcher he'd just been beat up by three white guys, didn't know where he was, and pleaded for help.

Police were able to track his location through his cell phone and arrived 10 minutes later. Their report characterized Blackie's demeanor upon their arrival as "traumatized, untrusting and intimidated." He repeatedly begged officers not to shoot him.

Pervasive Violence

Anonymous tips led police to Winer, Carnie, and Brooks. All three have been charged with felony assault and kidnapping. They have also been charged with hate crimes, marking the first time prosecutors have ever filed hate crime charges in Farmington, a town with a history of brutal crimes against American Indians that dates back to the 1870s, when white residents reportedly used Navajos for target practice, shooting them on the streets for fun.

In addition to setting a legal precedent, the attack on Blackie added to an alarming litany of violent crimes against American Indians that is not unique to this region of northwestern New Mexico. Violence against American Indians, much of it motivated by racial hatred, is a pervasive yet obscure problem that is especially prevalent in so-called "border towns" — majority-white cities abutting reservations — where cultures clash against the historical backdrop of institutionalized racism, cultural subjugation, and genocide.

The Rocky Mountain region of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, a government fact-finding agency, said as much in 2003, when it proposed a large-scale investigation of racism and related issues in the border towns of seven states (see related story, p. 40). But funding for the study was not forthcoming under the Bush Administration, according to commission regional director John Dulles.

Barbara Perry, a social science professor at the University of Ontario, has traveled the country in recent years to interview nearly 300 American Indians in the first large-scale study of hate crimes in border towns. She estimates that only around 10% of hate crimes against Native Americans are reported to law enforcement authorities, blaming the low reporting rate in large part on "historical and contemporary experience with the police, and the perception they do not take Native American victimization seriously."

Even the FBI's 2005 statistics on hate crimes that were reported to police show that while American Indians and Alaska Natives comprise only 1% of the U.S. population, they represent 2% of victims of racially motivated hate crimes. In 2004, a U.S. Department of Justice 10-year study entitled "American Indians and Crime" found a "disturbing picture of the victimization of American Indians and Alaska Natives."

According to the Department of Justice study, the overall violent crime rate among American Indians and Alaska Natives is 100 per 1,000 persons, meaning one out of 10 American Indians or Native Americans has been a victim of violence. That rate is twice as high as the rate for blacks, two and a half times higher than whites, and four and a half times higher than Asians.

The study also found that “American Indians are more likely than people of other races to experience violence at the hands of someone of a different race,” with 70% of reported violent attacks perpetrated by non-Indians.

Even to seasoned crime statisticians, the results were startling. “We now know that American Indians experience a much greater exposure to violence than other race groups,” said co-author Lawrence A. Greenfeld. “The common wisdom was that blacks experience the highest exposure to violence.”

But the results didn’t come as a surprise to Navajo leaders, who have long referred to Farmington as the “Selma, Ala., of the Southwest.”

“Just as some areas of the South remain hotbeds of racism because of the history of slavery and discrimination, the same can be said of areas where there are large Indian populations,” said Raymond Foxworth, a scholarship coordinator for the American Indian College Fund who grew up on the Navajo reservation. “The historical treatment of Indians does indeed have contemporary significance. If we are willing to admit this about other groups, why can’t the same be said with Indians?”

Krazy Kowboy Killers

Many incidents of violence against American Indians are easy to identify as racially motivated crimes, such as the assault last July 30 on 16-year-old Jordan Gruver at a county fair in Brandenburg, Ky. According to law enforcement reports, Gruver was beaten, kicked, spit on and doused with whiskey by two Klan skinheads who mistook him for an illegal immigrant. As they began their assault, calling him

a “spic,” Gruver protested that he was actually Native American. But what his race was apparently didn’t matter to his tormentors so much as the race he wasn’t — white — and they proceeded to break his jaw, ribs, wrist and teeth.

The assault on Gruver was, by all appearances, a case of violence motivated primarily by prejudice and racial hatred — Gruver was not robbed, did not know his attackers, and was apparently chosen at random in a public place, based on the color of his skin.



But in many other cases, American Indian victims of violence have been robbed as well as beaten, and seem to have been targeted as victims of opportunity. Often they were inebriated, alone, homeless, or all three. These factors often cloak the fundamental racism that frequently drives widespread violence against American Indians, whose history of persecution is longer than that of any other minority group in this country.

That history, marked by displacement, disease, and mass murder, has been glorified in Hollywood even as it’s glossed over in history textbooks. When Teddy Roosevelt in 1886 said, “I don’t go so far as to think that the only

good Indians are the dead Indians, but I believe nine out of every 10 are, and I shouldn’t inquire too closely into the case of the 10th,” the future president and war hero was simply voicing popular opinion, the sadistic echoes of which reverberate today.

“You have to look at the history of Farmington and the Four Corners area [where Utah, Colorado, Arizona and New Mexico meet] and tie in the mythology and stereotypes about Indians who, until very recently, we’ve considered savages,” says Dulles, of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. “It is possible that some white teenagers may not understand that [American Indians] are fellow human beings and somehow think they are of lesser significance. There are people who attack an Indian and don’t consider it quite the same as attacking [a member of] another race.”

The Indians who’ve been attacked in the Four Corners region of New Mexico comprise a bitter and bloody roster of hundreds. In just the past decade, the victims have included Roy Castiano, a Navajo who in 1997 suffered a brain hemorrhage when he was beaten and kicked by four local men in Farmington. When police asked one of them, Blake Redding, why he and his cohorts had “rolled” Castiano, Redding replied, “Three-quarters of it was because he was Indian.”

The next year, Donald Tsosie was beaten to death with a shovel and tossed into a ravine. Then in 2000, Betty Lee accepted a ride from a white stranger, and ended up dead on the side of the road, her skull crushed with a sledgehammer.

The men later convicted of the murders of Tsosie and Lee were part of a loosely affiliated gang of whites that went by the name KKK — for “Krazy Kowboy Killers.”

Sandstorm

Chili Yazzie, president of the Shiprock Chapter of the Navajo Nation (the equivalent of the mayor of the closest reservation town to Farmington), was himself victimized back in 1978, when

a white hitchhiker blew Yazzie's right arm off with two blasts from a .44 Magnum. The first bullet shattered the bones in his arm and continued into his rib cage. "The whole world was the color of a really bad sandstorm," Yazzie recalls. "Out of his poncho I saw a hole and some smoke coming out. I realized that he had a pistol pointed at me all this time from under his poncho."

"I asked him, 'What are you doing, you crazy son of a bastard?' Then he shot me again."

Yazzie spent a month in the hospital. The shooter served less than five years.

Back then, Yazzie was a member of the radical American Indian Movement as well as the famous rock-and-

roll protest band X-IT, which provided the soundtrack for the Red Power movement. Now 56, his black hair is woven with wisps of grey. His tactics have mellowed and his rhetoric has softened, but he remains a dedicated advocate for his people.

In 1974, four years before he was shot, Yazzie took part in a series of dramatic marches organized by Farmington Navajos in response to a brutal triple-murder. Last September, 32 years later, Yazzie found himself leading a similar march of 1,500 Navajos protesting racism and violence after the attack on William Blackie, which occurred just two weeks after an assault on a Navajo undercover police officer by a

white man with a knife.

Yazzie says tempers ran hot among Navajos.

"There were guys that wanted to come in here and take an eye for an eye. There are people capable of doing that," he says somberly. Yazzie likes to call himself a "reasonable radical," and his cool head calmed an explosive situation.

"Chili Yazzie represents a new type of leadership in Navajo Country," says the Commission on Civil Rights' Dulles, adding that without Yazzie's influence on the community this summer, "There could have been serious disturbances, confrontations, even riots."

Instead, the Sept. 2 memorial walk to commemorate victims of hate crimes was peaceful. Too peaceful for the likes of Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan, who Navajo Nation President Joe Shirley had consulted with in July during a visit to the Navajo capitol in Window Rock.

"Marching is okay, I'm not saying it isn't," Farrakhan said, "but marching will never win the respect of those who are already looking down on us."

Yazzie doesn't put much stock in what Farrakhan thinks, and considers him an unwelcome ally. "The walk was enough for those people who wanted to do something," he says.

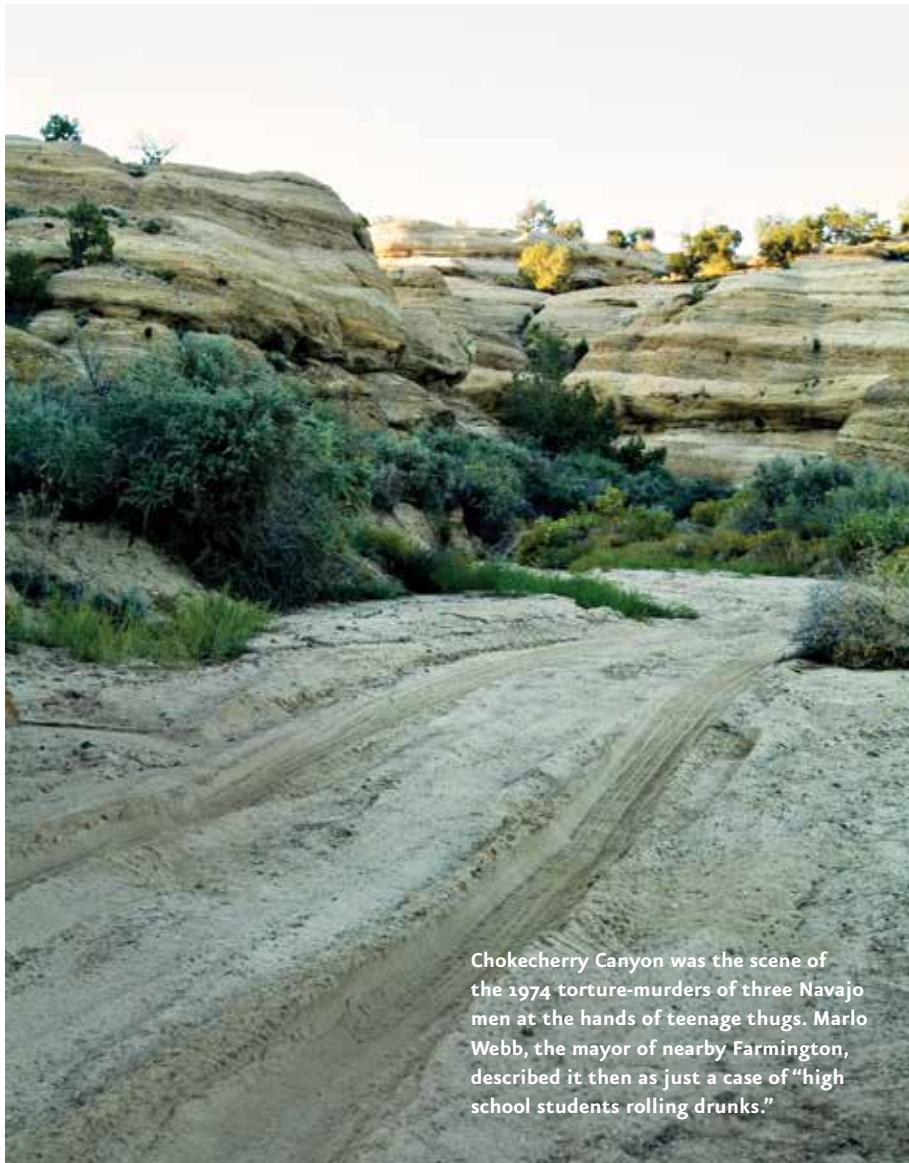
Speaking slowly, his words carefully measured, Yazzie says that Farmington is haunted by racially motivated violence. As he speaks, the phantom of his missing limb enters the conversation, as the stump of his right arm moves slightly under his suit jacket in concert with the sweeping gestures of his left.

"I try to be fair to the city of Farmington," he says. "We recognize that the vast majority of the community are good people who do not tolerate racism. But there's a small group of people who make it difficult for everyone."

The latest episodes have resurrected bad memories of bodies bruised, beaten, and bludgeoned. Each time another Navajo is attacked it reopens wounds as deep as the canyons where many of their bodies have been found.

'Our Dusky Neighbors'

Farmington, N.M., population 43,000



Chokecherry Canyon was the scene of the 1974 torture-murders of three Navajo men at the hands of teenage thugs. Marlo Webb, the mayor of nearby Farmington, described it then as just a case of "high school students rolling drunks."



Critics say the refusal of many liquor stores in Farmington to serve pedestrians reflects a not-so-subtle racism.

(63% white, 18% Indian), is a center of commerce in northwestern New Mexico. The streets bustle with reservation shoppers on Saturdays. On the quaint main drag are coffee shops, a movie theater, restaurants, “Welcome to Farmington” signs, and several boutiques selling Navajo art and jewelry.

In one antique store, the white shopkeeper carefully wraps a porcelain mug with a caricature of a beaming Indian. “How! Me friendly,” it reads.

“Isn’t he just so cute!” the owner exclaims.

That’s not the way American Indians are viewed by some residents of Farmington, who welcome Navajo money but not Navajos themselves. Like many reservation border towns, Farmington has a substantial transient population. Police and social workers estimate there are as many as 700 transients in Farmington, most of them American Indians.

“There is incredible mistreatment,” says Adele Foutz, executive director of

“We have encountered people who were beaten up on the street, or picked up on the street and taken out into the desert and beaten. People aren’t willing to say exactly what happened.”

the Navajo United Methodist Shelter for battered women and children.

“The community attitude is that they are dirty and smelly and shouldn’t be walking the streets at all.”

Many of the Navajo transients in Farmington abuse alcohol, which was deliberately introduced to their ancestors as a tool of conquest, more subtle perhaps than smallpox-infected blankets, but no less deadly in the long run. (According to the Department of Health and Human Services, alcohol-related deaths are 7.7 times higher among American Indians and Alaska

Natives than the national average).

Alcohol abuse fuels hate crimes against American Indians in Farmington and elsewhere both by creating more vulnerable victims and by reinforcing the stereotypes that embolden violent racists.

“Violence is frequent, very frequent, and hard to get a handle on the cause. Was this violence perpetrated as a hate crime?” asks Paul Ehrlich the director of Totah Behavioral Health Authority, which treats substance abuse



among the homeless. “We have encountered people who were beaten up on the street, or picked up on the street and taken out into the desert and beaten. People aren’t willing to say exactly what happened.”

The drunken Navajos living on the streets in Farmington today are in many ways the residual effects of a tradition of disdain that’s as old as Farmington itself. In 1893, at a time when Indian children were forced to attend boarding schools where they were washed with lye and bleach to lighten their skin, the editors of the

Farmington newspaper wrote: “There can be no doubt that some strict course must be pursued in order to place the dominant White race in a position of safety and quietude, with respect to our dusky and uncertain neighbors.”

This Old West attitude of white entitlement and superiority has persisted through the decades. In 1950, town firemen dumped a bucket of red paint over two inebriated Navajos. In 1974, a quarter century later, a high school student boasted to anyone who’d listen that he carried the severed finger of a Navajo in his pocket. And in 2002, for-

mer Farmington Mayor Marlo Webb gave an interview for a documentary in which he sounded a lot like his predecessors in the late 1800s.

“They’ve culturally not come in to join what we call modern society,” the mayor said of his Navajo neighbors. “They’re not, they haven’t been educated to do it. They’re not equipped to do it. They’re very backward.”

Chokecherry Massacre

The most notorious hate crime in Farmington history occurred in April 1974, during Webb’s first term as may-

Malign Neglect

Racial violence against Native Americans has drawn the attention of the federal government twice in recent years, but many hate crimes still seem to get a pass **by susy buchanan**

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights is a federal fact-finding agency with subpoena powers that investigates reports of violent hate crimes and other civil rights violations nationwide. Twice in recent years, the commission has investigated bias-motivated violence against American Indians and Alaska Natives in far-flung locales.

In one notorious January 2001 case that prompted the commission to hold hearings in Alaska, three white teenagers cruised the dark and icy streets of downtown Anchorage armed with a paintball gun loaded with paint pellets that had been frozen to intensify the pain inflicted upon impact. They hunted Alaska Natives and videotaped their own drive-by attacks. Pulling alongside one victim, the teenagers lured the man to the car, saying, “We’re tourists from California, and we just want to talk to some Alaskan people.” They began asking him fake interview questions. “Talk to the camera,” they said. Then, when he turned, they shot him in the face and cheered.

It was clear from the 24-minute videotape recovered

by police that the teens were specifically targeting Alaska Natives. As they put it, they were going on “an Eskimo hunt.” At one point in the tape, one of them spots a potential victim and says, “Shoot him! Shoot him!” Then, “No, he’s Chinese.”



Daisy Piggott, whose daughter was murdered in 2000, reacted with shock when a white man was acquitted in her death. Joshua Wade had boasted of killing Della Brown and having sex with her corpse.

AP WIDE WORLD PHOTO

When one of the victims, most of whom were inebriated, flagged down a police cruiser and told the officer he had been shot, he was arrested for disorderly conduct and spent 10 days in jail.

“The January 2001 paintball incident may have been the first realization among the non-Native community in Alaska that hate crimes occur, but for the Native community, the event was one more in a series of hate-inspired acts,” the civil rights commission concluded in its April 2002 report, “Racism’s Frontier: The Untold Story of Discrimination and Division in Alaska.”

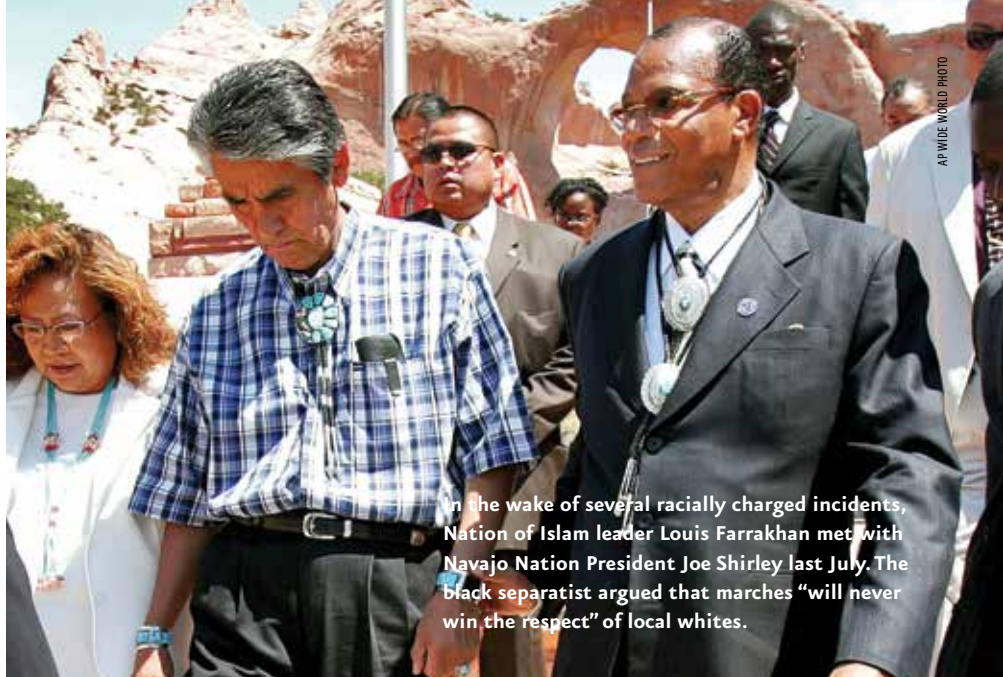
The paintball attacks came amidst a series of brutal attacks on Alaska Natives that were widely suspected of being hate crimes and were included in the commission’s investigation. These included five instances where Native women were kidnapped off the streets in downtown Anchorage and raped. Also,

or. Three Navajos, Benjamin Benally, John Harvey, and David Ignacio were found bludgeoned, mutilated and burned in Chokecherry Canyon.

“They were tortured. Firecrackers were placed in their noses and anuses,” says Yazzie, the Navajo leader. “As they were dying, they were burned. They tried to burn off their privates. Then these young guys got big boulders, basketball-sized, to make sure they were dead.”

Three white Farmington High School students were arrested for the murders.

“We wanted to come in and burn the



In the wake of several racially charged incidents, Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan met with Navajo Nation President Joe Shirley last July. The black separatist argued that marches “will never win the respect” of local whites.

four Native women were murdered in Anchorage in a single year, including a 33-year-old woman whose mutilated body was found sprawled in an abandoned shed in September 2000.

Joshua Wade was arrested after police learned the 20-year-old white man had showed off the body to several of his friends before it was discovered by authorities, bragging that he’d killed the woman and had sex with her corpse. After he was arrested, Wade claimed he’d made up the murder story to impress people. He was later convicted of evidence tampering only.

“There are systemic institutional racism problems against Alaska Natives that have occurred for a long time,” David Levy, the executive director of the Anchorage Equal Rights Commission who likens the treatment of Alaska Natives in Anchorage to that of African Americans in the Deep South 50 years ago, told the commission. “These problems are going to take a long time to deal with.”

Since the January 2001 paintball attacks there have been at least two copycat crimes, and bias-motivated violence against Alaska Natives in Anchorage remains a serious problem.

Tensions in South Dakota

Race hate apparently can be just as dangerous for American Indians in South Dakota towns bordering the Pine Ridge Reservation. Before visiting Anchorage, in 2000, the Commission on Civil Rights went to South Dakota in response to “a recent series of high-profile cases involving the unsolved deaths of several American Indians [that] has brought tensions to the surface,” according to the agency’s subsequent report, “Native Americans in South Dakota: An Erosion of Confidence in the Justice System.”

In Mobridge, S.D., in 1999, four white teenagers beat a mentally retarded, inebriated Sioux Indian, and then shoved him headfirst into a garbage can, where he later died. When the coroner determined alcohol poisoning to be the cause of death, the incident was widely viewed as a prank gone awry. All charges against the four youths were quickly dropped.

As attorney Charles Abourezk told the federal civil rights commission: “Our James Byrds often appear with little no-

tice here in our region, and their killers often get probation rather than the death penalty or do not get charged at all.”

Between May 1998 and December 1999, six homeless American Indians were found drowned in the relatively shallow waters of Rapid Creek, and the bodies of two murdered Indian men were found in a culvert just outside the reservation.

In 1999, Native activist Frank Killsright told a reporter he and two friends were crossing a bridge over Rapid Creek when they were confronted by six skinheads. “One of our guys was thrown off the bridge and had his arm broken. The fight lasted five minutes. My glasses were broken and I got a fat lip. Then they ran.”

Police refused to take action, Killsright said. “The police are denying white supremacist groups exist here. The town has been a magnet for white supremacists since Custer first came here looking for gold.”

Also in 1999, 17 year-old Mark Appel ran over and killed 21 year-old Justin Redday, who had passed out on the road near Sisseton, S.D. Appel admitted he made no effort to avoid the body because “it is illegal to cross the white line, or if it is a solid yellow line, or even if it wasn’t, it is illegal to swerve.” Unsure of what he had hit, he reportedly backed up to take a look and ran over Redday again. Appel was charged with drunken driving, sentenced to 30 days in jail and fined \$330.

Redday’s mother was outraged. “In my opinion, the message the courts are sending to our community is that it’s okay to kill someone as long as it [is] an Indian in this county and state. This state treats Native Americans just like blacks are treated in Mississippi. Why did my son have to die?” she asked a reporter. “Because this white boy seems to have the right to drive around drunk?”

As the commission’s report concluded: “Rumors of cover-ups by law enforcement, allegations of halfhearted or nonexistent investigations, and seemingly disparate jail sentences have spurred protests throughout American Indian communities, and further strained already tenuous white-Indian relations.”



place,” Yazzie, then a member of the American Indian Movement (AIM), recalls. “The desire for payback was very strong. People were needing and demanding that something be done.”

Navajos marched through Farmington on seven successive Sundays, effectively closing down the town. Tensions mounted. Business owners were hurting and increasingly vocal in their demands for the city to put a stop to the protests.

Adele Foutz manned a hotline designed to control rumors, which were rampant from both angry Navajos and fearful whites. “People would call up and say things like, ‘We hear the Indians are on the warpath,’” she recalls.

And some of them were. As author Rodney Barker recounts in his meticulously researched account of the crimes and their aftermath, *Broken Circle*, AIM member Lorenzo LeValdo warned the City Council: “If you don’t give us



“People would call up and say things like, ‘We hear the Indians are on the warpath.’” adele foutz

what we want, we’re going to give you some violence. ... [W]e’re going to do the same thing the blacks did in Los Angeles, Chicago, New York and down south. I may not live to see the end of this but I’ll tell you one thing, I’m gonna take a couple of you with me.”

City council members began carrying guns.

Mayor Webb at the time likened himself to “Custer in a sea of brown faces.” He told the *Farmington Daily Times*: “I don’t think race had anything to do with [the murders]. Just high school students rolling drunks, and all the drunks were Navajos.”

Things came to a head when a judge denied the district attorney’s request to prosecute the young men as adults (two were 16 and one was 15) and sentenced the murderers to reform school.

The next day, city officials refused to grant protesters a permit to march due to a scheduling conflict with the annual sheriff’s posse parade, whose unfortunate theme was “observing this ritual of reverence for the Old West.”

The parade included a mounted ceremonial unit dressed in frontier uniforms, as they would have been when their principal mission was killing Indians. Coupled with the light sentences



THE NEW YORK TIMES



FARMINGTON DAILY TIMES

In 1974 (above), a riot broke out in downtown Farmington, N.,M., amid escalating racial tensions provoked by the torture-murders of three Navajo men. Thirty-two years later, in September of last fall, similar tensions brought 1,500 protesters into the town's streets after three white youths attacked and badly injured a Navajo man while spewing racial epithets. This time, however, there was no crowd violence.

doled out to three convicted murderers the day before, the posse parade was viewed by Navajo activists as a deliberate provocation. When protesters tried to block the parade, one of the cavalry officers drew his sword. A riot broke out. Police fired teargas into the crowd and 30 people were arrested.

The murders, the marches, the riot, and the attendant media coverage brought the federal Commission on Civil Rights to Farmington in August of that year. Hearings conducted by John Dulles led to redistricting of election districts in San Juan County, which made it possible for Navajos to be elected to the County Commission for the first time. Subsequently, the Justice Department sued the county hospital for refusing to treat Navajos in its emergency room, and the U.S. Equal Opportunity Commission sued the city for employment discrimination.

In late 2005, 30 years after the Chokecherry Canyon murders, the Commission on Civil Rights released a report on race relations in Farmington

that mostly praised the community for its progress, concluding, "The climate of tolerance and respect between the two cultures is a marked improvement from the conditions the Committee observed 30 years ago in 1974."

Yet seven months after the report was released, the beating of William Blackie summoned the restless ghosts of three dead Navajos in Chokecherry Canyon.

'A Mortal Illness'

Racial violence directed at American Indians and Alaska Natives today certainly does not approach the levels seen during the white settlement of the prairies and deserts of the western United States. And while it may be true that conditions have improved in Farmington, just as race relations on a larger scale between white Americans and indigenous Americans have improved since the era when Indians were routinely massacred as a matter of governmental policy, recent bloodshed in New Mexico, Kentucky and other states demonstrates that racially motivated attacks on American

Indians and Alaska Natives are still extensive, and too often minimized.

"There has been little attempt by legal authorities or anyone else to understand the phenomenon of racially motivated violence in these communities," Elizabeth Cook-Lynn, professor emeritus of Native American Studies at Eastern Washington University, writes in her recent book *Anti-Indianism in Modern America*. "The first step is to acknowledge that anti-Indian hate crime is America's essential cancer and that it is a mortal illness, as devastating as anti-Semitism has been to other parts of the world."

Several hundred interviews into her own ongoing research on hate crimes against Indians, University of Ontario Professor Barbara Perry realized that such violence "is more than the act of mean-spirited bigots. It is embedded in the structural and cultural context within which groups interact. It does not occur in a social or cultural vacuum, nor is it over when the perpetrator moves on." ▲

L.A. BLACK

ACTING ON ORDERS FROM THE MEXICAN MAFIA,
LATINO GANG MEMBERS IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA
ARE TERRORIZING AND KILLING BLACKS

BY BRENTIN MOCK PHOTOGRAPHY BY TODD BIGELOW



OUT



LOS ANGELES, Calif. — Ascending the steep steps that lead from the street to the scene of her son's murder, 47-year-old Louisa Prudhomme is charged by a Doberman Pinscher.

Prudhomme reaches over a gate and gives the guard dog a rough pat on the head.

"Sam doesn't seem to remember me," she says.

What Prudhomme will never forget is that just past the snarling Doberman is the apartment on a hill where six years ago her 21-year-old son Anthony was shot in the face with a .25-caliber semi-automatic while lying on a futon she had purchased for him from IKEA. He died wearing a shirt that read, "Keep the Peace."

Anthony Prudhomme was slain by members of the Avenues, a Latino street gang. But he was not a rival gang member, or a police informant, or a drug dealer. The Avenues did not target him for the content of his character, or even the contents of his apartment.

They targeted him for the color of his skin.

Prudhomme was murdered because he identified himself as black (he was in fact mixed-race) in a neighborhood occupied by one of the many Latino street gangs in Los Angeles County. Incredibly, even though these gangs are fundamentally criminal enterprises interested mainly in money, gang experts inside and outside the government say that they are now engaged in a campaign of "ethnic cleansing" — racial terror that is directed solely at African Americans.

"The way I hear these knuckleheads tell it, they don't want their neighborhoods infested with blacks, as if it's an infestation," says respected Los Angeles gang expert Tony Rafael, who interviewed several Latino street gang leaders for an upcoming book on the Mexican Mafia (see interview, p. 54), the dominant Latino gang in Southern California. "It's pure racial animosity that manifests itself in a policy of a major criminal organization."

"There's absolutely no motive absent the color of their skin," adds former Los Angeles County Deputy District Attorney Michael Camacho. Before he became a judge, in 2003, Camacho successfully prosecuted a Latino gang member for the random shootings of three black men in Pomona, Calif.

"They generally don't like African Americans," Pomona gang unit officer Marcus Perez testified in that case. "If an African American enters their neighborhood, they're likely to be injured or killed."

A comprehensive study of hate crimes in Los Angeles County released by the University of Hawaii in 2000 concluded that while the vast majority of hate crimes nationwide are not committed by members of organized groups, Los Angeles County is a different story. Researchers found that in areas with high concentrations, or "clusters," of hate crimes, the perpetrators were typically members of Latino street gangs who were purposely targeting blacks.

Furthermore, the study found, "There is strong evidence of race-bias hate crimes among gangs in which the major motive is not the defense of territorial boundaries against other gangs, but hatred toward a group defined by racial identification, regardless of any gang-related





Louisa Prudhomme holds one of the few remembrances she has of her 21-year-old son Anthony, shot to death while wearing a T-shirt that read, "Keep the Peace."

Graffiti from the Avenues, a racist Latino gang involved in an "ethnic cleansing" campaign against blacks, abounds in north-eastern Los Angeles.



territorial threat.”

Six years later, the racist terror campaign continues.

A Pervasive Attitude

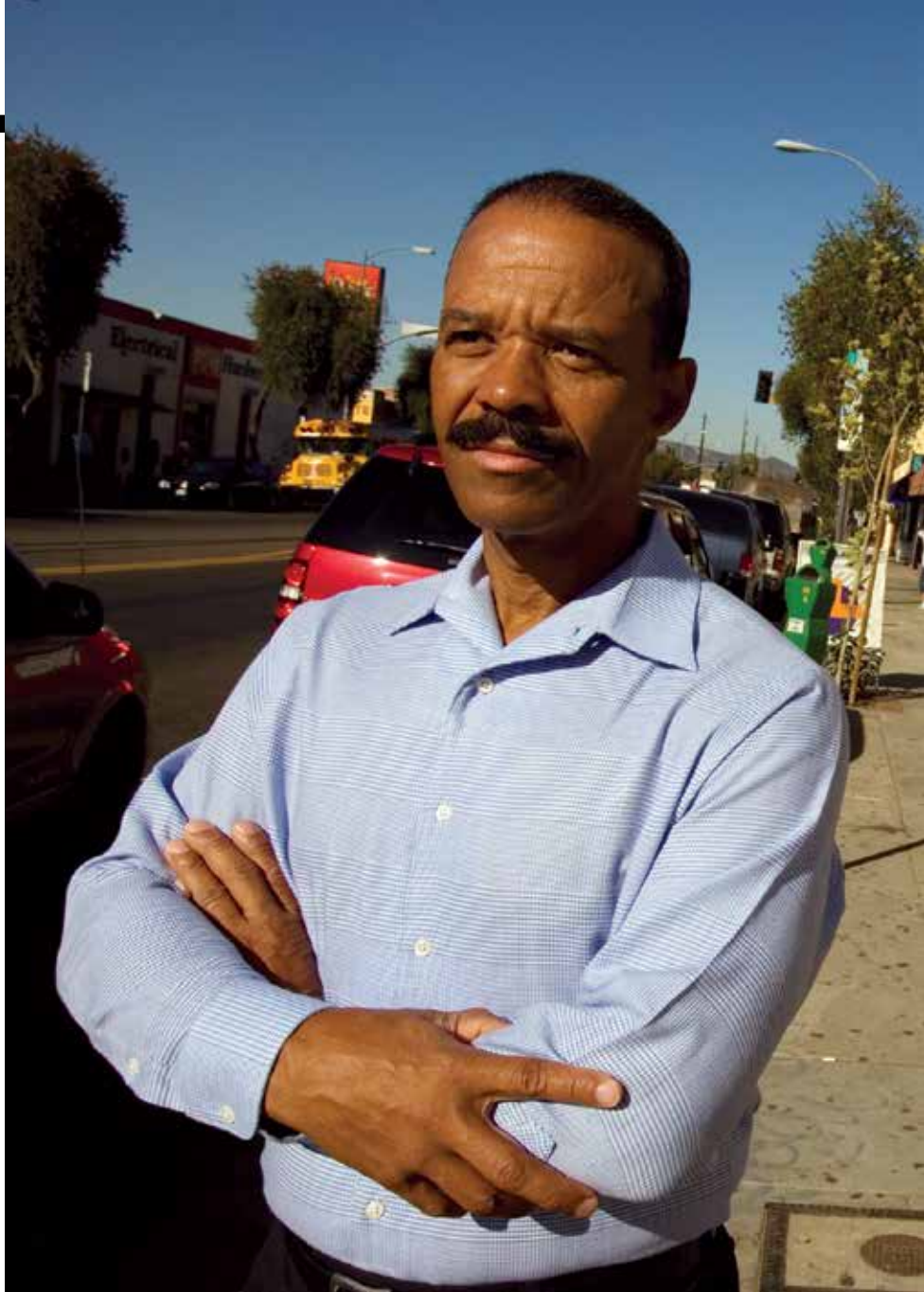
Anthony Prudhomme presented no threat to the Avenues. Even so, he was murdered two months after he moved into Highland Park, a neighborhood in northeastern Los Angeles that is home to many gang members. “He didn’t have anything [to steal],” his mother says. “He had nothing when they broke in. So to shoot him, I’m sure it was a stripe. They get stripes for killing black people.”

“Stripes” are a gang-soldier’s badges of honor. Latino gang members in Southern California earn them by doing the bidding of their godfathers in the Mexican Mafia, a powerful criminal syndicate based in the California state prison system that controls most Latino street gangs south of Bakersfield.

According to gang experts and law enforcement agents, a longstanding race war between the Mexican Mafia and the Black Guerilla family, a rival African-American prison gang, has generated such intense racial hatred among Mexican Mafia leaders, or shot callers, that they have issued a “green light” on all blacks. A sort of gang-life *fatwah*, this amounts to a standing authorization for Latino gang members to prove their mettle by terrorizing or even murdering any blacks sighted in a neighborhood claimed by a gang loyal to the Mexican Mafia.

“This attitude is pretty pervasive throughout all the [Latino] gangs,” says Tim Brown, a Los Angeles County probation supervisor. “As long as [street] gangs are heavily influenced by the prison gangs, particularly the Mexican Mafia, racism is just part and parcel of why they come into being and why they continue to exist.”

Last fall, four members of the Avenues were convicted of federal charges for conspiring to deprive blacks of their civil rights in Highland Park. Three of them were sentenced to life in prison, without the possibility of parole, in late November; a fourth was to be sentenced the



following month.

But the problem is far more widespread than a single gang in a single neighborhood.

Random, racially motivated crimes have been committed across the 88 cities of Los Angeles County by the members of Latino gangs, including the Pomona 12 in the city of Pomona, the 18th Street Gang in southwest Los Angeles, the Toonerville gang in northeast L.A., and the Varrio Tortilla Flats in Compton.

In one typical case, three members of the Pomona 12 attacked an African-American teenager, Kareem Williams, in his front yard in 2002. When his uncle, Roy Williams, ran to help his nephew, gang member Richard Diaz told him, “Niggers have no business living in Pomona because this is 12th Street territory.” According to witnesses, Diaz then told the other gang members, “Pull



Anthony Prudhomme's stepfather, Lavallo, had no idea that the young man was murdered for racial reasons until his killers went on trial.

the random hate-crime shooting of a 41-year-old black man. According to police, the shooters used racial epithets and told the victim, "We don't like your kind of people on our street."

Ten Years of Terror

Anti-black violence conducted by Latino gangs in Los Angeles has been ongoing for more than a decade. A 1995 Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) report about Latino gang activity in the Normandale Park neighborhood declared, "This gang has been involved in an ongoing program to eradicate Black citizens from the gang neighborhood." A 1996 LAPD report on gangs in east Los Angeles stated, "Local gangs will attack any Black person that comes into the city"

But while the Latino gangs' racial terror campaign is not

"AS LONG AS [STREET] GANGS ARE HEAVILY INFLUENCED BY THE PRISON GANGS, PARTICULARLY THE MEXICAN MAFIA, RACISM IS JUST PART AND PARCEL OF WHY THEY COME INTO BEING AND WHY THEY CONTINUE TO EXIST."

out the gun! Shoot the niggers! Shoot the niggers!" No shots were fired.

The violence is not even limited to Los Angeles County. This November, six members of a Latino gang in Carlsbad, Calif., were arrested and charged with hate crimes for allegedly hurling racial slurs at a black teenager — who police said was not a gang member — while kicking and punching him. The same month, two members of the Fresno Bulldogs, a Latino gang in Fresno, Calif., were convicted of attempted murder in what police described as

new, gang experts and law enforcement authorities say the intensity and frequency of anti-black terrorism is now escalating, as the amount of turf in Los Angeles claimed by Latino gangs continues to increase rapidly. And, as more and more blacks leave inner-city L.A. for safer neighborhoods, those who remain are more vulnerable.

"I don't see much history left for blacks in Los Angeles," says LAPD probation officer James Lewis, who is himself black and deals specifically with Latino gang members in northeast Los Angeles, including the Avenues.



Angel Brown moved with her grown son, Christopher Bowser, to get away from street gangs in their neighborhood. But Latino gang members murdered Bowser, and now Brown is left to mourn his memory. Here, Brown cares for a grandson, 1-year-old Nazir, by another one of her sons.

"It plays out not just with the gang members, but also the way things are going [for blacks] throughout Los Angeles."

Since 1990, the African-American population of Los Angeles has dropped by half as blacks relocated to suburbs, and Latinos have moved into historically black neighborhoods. Traversing South Central L.A. today, it's obvious that the urban landscape has changed radically since the Bloods-versus-Crips era depicted in movies like *Colors*, *Boyz n The Hood*, and *Menace II Society*. Not only are there vastly fewer black people walking the streets, there are vastly fewer obvious black gang members. Beige skin and baggy khakis have displaced the red and blue bandannas of the Bloods and the Crips.

The LAPD estimates there are now 22,000 Latino gang members in the city of Los Angeles alone. That's not only more than all the Crips and the Bloods; it's more than all black, Asian, and white gang members combined. Almost all of those Latino gang members in L.A. — let alone those in other California cities — are loyal to the Mexican Mafia. Most have been thoroughly indoctrinated with the Mexican Mafia's violent racism during stints in prison, where most gangs are racially based.

"When I first started working the gangs, they would be mixed. You could be black and Latino and be in the same gang," says Lewis, the LAPD probation officer. "But when they went to prison, they had to be Latino instead of from the gang, so their enemies became African Americans."

A Landmark Case

In Highland Park, located just north of downtown and one of oldest settled areas in Los Angeles, there have been at least three racially motivated "green light" murders committed by members of the Avenues since 1999.

Besides Anthony Prudhomme, the victims included Christopher Bowser, a black man who was bullied and sporadically assaulted for years by Avenues members, then gunned down in broad daylight at a bus stop, and Kenneth Kurry Wilson, who didn't even live in the vicinity. Wilson was simply parking his car to drop off his nephew after a late night at a bar when he crossed paths with Avenues gang members riding in a stolen van. According to later court testimony, one of the gang members in the van spotted Wilson and said, "Hey, wanna kill a nigger?" The group opened fire on Wilson, killing him instantly.

The murders of Bowser and Wilson resulted in a groundbreaking criminal case brought by the U.S. Department of Justice, in which Alejandro "Bird" Martínez, Fernando "Sneaky" Cázares, Gilbert "Lucky" Saldana, and Porfirio "Dreamer" Avila were convicted last August of violating federal hate crime laws, and later sentenced

to life in federal prison. (Avila was already serving life in prison after being prosecuted by the state of California for his role in the killings, while Saldana was incarcerated for his role in another murder). In the past, federal prosecutors have typically used civil rights violation conspiracy laws against members of white supremacist groups, such as the Ku Klux Klan. The federal case against the Avenues gang marked the first time the Department of

"MY SON HAD PROBLEMS BECAUSE HE'S A YOUNG BLACK MAN. THEY DIDN'T WANT HIM IN THEIR TERRITORY."

Justice used such laws against members of a non-white criminal organization, officials said.

"In a diverse community such as Los Angeles, no one should face race-based threats and acts of violence, such as those committed by [the Avenues]," U.S. Attorney Debra Wong Yang said in a statement released after the verdicts were rendered.

The victims, Yang added, "were killed by the defendants simply because they were African Americans who chose to live in a particular neighborhood." During the trial, federal prosecutors also detailed a series of less-than-lethal hate crimes committed by Avenues members in recent years to establish a pattern of violent racial harassment.

The evidence showed that Avenues members pistol-whipped a black jogger in Highland Park; used a metal club to beat a black man who had stopped to make a call at a pay phone; shot a 15-year-old black youth riding a bicycle; and drew outlines of human bodies in chalk in the driveway of a black family that had moved into the neighborhood.

Prosecutors brought the federal hate-crimes case against the Avenues to send all Latino gangs in Los Angeles County a message that ethnic cleaning will not be tolerated. (Federal prison time is a greater threat to gang leaders than California state prison time, both because there is no parole in the federal system and because the federal government routinely transfers gang leaders to penitentiaries far from home, where they are cut off from the support and protection of their gang.)

"We were concerned about the violation of people's civil rights," U.S. Attorney's Office spokesman Thom Mrozek told the *Intelligence Report*. "Being shot at a bus stop just for being black, obviously that should not be taking place."

The government's message may have been received, but it's not being obeyed. Shortly after the federal hate crimes trial ended this fall, Avenues member James "Drifter" Campbell, 47, was charged with criminal threats for pointing a gun at a 17-year-old African-American high school student in Highland Park, the second

such incident that month.

Mrozek said there are currently no plans to bring more federal hate crimes charges against other Latino gang members, though he acknowledges that similar crimes “are probably still going on.”

Lawless Avenues

Despite all the highly publicized gang activity, Highland Park is no ghetto. It’s a hilly area with beautiful, historic homes, where the painted-lady color schemes on fully restored Queen Anne Victorians compete for attention with the vibrant murals found on nearby food markets. “El Alisal,” the famed hand-built, stone home of Charles



Porfirio “Dreamer” Avila (above) and Alejandro “Bird” Martínez were among four Avenues members convicted in a groundbreaking civil rights case last August.



Lummis, the first city editor of the *Los Angeles Times*, is tucked just off the Pasadena Freeway, on Avenue 43.

Because Avenue 43 is one of the main roads in Highland Park, “43” is the signifier of the Avenues, also known as “Avenues 43.” The gang goes back at least to World War II, when Highland Park was populated with a mixture of European and Latino immigrants. Now, about 75% of Highland Park residents are Latinos. Only 2% are black. The rest are white and Asian.

Highland Park has long had a reputation for gang problems that community boosters argue is undeserved. Their cause wasn’t helped in 1986, when one of Highland Park’s most famous residents, songwriter Jackson Browne, released the song, “Lawless Avenues,” about the neighborhood’s multi-generational gang: “Fathers’

and sons’ lives repeat/And something there turns them/Down those lawless avenues.”

Although the Avenues gang goes back a half century, it only fell heavily under the control of the Mexican Mafia in the 1980s, eventually becoming fundamentally racist as a result. (Police point out that, ironically, the Avenues now sling dope for the Mexican Mafia, which the gang’s leaders in decades past looked down upon as a “black thing.”)

Still, at least some of the relatively few black Highland Park residents who’ve lived in the area for more than a decade don’t report the same level of fear as others. “We love our neighbors. We love living in Highland Park,” says Vernita Strange, who moved to Highland Park with her husband Al in the mid-1970s. “We’ve been treated warmly. We’ve been here 30 years, and that’s all I have to say.”

But Angel Brown, an African American, didn’t experience that same kind of neighborly love when she and her teenaged son Christopher Bowser moved to Highland Park in 1998, in large part to get away from the black gangs in the Hoover Street area where he grew up. There, he caught a bullet in the leg in a drive-by and was beaten up and harassed by the Hoover Crips, who pressured him to join their set. “He knew early on that [gangbanging] was something he did not want to do,” says Brown.

The pair was hoping to leave gang trouble behind, but soon after they relocated to Highland Park the Avenues targeted Bowser. “My son had problems because he’s a young black man. The Avenues up there called him ‘nigger’ and stuff and chased him,” Brown says. “He didn’t bother nobody out there, all he did was walk around with his radio, singing and rapping. They didn’t want him in their territory.”

Testifying in the federal hate crimes trial against his former gang brethren, ex-Avenues member Jesse Diaz confirmed the Latino gangbangers were infuriated by the way Bowser bopped down the street, blasting rap music on his boom box.

He acted, Diaz testified, “like it was his neighborhood.”

Murderous Prejudice

Until Anthony Prudhomme’s murderers went on trial, it never dawned on his mother, Louisa, and his stepfather Lavalley, that the killing was racially motivated. “It wasn’t until we went to the trial that we really began to understand that [race] was the reason,” he says, “which seemed totally, for lack of a better word, stupid.”

Since the trial, Louisa has become obsessed with the Avenues gang. She routinely drives Highland Park, looking for signs of the gang, talking to anyone willing to talk. She has homicide detectives, lawyers, and parole officers



Graffiti marks the territory controlled by the Avenues 43 gang, a “set” of the larger Avenues gang that operates around Avenue 43 in Los Angeles.

on her cell phone’s speed dial. She’s made numerous visits to the site of her son’s murder, as well as the spots where Bowser and Wilson were shot down. Believing the gang member who actually pulled the trigger on her son has yet to be brought to justice, she posts reward signs throughout the neighborhood, usually right next to Avenues gang graffiti.

Unlike the mothers of other victims like Bowser and Wilson, Louisa Prudhomme feels relatively safe on streets claimed by the Avenues. That’s because she’s white. Her son Anthony had long, wavy hair and an auburn complexion. “As he grew up people thought that” he might have been some race other than black, says his stepfather Lavelle. “But you could tell by the way he dressed that he leaned more toward his African-American side.”

That preference may well have cost him his life, something that infuriates his mother. “A friend of mine asked me do I hate Mexicans now,” says Louisa. “I said, ‘I hate murderers.’ I am prejudiced ... against murderers.”

Driving through Highland Park one afternoon last October, Louisa headed up Avenue 43 toward Montecito

Heights Community Center, a known Avenues congregation spot. She pulled up alongside a man loading lawnmowers into a huge shed. The man grabbed the left door, which was decorated with a full-length, spray-painted “4,” and joined it with the right door, which was tagged with a matching “3.” When the doors were closed, they created the “43” emblem of the Avenues.

Louisa asked the man, who was Latino, if he spoke English. He did, and they chatted for about five minutes about the infamous “Avenues 43” and the tattoos they leave all over the area he landscapes. Louisa walked away from him, laughing, before turning to say, “I hope they get them all. We want to get all of them off the streets.”

But with the Mexican Mafia’s shadow looming over Los Angeles, it may be a long time before the rapidly growing number of streets claimed by Latino gangs are safe for blacks, if ever.

“It’s not just Highland Park. It’s almost anywhere in L.A. that you could find yourself in a difficult position [as a black person],” says Lewis, the LAPD probation officer. “All blacks are on green light no matter where.” ▲



GAUGING THE GANGS

A RESPECTED WRITER SPENT FIVE YEARS
STUDYING THE MEXICAN MAFIA.
WHAT HE DISCOVERED WILL SHOCK
EVEN THE MOST SEASONED COP



interview

Whenever Tony Rafael leaves home, he carries a .45-caliber handgun nestled in a holster just below his armpit. A Cold Steel Recon-1 knife is stashed elsewhere on his person. Concealed weapons permits are hard to come by in Los Angeles County, but Rafael is a special case.

For the past five years, the respected writer and gang expert — who uses only the name he writes under in public because of his dangerous work — has been researching one of the deadliest gangs in America for a nonfiction book he’s writing on the Mexican Mafia, or “La Eme” (the Spanish word for the letter ‘M’), tentatively titled *Southern Soldiers*. His sources are of the “L.A. Confidential” variety: prison inmates, gang members past and present, homicide detectives, FBI agents and their informants. He has volunteered for the Los Angeles Police Department, conducting long-term surveillance outside gang hangouts, and has dug up the cases of hundreds of gang members from the county court system to document the bloody swath they’ve cut across Los Angeles.

One heart-arresting fact the streetwise investigator recently uncovered is that Mexican Mafia leaders have declared a “green light” on African Americans found in neighborhoods claimed by the powerful prison-based gang. This means that members of Latino street gangs affiliated with the La Eme are under orders to harass, assault, and even murder African-Americans, who Mexican Mafia leaders view as sub-human.

The reason for this, Rafael has found, is that a longstanding prison gang war between the Mexican Mafia and the African-American prison gang, Black Guerilla Family, has led to a deep racial loathing between the gangs that has spilled over into the streets of Los Angeles County.

Until now, media coverage of this issue has missed the Mexican Mafia connection by focusing narrowly on the convictions of four

PHOTOGRAPHY BY TODD BIGELOW



members of a single street gang, the Avenues, for violating federal hate crime laws by murdering blacks in the Highland Park neighborhood. According to Rafael and other gang experts, the problem is far more pervasive.

Rafael sat down with the *Intelligence Report* in his Los Angeles office in October to discuss the shocking truths he found about the Mexican Mafia and how its leaders have ordered Latino gangs outside the prisons to sow terror among African Americans.

INTELLIGENCE REPORT: How did you find out about the Mexican Mafia's policy of racist violence against blacks?

TONY RAFAEL: I've been researching for a book on the Mexican Mafia that will be published next year. I became aware of this as a result of that research, and it was a shock. I knew the Mexican Mafia collected taxes [from street gangs], but I didn't realize they had initiated a policy of ethnic cleansing. This

comes from the top. This comes from the shot callers. The guy who issued the order to the Avenues [one of many Mexican Mafia-controlled street gangs] to get rid of all blacks was a guy by the name of Alex "Pee Wee" Aguirre. Aguirre is a made man in the Mexican Mafia, he came from the Avenues originally, and he's currently serving a life term at a federal penitentiary in Marion, Ill.

IR: And this truly amounts to a policy of "ethnic cleansing"?

RAFAEL: Absolutely. There's no doubt about it. These cases are scary. Take [Latino gang member] Frank Limón — he shot a black male named Eric Green. Green and a friend of his were stopped at a stop sign on 11th Street and Pomona [in Pomona], and Limón just came up to him and shot him in the head, wounding him severely. Green is partially paralyzed, he's developed cognitive disorders, and he walks slowly, because the bullet is lodged in his brain and can't be removed.

Limón grew up next to black families in the neighborhood. He and Green knew each other and had no problems with each other personally. In fact, Limón used to go to Green's birthday parties when they were kids. But a week after Limón was jumped into the Pomona 12 [street gang], he started shooting at black kids because the Mexican Mafia had "green lighted" all blacks in the neighborhood. And when you click up with a gang that's loyal to the Mexican Mafia, the Mexican Mafia comes before God, your family, and your friends going all the way back to childhood. When they tell you to do something, you gotta do it.

IR: Why would the gangs take up this kind of race war?

RAFAEL: Well, to understand the background to these racial shootings and homicides you need to first understand some background on how the Mexican Mafia operates. They're primarily a prison gang, like the Black

Guerilla Family and Aryan Brotherhood. What the Mexican Mafia has been able to do is project power outside of the prison system. There are only about 250 to 300 Mexican Mafia members in the California prison system that are fully validated [“made”] members, but what I compare them to are the generals and colonels of an army out on the streets. Everything south of Bakersfield is considered a Mexican Mafia stronghold, basically what you call *sureños*, or “south-siders.”

Those *sureños* are obliged, whether they like it or not, to swear allegiance to the Mexican Mafia. If you’re a little gang member in Avenues [the name of a Los Angeles neighborhood, as well as the gang that operates there] or Conoga Park and you’re dealing in drugs, or some other illegal activity, you have to pay the Mexican Mafia a street tax. If you’re dealing dope, you gotta buy your dope from the Mexican Mafia, you sell it and once you sell it you owe them a percentage of your profits.

In southern California, the Mexican Mafia and the [other] Hispanic street gangs have achieved what I call complete vertical integration. Say there’s a little gang member who’ll get arrested, he’ll go to prison, and the minute he lands in prison they give him what they call the “X Files,” the rules and regulations of the Mexican Mafia.

For example, one of those rules is that, if you’re on a tier, if you’re in the number one or the last cell in the tier, and you’re celled up with another Mexican, one of you two has to stay awake at all times. That’s the rules, so no one will sneak up on you. Also, the *bloqueros*, the guys in charge of the cell block, they have to collect from everyone on the tier and kick up to the Mexican Mafia leaders. They control the county jails and the state prison system. And because they control the jails and the prisons, they control the streets, because if you’re an independent and you say, “Screw you. I don’t wanna pay my taxes,” they will either get you on the street — they green light you and kill you, assault you, whatever they wanna do — or they catch you when you enter the prison system.

You have to understand, these gang members are looking to go to jail or prison. They expect it. To them, it’s just an extension of the streets. All their friends are there, their family’s there, all their ol’ homies from growing up in the ’hood, they’re all there. But if they want to remain a part of that culture, and if they want to be under the Mexican Mafia’s protection, they have to obey the Mexican Mafia’s rules and follow their orders, inside and outside

“I knew the Mexican Mafia collected taxes, but I didn’t realize they had initiated a policy of ethnic cleansing. This comes from the top. This comes from the shot callers.”



the penal system.

IR: And why do those orders include terrorizing and killing blacks?

RAFAEL: They don’t want blacks in their neighborhoods. They say it makes their neighborhood look bad.

It started with the Mexican Mafia ordering street gangs to cleanse themselves of black members, before they moved on to cleansing neighborhoods. For example, the 18th Street gang, this was a [MacArthur Park neighborhood] gang that had blacks and Hispanics in it for a long time, up until about 10 years ago, when the Mexican Mafia leaders told the 18th Street, “If you don’t want to get green-lighted, get all the blacks out of your gang.” They had to go. Before that, the 18th Street gang was an equal opportunity employer. But the Mexican Mafia said, “We can’t have it, can’t have blacks in our gangs.”

The way I hear these knuckleheads tell it, they don’t want their neighborhoods infested with blacks, as if it’s an infestation. It’s just pure racial animosity that manifests itself in a policy of a major criminal organization.

IR: Does the Mexican Mafia have the same policy toward whites or Asians?

RAFAEL: No. In fact, in the California prison system the Aryan Brotherhood and the Mexican Mafia have made an alliance to gang up against the Black Guerilla Family. It’s common knowledge in the prison system that if there’s a fight between a Mexican Mafia member and a black inmate, and there aren’t enough Mexican Mafia guys to jump on his side, the Aryans are supposed to jump in on his side. This is an alliance that goes back 20 years. The Mexican Mafia and the Aryan Brotherhood have a mutual racial hatred for blacks.

IR: The Avenues killings and the Avenues gang have been getting all the media attention recently, but there are a lot of other street gangs loyal to the Mexican Mafia. How many of them also target blacks?

RAFAEL: All of them. What happened in the Avenues is happening all over southern California. I wouldn’t go so far as to say it’s happening throughout all of Los Angeles, or that there’s policy to drive blacks out of the entire

metropolitan area, but it's certainly happening in all the areas where the Mexican Mafia and their allied gangs feel they have control.

For example, they don't control Beverly Hills or the west side of Los Angeles. But places like [the Los Angeles neighborhood of] Highland Park, very strong presence. Pomona, very strong. West and north San Fernando Valley, extremely strong. And these are places where you don't see many blacks living in the first place, so wherever the Mexican Mafia has a very strong or extremely strong presence, the blacks who live there are going to have problems. The federal government is aware of this, and the decision to prosecute the Avenues using federal hate crime laws came from the highest levels of the U.S. Attorney's office. They were basically using the Avenues case to send a message to the Mexican Mafia leaders, to say, "This is not going to happen."

IR: And are those gang leaders getting the message?

RAFAEL: They got it, but they don't care. It's not like their reaction has been, "Message heard, okay, we're gonna back off." One week before the [Avenues federal hate crimes trial] ended, another black kid was killed by the Avenues 43.

IR: What level of truth is there to the rumor that Bloods and Crips are going to start carrying out similar racial attacks on Latinos as a form of revenge?

RAFAEL: It's already happening. There was one case in the Avenues already where three [Latino] family members were shot and killed by two black guys with AK-47s. The victims were civilians, not gang members. The killers rolled up on them in central Avenues, opened up on them with the AKs, then, after the [Latino] guys were down, the [black gang members] walked up and shot them in the back. It was coup de grâce, assassination, pure-out assassination. So, yes, unfortunately, it's started.

IR: Some people who live in Highland Park point out that many of these killings [of blacks] happened years ago, and that it was a relatively small problem caused by a relatively small

group. But you're saying this is still a big problem today, in more areas than just Highland Park?

RAFAEL: Absolutely. It's not like if you're black they're definitely going to shoot you on sight if they only see you once in Highland Park. However, if you move there, like [2000 murder victim] Anthony Prudhomme, and they see you going in and out of your house all the time, or you start hanging out there regularly, like [2001 murder victim] Christopher Bowser, sitting in front of a bus bench with your boom box, yeah, you'll have problems.

IR: You think that was a cultural thing with Bowser, them not liking a black man imposing on their public space with noise from his boom box?

RAFAEL: I think the boom box just made him stick out more. They just didn't want Bowser hanging out there, period, because he was black. He had been beaten up and robbed before and called the usual epithets. The [1999 murder victim] Kenneth Wilson case, though, was weirder. Wilson didn't even live in Highland Park. He was just visiting a friend of his, and he went out to move his car because it was parked illegally, blocking somebody's driveway, and he had the random misfortune of coming across one of the four most vicious guys there are, [Avenues gang member Gilbert "Lucky"] Saldana.

Saldana is an outright racist. He's the one who uttered the infamous words, "Wanna kill a nigger?" before Wilson was shot. And Wilson was targeted at random. He was just parking his car when these guys went out looking to kill a black guy. He was totally innocent.

IR: Let's say a member of a street gang under the Mexican Mafia's authority obeys all the other rules and pays his taxes, but when it comes to terrorizing blacks, he says, "Look, I have no problem with black people just for being black, so I don't want to do this," does he have that kind of wiggle room?

RAFAEL: No.

IR: So then, if he carries out an assault or a killing because he's under racist orders, even though he's not a racist himself, is that still truly a hate crime, or is it more accurately de-

scribed as a gang hit?

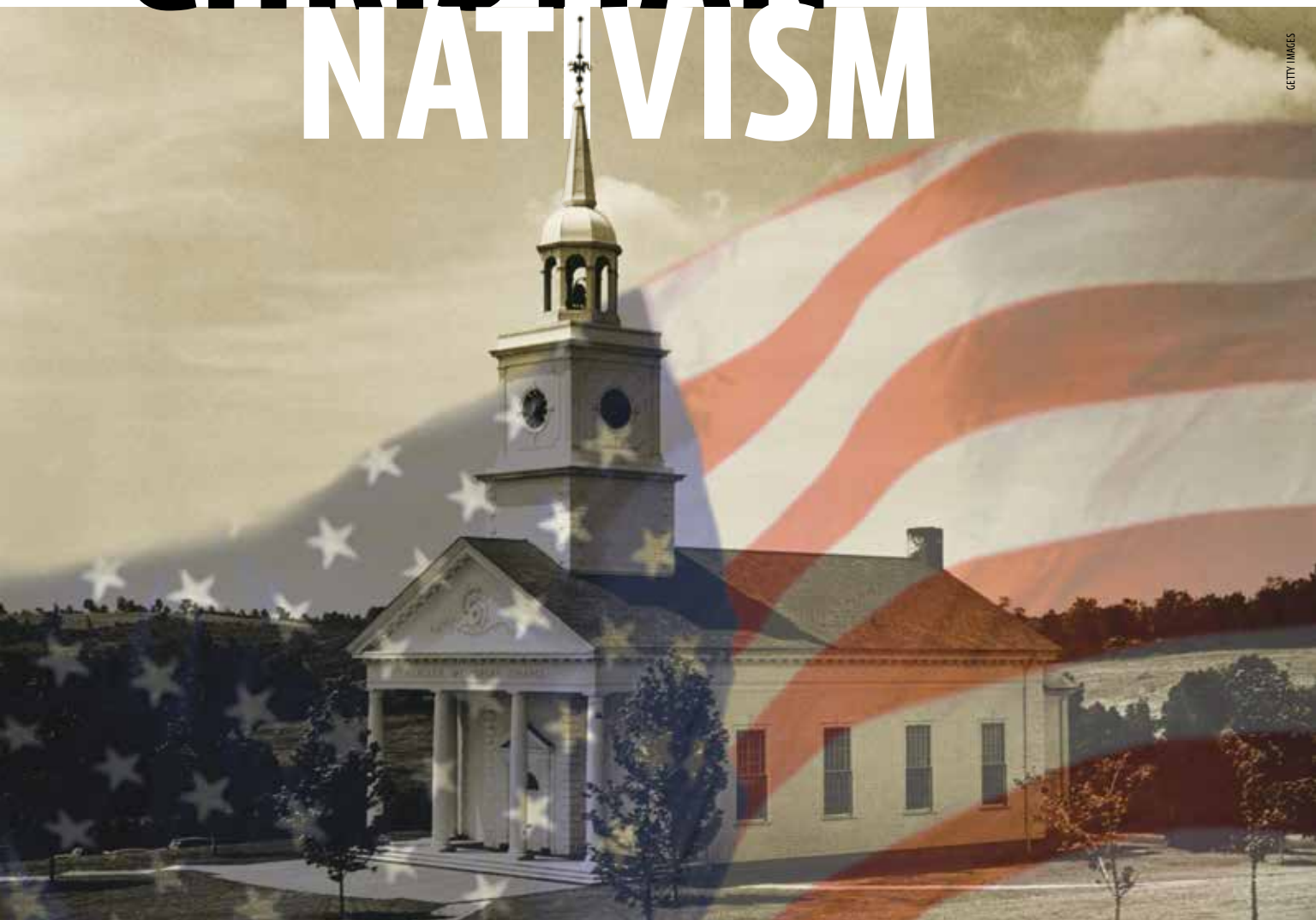
RAFAEL: The guys prosecuted in the [federal] Avenues case, there was nobody holding a gun to their head. They went out looking for blacks to kill to earn stripes, and to curry favor and to bring up their status with the Mexican Mafia. They may have hated blacks and been down with killing blacks to begin with, or they may have just said, "To show you I'm with the program, I'll go out and do what I gotta do." But the end result is the same, and it's really at a basic level driven by the same sort of racial purity theories as nut groups like the KKK.

IR: Are there really any theories or ideology to the Mexican Mafia's racism, or is it just disorganized, visceral hatred?

RAFAEL: The Mexican Mafia derives inspiration and ethnic pride from the concept of La Raza (Spanish, in this context, for "The Race"), as well as from the Aztec, Aztlan movement. And this goes way back. There was a Mexican Mafia shot caller back in the 1970s named Rudolph Cheyenne Cardena, and before he was killed by rival Mexican gang members in 1978 or 1977, Cardena saw the Mexican Mafia the way George Jackson [a prominent member of the original Black Panther Party who founded the Black Guerilla Family] saw the black prison movement. He wanted to change the Mexican Mafia into a political, socially active movement, and what he used for inspiration was the Aztec culture. He taught himself Nahuatl [the ancient language of the Aztecs], started teaching it to all the other homies. In fact, to this day they still use Nahuatl to send coded messages to one another — these kinds of three level-coded messages. You have to know the code, and then Nahuatl and so on. And one of the symbols of the Mexican Mafia is the Aztec worship [symbol].

They've brought in the Aztec heritage as part of their philosophical inspiration, and there are no black people in the Aztec culture. La Raza comes first to these guys. They see themselves as a race unto themselves, and there's really not too much room for anybody else. ▲

'CHRISTIAN' **NATIVISM**



GETTY IMAGES

**ABORTION AND HOMOSEXUALITY SEEM LIKE
CLEAR-CUT ISSUES FOR THE CHRISTIAN RIGHT.
BUT IS THAT ALSO TRUE OF IMMIGRATION?**

BY ALEXANDER ZAITCHIK

When Joan Maruskin took the podium last April at a Family Research Council (FRC) immigration conference in Washington, D.C., it was hard not to think of Daniel in the lion's den: The liberal director of the Church World Service Immigration Program was addressing an audience convened by a major force on the Christian religious right. It was not her crowd.

It turned out that the Book of Daniel was among the few books of the Bible that Maruskin *didn't* quote. While making the Christian case for amnesty, she demonstrated that the Old and New Testaments are chock-full of soundbyte-ready advocacy for the "stranger." All told, she counts more than 300 scriptural admonishments to mercy toward immigrants.

"The Bible is an immigration handbook," Maruskin told the FRC audience. "'Cursed be the person who oppresses the alien.' Can we forget that Christ himself was a migrant and a refugee, born in a stable? Under our laws, Mary, Joseph and Jesus would be sent to three different prisons."

A powerful image, but Maruskin's position is far from dominant on the religious right. In a FRC member poll conducted last spring, 90% of respondents chose forced deportation as the appropriate fate for America's estimated 11 million-12 million undocumented immigrants. This response aligns the FRC base with fire-breathing hard-liners like U.S. Rep. Tom Tancredo (R-Colo.), the evangelical co-sponsor of an immigration reform bill notable for its criminalization of those who "aid and abet" illegal immigrants, something many religious leaders and laymen see as a Christian duty.

So it wasn't surprising that Maruskin's social-gospel

message received a tepid response from the FRC audience. Heartier applause greeted the conservative Catholic journalist John O'Sullivan, who followed Maruskin to the podium and scoffed at her liberal "proof-texting" of Scripture. Arguing that such selective quotation did not "contribute to the debate," he tried to debunk the argument for amnesty and dismissed Maruskin and her ilk as "moral bullies."

"The fact is," said O'Sullivan, "most Christians are more hard-line when it comes to immigration than their Church leaders. Are all of these people going to hell?"

A better question might be: When did immigration assume a place next to abortion and traditional marriage as a "family" issue for the religious right? And is this new and highly charged issue a threat to that movement's much-vaunted "culture war"? Or is it a legitimate part of it?

The 'Definitive Divide'

The ascendance of immigration as a burning issue on the religious right has been swift. Conservative commentators and politicians have both fueled and responded to a grassroots movement in which anti-immigrant rhetoric dovetails with the odes to God and country that have long constituted conservative evangelical boilerplate. Hard-right evangelical politicians like Tancredo have built national constituencies by blending anti-immigrant rhetoric into broadsides against secular liberals and Islamist radicals.

After languishing for years in smaller Christian nationalist groups like Phyllis Schlafly's Eagle Forum, the immigration issue has now landed squarely on the agenda of larger religious right groups with political clout. Tony Perkins, president of the influential FRC, signaled this shift while opening last April's immigration conference. "At question today is, do we have an immigration policy that is serving to strengthen the cultural fabric of our nation, which has a great influence on the family?" he asked. "The answer is no. We must get this right."

Getting it right will not and has not been easy for the religious right, any more than it has been for the country as a whole. Unlike abortion, the immigration issue has sharply divided the movement's leaders and political allies. Fierce "pro-family" culture warriors stand on both sides of the debate, with religious right advocates in Washington backing two radically different visions of immigration reform as symbolized by the House and Senate immigration bills unveiled last winter.

A unified evangelical position could do much to determine the shape of immigration reform, which was to be taken up again by Congress after the midterm elections in November. How the religious right tilts or fractures over the issue also holds stakes for the movement itself. A deep rift or further right turns could jeopardize the religious right's political coherence as well as its potentially natural alliance with America's growing and culturally conserva-



Jim Gilchrist (left), the leader of the Minuteman Project, denounced undocumented immigrants in a September speech to the Eagle Forum headed by Phyllis Schlafly (middle), who says guest worker programs are "immoral." Accompanying Gilchrist was Jerome Corsi, co-author of a recent book with Gilchrist (see review, p. 68), and the architect of attacks on John Kerry's Vietnam War record in 2004.

tive Latino and predominantly Catholic population.

Already, there are signs of a split. According to the Pew Research Center, 63% of white evangelicals view immigrants as a “threat to U.S. customs and values,” compared to 48% of the population as a whole. (Only 39% of secular respondents held negative views of immigrants.) Though the two most influential Christian Right groups — James Dobson’s Focus on the Family and its spawn the Family Research Council — have avoided taking an official position on the issue, their mostly white flock has already tacked hard right.

Rev. Samuel Rodriguez, president of the National Hispanic Christian Leadership Conference, says the Latino community is aware of rising anti-immigrant sentiment on the religious right and is “very concerned” about attitudes such as those reflected in the FRC poll.

“Before immigration came along, we were building an alliance,” says Rodriguez. “We had agreement on traditional marriage, partial birth abortion — so many threads were being woven together. Immigration threatens to become the definitive divide.”

Meeting of the Minds

The Secure Borders Coalition is where the religious right meets and meshes with the extreme end of anti-immigrant politics. An alliance of Christian Right groups, hard-right organizations like Accuracy in Media and the Swift Boat Veterans, and strident but secular anti-immigration outfits such as the Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, the coalition in June issued a strong statement opposing all amnesty and guest worker proposals. It vowed to oppose any candidate, regardless of his or her stance on other issues, who does not toe the line on immigration. Remarkably, it also calls for a near-freeze in legal immigration.

“We favor a policy of attrition of the illegal population through strong enforcement of our nation’s immigration laws, which includes, first and foremost, the securing of our borders,” reads the coalition statement. “[W]e dedicate ourselves to defeating any 2008 presidential candidate who [disagrees]... . We pledge to do so regardless of political party and in both the primaries and the general election.”



“BEFORE IMMIGRATION CAME ALONG, WE WERE BUILDING AN ALLIANCE. WE HAD AGREEMENT ON TRADITIONAL MARRIAGE, PARTIAL BIRTH ABORTION — SO MANY THREADS WERE BEING WOVEN TOGETHER. IMMIGRATION THREATENS TO BECOME THE DEFINITIVE DIVIDE.”

REV. SAMUEL RODRIGUEZ, PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL HISPANIC CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

The list of religious-right figures signing the coalition statement is long and varied. It includes Phyllis Schlafly’s Eagle Forum, Lou Sheldon’s Traditional Values Coalition, Howard Phillips’ Conservative Caucus and Bishop Harry R. Jackson of Hope Christian Ministries. The signatories concerned primarily with immigration include English First, the American Council for Immigration Reform, the Center for Immigration Studies, Pro-English, and the



“HYPHENATED AMERICANS PUT OTHER COUNTRIES AND AFFILIATIONS FIRST, AND THEY DRIVE A WEDGE INTO THE HEART OF ‘ONE NATION’.”

GARY BAUER, PRESIDENT OF AMERICAN VALUES

Minuteman Civil Defense Corps.

One possible future for this nexus can be glimpsed in the budding relationship between two Secure Border Coalition members — a relationship that links religious-right political muscle to the literal muscle of the vigilante border-patrol movement. Last spring, Chris Simcox put his Minuteman Civil Defense Corps (MCDC) under the wing of Alan Keyes’ Declaration Alliance, a group dedicated to overturning *Roe v. Wade* that also believes in a “founding mandate to freely and publicly acknowledge the authority of the Creator God.” Along with imbuing the Simcox group with a touch of the divine, the MCDC/Keyes arrangement saw Simcox’s mailing lists handed over to Response Unlimited, a Keyes-connected Christian mailing and telemarketing firm that now sells lists of MCDC donors for \$120 per thousand names.

Another, similar relationship is developing between the Eagle Forum (founded in 1972 and one of the oldest religious right groups) and the Minuteman Project of Jim Gilchrist, Simcox’s former organizational partner (Gilchrist did not join the Secure Borders Coalition). The Eagle Forum’s Schlafly, a long-time gay-basher, believes that guest-worker programs and amnesty are “immoral.” The Christian thing to do, argued Schlafly in her newsletter last January, is to “erect a fence and double our border agents in order to stop the drugs, the smuggling racket, the diseases, and the crimes.” Gilchrist, who holds a similar view, was a featured guest at the 35th annual Eagle

Forum Conference in September.

Other religious right groups may not be officially aligned with the border-vigilante movement, but hold views indicating sympathy or approval.

“As the United States Senate continues debate on an immigration reform bill, the American people are backed up by the Bible in their demands that America’s national boundaries are to be respected,” writes Roberta Combs, national president of the Christian Coalition. “The left wing in this nation is thoroughly wrong when they argue that ‘because Christ showed compassion to all of God’s children, Christians should ignore violations of the law by aliens.’”

‘Culture,’ Christianity and Race

The kind of first-principle absolutism found in the Secure Borders Coalition statement, once reserved for the so-called culture war, indicates that immigration has touched a central nerve on the religious right. But it is not simply a national-security or law-and-order nerve, as no other national security issue generates so much heat within the movement.

So what’s going on? In the words of FRC’s Tony Perkins, what’s at stake is not so much guarding America’s security as protecting its “cultural fabric.”

Gary Bauer, president of American Values and an icon of the religious right, has said as much. In June, Bauer wrote an op-ed for *USA Today* that decried the failure of Latino immigrants to integrate into American society. “Hyphenat-

ed Americans put other countries and affiliations first, and they drive a wedge into the heart of ‘one nation,’” he wrote.

In choosing to highlight the “cultural” dimension of Latino immigration, Bauer echoed the nativist argument offered by Patrick Buchanan in his bestselling anti-immigrant screed, *State of Emergency* (see story, p. 16). Bauer also lifted a lid on the motivations of many anti-immigration voices on the Christian Right — motivations more commonly cloaked in the rhetoric of law and order. Bauer admits as much, calling culture the “unmentioned undercurrent” in the immigration debate.

Some, farther out on the intellectual fringes of the movement, are more blunt. Thomas Fleming, president of the Christian-flavored Rockford Institute and, like Buchanan, a Catholic, says “culture” sits at the heart of his anti-immigration position. At a September institute-sponsored conference in Washington where Sen. John Cornyn (R-Texas) delivered the keynote address, Fleming said that “the cultural ambience aspect of [the immigration debate] is the only one that interests me.” Writing in the Rockford Institute magazine *Chronicles: A Magazine of American Culture*, Fleming was plainer about what he means when he says “culture,” admitting, “Whatever we may say in public, most of us do not much like Mexicans, whom we regard as too irrational, too violent, too passionate.”

“Some American Catholics think we should welcome the hordes of pro-life Catholics swarming across our southern border,” continued Fleming. “But this is a mistake. Mexicans quickly become acclimated to America’s culture of consumerism and infanticide. What they do not appear to relinquish is their own traditional style of violence.”

Nor has the contentious question of culture completely escaped the notice of James Dobson’s much larger and more mainstream Focus on the Family, which maintains a Spanish-language website and has been cautious on the issue. Last summer, the group’s website chose to run a shining review of Victor Davis Hanson’s *Mexifornia*, a lament for the defunct white-majority California of Hanson’s youth.

“Jobs do indeed have a lot to do with the issue [of immigration],” the Focus reviewer wrote. “But not as much as culture — and that’s what should really concern Americans most.”

The issue of immigration, it seems, not only threatens the success of the religious right’s larger culture war by alienating conservative Latinos. Immigration is also a growing component of that culture war.

Hard to Starboard

Nativism has been a recurring obsession among religious Americans since the colonial era. As they assume battle

positions in the 21st-century immigration debate, today’s hard-line crusaders echo mid-19th century Know-Nothings who decried “ignorant and depraved foreigners” from Italy and Ireland. Ditto 20th-century nativists like FDR’s Assistant Secretary of State, Breckinridge Long, who thought Jewish and Slavic immigrants were “entirely unfit to become citizens of this country. ... They are lawless, scheming, [and] defiant.”

Such bald sentiments are not often heard in the larger religious-right groups, many of whose positions are informed by Biblical injunctions to mercy toward the “stranger,” the groups’ connections to the business wing of the Republican Party, and a desire to cultivate Latinos as religious and political allies in the culture war. But there is a clear trend-line running right among a segment of culturally conservative Christians, one that worries moderate evangelicals and Latinos alike. What remains to be seen is whether the larger Christian Right will drift into the arms of the hard-line anti-immigration camp, and how this will affect the movement.

“I don’t think white evangelicals are racist,” says Rev. Samuel Rodriguez of the Hispanic Christian Leadership Conference. “But the Latino community is



Minuteman Civil Defense Corps leader Chris Simcox (below) has put his group under the Declaration Alliance of Alan Keyes (left), which is primarily an anti-abortion organization.



AP/WIDEWORLD PHOTOS



TEXAS HOLD ‘EM

At a fundraiser for the hard-line Texas Minutemen, the talk is of an enemy culture, enemy migrants, and enemy pigs **BY ALEXANDER ZAITCHIK**

DENTON, Texas — The potato salad was starting to turn under the scrub desert sun when the specter of the Hungarian-born billionaire appeared.

“George Soros is the communist-in-*chief*,” declared a middle-aged woman, between bites of barbecue. “He wants everyone to have the same thing — *nothing*.”

“That’s right. That’s how communism works,” another said. Everyone at the picnic table agreed that Soros is hell-bent on destroying America by pushing an open-borders policy.

“The May Day immigrant rallies had a budget of \$1 million dollars,” someone added. “They didn’t get all that money selling tacos.”

It was high noon outside a small airplane hanger in Denton, a university town some 40 miles north of Fort Worth, and 70-odd border activists had gathered to raise money for the Texas Minutemen, a group led by self-described “bail bond enforcement agent” Shannon McGauley. The fundraiser was headlined by Jim Gilchrist, co-founder of the original Minuteman Project, who aligned himself with McGauley’s independent outfit for “Operation Sovereignty,” a two-month “border observation vigil” that began Sept. 11.

Along with soccer moms wearing American flag pins, attendees at the August barbecue included a half-dozen camo-clad men, including one goateed fellow lurking on the sidelines with a faded “HEIL” tattoo on the nape of his neck. The tattoo was not out of place. As late as this October, the Texas Minutemen’s official blog boasted ties to “Stormfront patriots,” apparently referencing a well-known white supremacist website. Glenn Spencer, leader of the American Border Patrol hate group, was also scheduled to speak at the fundraiser, but cancelled at the last minute.

After lunch, the crowd was ushered into a hanger housing the Texas Minutemen air force — a single prop plane and a bubble-helicopter. Inside, a vendor from Night Vision Technologies, a Texas firm specializing in high-tech night-vision goggles and scopes, had set up shop. On his table: two M-16 assault rifles mounted with Litton AN/PVS-4 Night Vision weapon sights, the same system used by the U.S. military.

“Say you’re out shooting pigs at night,” explained the company representative,

mock-aiming the gun, “you’ll be able to tell if you hit them.”

None of the afternoon’s speakers mentioned pigs. They focused their fury on Spanish-speaking immigrants, their “enemy culture,” and the deadly diseases they bring with them. One of the pilots for the Texas Minuteman spoke of purging the country’s population and turning back the clock to a time in America when “people knew and trusted their neighbors and gays were in the closet.”

In the most rambling and bizarre call-to-arms of the afternoon, Mexican-born Minuteman Ray Herrera spoke of maintaining America’s “Anglo-Puritan” core.

Gilchrist spoke last. Clad in his usual assortment of patriotic buttons and an American flag baseball cap, the failed Congressional candidate launched into a broadside against two enemies: Bud Kennedy, an anti-racist columnist with the *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, and Chris Simcox, Gilchrist’s partner-turned-nemesis, now leader of the rival Minuteman Civil Defense Corps.

“Let me make one thing perfectly clear,” shouted Gilchrist, eyes ablaze and nostrils flaring. “Chris Simcox has *nothing* to do with the Minuteman Project! He is manipulating the Internet to drive people to fake sites and ask for money. Don’t be fooled!”

As for the relationship between the Minuteman Project and the Texas Minutemen, Gilchrist clarified things.

“I’m happy to announce that the Texas Minutemen are now a state chapter of the Minuteman Project,” he proclaimed.

During “Operation Sovereignty,” the two groups, along with Glenn Spencer, worked side-by-side patrolling the border area around Laredo and El Paso, covering dozens of miles along the Rio Grande. They also shared media duties, with a well-rehearsed McGauley dropping tempered sound bites like, “If you’re here illegally, you don’t need to be here.”

Gilchrist, meanwhile, stressed to reporters the legality of his non-confrontational tactics and the non-racist motivations of his volunteers, including the boys from Texas. Maybe he really believes that.

And maybe he believes that “Stormfront patriots” cited on the Texas Minutemen’s blog refers to amateur meteorologists born on the Fourth of July. ▲

Operation Sovereignty: a Bang, a Protest, and a Whimper

Sept. 11 dawned grey and drizzly in South Texas, the overcast sky an ominous sign for Operation Sovereignty, the planned eight-week “observation and reporting vigil” along the Texas-Mexico border, jointly conducted by the Minuteman Project, the Texas Minutemen, and American Border Patrol.

Operation Sovereignty was timed to run symbolically from the anniversary of the 9/11 attacks through Nov. 7, Election Day. But by any standard, the two-month mission failed to live up to Jim Gilchrist’s goal of loudly “alert[ing] Americans of the fact that 21st century Minutemen/women/children must help secure U.S. borders and encourage the enforcement of U.S. immigration, labor and tax laws.”

Media interest had noticeably flagged since earlier Minuteman operations. Activist numbers and energy were also lower than expected. Those volunteers who did show up — media estimates ranged from 200 to 500 — reportedly submitted to a background check (cost \$50) that vetted them for extremist ties, although this requirement was waived, according to the Minuteman Project website, “on a case by case basis for those with proof of a prior vetting process and identification card from a known and recognized Minuteman organization.”

The pre-launch hype was nothing short of military in tone and scope, with the Minuteman Project website announcing the formation of “specialized units,” including: Medical (physicians, EMTs), Reconnaissance

(“Long-Range Recon Experience”), HAM (licensed radio communication specialists), Air Wing (pilots providing rotary engine or helicopter craft), LEO (any law enforcement experience, including military police), Legal (attorneys of any legal discipline), and Videography (seasoned camera experience).

As for the “air-wing,” it didn’t mount much of a national defense. On Sept. 29, a Minuteman-affiliated local police officer, Tom Bishop, lost fuel pressure on his Brantly helicopter and crashed five miles outside Carrizo Springs, Texas, 35 miles northeast of the Texas-Mexico border. Bishop, who was flying reconnaissance for “Operation Sovereignty” was not injured; his helicopter, however, was destroyed.

“I hadn’t gotten there yet [for duty],” Bishop, 64, told a local reporter. “We were about 20 miles from the command point.” After the crash, Bishop said the group was looking into acquiring alternative aircraft.

While local Border Patrol agents did not report a single Minuteman-assisted apprehension, a handful of “Operation Sovereignty” volunteers were spotted in mid-October rallying outside an El Paso courthouse in support of two Border Patrol agents, who were convicted of shooting a suspected Mexican drug runner in the buttocks as he fled south across the border in February.

Days after the El Paso rally, the Minutemen and affiliated groups had reportedly vacated Laredo altogether. On Oct. 19, the *El Paso Times* reported that “weeks before the scheduled end of the Minuteman Project’s Laredo effort, the volunteer force has quietly left the area.” According to Tim Bueler, Jim Gilchrist’s spokesman, the volunteers “claimed victory.”

—Alexander Zaitchik



JIM GILCHRIST

GETTY IMAGES



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Ten people, including six Asians, were killed in a racist bombing in south Moscow that was allegedly carried out by two university students. The attack was only the latest in a country that is drowning in a rising tide of racial violence.

RUSSIA

Racist Violence, Rhetoric Plague Russia

Last summer found globetrotting hate-monger David Duke in Moscow again, flattering an audience of local white supremacists with crude anti-Semitism and shameless displays of racist Russophilia.

Russia, gushed Duke, was the historical defender of white Europe, its capital host to the largest concentration of white people in the world. He exhorted his racist comrades to keep it that way.

It's possible that Duke's audience included members of the Moscow-based Action Against Illegal Immigration (DPNI), a hate group that later in the summer would turn words into action.

In September, DPNI members traveled north to the city of Kondopoga, near the Finnish border. There they linked up with local extremists and helped ignite a Sept. 2 pogrom against the largely Chechen immigrant community. The racial violence, sparked by a bar fight that left two ethnic Russians dead, was widespread. According to Reuters, "2,000 locals attacked businesses and property owned by Caucasus natives. They ripped market stalls apart, stoned migrants' homes and burned and looted the Azeri restaurant where the Russians were killed."

When the nightlong spasm of violence was finally quelled with the aid of police reinforcements from the regional capital, nearly all of the town's 150 Chechens had been driven out. Fifty who fled the violence were placed in an old sanatorium nearby, guarded by Russian special forces.

Less than two weeks earlier, two Moscow University students belonging to a small racist group were arrested after detonating a homemade bomb in a market in south Moscow popular with Asian merchants. The

blast killed 10, including five Chinese nationals and one Vietnamese. Prosecutor Yuri Syomin said the pair carried out the attack because they thought there were "too many people [there] of Asian background, towards whom they experienced bad feelings."

The Kondopoga and Moscow attacks were only the most spectacular events in a summer of almost daily racial violence in Russia. Current trends continue to reinforce the findings of an Amnesty International report released in May, "Russian Federa-

tion: Violent Racism Out of Control." The report concluded that racist attacks and murders occur with "shocking regularity" in that country and called for stronger state action against extremist individuals and groups.

GERMANY

Neofascist Party Gains in Local Elections

In September, Germany's extreme-right National Democratic Party (NPD), whose platform includes repatriating foreigners and a belief that Germany should stop apologizing for the Holocaust, won seats in the parliament of the formerly communist state of Mecklenburg-West Pomerania. On the same day, it entered five of Berlin's 12 district councils, but failed to win enough votes to enter Berlin's state assembly.

The NPD won 7.3% in Chancellor Angela Merkel's home state on the Baltic Sea coast, clearing the 5% threshold needed to enter the state assembly. Germany's far-right parties are now represented in three of the five state parliaments in the part of the country once known as East Germany. The NPD entered the Saxony state parliament in 2004 and another far-right party,

the German People's Union (DVU), has seats in Brandenburg, near Berlin.

Apparently proving that the NPD's strategy of courting young people through concerts and other forms of outreach is working, 15% of 18- to 24-year-olds voted NPD in Mecklenburg.

"The fight for Germany continues," party chairman Udo Voigt said in a video statement on the NPD's website, boasting that the far right has gained a foothold in four of Germany's 16 state parliaments.

A week before its victory, the NPD launched an Internet news program available on Youtube.com. The footage in one segment was devoted to the annual memorial march for Rudolf Hess, the Nazi official who committed suicide in Spandau prison near Berlin in 1987 and remains an NPD idol. At the end of the show, producers attempted to arrange a live-feed with the Hamburg lawyer Jürgen Rieger, who has been active in Germany's extreme right since the 1960s and is the main organizer of the yearly Hess march.

The show, posted online Sept. 10, was seen as a trial run by the NPD, which envisions one day operating a proper NPD-TV channel. "Soon, we'll transmit over the Internet a weekly news show from our party headquarters," party spokesman Klaus Beier told a German newspaper.



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

Members of Germany's neofascist National Democratic Party, which held its Berlin convention in November, have won election to five of the capital's 12 district councils.

20% of the vote in the 308 municipal councils of Flanders, the country's Dutch-speaking region. The anti-immigrant, Flemish separatist party has been accused of ties to neo-Nazi skinhead groups in Antwerp, the site of numerous hate attacks in recent months, including a shooting rampage last May that left two dead.

October elections in Austria also saw gains for the far right. Together, the Freedom Party and the Alliance for Austria's Future won more than 15% of the national vote — a 50% rise since 2002. As in Belgium, anti-immigrant rhetoric dominated the parties' campaign strategy. Members of both parties have also expressed antipathy toward Israel and are known for their campaigns against Muslims living in Austria.

UNITED KINGDOM

Prejudice Against Jews and Muslims Up in Britain

Anti-Semitic and anti-Islamic sentiment in the United Kingdom is on the rise, say two studies released in September.

In the first report, a parliamentary commission found that anti-Jewish feeling is spreading, driving a steady increase in attacks on Jews and their property.

"The most worrying discovery of this inquiry is that anti-Jewish sentiment is entering the mainstream, appearing in the everyday conversations of people who consider themselves neither racist nor prejudiced," said Labour MP Denis MacShane, who chaired the commission.

The inquiry cited violence in the Middle East as a reason for the spike, and expressed concern that fewer than one in 10 anti-Semitic attacks in the UK result in prosecution.

Meanwhile, a broad survey of British opinion found that last year's London transit bombings have led people to feel substantially less comfortable with having a Muslim neighbor, boss or in-law. The proportion

BELGIUM/AUSTRIA

Extreme-Right Parties Advance on Immigration Issue

Two years after being disbanded for "repeated incitement to discrimination," Belgium's far-right Vlaams Blok party has reemerged as Vlaams Belang (Flemish Interest). In October elections, it expanded significantly for the first time beyond its traditional base in Antwerp, Belgium's second largest city, where it won 33.5% of the vote. Party chairman Frank Vanhecke called the election a "landslide victory."

The Oct. 8 election saw the Vlaams Belang reach just over



Frank Vanhecke (center), head of Belgium's far-right Vlaams Belang party, has a lot to celebrate. The party of Vanhecke and activists like Marie-Rose Morel and Gerolf Annemans, reorganized after being disbanded for inciting discrimination, made historic gains in October elections.

Conservatives in Love

A writer and an activist gaze into each other's eyes and see an America imperiled

MINUTEMEN: THE BATTLE TO SECURE AMERICA'S BORDERS

By Jim Gilchrist and Jerome R. Corsi,

foreword by Tom Tancredo

Torrance, Calif.: World Ahead Publishing, 2006

\$25.95 (hardback)

Jim Gilchrist and Jerome Corsi make the perfect B-list conservative couple. Gilchrist, a decorated Vietnam veteran and retired accountant turned co-founder of the rough-riding Minuteman Project, is the tough guy of the pair. Corsi, a Harvard Ph.D. who made news in 2004 attacking John Kerry's war record as co-author of *Unfit for Command*, is the bookish researcher who, judging from numerous published photos of himself and Gilchrist on the Mexican border, enjoys posing with tough guys in the desert.

Together, Gilchrist and Corsi have produced *Minutemen*, a book that might be categorized as a stunningly self-important autobiography, were it not for the fact that it has two authors. The frequent and schizophrenic shifts between the collective voice ("we believe") and third-person paeans to Gilchrist's bravery ("Jim's courageous combat tour in Vietnam gave him the confidence that he could make the Minuteman Project successful") set the tone early for this utter mess of a book.

Once the super-patriotism of Jim Gilchrist has been firmly established — he ran away from home to volunteer for combat duty in Vietnam at 18 — the authors sketch an insider's history of the Minuteman border-vigilante movement, during which you can practically hear the "Battle Hymn of the Republic" playing off-key in the background. The book then swerves

into a chaotic conservative primer to the illegal immigration debate.

The basics of the Gilchrist/Corsi argument are the same as those found in any number of recent books on the same subject, from Congressman Tom Tancredo's *In Mortal Danger* to TV pundit Pat Buchanan's bestselling *State of Emergency* (see story, p. 16). The main pillars are the threat posed by illegal immigrants to social services budgets, and hence the economic health of the middle class; increasing criminality in our streets; the Aztlan Plot, in which Mexico is alleged to be scheming to repopulate and then steal back the southwestern U.S.; and the threat posed by Muslim terrorists exploiting the soft southern border.

For Gilchrist/Corsi, the answer is swift deportation of the undocumented, strict border patrol enforcement, and a strong fence. The enemy standing in the way of these developments is "the Left," an entity that includes most Latino advocacy groups, the ACLU, and the Southern Poverty Law Center, whose attorneys, the authors write, are "socialists or communists, possibly even anarchists."

While most of this can be found more elegantly stated in other books, Gilchrist and Corsi do offer an original twist on the support of building interests for a guest worker program (opposed by the authors). Real estate developers welcome a "new slave class" not because it would keep down construction labor costs, they write, but because they want to "pack people

in like sardines."

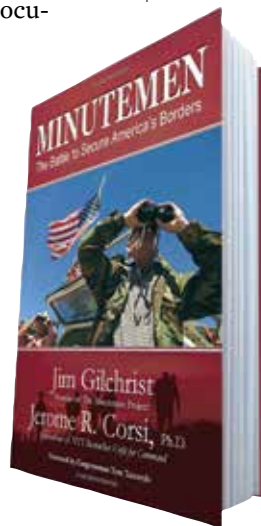
Such trailblazing analysis is regularly interrupted by inane returns to the theme of Jim Gilchrist's war record. One such passage comes during a sensationalist account of the Salvadoran street gang MS-13. In the midst of expounding on the gang's notoriously wicked ways, Corsi steps out of the narrative to once again breathlessly probe Gilchrist about Vietnam. In the Q&A format favored by the authors, Gilchrist holds forth on grenades: "All of a sudden, you'd hear 'Thump!' as [it] hit the ledge... Then it would go 'BAM!'... and the sound would deafen your ears."

Gilchrist and Corsi (now speaking as one again) then turn to the reader and ask: "Has any MS-13 'tough guy' gangster ever experienced

combat like this? We doubt it, although the Leftists would probably point to the brutality of the civil war in El Salvador."

That brutal civil war, according to the authors, was strictly the work of leftist guerillas; absent is any mention of the right-wing insurgency funded by the CIA under Ronald Reagan, a president both authors revere (notwithstanding Reagan's 1986 Immigration Act, which granted amnesty to millions of undocumented

immigrants). This example of sloppy and ideologically driven history is typical of *Minutemen*, which lurches between chunks of apparently random interview transcript, schoolgirl odes to Jim Gilchrist, and dime-store economic/cultural analysis so wild as to border on incoherence for most of its



Officer Klansman?

A Nebraska arbitrator rules that a Ku Klux Klan member has a right to be a state trooper. But the arbitrator could well be wrong **BY DANIEL KOTLER**

A recent attempt by Nebraska to fire a state trooper who joined an affiliate of the Ku Klux Klan presents a clash between the trooper's First Amendment rights of speech and association and the state's desire to ensure its officers and agencies maintain the trust of the public and will actually do their job.

Last March, Nebraska fired State Trooper Robert Henderson for conduct unbecoming an officer. Specifically, Nebraska had discovered that Henderson was a member of the Knights Party, an affiliate of the Ku Klux Klan, and, under the name "White Knight in Nebraska," had publicly made racist declarations on the Knights Party website.

The State Troopers Association of Nebraska (STAN) contract provides for binding arbitration in the case of termination of a trooper. On Aug. 17, the arbitrator ordered Nebraska to reinstate Henderson and pay back wages. The arbitrator reasoned that because Nebraska couldn't point to any specific acts of racial misconduct, as opposed to just statements on a website and membership in an organization which describes itself as a non-violent political group, firing Henderson violated his free speech rights. STAN says it shares the state's disgust at Henderson, but represented

him out of contractual obligation.

Nebraska Attorney General Jon Bruning has challenged the arbitrator's decision in court. Bruning agrees that Henderson has First Amendment rights to speak his opinions and join the Knights Party, but disagrees that those rights require Nebraska to employ him.

He hopes that the court will look past the "binding" nature of the arbitration and allow Henderson to be removed.

Bruning has also said he will work with a state senator to have the Nebraska Crime Commission rescind

Henderson's license to be an officer. In a letter to the Nebraska Crime Commission seeking such rescission of Henderson's license, State Sen. Ernie Chambers, the only black legislator in Nebraska, reviewed the history of the KKK. Chambers wrote that "[c]laiming that the Klan is merely a legal political movement is tantamount to proclaiming that La Cosa Nostra is merely a conservative gentlemen's club and that the Mafia is nothing more than a charitable fraternal organization dedicated to community betterment."

Whether Bruning and Chambers will be successful in separating Henderson from his badge rests largely on how far the First Amendment extends into an employer/employee relationship with the government. Once upon a time, this would have been an easy question,

as the mid-20th century United States Supreme Court embraced Justice Holmes' assertion, made while he was on the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court, that "a policeman may have a constitutional right to talk politics, but he has no constitutional right to be a policeman."

Today, however, the law is more nuanced. Government agencies are not absolutely prohibited from disciplining their employees for undesirable speech. Instead, an assessment of whether a government agency may discipline an employee for expression hinges on two factors: whether the speech is public speech regarding a matter of public concern or private speech within the scope of employment, and whether the employee's interest in speaking freely exceeds the state's interest in ensuring the efficient operation of the government agency.

The constitutionality of Henderson's dismissal probably turns on the court's



IN GEORGIA, OFFICER FIRED FOR RACIST POSTINGS

Nebraska's attempt to fire State Trooper Robert Henderson for posting racist messages on the Knights Party website is echoed by a similar, more recent case in Georgia. On Nov. 16, the Richmond County Sheriff's Office fired Deputy Jason Izquierdo based on the objectionable content of Izquierdo's personal MySpace.Com profile. This included a video clip of a neo-Nazi skinhead stomping a black man to death taken from the film "American History X," racist remarks about individuals that Izquierdo encountered in the line of duty, and suggestions for methods of removing blood from a police uniform. Izquierdo was terminated after going before the department's disciplinary review board.

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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 third quarter of 2006 (any additional listings may be found on the Southern Poverty Law Center's Web site at www.intelligenceproject.org).

ALASKA

Juneau • Aug. 31, 2006

A swastika and other graffiti were spray-painted on the front door of a synagogue.

ARIZONA

Phoenix • July 8, 2006

A black doll was found hanging by its neck inside a black woman's car.

CALIFORNIA

Burlingame • Sept. 8, 2006

Anti-gay and anti-Semitic slurs were painted on the outside of a residence and toilet paper was thrown in the trees.

Cameron Park • July 6, 2006

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

Costa Mesa • July 27, 2006

Dionicio De Dios-Matias, 33, and Francisco Rendon Barrios, 25, were arrested after they allegedly threatened to kill a man because he was gay.

Edgewood • July 30, 2006

William York, 21, and Leroy Segura, 19, were charged with aggravated battery, kidnapping, false imprisonment and conspiracy to commit kidnapping after they allegedly beat a gay man and his female companion because York allegedly thought the man had touched him at a party.

Irvine • Aug. 19, 2006

Racist graffiti was scrawled on a black family's car and on surrounding streets.

Los Angeles • July 7, 2006

Anti-Semitic slurs were scrawled on a synagogue and a fire was lit outside the building.

Merced • July 20, 2006

A black man on a bicycle was

allegedly stabbed by a man who yelled that he and his companion were tired of black people in their area. Joseph Faustino Gonzales, 24, was charged with suspicion of assault with a deadly weapon.

Mountain View • July 29, 2006

A black man was allegedly beaten by two white men who shouted "white power" and gave Nazi salutes. Joseph Adam Krueger, 21, and Jonathan Rhodes, 18, were charged with assault and a hate crime.

Petaluma • Sept. 4, 2006

A black man was allegedly assaulted by three white men who yelled racial slurs and told the victim he did not belong in their neighborhood.

Red Bluff • Sept. 7, 2006

Swastikas and a racial slur were spray-painted on a black man's vehicles.

Riverside • July 25, 2006

Patrons at a gay bar were allegedly assaulted by three men who yelled anti-gay epithets and shattered a window. Juan Anthony Mauricio, 20, and Sergio Roberto Rodriguez and Gerald Abraham Gallo, both 18, were each charged with three counts of assault and committing a hate crime.

San Diego • Aug. 1, 2006

Three boys allegedly attacked a male security guard while yelling anti-gay epithets.

San Francisco • July 7, 2006

Six Asian teenagers allegedly attacked and robbed a Latino teenager while yelling racial epithets.

San Francisco • Sept. 21, 2006

Obscenities and anti-gay and ethnic slurs were written on a

teacher's desk.

Santa Ana • Aug. 19, 2006

Chad E. Moreland, 27, was sentenced to 13 years in prison for shouting racial slurs and threatening to kill a black man in September 2004.

COLORADO

Boulder • Sept. 26, 2006

A gay man circulating petitions for a state amendment to allow domestic partnerships was allegedly assaulted by a man who yelled anti-gay epithets. Kerry Spitzer, 36, was charged with a bias-motivated crime and one count of third-degree assault.

CONNECTICUT

Branford • Sept. 21, 2006

A Ku Klux Klan flier was posted on a community bulletin board at a retail store.

FLORIDA

Hastings • Aug. 17, 2006

Neal Coombs, 50, pled guilty to intimidating and interfering with a black family by threat of force. Coombs lit a cross in his yard in January when he learned a black family might move next door and told one member of the family he didn't want to see them in his neighborhood.

Jacksonville Beach

Aug. 30, 2006

A 16-year-old black youth was allegedly assaulted by a white man in a vehicle who called him a racial slur, then grabbed him by the arm and dragged him alongside the vehicle.

Largo • Sept. 18, 2006

William McHenry, 37, was sentenced to life in prison for fatally stabbing a transgendered man in December 2003.

North Miami Beach

July 30, 2006

Anti-Semitic graffiti was spray-painted on two synagogues and two businesses that serve the Jewish community.

Pembroke Pines • Sept. 27, 2006

A swastika was painted on a garage of a residence.

St. Petersburg • Sept. 22, 2006

Two men allegedly threw beer on a Lebanese man, yelled ethnic slurs and threatened to kill him. Lee Walter Hill, 28, and James Edward Butts, 25, were charged with aggravated battery.

IDAHO

Spirit Lake • July 16, 2006

A cross was burned in a black man's yard.

ILLINOIS

Chicago • Aug. 22, 2006

Eric Nix, 27, was sentenced to 15 months in federal prison for attempting to destroy a Muslim family's van in 2003 because of bias.

Hinsdale • Aug. 16, 2006

A 15-year-old boy was sentenced to one year of probation and 20 hours of community service for spray-painting swastikas and anti-Semitic messages at a high school in February.

INDIANA

Spencer • July 15, 2006

Swastikas and racist graffiti were spray-painted on several school buses.

Terre Haute • July 20, 2006

Four juveniles were charged with scorching the letters "KKK" in the front yard of a black couple's home.

IOWA

Council Bluffs • Aug. 26, 2006

A group of white men allegedly yelled racial epithets and attacked two black teenagers.

Sioux City • Aug. 16, 2006

Ku Klux Klan fliers were left on

vehicles in three store parking lots.

KENTUCKY

Beaver Dam • Aug. 30, 2006

The letters “KKK” were spray-painted several times on a black family’s residence.

Rockfield • Sept. 10, 2006

A cross was burned on a Latino family’s yard.

LOUISIANA

Norco • Aug. 20, 2006

Two Latino men were allegedly shot with buckshot by a man who said he was “going to shoot some Mexicans.” Mark Gautreau, 44, was charged with attempted murder and hate crimes.

MAINE

Hancock • Sept. 9, 2006

A white man allegedly attacked a black 21-year-old pregnant woman while yelling racial slurs. Robert A. Dow, 59, was charged with assault and disorderly conduct.

Lewiston • July 3, 2006

Brent Matthews, 33, was charged with desecration of a place of worship after he allegedly tossed a frozen pig’s head into a mosque during evening prayers.

MARYLAND

Carroll County • Aug. 22, 2006

A racial slur was painted on a black candidate’s campaign sign.

Landover Hills • Aug. 22, 2006

Swastikas, the letters “KKK” and racial epithets were spray-painted on several cars.

La Plata • Aug. 31, 2006

The letters “KKK” and the words “White Power” were spray-painted on a roadway, vending machines and signs.

MASSACHUSETTS

Agawam • Aug. 31, 2006

Religious and ethnic slurs were spray-painted on two churches.

Dedham • July 16, 2006

Copies of the neo-Nazi magazine *National Vanguard* were distributed throughout a neighborhood.

Lexington • July 1, 2006

Fliers from the neo-Nazi National Alliance were thrown on driveways in a neighborhood.

Milton • Aug. 8, 2006

Swastikas and other graffiti were found in a park.

Southborough • July 8, 2006

Two 16-year-old boys were charged with malicious destruction and committing a hate crime for allegedly using an ax covered in racial and gender epithets to

official in the neo-Nazi World Church of the Creator, was sentenced to at least 50 years in prison for sexually assaulting his former girlfriend.

Saginaw • Aug. 29, 2006

Ku Klux Klan literature was left in yards of residences.

MISSOURI

Blue Springs • July 19, 2006

Anti-religious epithets were spray-painted at a Lutheran church.

Cape Girardeau • Sept. 3, 2006

A disabled teenager was allegedly attacked by two teens who made slurs about his disability. Alexander Harris, 17, was charged with third-degree assault as a hate crime.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Hudson • July 2, 2006

Members of the white supremacist groups North East White Pride and White Revolution held an anti-immigration rally at a park.

Nashua • July 11, 2006

Members of the white supremacist groups North East White Pride and White Revolution demonstrated in front of the city hall.

Portsmouth • Aug. 14, 2006

Elijah Wallace, 23, was charged with criminal threatening for allegedly mailing anti-Semitic letters to a local rabbi and threatening the Jewish community.

NEW JERSEY

Bridgewater • July 27, 2006

A Chinese family’s residence was set afire with a Molotov cocktail and was vandalized with racial slurs, swastikas and obscene drawings.

Camden • Sept. 9, 2006

Racist skinhead Gabriel Carafa, 25, was sentenced to 80 months in federal prison on charges of selling rifles, shotguns and handguns without the required federal license to deal in firearms and for

being a previously convicted felon in possession of a firearm.

Camden • Sept. 29, 2006

White supremacist Craig Orler, 29, was sentenced to 11 years in prison on weapons charges.

Cliffside Park • Aug. 1, 2006

William Brown, 62, was charged with two counts of aggravated assault and one count of bias intimidation for allegedly shouting racial slurs and expletives at an Arab woman and her toddler.

Sea Isle City • Aug. 22, 2006

Three white men, Thomas Russo, 21; Keith R. Hoffman, 23; and Vince J. Giordano, 21, were charged with aggravated assault, possession of a weapon, and bias intimidation for allegedly yelling racial slurs and attacking three off-duty police officers, one of whom is black.

NEW YORK

Brooklyn • July 10, 2006

Joseph Jirovec, 18, and a 12-year-old were arrested for allegedly participating in a hate crime assault on two black teens at Geritsen Beach on June 26.

Brooklyn • July 10, 2006

A 14-year-old black youth was allegedly attacked by a group of white teens who yelled racial slurs and beat him with a metal pipe.

Douglaston • Aug. 12, 2006

Two men, Kevin M. Brown, 19, and Paul A. Heavey, 20, were charged with assault and criminal harassment, with each charge elevated to a hate crime, after they allegedly yelled ethnic slurs and attacked several Chinese-American students.

Flushing • July 28, 2006

A Molotov cocktail thrown outside a synagogue started a small rubbish fire.

New York • July 17, 2006

Nicholas Minucci, 20, was sentenced to 15 years in prison for using a racial slur and beating a black man with a baseball bat in 2005.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Manning • Aug. 6, 2006

Jeremy Shay Sweat, 24, and Dustin L. Evans, 21, were each charged with two counts of kidnapping, two counts of first-degree sexual misconduct and one count of assault and battery with intent to kill after they allegedly stabbed and raped a 15-year-old black girl on July 3 and raped and poured Clorox on a 45-year-old black woman on June 20.

vandalize a police speed radar board.

West Roxbury • July 1, 2006

Swastikas were spray-painted at a bus stop, along with racist graffiti targeting minorities who use the bus stop.

Westwood • July 18, 2006

Racist graffiti targeting blacks and Jews was found scratched into windows at a high school.

MICHIGAN

Detroit • July 28, 2006

A transgender woman was allegedly robbed and assaulted by three men who made slurs about her wearing woman’s clothes.

Petoskey • Sept. 22, 2006

Joel N. DuFresne, 28, a former

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

Rochester • Aug. 31, 2006

John Newman, 25, was convicted of third-degree assault as a hate crime after he punched an off-duty black police officer in the face in 2005 because he hated black people.

Southampton • Sept. 11, 2006

Thomas Nicotra, 39, and Kenneth Porter, 30, were charged with a hate crime for allegedly stabbing a Latino man while yelling racial epithets.

Staten Island • Sept. 2, 2006

Daniel Betancourt, 19, of Middle Eastern descent, and two black men, John Messiha, 17, and Travis King, 19, were charged with robbing a Mexican man. The victim, who allegedly was targeted because of his ethnicity, was also beaten and then died of a heart attack.

Yonkers • Aug. 22, 2006

David Bendezu, 19, and Joel Lopez and Alexander Mitchell, both 17, were charged with second-degree murder as a hate crime after they allegedly robbed and beat a 32-year-old Mexican man to death, targeting him because of his ethnicity.

NORTH CAROLINA**Harmony • Sept. 12, 2006**

Racial slurs and the letters “KKK” were spray-painted on a black woman’s home and car.

Lenoir • July 29, 2006

A biracial couple’s residence was vandalized and racial slurs were written on the walls.

OHIO**Cleveland • July 4, 2006**

The words “White power” and the letters “KKK” were spray-painted inside the residence of a white police officer married to a Latino man.

Elyria • July 15, 2006

A letter was left in a black man’s mailbox referring to the Ku Klux Klan and telling the man to clean up his residence.

OREGON**Salem • July 22, 2006**

The flagpole at a Sikh temple was uprooted and the religious flag removed and burned.

Salem • Sept. 20, 2006

Ku Klux Klan literature was distributed in neighborhoods.

PENNSYLVANIA**Burlington • Aug. 31, 2006**

A racial slur was cut into the lawn on municipally-owned property across the street from where a family that has a biracial member lives.

Gettysburg • Sept. 2, 2006

About 30 members of the World Knights of the Ku Klux Klan rallied at a Civil War battlefield.

Glen Rock • Aug. 14, 2006

The letters “KKK” and obscenities were spray-painted on playground equipment, on a mailbox and next to a black family’s residence.

Spring Garden • Aug. 10, 2006

Racial slurs were spray-painted on a biracial couple’s car and residence.

TENNESSEE**Athens • July 13, 2006**

An 8-foot cross was burned at a gay man’s residence.

TEXAS**Amarillo • Aug. 5, 2006**

About 20 members of the Empire Knights of Texas rallied on the city hall steps.

Friendswood • July 24, 2006

Racial slurs, references to Adolf Hitler and swastikas were spray-painted on a recently built park pavilion and picnic area.

Hurst • Aug. 11, 2006

Racist graffiti was painted on the buildings and vans of a black-owned day-care center for handicapped adults.

VIRGINIA**Aldie • July 30, 2006**

The word “fag” was painted on a gay couple’s driveway and trees and bushes were uprooted on their property.

Richmond • July 12, 2006

A cross was burned outside a predominantly black church.

Yorktown • July 16, 2006

Anti-Semitic literature was left in the yards of residences throughout a neighborhood.

WASHINGTON**Olympia • July 3, 2006**

About 13 members of the Neo-Nazi National Socialist Movement rallied at the Capitol.

WEST VIRGINIA**Cottageville • Aug. 18, 2006**

A racial slur was spray-painted on a black man’s house and his cars were burned.

McArthur • Aug. 2, 2006

Willis Wilson, 19, was charged with malicious wounding and a civil rights violation/hate crime after he allegedly yelled racial slurs and stabbed a black man.

WISCONSIN**Madison • Aug. 26, 2006**

Sixty-four members of the neo-Nazi National Socialist Movement rallied at the Capitol.

INTERNATIONAL BRIEFS *(continued from p. 67)*

of people who believe that Muslims have made the security situation in Britain worse rose from 35% before July 7 to 53% after the attacks. Before July 7, 34% of people questioned by TNS/Global said they would feel comfortable with a Muslim neighbor. This figure fell to 21% after the bombings.

These findings follow a surprisingly strong showing by the neofascist British National Party (BNP) in Britain’s May elections. The BNP is seen to be gaining traction among whites for its unapologetic hostility towards immigrants.

Alarmed by a rise in anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim sentiment, the British government has recently tightened the laws on the trafficking of hate on the Internet, including sites not based in the U.K. Under the new laws, British subjects who post information on forums, bulletin boards and websites — including those hosted outside the U.K. — can now be prosecuted for “incitement to racial hatred, incitement to violence and glorification of terrorism in the United Kingdom.”

This has led the BNP to warn its supporters against posting extremist views online.

“Our members are advised of these important changes in the law and that the luxury of expressing individual opinions on various public and visible forums must be balanced by their responsibility and loyalty towards the greater good of the party,” said an intra-party memo. ▲

LEGAL BRIEF *(continued from p. 69)*

balancing of Henderson’s interests against Nebraska’s interests in ensuring the “efficiency” of its law enforcement. There are a number of the ways in which employing Henderson might impede this efficient operation of the Nebraska State Troopers. These include possible state liability for negligent employment if Henderson ever shoots a minority, increased distrust of the police, increased danger to Henderson’s colleagues either because of the anger Henderson inspires, or because Henderson withdraws from a fight with minorities knowing how bad it would look if he were to shoot a minority and maintaining public reputation and trust in an agency. A court sympathetic to Nebraska’s position may find any one of these concerns sufficient to justify firing Henderson.

This will be an interesting case to watch. ▲

The Best Revenge

An erstwhile prince of hate rock, hounded out of the movement for racial indiscretions, is learning the art of living well **BY ALEXANDER ZAITCHIK**

“livin’ way up now in a penthouse high, our steaks are rare and our martinis dry. Ain’t this the life?”

Lines from a little-known Jimmy Buffet B-side? Guess again. These obscure Oingo Boingo lyrics welcome visitors to the website of the “new” Anthony Pierpont, once the driving force behind Panzerfaust, formerly one of the nation’s largest and most profitable distributors and promoters of hate rock.

The lyrics — which continue, “Hangin’ out in Acapulco, drinkin’ rum and sniffin’ co-co” — reflect Pierpont’s new style. These days, he’s traded hate for haute.

“Boy, this sure is more fun than hanging out with a bunch of white trash hypocrites and alcoholic Internet activists,” reads the caption to a photo on the site’s front page. It shows Pierpont holding aloft several multi-pound lobsters in a comfortable model kitchen replete with lacy curtains.

An adjacent picture displays a smug Pierpont in pressed slacks and polished shoes contemplating a vintage red in a friend’s multi-million-dollar wine cellar. Jump around the site a bit and you’ll find pictures of everything from Pierpont’s blonde girlfriends (not a tattoo in the bunch) to his cat, Mrs. Poot.

If any of this outrages the racist skinheads who forked over their money to Panzerfaust, well, that’s the idea.

“The site is a way for me to share my life, and stick a middle finger up at those beer-drinking bozos [in the white power movement],” Pierpont told the *Intelligence Report*. “Good

living is the best revenge.”

The specific targets of Pierpont’s yuppie vendetta are those who turned on him, and turned viciously, after his business partner Bryant Cecchini, a.k.a. Byron Calvert, told the world that Pierpont was half-Mexican and had slept with non-Aryan prostitutes in Thailand. The accusations, poi-



Whether he’s posing with lobsters or sampling vintage reds, former hate rock maestro Anthony Pierpont has a message for his former friends in the white supremacist movement: Get a life.

sonous in hate rock circles, followed Pierpont’s boldest (if failed) strategic move as maven of neo-Nazi movement music: “Operation Schoolyard,” an attempt to distribute 100,000 Panzerfaust sampler CDs in middle and high schools across the country.

“The FBI called and said my life was in danger,” Pierpont remembers. “I was like, ‘You guys should have caught the Hamburg [Al-Qaeda] cell, and you’re worried about hate rock?’ It’s a bunch of monkeys drinking beer. You’re more likely to die by a bee sting than a skinhead.”

“I just became disgusted with it,” Pierpont says of skinhead culture.

“It was going nowhere and I was appalled by the questions about my racial pedigree.”

Pierpont first drifted toward extremist views while serving a four-year prison term in the L.A. County Jail on a drug charge. “It was a shock to see what hip-hop was doing to Western culture,” he says. “All these young

Anglo kids acting ghetto and gangsta. Rap set the black community back 30 years. What’s to imitate?”

Happily on the other side of his hate rock career, Pierpont modestly remembers Panzerfaust as “the biggest Nazi propaganda machine since the Third Reich,” though he says the neo-Nazi movement is now an empty shell reeking of alcohol fumes. “With [movement leaders William] Pierce, [Richard] Butler, and myself gone, there’s nothing of substance left,” he says. “It’s dead.”

While he no longer carries any brief for racism — “I have more respect for a person of color than some finger-pointing Nazi”— Pierpont is not ready to completely distance himself from organized hate.

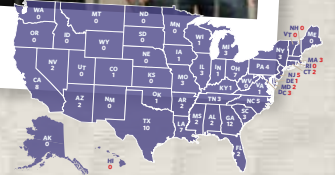
“I don’t want to renounce everything in my past. It’s like Socrates — he drank his hemlock instead of apologize. I’m still trying to sort things out. I’m out in the real world now. I was in a bubble for so long. I’m in the process of rebuilding.”

As for those he left behind, Pierpont’s advice is simple: “Have some fun. Stop drinking beer.”

If any skinheads would care to follow his suggestion, Pierpont can no doubt recommend a fine Bordeaux. ▲

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