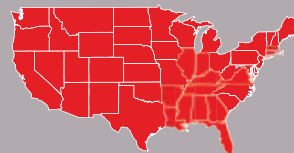


NATIVIST RAGE FUELS RISE IN HATE GROUPS



COMPLETE MAP & LIST INSIDE

Intelligence Report

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SPRING 2007 | ISSUE 125

THE YEAR IN HATE

EMANNUEL'S WEB: Belgian webmaster is global nexus of hate

CALIFORNIA PROF'S career soars despite anti-Semitic writings

+ 144 nativist extremist groups identified
Black anti-gay pastors on the march

40%

HATE GROUP INCREASE SINCE 2000
TOTAL REACHES 844 [PAGE 48]



The Infection of Hate

BY MARK POTOK, EDITOR

THE INFECTION IS SPREADING. Like pus from a wound, hatred is seeping from the most virulent extremities of our society into the organs of American democracy. The body politic is at risk of falling ill.

For at least the sixth year in a row, the number of hate groups documented by the Intelligence Project has risen. There are now 844 of



these groups operating in America. That's up 40% from 2000.

What's fueling the haters? Immigration mostly, as racist extremists organize in opposition to what foreigners are increasingly bringing to our shores — more human diversity and multiculturalism.

At the same time, a larger anti-immigration movement is acting like a megaphone. As Susy Buchanan and David Holthouse document in this issue of the *Intelligence Report*, the last two years have seen the birth of at least 144 “nativist extremist” groups — organizations that do not merely target immigration policies they don't agree with, but instead confront or harass individual immigrants. These groups increasingly popularize bigoted theories and dubious statistics.

As a result, rancid ideas that were once relegated to the far margins — allegations that immigrants are leeches bent on bleeding our society, criminals who bring with them all manner of disease and corruption — are now

broadcast in mainstream venues. It's no longer unusual to hear vilifying fairy tales of immigrant-borne secret conspiracies and massive criminality on radio, cable television, and even in the mouths of pandering politicians.

Take the case of Allan J. Ashinoff. This spring, Ashinoff, a regular columnist at hard-line conservative (but not overtly racist) publications like *American Chronicle*, FreeRepublic.com and *Human Events*, wrote an upbeat fantasy depicting American “patriots” setting out to assassinate undocumented border-crossers. Describing the immigrants as “destroyers” of America, he concluded that “it's only logical for American citizens to defend their homeland” against the “invaders.”

Within days, the piece was all over the cyber-forums of the nativist movement. It was only a day or two more before Ashinoff's murder scenario, written for *American Chronicle*, was posted to the websites of major newspapers including *The Arizona Republic* — hardly an extremist publication.

This kind of frightening phenomenon is not limited to the United States. Both sides of the Atlantic are experiencing similar social changes, including a decline in white majorities, rising non-white populations and increasing religious diversity. While this transformation into a more globalized and multicultural West brings for most of us the hope of more open and vibrant societies, for a significant minority it is a spark that ignites ever more virulent racial and religious hatreds.

The backlash — and the rhetoric of the hate groups that promulgate outright race hate — transcends national borders. That's reflected in another Holthouse story in this issue, this one revealing that a Belgian computer ex-

pert runs notorious former Klan leader David Duke's website — along with the sites of the racist British National Party and the French National Front. These parties, despite their obvious racial extremism, both have made stunning advances in local elections.

Such international ties go far beyond cyberspace. In the last year, American white supremacists have attended extremist events in Britain, France and Germany, and Duke even starred at an international Holocaust denial conference hosted by Iran. A Canadian extremist, Paul Fromm, spent much of 2006 lecturing at events put on by the Council of Conservative Citizens, a U.S. hate group.

European extremists are welcomed here as well. This February, two leaders of the racist and xenophobic Belgian party, Vlaams Belang (Flemish Interest), spoke to a gathering of extremists in Virginia, warning that Europe was about to be “taken over” by people “hostile to Western civilization.”

It didn't stop there. After their meeting with Holocaust deniers, white supremacists and others on the fringe, the Belgians went on to meet with officials of another Washington, D.C.-area organization — the wealthy, well-connected and allegedly mainstream immigration-restrictionist organization, the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR).

The infection is spreading. ▲

CORRECTIONS

The Winter 2006 issue of the *Intelligence Report* reported that a homeless man had been attacked in Seattle by activists “apparently associated” with the Animal Liberation Front, attributing this account to local press reports. In fact, the alleged victim merely posted his own account to a local media site's public web forum. It was not reported to or confirmed by police. *The Report* regrets the error.

In the same issue, a photograph accompanying a profile of Catholic Apologetics International was wrongly identified as CAI founder Robert Sungenis; in fact, the picture was of Christopher Ferrara.

Intelligence Report

SPRING 2007 | ISSUE 125



SPECIAL
Hate Groups Map • Hate Groups Listing • Hate Web Sites • 'Patriot' Groups • 'Patriot' Web Sites
STARTING ON PAGE **52**

COVER PHOTOGRAPH GETTY IMAGES

48 THE YEAR IN HATE

Energized by the rancorous national debate on immigration, the number of hate groups in America grew again last year, capping a 40% increase since 2000. Much of the growth of these groups has been driven by their exploitation of the illegal immigration issue, which many Americans are deeply concerned about. Now, propaganda that originated in hate groups is making its way into the mainstream.



STEVE THACKSTON

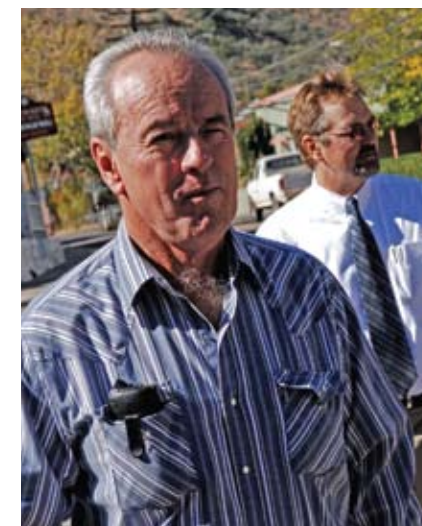
19 Facing Right

Around the country, a growing number of powerful and politically active African-American pastors are speaking out in sometimes vicious terms against homosexuals. Many are even joining white anti-gay evangelical leaders in the dubious claim that the “homosexual agenda” is the No. 1 problem facing black America.



28 Promoting Hate

From an office on the campus of California State University, Long Beach, Kevin MacDonald, a former antiwar protester, is pumping out volumes that have been enthusiastically adopted by neo-Nazis everywhere. Not since Hitler's *Mein Kampf* have anti-Semites had such a guide to what's wrong with “the Jews.”



AMY HASKELL

38 Vigilante Justice

Arizona rancher Roger Barnett, an anti-immigrant icon who claims to have personally detained more than 12,000 illegal immigrants, is sued by a family of U.S. citizens who say he terrorized them at gunpoint. The courtroom battle, in a state where such cases are rarely criminally prosecuted, was a momentous confrontation.

EDITOR/INTELLIGENCE PROJECT DIRECTOR
Mark Potok

DEPUTY DIRECTOR
Heidi Beirich

ASSOCIATE EDITOR
David Holthouse

STAFF WRITERS
Susy Buchanan, Brentin Mock

CHIEF INVESTIGATOR
Joseph Roy Sr.

SENIOR INTELLIGENCE ANALYST
Laurie Wood

INFORMATION MANAGER
Michelle Bramblett

RESEARCH ANALYST
Anthony Griggs

PROGRAM ASSOCIATE
LaTonya Penn

RESEARCH SPECIALISTS
Angela Freeman, Janet Smith

INFORMATION SPECIALISTS
Angela Foster, Karmetriya Jackson, Penelope Robinson

DESIGN DIRECTOR
Russell Estes

DESIGNERS
Valerie Downes, Crystal Phillips, Scott Phillips

PRODUCTION MANAGER
Betty Ruff

WEB PRODUCTION DIRECTOR
Ryan King

SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER PRESIDENT
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MEDIA AND GENERAL INQUIRIES
Mark Potok

LAW ENFORCEMENT INQUIRIES
Joseph Roy Sr.

SUBSCRIPTION REQUESTS
LaTonya Penn

Southern Poverty Law Center
400 Washington Ave.
Montgomery, AL 36104
(334) 956-8200
www.intelligencereport.org

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12 ‘Family Matters’

Kevin Strom, a long-time neo-Nazi leader well known in racist circles for an abiding interest in young girls, is arrested for possession of child pornography.

15 Sharing the Hate

Video-sharing websites like YouTube have become the newest venue for extremist propaganda, with some neo-Nazi clips viewed more than 100,000 times.

17 Emmanuel’s Web

From his base in Brussels, a Belgian webmaster is running some of Europe’s — and America’s — leading hate sites. He also may be breaking Belgian law.

44 ‘Shoot, Shovel, Shut Up’

As militant xenophobia spreads across the country like an epidemic, the Intelligence Project has identified 144 of the hardest-line “nativist extremist” groups.

DEPARTMENTS

3 Intelligence Briefs

A Kansas anti-gay clan is embedded in the prison system; “ethnic cleansing” in L.A. spreads; key racist leaders are dying; and other glimpses of extremism.

70 International Briefs

David Duke is a guest of Iran; a Canadian university kills a race debate; a Holocaust denier is freed in Austria; and a British extremist party goes for a facelift.

72 Legal Brief

Can universities discipline professors for racist or other controversial speech? The answer is surprisingly complicated.

74 For the Record

Drawn from media accounts, a sampling of hate crimes and hate group activities from the fourth quarter of 2006 is summarized in state-by-state listings.

77 The Last Word

The recent torching of a Mexican flag by nativist Laine Lawless and friends raised a number of burning questions. Luckily, they aren’t too hard to answer.

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.



Margie Phelps, who recently celebrated the deaths of American soldiers in Iraq with her nephew, is the Kansas Department of Corrections’ director of re-entry planning. State Sen. Jean Schodorf (inset) said it was “an embarrassment” that several members of the rabidly anti-gay Phelps clan were in key positions in the DOC.

ANTI-GAY EXTREMISM

Phelps Clan Reported in Key Posts in Kansas DOC

Several members of the extended Phelps family, which makes up most of the notorious anti-gay hate group Westboro Baptist Church, are ensconced within the Kansas State Department of Corrections (DOC), a prison advocacy group reported in December.

According to Seattle-based *Prison Legal News*, members of the Phelps clan who adhere to patriarch Fred Phelps’ viciously anti-gay worldview while in the employ of the state of Kansas include offspring Margie Phelps, the DOC’s director of re-entry planning; Fred Phelps Jr., a staff attorney with the DOC; and Timothy Phelps, a spokesman for the Shawnee County DOC. (Margie Phelps was even awarded “Kansas Correctional Association Employee of the Quarter” in late 2005 — this despite her arrest at a 2004 protest at a dedication ceremony for the Brown v. Board of Education Historical Site in Topeka, Kansas.)

Abigail Phelps, another Westboro activist, is employed in the staff development office for Kansas’ Juvenile Justice Authority. Lee Ann Phelps and Elizabeth Phelps both formerly held positions with the Shawnee County Sheriff’s Department.

Although many officials quoted in the report, written by Alex Friedmann, say they are undisturbed by the presence of such radicals in government employ, Republican state Sen. Jean Schodorf described their presence on the state payroll as “an embarrassment.” She complained that members of the Phelps clan “flaunt that they work for the state and can’t be terminated” due to laws protecting civil service workers.

In February, *Prison Legal News*, which monitors human rights abuses within America’s prison system, filed an ethics complaint with Kansas legal officials against Shirley Phelps-Roper, an attor-

ney with her family’s law firm. The complaint alleged that Phelps violated legal ethical canons because of the extreme vitriol she directed toward homosexuals on a radio show. The state Office of the Disciplinary Administrator declined to pursue it, citing the First Amendment.

Fred Phelps’ Topeka-based hate group has around 80 members who routinely travel the country

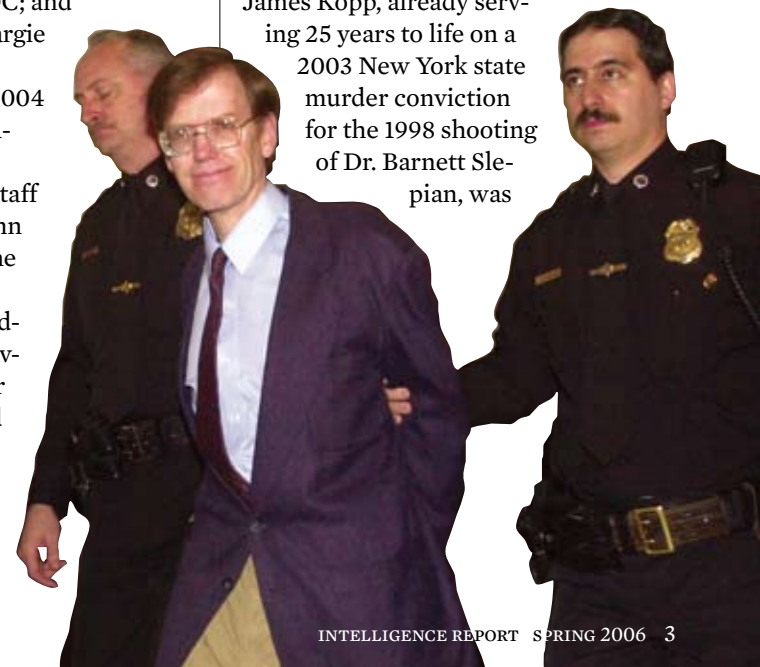
preaching “the Bible’s hatred,” advocating the death penalty for homosexuals, and picketing the funerals of people who die from AIDS. Recently, the group has concentrated on the funerals of soldiers felled in Iraq, “thanking God” for the deaths

it attributes to America’s “fag-enabling” ways. These pickets have led to state and federal legislation aimed at restraining the 77-year-old Fred Phelps Sr., who has 14 children, most of whom remain loyal to their father.

ANTI-ABORTION MOVEMENT

Assassin Supported by Baptist Official is Convicted Again

James Kopp, already serving 25 years to life on a 2003 New York state murder conviction for the 1998 shooting of Dr. Barnett Slepian, was



convicted in January of violating the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act by assassinating the physician as he talked with his wife and children in the family's kitchen. Kopp, 52, is also suspected in the shootings of four other abortion doctors in the U.S. and Canada. He faces a maximum prison term of life without parole when he is sentenced on the federal charges June 19.

During the trial, Kopp, who had participated in more than 100 anti-abortion demonstrations outside reproductive health care clinics, told the court he believed the best way to prevent abortion was to seriously injure abortion providers. He was denied a request to show the jury pictures of aborted fetuses.

Kopp again maintained that he never intended his shooting to result in Slepian's death, after which the anti-abortion extremist fled the Bufalo area for Mexico, Ireland and then France, where he was finally captured in March 2001 as one of the FBI's "Ten Most Wanted" fugitives. Kopp admitted the killing to a newspaper reporter in November of 2002.

It was after this admission that Wiley Drake, a well-known Baptist minister from Buena Park, Calif., signed a "Declaration of Support for James Kopp."

This public declaration of support for murder did not stop the Southern Baptist Convention (SBC), a major religious denomination with more than 16 million members, from selecting Drake as its second vice president last June, however.

SBC officials declined to comment publicly on the choice of Drake, who also serves as national chaplain of the anti-immigration Minuteman Project (President Bush has described the Minutemen as "vigilantes"). Generally, the position of second vice president is honorary, with powers limited to chairing small sections of the annual meeting. Drake will have no official duties in his new capacity, nor will he publicly represent the SBC in the media.

In the letter of support for Kopp, which was still carried on the extremist "Army of God" website at press time,

Drake and his co-signers wrote: "We, the signers of this declaration, proclaim that we support and stand for righteousness in the defense of the unborn. ... We will stand with our brother Jim Kopp. We will support him for his love of unborn children." It ends with a reference to "those who have made the ultimate sacrifice" in defending unborn children.

TAX PROTESTERS

Crackdown Hits Tax Protest Movement, Celebrities and All

It's been a tough couple of years for tax-dodgers in Florida, where the IRS has recently indicted more than 20 individuals in some of the most high-profile cases in the history of the radical tax-protest movement.

Capping a four-year criminal investigation, a Pensacola federal court in January sentenced the globe-trotting

evangelist minister, creationist activist and businessman Kent Hovind to 10 years on 58 counts of tax fraud, including failure to pay \$845,000 in employee-related taxes and threatening investigators. Hovind's wife Jo was convicted on the same charges, which along with tax evasion included 44 counts of evading bank-reporting requirements.

Kent "Dr. Dino" Hovind is a veteran anti-evolution activist whose speeches are estimated to have brought him \$50,000 a year, mostly in cash. This income paled, however, next to the revenue produced by his other two cash cows: a bizarre creationist theme park called Dinosaur Adventure Land and Christian Science Ministries, which sells books and other merchandise. Together, the theme park and ministry grossed more than \$2 million dollars a year.

Because they considered themselves "workers of God," the Hovinds did not believe they were subject to taxation. To avoid paying payroll and FICA taxes

at their theme park, the couple paid their employees in cash and labeled them "missionaries." This did not stop the Hovinds from treating them like employees, however, including docking their pay for being late.

The duo "hadn't filed tax returns ever, to my knowledge," testified IRS Agent Scott Schneider, the former Army interrogator who led the investigation. "He tried to stress to me that he was like the pope and [his business] was like the Vatican," a member of the Christian Law Association said of Kent Hovind, who explained to the lawyer with "a great deal of bravado" how he had "beat the tax system." On his Internet radio program, Hovind had previously declared that he was not a citizen of the United States and therefore was not subject to taxation.

The Hovinds weren't the only Florida-based tax evaders to draw national attention last winter. In the town of Mount Dora, two hours northeast of Tampa, Eddie Kahn, a veteran tax-protest leader and strategist who operated Guiding Light of God Ministries, was indicted for conspiracy to defraud the IRS and presenting false claims for payment. Also indicted were a colleague of Khan's and the film actor Wesley Snipes, who federal investigators say Khan tutored in the art of tax evasion. Snipes is accused of bilking the IRS for as much as \$12

million; he filed no returns between 1999 and 2004.

On the day the indictments were announced, almost two years after federal agents first raided the Guiding Light office, Kahn and his wife Kathleen "Kookie" Kahn packed their bags and disappeared to Panama. He was later expelled by the Panamanian government and flown to Miami, where he was arrested last Nov. 1. He

"He tried to stress to me that he was like the pope and [his business] was like the Vatican."



KENT HOVIND

Demolition man: Prosecutors say the Floridian who operated Guiding Light of God Ministries, Eddie Kahn, was a professional tax cheat who taught film star Wesley Snipes (inset) how to bilk the IRS of \$12 million. Kahn fled the country, but was unceremoniously shipped back by Panama.



EDDIE KAHN

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

"OVERHEARD"

"[I]f the day comes when those who truly believe in 'Chicano Power' attempt to flex their muscle, blood will flow in the streets."

JOE TURNER, head of California's anti-immigration Save Our State group, in a Sept. 26 posting to his organization's online forum

"If you fail to exercise your right to vote, liberals and their homosexual allies will gain control... . [I]mmoral individuals [will try to] ... homosexualize our children and undermine our national security."

Rev. LOU SHELDON, head of the anti-gay Traditional Values Coalition, urging voters in an Oct. 29 electronic newsletter to oppose "liberals" in the national elections

"Look at what has happened to Miami. It has become a Third World country."

U.S. Rep. TOM TANCREDO (R-Colo.), an anti-immigration hardliner, quoted Nov. 26 in an interview with WorldNetDaily, while on a visit to South Florida

"I would hate to be an immigrant in his courtroom."

MARGARET FUNG, executive director of the Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund, commenting Nov. 27 on Brooklyn, N.Y., Criminal Court Judge John Wilson, who wrote a 2006 children's book comparing undocumented immigrants to weeds that kill flowers

"Do I care if the Sunnis and Shiites kill each other in Iraq? No. ... Maybe they'll all kill each other, and then we can have a decent country in Iraq."

BILL O'REILLY on the Dec. 5 edition of Westwood One's "The Radio Factor With Bill O'Reilly"

"If American citizens don't wake up and adopt the Virgil Goode position on immigration, there will be many more Muslims elected to office and demanding the use of the Koran."

U.S. Rep. VIRGIL GOODE (R-Va.), in a Dec. 7 letter to constituents criticizing incoming U.S. Rep. Keith Ellison (D-Minn.), the first Muslim to enter Congress, for plans to use a Koran at his swearing-in ceremony

"What you wrote was not truthful... . [T]his is not the first time you have manipulated research in pursuit of your goals."

New York University Professor CAROL GILLIGAN, in an open letter to Focus on the Family head James Dobson after the Christian Right leader mischaracterized her research on families in an anti-gay guest column published in *Time* magazine Dec. 10

"[T]here's this whole subtext, as there so often is, about homosexuality."

Conservative commentator MICHAEL MEDVED, on the Dec. 11 edition of the "Focus on the Family" radio show hosted by James Dobson, attacking "Happy Feet," a new animated children's film about penguins

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

was scheduled to go to trial this spring.

Snipes, a star of films including the “Blade” trilogy and “Demolition Man,” was already out of the country when the warrant for his arrest was announced. The 44-year-old veteran actor was filming in the African country of Namibia, which has no extradition treaty with Washington. In December, Snipes voluntarily surrendered to authorities in Orlando after returning to the country on a private jet. If convicted on all charges, he faces up to 16 years in prison.

Along with Kahn, Snipes allegedly learned the art of tax evasion from Arthur Farnsworth, a Pennsylvania-based anti-tax guru. Farnsworth was convicted last December of failing to pay an estimated \$80,000 in federal taxes on \$220,000 in income from 1998 to 2000. It was a 2002 raid on Farnsworth’s home that uncovered documents leading to a wider investigation that netted more than a dozen arrests, including that of Snipes.

ANTI-LATINO VIOLENCE

Neo-Nazi Attacker Sentenced in Vicious Teen Assault

It was attacks like this one that hate-crimes legislation was created for.

A Latino teenager attended a party in April 2006 at a housing complex just north of Houston, in a town called Spring. According to witnesses, the 17-year-old tried to kiss a white girl. She rebuffed him and told her brother about the advance. Word spread. The extreme violence that followed illustrates the savagery that can result from this country’s rising tide of anti-Hispanic hatred.

David Tuck, 18, a neo-Nazi roughneck with a reputation for racist outbursts, confronted the Latino teen, with whom he had previously consumed a cocktail of vodka, marijuana, cocaine and Xanax, a prescription anti-anxiety medication, and dragged him outside. With the assistance of his friend Robert Turner, 17, Tuck then commenced a four- to five-



DAVID TUCK



KEITH TURNER

Horror story (right): The parents of a Latino boy who was terribly injured in a racist attack near Houston struggled to answer reporters’ questions. In the end, neo-Nazi David Tuck and pal Keith Turner were convicted of aggravated assault; after 30 surgeries, their 17-year-old victim returned to school in a wheelchair.

hour beating in which the victim was stripped, kicked with steel-toed boots, and severely sodomized with a patio-umbrella pole. Finally, Tuck and Turner stood their victim against a fence and poured bleach all over his body. According to prosecutors, Tuck at one point also attempted to slash something into the semi-conscious victim’s chest and burned him with cigarettes. Witnesses say Tuck yelled ethnic slurs and shouted, “White power!” during the attack.

The victim did not receive medical attention until the morning, when the woman who owned the apartment awoke and found him in the backyard. Although doctors did not expect the boy to survive, after three months in intensive care and 30 surgeries, he returned to school in a wheelchair, attached to a colostomy bag.

According to local news reports, neighbors and schoolmates of Tuck described him as a racist skinhead with Nazi tattoos who terrorized the neighborhood and trained young children to bow down and praise Hitler. He also repeatedly taunted Hispanic neighbors and hung a Nazi flag over his garage until local housing officials forced him to remove it.



“He’s a neo-Nazi. He espouses beliefs [of] violent white supremacist groups,” prosecutor Mike Trent said in his opening statement at Tuck’s trial. “He doesn’t like anybody who is not white,” one witness told the jury, which included five black women and one Hispanic man.

That this was no ordinary beating in the defense of a young woman’s honor was reflected in sentences meted out to the two perpetrators in November. David Tuck and Keith Turner were both convicted of aggravated sexual assault. Tuck received a life sentence; Turner got 90 years.

“I’ve handled many, many bad cases, many, many important cases, but I don’t think I’ve dealt with one where they tortured anyone quite as badly as this one,” Harris County prosecutor Mike Trent told The Associated Press. “They violated him in the most brutal way possible.”

NATIVIST MOVEMENT

‘Vietnamese’ Anti-Immigration Group Really Isn’t

First, he denied it. Then he said it was his wife’s idea. Finally, white anti-immigration activist Tim Brummer admitted to using the false Vietnamese surname “Binh” in his capacity as spokesman for Vietnamese for Fair Immigration. In his defense, Brummer claimed that because he eats Vietnamese food and is half-Vietnamese “in my own mind,” he wasn’t really fibbing. In fact, he told a local reporter, he may even legally change his name to Binh.

Welcome to the world of “diverse” immigration-reform groups. Brummer had taken to speaking and writing under the name of “Binh” to darken the skin hue of the California-based

Vietnamese for Fair Immigration.

Tim Brummer has long been railing against immigrants, often on radical anti-immigrant sites like Save Our State and Vdare.com, a racist forum named after Virginia Dare, supposedly the first white child born in America. In one such post, he wrote: “The children of occupying aliens should not be U.S. citizens. I would have to say 10 million illegal aliens that cost Americans \$300 billion a year, that kill thousands of Americans, that sicken millions of Americans, and that trash our environment, are a hostile alien occupation.”

In the last two years, Brummer, a member of the relatively moderate Californians for Population Stabilization, has

posted more than 2,000 comments on the Internet forum of the California-based hate group Save Our State, which has tolerated neo-Nazis and other white supremacists at its rallies.

Brummer’s “Vietnamese” group is



not the first to try to put an ethnic face on a predominantly white anti-immigration movement trailed by whiffs of racism and tarred by accusations of extremist connections. Jim Gilchrist’s Minuteman group is one of many that routinely highlight their few minority members to camouflage their overwhelmingly white membership.

Other groups claiming to represent specific ethnic blocs have also turned out to have connections to predominantly white parent organizations. In the case of You Don’t Speak for Me! (YDSFM), a Washington, D.C.-based immigration restriction organization that describes itself as “a group of concerned Americans of Hispanic/Latino heritage,” the group is so intertwined with the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) that the two share the same press officers. (There are also connections between the group and the Minuteman Project: Rosanna Pulido, 50, founded the Illinois chapter of the Minuteman Project and is also Illinois chapter leader of YDSFM.)

One of these mutual YDSFM/FAIR press contacts is Ira Mehlman, a white man who is also active in the FAIR-sponsored anti-immigration outfit, Choose Black America (CBA). Supposedly a coalition of black leaders opposed to illegal immigration, CBA, whose only press conference was orchestrated and funded by FAIR, is in fact just another FAIR product attempting to improve public perceptions of the overwhelmingly white anti-immigration movement.

Terry Anderson, a Los Angeles radio host and anti-immigration zealot, is a key player in Choose Black America. The group is supposed to represent African-American opposition to illegal immigration, but in fact is the creation of the white-dominated Federation for American Reform, which has sought to deflect accusations of racism.



Requiem for a 14-year-old: Los Angeles Mayor Antonio Villaraigosa joined Cheryl Green's mother (holding photo) in mourning the girl, who was murdered after crossing an unofficial line dividing black Latino neighborhoods.

RACE-BASED GANGS

More Latino-on-Black 'Ethnic Cleansing' Violence Hits L.A.

The December murder of a 14-year-old African-American girl, the latest apparent victim of Latino gang members' campaign to "ethnically cleanse" many neighborhoods in Los Angeles, has set off a political earthquake, prompting top city officials to acknowledge for the first time a frightening rise in racial killings by Southern California street gangs.

Cheryl Green, playing on her skateboard with a group of friends just south of 206th Street, was shot dead on Dec. 15 by two men who approached the group and began firing without uttering a word. Three others were wounded. Two members of the Latino 204th Street gang were later arrested in the killing.

The slaying prompted Mayor Antonio Villaraigosa and Police Chief William Bratton to hold a press conference on Jan. 18 to launch a major campaign against 10 street gangs, six of them Latino. "The 204th Street and Eastside Torrance gangs have contributed to the

rise in racially motivated murders and other crimes," the mayor's office said in a press release. "204th Street has a long and violent history. This is especially true regarding crimes committed against African Americans."

Green's murder came just days after the Winter 2006 issue of the *Intelligence*

"If there is an orchestrated plan to push blacks out of neighborhoods, then we have to call it what it is."



FBI Director Robert Mueller choked up when the mayor of Los Angeles talked about Cheryl Green's death during a major press conference on anti-gang measures.

Report went to press. That issue's cover story, "L.A. Blackout," detailed how the powerful Mexican Mafia, a prison-based gang, had given the "green light" to the many Latino gangs it controls in Southern California to terrorize and murder black people as part of a campaign to drive blacks from Latino neighborhoods.

Cheryl Green's murder was not the only such development.

On Dec. 28, a white man was stabbed 80 times, his throat slashed and his body dumped in the street. Police said Christopher Ash was killed by gang members because he witnessed Green's murder. Five men, including one of the two eventually arrested in Green's murder, were arrested and charged with capital murder.

On Jan. 26, three Latino gunmen stormed into a middle school gymnasium in L.A., shouted expletives and opened fire. Demetrius Perry, a 23-year-old black man with no gang ties, was killed. Police blamed an unnamed gang. Witnesses identified that gang as Florencia Trece, or F13, a Mexican Mafia affiliate.

While the vast majority of violence

is intra-racial for both black and Latino gangs, interracial gang violence is on the rise. The *Los Angeles Times* reported an 11% increase in such crimes in L.A. County from 2002-2006, with Latino-on-black attacks rising from 247 to 269 and black-on-Latino attacks going from 213 to 240. A rise in similar violence was also reported in the nearby San Fernando Valley.

Najee Ali, a black community activist, said that Green's murder had nearly set off a racial gang war — a war he and Green's mother helped avert when they calmed enraged black gang members. He also disagreed with the

THE BLOTTER

UPDATES ON EXTREMISM AND THE LAW

OCT. 14

Twenty-year-old John Ditullio, a member of the so-called **Teak Street Nazis** group that terrorized neighbors in a **New Port Richey, Fla.**, trailer park, was indicted for badly slashing neighbor Patricia Wells and murdering a friend of her son's, Kristofer King, 17. Ditullio, who will represent himself in the capital case, blamed fellow neo-Nazis, but authorities say they found King's blood on his shoe.

OCT. 30

Dennis Craig, the leader of the racist skinhead **2-1 FATAL** gang, was sentenced to 25 years for a 2005 arson that destroyed three **Indianapolis** homes. Prosecutors said Craig, 31, mistakenly thought a black family was moving into one of them.

NOV. 2

Salt Lake City police detained **Sons of Aryan Culture** gang member Doyle Smith as a "person of interest" in the Oct. 27 murder of fellow white supremacist Raymond McGaughy. McGaughy was found dead outside a home where police say he and Christine Ruth Armstrong held a woman captive 10 days earlier. McGaughy and two other men allegedly raped the woman repeatedly until she escaped.

NOV. 3

Hardy Lloyd, the one-time **Pittsburgh** leader of the neo-Nazi **World Church of the Creator**, was acquitted of the 2004 murder of a former girlfriend by a jury that found he had acted in self-defense. The jury convicted Lloyd on a misdemeanor weapons charge and sentenced him to three years probation and time already served.

NOV. 7

A task force of local and federal officials arrested **racist skinhead** Thomas Gibson in **Newark, Del.**, and charged him with the random 1989 murder of Aaron Wood, a 34-year-old black man. Officials say Gibson, then 17, was trying to boost his stature among white supremacists and later got a tattoo to commemorate the killing.

NOV. 8

An eight-month investigation, sparked by a newspaper account of machine guns owned by a local militia, culminated in the arrest of **Fayetteville, Ark.**, resident Hollis "Wayne" Fincher. The 60-year-old lieutenant commander of the **Militia of Washington County** was charged with possessing unregistered machine guns.

NOV. 14

James "Evil" Harrison was convicted of first-degree murder after stabbing a man he didn't know 158 times to earn tattoos and membership in what police described only as an **Aryan gang**. Prosecutors say Daniel Miller, 58, was murdered in 2002 in his **Las Vegas** home on orders from a white supremacist acquaintance of Harrison's.

NOV. 28

A federal judge in **Jackson, Tenn.**, sentenced long-time **neo-Nazi** Demetrius "Van" Crocker to 30 years in prison for trying to acquire nerve gas and explosives to attack government buildings. Crocker told undercover agents of his desire to use a nuclear "dirty" bomb against Congress and poison against blacks in Jackson.

DEC. 12

Anti-abortion extremist Clayton Lee Waagner was sentenced to 33 years by a federal court in **Harrisburg, Pa.**, after pleading guilty to carjacking, bank robbery and weapons offenses in four states. Waagner was already serving a lengthy sentence for mailing fake anthrax to 550 abortion clinics and related targets.

DEC. 14

More than 300 federal and local law enforcement officers swept through **Orange County, Calif.**, arresting 57 alleged members of **Public Enemy Number 1** on charges ranging from illegal weapons and drugs to forgery and identity theft. The arrests, in addition to 10 others carried out earlier, followed the discovery of a gang hit list that targeted five local police officers and one prosecutor for death.

DEC. 18

A federal judge in **Greenbelt, Md.**, sentenced Robert Weiler Jr. to five years after the **anti-abortion** zealot pleaded guilty to charges in a plot to blow up an abortion clinic and shoot the people inside. Weiler, 25, was arrested at an interstate rest area last June, after his father told officials about Weiler's intentions.

DEC. 19

A military judge sentenced Coast Guard Petty Officer Chad Blair to a year in prison and a bad-conduct discharge for posting **Ku Klux Klan** recruitment fliers and illegal possession of explosives and seven unregistered weapons. Prosecutors had asked for a nine-year sentence for Blair, who was assigned to Air Station **Cape Cod, Mass.**

contention by some Latino activists that “ethnic cleansing” was an unfair description of the crimes.

“Remember, even in Bosnia and even in Nazi Germany, it all started with just a handful of people being killed because of ethnicity. Then it mushroomed,” Ali told the *Intelligence Report*. “If there is an orchestrated plan to push blacks out of neighborhoods, then we have to call it what it is.”

WHITE NATIONALISM

Aging Supremacists’ Deaths Sap Movement Old Guard

Recent years have seen the death of some of the 20th century’s key white supremacist ideologues and leaders, men like Richard Butler of the Aryan Nations and William Pierce of the National Alliance. In the space of three months starting last October, another half dozen aging professional racists met their demise:

- George “Irish” Matousek, a 76-year-old long-time white supremacist and militia enthusiast, died Oct. 16 of a “lingering illness” in Michigan, according to the *Bay City (Mich.) Times*. Matousek had dabbled in the radical right for decades, including membership in the John Birch Society, a group that once accused President Eisenhower of being a communist. He was also a convinced follower of the theology of Christian Identity, which identifies Jews as the spawn of Satan and people of color as “muds,” and a close friend of the rabid Identity preacher James Wickstrom, who also lives in Michigan. As a well-known member of the Michigan Militia in the 1990s, he led a failed effort to pass an anti-gay referendum. When former militia member Scott Woodring murdered a state trooper,

Matousek told a reporter that if the authorities kept “playing games” with radicals, “it’s going to cost them their lives.”

- Samuel Holloway Bowers, who built the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan into one the bloodiest terrorist groups of the civil rights era, died Nov. 6 in a Mississippi prison, where he was serving a life sentence for ordering the firebomb murder of black voting rights activist Vernon Dahmer in 1964. Bowers was an extraordinarily violent man who created the White Knights as a breakaway from a larger Klan group he considered too passive; by 1964, he had a reported 10,000 members. He was tried four times for planning the infamous 1966 murders of three civil rights workers in Mississippi, but each case ended in deadlocked juries. He was finally convicted on related federal charges in 1970 and served six years. He was sent back to prison in 1998 in the Dahmer case. Bowers, 82 and unrepentant, died of a heart attack.

- Rick Cooper, an aging fossil of the American Nazi Party of the 1960s, died on Nov. 23 of kidney failure. Cooper,

60, who had also served as an officer of the National Socialist White People’s Party, had all but retired, only showing up at an occasional white supremacist rally in recent years. He was for years the publisher of the National Socialist Vanguard newsletter, and enjoyed a close friendship Richard Butler. Cooper lived in Goldendale, Wash.

- Dale Fox, imperial wizard of the Brotherhood of Klans (BOK), died Nov. 24 while chopping down a tree on a fellow Klansman’s property. In better days, Fox had tried to return the Klan to its birthplace in Pulaski, Tenn., where it was formed in a lawyer’s office on Christmas Eve 1865. The closest Fox came was founding a BOK chapter in Finger, Tenn., some two hours’ west, in 1996. BOK had expanded rapidly in the months leading up to Fox’s death, and had become the largest Klan in America with 30 chapters. His death left the future of the group into doubt, although other BOK officials vowed to soldier on.

- William “Wild Bill” Hoff, East Coast director for the National Socialist Movement (NSM), died Dec. 8 after being struck by a car while walking near his home in South Carolina. Hoff, 71, was a veteran of numerous neo-Nazi groups, starting with George Lincoln Rockwell’s American Nazi Party in 1959. In the late 1960s, Hoff pleaded guilty to conspiracy and weapons charges in connection with a plot to bomb a room full of civil rights activists in New York. Hoff had intended to run for public office on the NSM ticket.

- Keith Kallstrom, a Christian Identity pastor from Oklahoma, died of an apparent heart attack in a federal prison cell in Michigan on Jan. 18, shortly after being convicted of an attempt to hire someone to kill former friend James Wickstrom. Kallstrom, whose wife ran off with fellow Identity preacher



Rick Cooper (second from right), a neo-Nazi stormtrooper going back to the 1960s, joined Aryan Nations leader Richard Butler (fourth from right) and other white supremacists for a meeting in 1989. Cooper died last November, entering a pantheon of dead Aryan heroes that also includes Butler.



FREE THE ORDER RALLY Dec. 9, 2006

About 100 racist skinheads from California and Nevada gathered at the Federal Building in Los Angeles’ Westwood neighborhood for a “Free the Order” rally to support imprisoned members of the The Order, also known as the Silent Brotherhood or Bruders Schweigen. The Order was a terrorist white supremacist group responsible for \$4.1 million in armored car heists and the murder of a Jewish talk show host in Denver in the early 1980s. Its leader, Bob Mathews, died in a shootout with the FBI in 1984, and most surviving members of the group were sent to prison on a variety of charges. The December rally was organized by longtime white supremacist David Lynch and the Golden State Skinheads. Four members of the Berdoo Skins were identified and arrested at the rally after allegedly participating in a mob attack on two black men the night before in Claremont, Calif. One of the victims had to be airlifted to a hospital for treatment of multiple stab wounds.

Wickstrom in 2003, was arrested in 2005 after driving to Michigan to literally cut off Wickstrom’s head. He was already serving time on charges related to that attempt when he solicited fellow inmates to arrange Wickstrom’s death. Wickstrom still lives with Kallstrom’s wife, Kathy.

KU KLUX KLAN

Klan Organizer May Be Headed for Army After Completing Sentence

A northeastern Indiana Ku Klux Klan organizer told a judge in February that he’d been accepted as a recruit by the U.S. Army in 2006, despite his high-profile white supremacist activities. Fred Wilson, 21, said he was originally scheduled to report for basic training last July 13. But, he said in court, Army officials granted him delayed entry after he was arrested for his widely

publicized role in a brutal attack on longtime American Knights of the KKK leader Jeff Berry last July 1.

The Army has strict regulations against active-duty personnel engaging in “racist extremist” activities and a stated commitment to weeding out hate group members. But as the *Intelligence Report* reported in a cover story last summer, recruiters and commanders, under heavy pressure to maintain enlistment levels in the midst of an unpopular war, often look the other way when it comes to a recruit or active-duty soldier’s involvement with racist extremism.

The Pentagon’s official response to the report, which detailed whistle-blower allegations of “thousands” of extremists admitted to the Army alone, was to describe it as “inaccurate and misleadingly alarmist.” It shrugged off requests to enforce a “zero tolerance” policy toward racial extremists in the military.

Wilson revealed his Army plans at

a hearing in DeKalb County Superior Court, where he pled guilty to a misdemeanor charge of battery for throwing a chair at Jeff Berry during a barbecue in Spencerville, Ind., sparking an altercation that ended with Jeff Berry’s son, Anthony Berry, beating the elder Klan leader almost to death. At the time, according to police, Anthony Berry and

Wilson were attempting to reinvigorate the American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, which the elder Berry led before serving a prison term for holding two journalists at gunpoint. Wilson had recently helped establish new Klan chapters in Auburn and Albion, Ind.

Wilson was sentenced to 10 days in jail. He said he planned to report for Army basic training later this spring. Prosecutor Clara Mary Winebrenner, noting Wilson’s previous convictions for drunk driving and possessing alcohol as a minor, said she hoped the military would “straighten him out.” ▲



FRED WILSON

‘FAMILY MATTERS’

A major neo-Nazi leader and self-described defender of ‘sacred’ white girls is indicted on child pornography charges **BY MARK POTOK**

In the latest disaster to hit the American radical right, Kevin Alfred Strom, the founder of National Vanguard and a major neo-Nazi leader for nearly 20 years, has been arrested and charged with child pornography and witness tampering. ¶ Federal agents arrested Strom near his home in Stanardsville, Va., on Jan. 4, after he was indicted for allegedly having pornographic images of children on his computer between Oct. 17, 2005, and last Aug. 4. He was also charged with witness tampering because he allegedly “physically assaulted and mentally intimidated” an unnamed witness against him. A judge ordered him held without bond.

If convicted, Strom, 50, would face up to 30 years in prison.

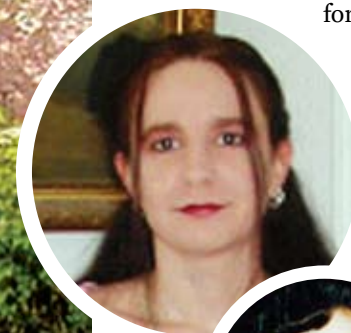


Strom was for almost two decades a deputy to William Pierce, who founded the neo-Nazi National Alliance and wrote *The Turner Diaries*, a book that served as the blueprint for the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing. He started a radio show for Pierce and became known as the group’s second “intellectual,” after Pierce, as well as editor of its book division and magazine. When Pierce died unexpectedly in 2002, Strom, passed over to succeed his mentor, remained with the Alliance for a time, but finally broke away to form National Vanguard after a 2005 internal dispute.

Then, last July 18, Strom announced he was taking a leave of absence from National Vanguard, citing “health and family matters.” In a statement, he said he had “made mistakes, sometime serious ones,” but gave no further hint of trouble.

Strom’s arrest set off a firestorm on the radical right, which has seen a number of its key activists arrested recently for embarrassing crimes, some of them sexual in nature (see also story, p. 14). “If Kevin’s genuinely guilty,” one extremist wrote on the racist Stormfront web forum shortly after the arrest, “then the credibility of his work — indeed the credibility of all intelligent White nationalist work — will be severely crippled, and we shall be reduced to apologetics for years to come.”

Bill White, leader of the American



Kevin Strom, the founder of the neo-Nazi National Vanguard group recently arrested for child pornography, is a punctilious man given to restoring old Cadillacs and posting admiring self-portraits on his website. He also posted many pictures of young girls while married to Kirsten Kaiser (lower inset), but took them down after wedding Elisha Strom (above).

National Socialist Workers Party and a long-time enemy of Strom’s, was even blunter. “The fact is that the white nationalist movement has been littered with sexual deviants,” he wrote. “The entire reactionary wing of the white nationalist movement is corrupt and must be destroyed.”

‘Feminine Beauty’

Kevin Strom’s interest in young girls was well known. While living at the National Alliance’s West Virginia compound in the mid-1990s and, later, living with his then-wife Kirsten Kaiser in Minnesota, he hosted a website with a major section devoted to “feminine beauty.” As a practical matter, that meant Strom posted scores of photos of attractive, very young white girls, often in bikinis. He was particularly given to a teenage Brooke Shields, who he ran several shots of astride a horse.

“The beauty of the women and girls of our race has inspired our greatest poets, artists, and writers throughout our history,” Strom wrote on his site at the time. “[I]f anything is sacred, our girls and women are, and they must be protected from the degradation and degeneracy that is inherent in multiculturalism.”

Kaiser, now 44, remembers her ex-husband’s postings well.

“The website had some National Socialist stuff, but it also had all these pictures of girls who were about 12,” she told the *Intelligence Report* immediately after learning of the arrest of Strom, whom she divorced in 1999 after having three children by him. “He used to talk about [the 18th century composer Antonio] Vivaldi, too, saying the reason he was able to write such wonderful music was that he worked at an all-girls school [an orphanage in Venice]. Kevin also used to say that the only sport he was interested in was nymphet baseball, whatever that means. And he had these paintings all over the house of water nymphs. He *really* liked that stuff.”

Kaiser, who rejected Strom’s neo-Nazi ideology and wrote the 2003 book *Bondage of Self* about her experiences with him, said she was interviewed by the FBI last November. She was asked, she said, for the names of young girls who lived on the Alliance’s West Virginia compound — daughters of several of Pierce’s wives and others who Kaiser said Strom was fond of regularly photographing. She also told agents Strom often asked her to wear pigtails to make her look younger.

Kaiser said she was contacted the same month by Elisha Strom, the outspoken neo-Nazi activist who Kevin married after losing custody of his children to Kaiser and returning from Minnesota to live on the Alliance compound in 2000.

“She said that for the first two years of her marriage she tried to figure out what was wrong with her [because Strom showed so little interest], and for the second two years she tried to figure out what was wrong with him,” Kaiser said. “The fact is, he wasn’t interested in me, either, once we got married.”

For her part, Elisha Strom spoke out on Vanguard News Network, a neo-Nazi web forum, saying she had not turned Strom in to authorities, had not divorced him, and had, in fact, “tried to get him help.” Then she posted a remarkable document.

The paper, an apparently notarized “contract” between Elisha and Kevin that is dated Sept. 8, 2006, and signed by both, says that “pursuant to

concerns relating to pedophilia,” Strom promises to see a “qualified counselor” twice a month. Strom also allegedly agrees that until he “has been declared free of pedophilia,” Elisha has the right to inform any future wife of Strom’s of his sexual proclivities.

One other woman spoke up, too. April Gaede, a long-time National Alliance activist who quit that group to

help Strom form National Vanguard, told the VNN web forum that Strom had called her in March 2006, four months before he took his mysterious leave of absence. Strom “told me that [Elisha] had found some porn on his computer and that it was of adult females but that she freaked out and called him a pervert,” Gaede wrote. “Then he told me that she had threatened to ‘get even’ with him and that he was afraid that she would plant something on his computer.”

Unmentioned by Gaede was the role Strom has played recently as promoter at concert after concert of Prussian Blue — the folk-singing, neo-Nazi duet comprised of Gaede’s two daughters, pretty blonde twins who recently turned 15.

Political Fallout

Kevin Strom was never an especially popular figure on the radical right — his allegedly feminine voice and mannerisms had earned him the nickname of “Weenie” among his detractors — but he was important nonetheless. In a world dominated by thuggish skinheads and violent rhetoric, Strom was able to project the image of a well-read intellectual, a thoughtful man concerned for the plight of his race.

He also was aligned with several significant players on the radical right, especially the cluster around the Stormfront hate site — former Klan leader David Duke, Stormfront founder Don Black, and site administrator Jamie Kelso. These men defended Strom in his battles with erstwhile National Alliance colleagues.

Strom’s group, National Vanguard, posted a statement after his arrest lauding their recent leader as “a fearless, outspoken activist and speaker against Jewish supremacist power” and insisting the charges were “totally without foundation.” But the National Alliance sought to distance itself even further from Strom, broadcasting the fact that it had expelled him in April 2005 for “gross dereliction of duty.”

It’s unclear how National Vanguard, which started out strong but has lost both members and prestige in recent months, will fare in the aftermath of Strom’s arrest. But one 2003 E-mail, discussing even then Strom’s apparent taste for young girls, suggests the despair that such episodes engender.

“Why can’t we have so much as one single leader who is just simply NORMAL? Why must there always be these weird little kibbles and bits, these little oddities, these little bits of quirky behavior lurking in the background of everything we do?” the E-mail from “Peter Dromgoole” to Bill White’s website asks plaintively. “Why do we even bother? Is this really, truly, THE BEST WE CAN DO?” ▲

SEX, LIES AND WHITE SUPREMACY

The radical right has long been plagued by sexual scandal. Recent months are no exception

It’s the dirty little secret of the white supremacist movement in America: Klan leaders with black girlfriends. A neo-Nazi caught with a black transvestite. A macho skinhead arrested while soliciting sex from Latino men. National Socialists affiliated with Satanists who promote sexual ceremonies involving children.

And now, the arrest of Kevin Alfred Strom (pictured above), a key “intellectual” of the radical right, for possession of child pornography (see story, p. 12).

But that’s not all.

Just days after the Jan. 4 arrest of the leader of the neo-Nazi National Vanguard group, news emerged that two weeks earlier another prominent National Vanguard member had been arrested for another sexual crime. Police in Brookline, Mass., jailed Matthew Downing, a 25-year-old activist and organizer with the Boston unit of the organization, on a felony charge of statutory rape.

Officials say that an acquaintance of Downing’s, 17-year-old Jeremy Perea, got two teenage girls to come to Downing’s Brookline home six days before Christmas. Once they were there, Perea allegedly told them he would not drive them home unless one had intercourse with Downing. They refused, but one of them, a 14-year-old, agreed to perform oral sex on the Aryan activist.

— Mark Potok

Within days of Downing’s arrest, the Boston National Vanguard unit officially disbanded.

If that wasn’t enough for embarrassed movement stalwarts, police in Sharpsburg, Md., on Jan. 10 arrested recent Klan boss Gordon Creal Young, 40, and charged him with seven criminal counts for allegedly forcing an underage girl to perform oral sex on him on two occasions in late October, 2006. Young, who was then still the imperial wizard of the World Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, also allegedly told the girl on another day that Klan members always strip females who want to join in order to search their bodies for imperfections. The girl later told a pastor that Young then touched her inappropriately.

Last November, just days after his alleged sexual attacks on the 15-year-old in his home, Young announced he was shutting down the World Knights in order to become state leader of the National Socialist Movement (NSM). After Young’s arrest in January, NSM leader Jeff Schoep E-mailed a local *Herald-Mail* newspaper reporter to say that Young “is not currently active with the National Socialist Movement,” but refusing to discuss the matter further. Young was jailed in lieu of \$350,000.

SHARING THE HATE

Video-sharing websites like YouTube have become the hottest new venue for extremist propaganda and recruitment **BY BRENTIN MOCK**

Los Angeles blacks are destroying property and attacking white people as a soft, pitiful ballad plays in the background. Then, about two minutes into the video, the words “Whose Freedom?” appear as a still frame of a young, smiling German girl at a Third Reich rally suddenly replaces the footage of the 1992 Rodney King riots. A man wearing a swastika armband stands protectively behind her, his head cropped from the frame, while the words, “A paradise lost,” scroll down beneath her chin. Finally, a message, “Save the White Race,” fills the screen before dissolving into a Celtic cross encircled by the phrase, “White Pride World Wide.”

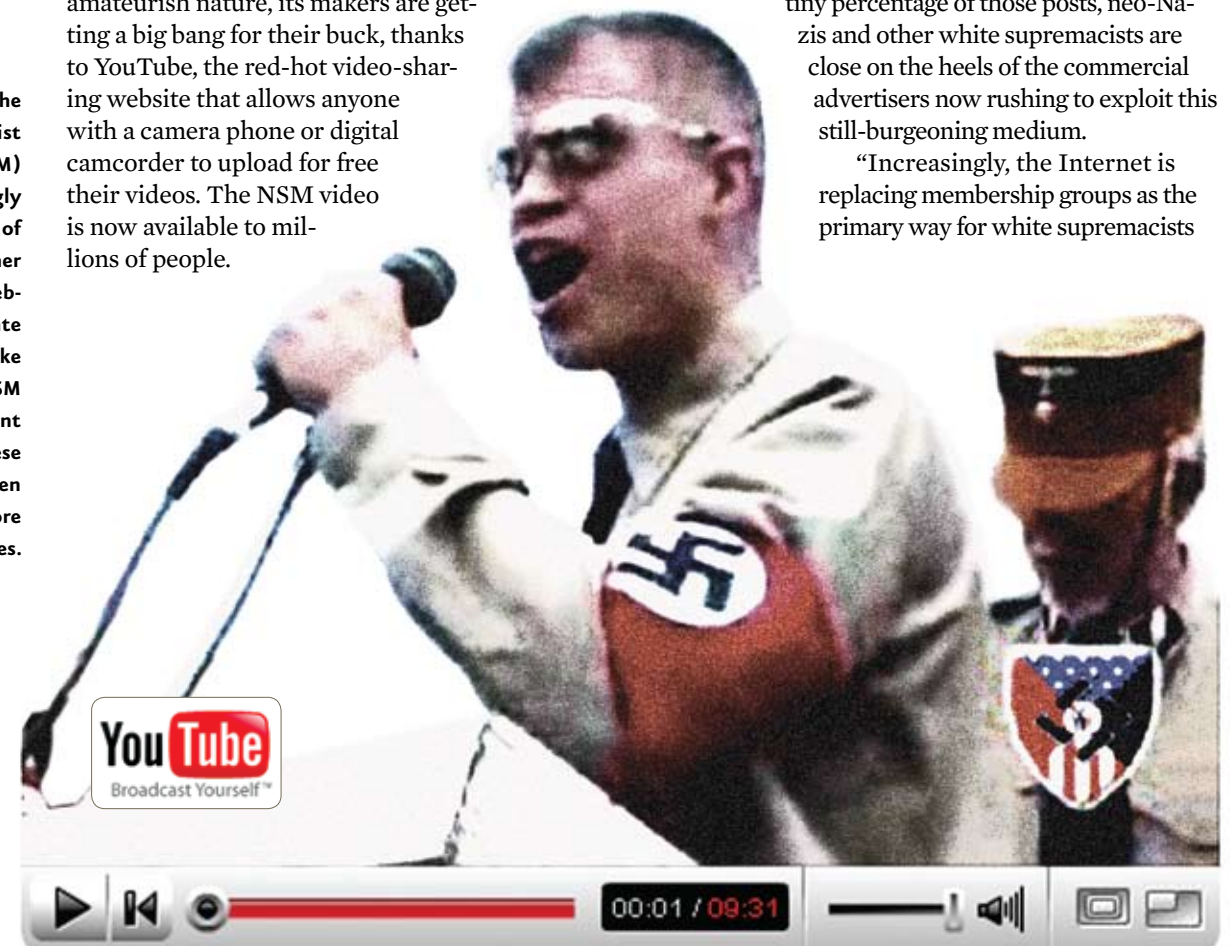
NSM International, a recruiting arm of the neo-Nazi National Socialist Movement, produced this video, probably at a cost of just a few dollars. But despite its amateurish nature, its makers are getting a big bang for their buck, thanks to YouTube, the red-hot video-sharing website that allows anyone with a camera phone or digital camcorder to upload for free their videos. The NSM video is now available to millions of people.

Welcome to the latest medium for the American radical right — one more electronic venue that seems particularly suited for recruitment of the young.

Since it was founded in February 2005, YouTube, along with competitors like Flickr and Google Video, has become hugely popular, especially among the young. YouTube alone streams hundreds of millions of clips daily to a global audience, with its users posting more than 65,000 new videos to its swollen archives every day. And while extremist clips like the NSM recruitment video are only a tiny percentage of those posts, neo-Nazis and other white supremacists are close on the heels of the commercial advertisers now rushing to exploit this still-burgeoning medium.

“Increasingly, the Internet is replacing membership groups as the primary way for white supremacists

Groups including the National Socialist Movement (NSM) have increasingly taken advantage of YouTube and other video-sharing websites to disseminate propaganda like this clip of an NSM speaker at a recent rally. Some of these videos have been downloaded more than 100,000 times.



to obtain information and communicate,” asserts a January report on the white supremacist movement by Strategic Forecasting Incorporated, an intelligence analysis think tank. “Adherents regularly establish their presence on popular Web destinations such as MySpace and YouTube.”

As of mid-January, roughly 12,000 white supremacist propaganda videos, hate rock concert highlight reels, and Holocaust denial pseudo-documentaries, many of them posted anonymously, were openly available on video-sharing websites. (This estimate was derived through keyword searches of the three leading sites and an analysis of how many were extremist, rather than merely mentioning extremism.)

One of the most popular videos, “Branik White Power,” is a poor-quality depiction of skinheads gone wild, set to roaring hate rock. The high-speed montage depicts Nazi skins dancing violently in the “mosh pit” near the stage, throwing punches, waving “SS” flags, and showing off white-power tattoos. Since it was posted by YouTube user “bulldog88” in May 2006, it has been downloaded more than 40,000 times.

Some of the most noxious videos are more reserved in their approach, such as “The Real David Duke,” which has the former Klan leader pontificating on race relations for nine minutes and which has been viewed more than 10,000 times since it was posted last October. Another example, is “David Irving on the Holocaust,” a five-and-a-half-minute excerpt of a speech by the notorious Holocaust denier in Britain that’s been downloaded over 4,000 times during the same time period.

The Irving video was posted to YouTube last October by “Hadden88” (“88” is neo-Nazi code for “Heil Hitler”), who has compiled his own YouTube “channel” of 79 videos, most of them anti-Semitic mini-“documentaries” and speeches by hate peddlers like Irving, National Alliance founder William Pierce, and Adolf Hitler.

Other popular YouTube racist videos include a series of six “White Nationalist News” clips, the earliest ep-

isode dated last Sept. 8, some of which have been viewed more than 3,000 times; “Ku Klux Klan – A Secret History,” posted in September, and its accompaniment “Ku Klux Klan 4-Ever,” posted in December, each viewed over 11,000 times; “Nazi KKK,” posted in October and viewed 15,000 times; “Russian skinheads. We are here,” posted in December and viewed over 45,000 times; and “Skinhead” posted in November and viewed 132,000 times.

Video-sharing may be a particularly effective way for extremist groups, which have long sought ways to find new recruits, to connect with young people. You-Tube and its imitators are immensely popular among children, teenagers and young adults, and sometimes a single video will be downloaded literally millions of times. In addition, compared to direct-mail literature or dead-of-night “literature drops” on people’s lawns, posting video footage is vastly less difficult, expensive, risky and time-consuming — and it can be done anonymously with virtually no effort.

Videos can also easily be used to create a false image. While back-country Klan cross-burnings, warehouse hate rock festivals, and neo-Nazi park rallies may draw only a handful of supporters, a crafty amateur filmmaker can edit or exploit camera angles to foster the illusion of a much larger and more dramatic event.

NSM, for example, posted a YouTube video last October depicting their August rally in Madison, Wis. A couple of dozen NSM members, dressed like Nazi storm troopers, seig-heil enthusiastically as the speaker rails: “Pedro go home! White America was founded by white Americans for white Americans! We will not allow our nation to become brown!” The camera lingers lovingly on the snappy accessories and stern gazes of the NSM, creating in the minds of some electronic visitors the impression of a polished, powerful show. But what the footage doesn’t show is hundreds of booing, jeering anti-racist protesters right across the street.

Questioned last December by the *Intelligence Report* about NSM videos

on YouTube, NSM Commander Jeff Schoep claimed: “The effectiveness of the NSM and its growth speaks for itself. We use many tools.” Schoep also complained that civil rights groups were pressuring YouTube to remove “all so-called racist content.”

Actually, YouTube already bans “hate speech,” defined as “slurs or the malicious use of stereotypes intended to attack or demean a particular gender, sexual orientation, race, religion or nationality.” But the sheer volume of video files posted to the site each day makes it practically impossible to police all content. As a result, particular videos are normally only removed as a result of a user complaint.

“We remove the offending content and send users a warning notice for violating our terms of use,” says Jennifer Nielsen, marketing manager for YouTube. “Users who repeatedly violate our terms of use have their accounts terminated, all of their videos removed and they are permanently banned from YouTube.”

Racist extremists are hardly likely to be deterred by such mild consequences, particularly because most live in countries with criminal penalties for possession or distribution of such Internet propaganda. By using American video-sharing websites, foreign extremists like Germany’s National Democratic Party (NPD) make it vastly more difficult for legal action to be brought against them in their own countries.

The NPD, a neofascist political party, frequently posts newscasts of Hitler memorials and Holocaust-denying speeches on U.S.-based video sharing sites. Last December, for example, after the NPD posted glowing reports on YouTube of a highly publicized conference of Holocaust deniers hosted by Iran, the British paper *The Independent* described YouTube as “a favorite neo-Nazi website.”

While YouTube operators now have scrubbed the site for those NPD videos, more than 350 other NPD clips are still available on YouTube, and the party recently announced plans to launch its own video-sharing website, based in America.

Joseph Goebbels, the Nazi minister of propaganda, would be proud. ▲



Ice cream social: Emmanuel Brun d'Aubignosc (from left) joined celebrity white nationalist David Duke, British National Party overseas liaison officer Julie Russell, British National Party leader Nick Griffin, and Griffin's wife in Germany in 2002.

BY DAVID HOLTHOUSE

On a beautiful day in northern Germany in the summer of 2002, two notorious white supremacists sat down at a picnic table to eat vanilla ice cream.

David Duke, the former Klan leader turned anti-Semitic superstar of the global radical right, sat across from Nick Griffin, the head of the white supremacist British National Party (BNP). Joining Duke and Griffin were BNP overseas liaison officer Julie Russell, Griffin’s wife, and a little-known Belgian man in his early 30s by the name of Emmanuel Brun d’Aubignosc.

There’s no record of the conversation that accompanied the ice cream. But it’s a good bet that website technology came up. D’Aubignosc at the time was a longtime computer expert and professional website designer, as well as a self-proclaimed white nationalist.

Since he met with Duke and Griffin in 2002, d’Aubignosc (“dee-ah-ben-yosc”) has become a major behind-the-scenes promoter of white nationalist ideology in more than a dozen countries, an *Intelligence Report* investigation has revealed.

According to international website registry records and d’Aubignosc’s own statements on the white supremacist online forum Stormfront, he is the chief website manager, or “webmaster,” for several high-profile white nationalist organizations, including the British National Party; the French white nationalist group Le Mouvement Social et Patriotique; and the National Front, a far-right anti-immigrant political party in France. The National Front’s leader, Jean-Marie Le Pen, personally tasked d’Aubignosc with creating a pan-European white nationalist web presence at a meeting last year in Paris, according to a statement d’Aubignosc posted online under his code name, Indutiomar, which is apparently a reference to the first century Celtic general Indutiomarus.

D’Aubignosc also administers a multinational “whites only” dating service called Eurodatelink

and a network of white nationalist electronic newsletters for readers in 16 European countries, as well as the United States and Canada. D'Aubignosc promotes this network, dubbed Altermedia, as "World Wide News for People of European Descent."

But d'Aubignosc's most vital role in the global white nationalist movement is that of David Duke's personal webmaster. D'Aubignosc designs, manages, and regularly updates Duke's official website and that of the Duke-led hate group, EURO (European American Unity and Rights Organization).

D'Aubignosc also does business with Chris Evans, a former unit commander for the neo-Nazi organization National Alliance and marketing director for the Alliance's hate-rock company Resistance Records. Evans now lives in Texas, where he runs AryanWear, a leading white supremacist clothing and merchandise company. Website registry records list Evans as the United States administrative contact for Eurodate.

Also, Evans is the North American contact for Upsilon, a web hosting and E-commerce consulting firm owned by d'Aubignosc. Upsilon is based in Brussels, Belgium, where d'Aubignosc also maintains a residence.

Because he lives and works in Belgium, d'Aubignosc's white nationalist website management may violate that country's strict anti-hate speech laws, which prohibit residents of Bel-



Arm in arm:
D'Aubignosc (from
right) posed with
National Front
leader Jean-Marie
Le Pen and Belgian
white nationalist
Kris Roman in Paris
in 2006.

gium from distributing propaganda that "incites discrimination, hatred, segregation or violence" against a person or group "on account of race, color, origin, or national or ethnic descent."

The fact that d'Aubignosc is distributing racist and anti-Semitic materials online rather than passing out leaflets in the street affords him scant legal protection, according to Frederick Banson, spokesperson for the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, a European Union agency that monitors racism and xenophobia and advises EU member nations on prosecuting hate crimes.

"Last June, two webmasters of the [Islamist] web site 'Assbytle.com' in Belgium were sentenced to ten months imprisonment and a fine of 15,000 Euros [about \$19,000] for acts of anti-Semitism, Holocaust denial, and incitement to racial hate," said Banson. "Also in June 2006, the leaders of the French-speaking extreme right-wing party 'Mouvement de la

Nation' were sentenced to six months for distributing materials online containing incitements to racial discrimination, so there already exists strong case precedent for successful prosecutions [of racist and anti-Semitic web masters]."

Banson would not reveal whether his agency is aware of d'Aubignosc's white nationalist activism, or whether an investigation of d'Aubignosc is underway. "I am not at liberty to discuss or provide any data we may or may not have concerning a third party," he said.

D'Aubignosc did not reply to five E-mails or three voice-mail messages left over a two-week period in late February and early March, seeking comment for this story.

Compared to limelight-seekers like Duke, Griffin and Le Pen, d'Aubignosc remains an obscure figure in the white nationalist movement. His online postings reveal little about his personal background. According to a letter d'Aubignosc sent to Canadian Prime Minister Paul Martin in March 2004 protesting the detention of Holocaust denier Ernst Zundel, d'Aubignosc's mother married the Canadian ambassador to Belgium when d'Aubignosc was 7 years old. "Canada soon became like a second fatherland to me," he wrote.

In October 2003, d'Aubignosc posted to Stormfront, "I have been working hard to unite all people from European descent wherever they may live." In May 2004, he published a report on Altermedia about David Duke's homecoming party after Duke was released from federal prison after serving a year for ripping off supporters. In that post, d'Aubignosc wrote that he had first met Duke in Europe in January 2000 and then visited Duke in Louisiana in May 2000.

D'Aubignosc then launched into an anti-Semitic screed. "White nationalism is about respect and our willingness to make sure that our children will have a safe place to live protected from the curses of multiculturalism," he wrote. "Our enemies are the vicious people who hate black people so much they have been using them to destroy us by miscegenation or 'racial mixing' which is a form of genocide for us. They are the people who lie, lie, lie to drive America into wars of Israeli conquest. They are the people who deny every nation the right to its own secure living space, while, at the same time, they demand that same space for their own people. They are the ones who plunder American and European taxpayers to subsidize their own terrorist state. They are the ones who poison our children's minds with MTV. They are the people who sell our women on the meat markets of forced prostitution and pornography on the streets of Jerusalem."

While legal in the United States, publishing such vitriol could get a man into big trouble in Belgium, or any other EU country with harsh anti-hate speech laws.

As d'Aubignosc wrote in November 2006 in an article for Altermedia celebrating British National Party leader Griffin's acquittal on hate speech charges, "In Europe, we do not have free speech, and we have to be very careful about what we say and about the words we use."

If the recent cases in his home country are any indication, the Belgian webmaster better hope he's been careful enough. ▲
Heidi Beirich and Laurie Wood contributed to this report.



FACE RIGHT

In a community that has struggled to achieve its own civil rights, angry religious opposition to homosexuals is on the march

Bishop Eddie Long takes to the pulpit wearing a crisp, two-piece suit. Long's been known to dress down in tight muscle shirts and leather vests when preaching, but for this sermon it's business attire. A flock of young men from his New Birth Missionary Baptist Church near Atlanta surround Long's pulpit.

"We're raising our young boys to be just like the women," he bellows to his congregation, which today numbers more than 25,000 people. "We keep telling men to get in touch with their [sweetens his voice] *sensitive self*."

Almost 45 minutes into the sermon, captured on a videotape that is for sale in his church's bookstore, Bishop Long grows louder and angrier.

"The problem today and the reason society is like it is, is because men are being feminized and women are being masculine!" he roars. "You can not say, 'I was born this way' ... I don't care what scientists say!"

The crowd erupts in "amens," laughter and clapping.

Eddie Long (see also profile, p. 24) is just one example of a growing number of powerful, politically active African-American pastors who are increasingly aligning themselves with the white evangelical Christian leaders who have been building a religiously based anti-gay movement for more than 30 years now. Like their white counterparts, these black anti-gay preachers routinely identify the so-called "homosexual agenda" — not poverty, racism, gang violence, inadequate schools, or unemployment — as the No. 1 threat facing black Americans today. Often, they take their cues from white Christian Right hard-liners like Traditional Values Coalition chairman Louis Sheldon, who told TV pundit Tucker Carlson in January 2006 that homosexuality is "the biggest problem facing inner-city black neighborhoods." Sheldon later delivered the same message to the Congressional Black Caucus, this time accompanied by Bishop Paul Morton, a black anti-gay minister from New Orleans.

BY BRENTIN MOCK
PHOTOGRAPHY BY
STEVE THACKSTON

Some black ministers have been attracted to the white-dominated religious anti-gay movement by the money and power of white Christian leaders, not to mention “faith-based” grants under the Bush Administration. But it’s also obvious that a segment of the black community in America has long had its own negative attitudes toward gays and lesbians. “I’m sure [black ministers] are being co-opted, but they don’t need a great deal of co-optation,” is how the Rev. Peter Gomes, chaplain of Harvard University, put it to the *Village Voice* in 2004.

“I think they come to the prejudice on their own.”

Attitudes Toward Homosexuality

Public opinion among African Americans on matters concerning homosexuality is a complex phenomenon. On the one hand, African Americans are more likely than other groups to support anti-discrimination legislation protecting gays and lesbians — a reflection of their deep commitment to the ideals of equality in light of their own history of second-class citizenship.

On the other hand, polls typically show that African Americans are more likely than other groups to disapprove of homosexuality — a reflection, in large part, of factors such as the deep

istic of much of the black-nationalist ideology,” Harvard African American Studies professor Henry Louis Gates wrote in *The Greatest Taboo: Homosexuality in Black Communities*.

Louis Farrakhan, ailing leader of the black nationalist Nation of Islam, has been a constant critic of homosexuality. “God don’t like men coming to men with lust in their hearts like you should go to a female,” he told a Kansas City crowd in 1996. “If you think that the kingdom of God is going to be filled up with that kind of degenerate crap, you’re out of your damn mind.”

The Million Man March and Millions More Movement, both Nation of Islam creations, were more heavily attended by black Christians and their ministers — Christians who found themselves very much in tune with the Nation’s ideas about homosexuality — than by black Muslims like those who make up the Nation. Those tenets hold that homosexuality, along with all other “sexual perversions,” originated exclusively among white Europeans. This sentiment, also popularized by black Christian ministers throughout Africa, holds that gays and lesbians, and especially black gays and lesbians, are culpable in the destruction of black civilization.

“What Farrakhan says is just a

kind of fervor that was employed in the last election to vote down same-sex marriage is the same fervor African Americans once experienced too around civil rights. It’s a shame. It’s amazing how hatred can motivate people.”

But not all militant black leaders have expressed antipathy like Farrakhan’s toward homosexual people. In 1970, the year after New York’s Stonewall Riots — a watershed moment for the gay liberation movement sparked by a police raid on a gay bar frequented by blacks and Latinos — Black Panthers co-founder Huey Newton officially embraced the gay liberation movement. Newton said that homosexual people “might be the most oppressed in the society” at the Revolutionary People’s Constitutional Convention that year.

“The terms ‘faggot’ and ‘punk’ should be deleted from our vocabulary,” Newton later wrote. “Homosexuals are not enemies of the people.”

Fanning the Flames

White leaders of the Christian Right have long sought to recruit blacks into their anti-gay crusade. Conservative Christian organizations with multi-million-dollar budgets have funneled money to black anti-gay churches through programs such as the Christian Coalition’s ill-fated “Samaritan Project,” which aimed to raise millions of dollars for black churches that “promote family values.” (The Samaritan Project disintegrated after black employees sued the Christian Coalition in 2001 for allegedly forcing black workers to enter through the back door and take their breaks in segregated rooms. The coalition settled the case out of court.)

As far back as 1994, when far-right evangelicals were revving up to do battle with the Clinton Administration, Sheldon and his Traditional Values Coalition worked with several black churches to produce the “Gay Rights/Special Rights” pseudo-documentary, designed to pit African Americans against gay Americans by presenting the struggle for gay rights as a leech

GOING STRAIGHT

The Rev. Gregory Daniels says if he ‘chose’ not to be gay, so can others. And they should, he adds, because homosexuality is destroying black America

BY BRENTIN MOCK

CHICAGO — The Rev. Gregory Daniels walks into the South Side’s famous Dixie Kitchen restaurant wearing a full-length chocolate mink coat and glass frames the icy blue color of toothpaste gel.

He knows why he’s been asked for an interview and immediately delves into the sizzling declaration reported in *The New York Times* in February 2004: “If the KKK opposes gay marriage, I would ride with them.”

It was quite a statement for a black man.

Despite what Daniels now describes as a mere “parable,” the president of United Voters for Truth and Change (UVTC) says he does not hate homosexuals. After all, if it weren’t for a few kind twists of fate, he says, he, too, could have turned out gay.

When he was a teenager, Daniels says, an older man repeatedly propositioned him with money for sex. The young Daniels was broke at the time, so he seriously considered the indecent proposal. His saving grace, he says, was a job offer that solved Daniels’ financial problems. He told the older man to stop calling him.

That wasn’t Daniels’ only rejection of homosexuality, he says. As a child growing up among nine brothers and one sister, he usually chose to play with his sister and her paper dolls, rather than horsing around with his brothers. In high school, he adds, he was teased by the guys because he cooked and cleaned house for his mother.

One day, Daniels says he told his mother, “People are thinking I’m gonna be a sissy.”

“Well, are you?” she replied.

At that point, Daniels explains, he chose not to be. Today, Daniels says he doesn’t believe that a “special interest” group — men who he believes simply adopted homosexuality — should be entitled to marriage rights. After all, he has been a heterosexual husband of 25 years, a man who “chose” to go straight.

Today, Gregory Daniels is a key player in the religiously based black anti-gay movement. As head of UVTC, his own religious right voter education organization, he has traveled around America, from the Midwest to Massachusetts, where same-sex marriage is legal. He has made his way to Washington, D.C., to confront and lobby lawmakers on issues related to homosexuality.

And he has campaigned to bring more blacks into the Republican fold. During the last presidential campaign, he wrote on Beliefnet.com, a religious news website: “This is our mission — to help President George W. Bush change the wind of destruction to a new wind of freedom and justice for all.”

The church that Daniels used to pastor, Greater Shiloh Missionary Baptist, sits on a block on Chicago’s South Side just across the street from one of relatively few still-standing high-rise public housing projects in America. The ground is littered with empty liquor bottles and patrolled by drug-addicted, drug-peddling teens, and an atmosphere of despair pervades the place. But Daniels doesn’t stress drugs, alcohol and gangs as damaging to inner-city African Americans.

Homosexuality, he tells the *Intelligence Report*, “is what has destroyed the black community.”

And what about Daniel’s infamous statement about riding with the Klan? Daniels says with a chuckle that he hasn’t heard from the men in white just yet. But he did get a provocative letter, he concedes, from a black woman.

“What do you think they gonna do to you,” she asked, “after the ride?”

upon the legacy of the civil rights movement.

Homophobic white evangelicals have also made it their business to preach directly to black audiences. Rod Parsley, the head of the World Harvest Church in Columbus, Ohio, is one of the anti-gay evangelical movement’s shining stars, a man who routinely spreads such falsehoods as the idea that homosexuals die at the average age of 43 and that only 1% will die of old age. He also enjoys substantial crossover appeal among African Americans, who make up about 45% of his 12,000-member congregation.

In addition, the faith-based funding initiatives of the current Bush Administration provide financial incentives for black preachers to promote a

marriage agenda that’s hostile to gays and lesbians, through federal programs such as the \$1.5 billion Healthy Marriage Initiative. That initiative provides funding to religious groups, mostly in inner-city areas, to promote “healthy marriages,” defined as “married families with two biological parents.”

After Bishop Long received a \$1 million faith-based grant from the U.S. Administration for Children & Families in 2004, Esther Kaplan — a well-known commentator and author of the 2005 book *With God on Their Side: George W. Bush and the Christian Right* — told the Atlanta gay newspaper *Southern Voice*, “It cannot be bad for your career as a black minister at this point to speak out against gay marriage.”

Support for anti-gay causes, of course, is far from universal among black church leaders. For instance, Rev. Jeremiah Wright, pastor of the Trinity United Church of Christ in Chicago whose congregation includes Sen. Barack Obama, has come out strongly against allowing anti-gay prejudice to become gospel in black churches. His church is one of the few that has a “Same Gender Loving” ministry for congregants. One of Wright’s close associates, black theologian and public intellectual Michael Eric Dyson, also has publicly supported the gay community.

Civil vs. Gay Rights

Today, more and more black preachers across the country are picking up the idea that gay rights activists

“The problem today and the reason society is like it is, is because men are being feminized and women are being masculine! You can not say, ‘I was born this way.’ I don’t care what scientists say!”

EDDIE LONG

level of religious conviction among African Americans. As is true for many white Americans, it is not surprising that some of the most adamant opponents of gays and lesbians among black communities speak from the pulpit.

The fire of anti-gay prejudice among African Americans has been stoked by other sources as well. “Disapproval of homosexuality has been a character-

clear and pointed example of what basically underlies the theology and social actions of our African-American communities and churches,” Rev. Irene Monroe, a lesbian black minister from Massachusetts, wrote in her essay, “Louis Farrakhan’s Ministry of Misogyny and Homophobia.”

“What’s surprising,” Monroe added in a recent interview, “is that the same

have no right to cite the civil rights movement. These preachers are now becoming the new advance guard in the hard-line Christian Right’s crusade to religiously and politically condemn homosexuals. They are demonizing gays in fiery sermons and hammering the message that gay rights and civil rights are not only separate issues, but also opposing forces.

Rev. Dwight McKissic, a black Texas pastor, argued last year that classifying the gay rights movement as part of the larger civil rights struggle is “insulting, offensive, demeaning, and racist.” He spoke at the 2006 “Values Voters Summit,” a conservative political action conference sponsored by the nation’s dominant anti-gay evangelical organi-

zation, James Dobson’s Focus on the Family. Also last year, anti-gay African-American Bishop Eugene Rivers told *The Boston Globe*, “The gay community is pimping the civil rights movement.”

Of course, many gay and lesbian activists see it just the other way around — they believe that white evangelical hard-liners are cynically using compliant African-American pastors to serve their own purposes.

At “Justice Sunday III,” a January 2006 religious conference sponsored by two white-led organizations, the Family Research Council and Focus on the Family, black ministers stood by as white evangelicals compared the “struggles” of conservative Christians to those of black Americans in the 1960s.

For his part, the late Martin Luther King Jr., generally seen as the god-father of the civil rights movement, never spoke directly to homosexuality, although Bayard Rustin, an openly gay black man and King confidant, orchestrated the 1963 March on Washington. Others who worked closely with King say that no matter what one thinks about the origins of homosexuality, all people should enjoy equality. “You can have a variance of opinion on sexual orientation,” veteran civil rights activist Rev. Jesse Jackson told a crowd of Microsoft executives on Martin Luther King Day this January. “But what should not vary is protection under the law.”

Yet when King’s widow Coretta Scott King died last year, her memorial

service was held at New Birth Missionary Baptist Church in Lithonia, Ga. — the sprawling church pastored by Bishop Eddie Long, a man who has informed his congregants that God tells homosexuals that “you deserve death.” Bernice King, the youngest daughter of the King family, is a minister at New Birth and, despite her mother’s opposite views, an outspoken opponent of gay rights. (Outside, members of the Westboro Baptist Church led by white anti-gay extremist Fred Phelps picketed King’s funeral with signs reading, “No Fags in King’s Dream.”)

As the debate over gay rights continues to heat up, African-American pastors preaching anti-gay theology along the lines of Bishop Long are



“The gay community is pimping the civil rights movement.”

BISHOP EUGENE RIVERS

increasingly visible — particularly in regions with large gay populations, such as the areas around Washington, D.C., Chicago, Atlanta, Seattle and the Northeast generally. At the same time, the split between those who despise gays and others in black America is widening.

The views of those who support gay rights are probably best summed up by Coretta King, who advocated for gay rights right up to her death. In 1998, speaking on the 30th anniversary of her husband’s death, she made that plain.

“I still hear people say that I should not be talking about the rights of lesbian and gay people and I should stick to the issue of racial justice,” the civil rights leader’s widow told her audience. “But I hasten to remind them that Martin Luther King Jr. said, ‘Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere.’ I appeal to everyone who believes in Martin Luther King Jr.’s dream to make room at the table of brother- and sisterhood for lesbian and gay people.” ▲

TREADING SOFTLY

Bishop Harry Jackson is a polite black critic of homosexuality. The white leaders he’s allied himself with aren’t so nice

BY BRENTIN MOCK

LANHAM, Md. — Bishop Harry Jackson’s Hope Christian Church is the size of a supermarket, with items similarly proffered for sale as soon as you enter the front vestibule. The products are mostly media: cassettes, CDs and DVDs of Hope Christian worship services and religious conferences, and stacks of books.

Many of those books come from Jackson’s own hand, including his call-to-black-conservatives *Black Contract with America* and another book called *High Impact African-American Churches*, which was co-written with white evangelical publisher George Barna. The literature reflects Jackson’s relative moderation in the black anti-gay movement, but also a willingness to partner with white preachers and groups who are, in many cases, truly vicious critics of homosexuals.

High Impact begins by pushing Jackson and Barna’s own “research,”

purportedly based on 100,000 personal interviews conducted over the last 20 years, which uncovered “areas in which whites and blacks are clearly divergent.” One of those areas, according to Jackson and Barna, is sexual temptation. Black people, they allege, are far more prone to it, and specifically to “physical intimacy with a nonspouse or enjoyment of pornographic materials.”

In spite of this allegedly innate promiscuity — a quality that most white supremacists “race scientists” and hate groups also claim is an intrinsic characteristic of black people — Jackson and Barna conclude that African Americans are spiritually superior to white Christians, in that their faith is more “integrated” into their everyday life. Since black Christians spend more time in church

than white ones, the book argues, black God-fearers are more observing of the Sabbath, while “this concept was lost more than a quarter century ago in white America” — just one more “sign that the spiritual focus remains paramount among blacks.”

But there is one area, Jackson says, where good black and white Christians are in perfect accord: Their shared condemnation of homosexuality.

“It’s going to cost black America if we don’t stand [with white anti-gay Christians] against this,” Jackson told a January 2005 rally in Annapolis, Md. “We are in a moral war ... a battle of epic proportions.”

More recently, in a September column on Townhall.com, Jackson said: “The gay community, with the help of the liberal media, has worked strategically on a P.R. campaign to make Americans comfortable with homosexuality. From the slightly effeminate male assistant to the first gay marriage ceremony on television, American audiences have watched homosexual themes creep into their lives.”

While Jackson personally avoids venomous language, he has allied



himself with some of the hardest line anti-gay activists on the white Christian Right. One of them is Ohio-based Rod Parsley, the evangelical mega-church preacher whose book, *Silent No More*, sells three for \$10 in the front lobby of Hope Christian’s 3,000-member church. A chapter entitled “The Unhappy Gay Agenda” argues that gay people are much given to depression and deviance, including their “substantially higher participation in sadomasochism, fisting, bestiality, ingestion of feces, orgies ... obscene phone calls ... shoplifting, and tax cheating.”

“Homosexuality is not just sick,” writes Parsley, “it is sin.”

Jackson generally finds politer ways to say similar things. “It’s not good that we open the door and get this thing so confused that we have eight more Warren Jeffses,” he tells the *Intelligence Report* in reference to a polygamist leader who was recently arrested and charged with sexual assault of a minor and conspiracy, for allegedly arranging marriages for his followers with child brides. “We have to try not to open this [legal marriage] to other inventive kinds of relationships.”

Jackson works with Parsley and a number of other Christian fundamentalists through his High Impact

Leadership Coalition (HILC), a collection of black and white evangelical mega-church leaders who’ve banded together to fight same-sex union rights and campaign for conservative candidates. Standing next to Jackson at the HILC’s coming-out press conference in February 2005 was the Rev. Lou Sheldon, head of the Traditional Values Coalition, an anti-gay organization so hard-line that it is listed by the Southern Poverty Law Center as a hate group.

The partnership goes both ways. Jackson was a “special guest” and the only nonwhite preacher at the “Justice Sunday II” event held in August 2005 in Nashville. The gathering, sponsored by the hard-line anti-gay groups Family Research Council and Focus on the Family, was aimed at attacking those who sought to block appointment of anti-gay, religious right judges. Jackson was also the closing speaker in Washington, D.C., last September at the “Values Voters Summit,” a conference meant to galvanize far-right Christian voters to engage in political action.

Still, Jackson has agreed to debate African-American religious and intellectual icon Michael Eric Dyson at a gay rights conference on the issue of gay marriage — a move practically unheard of among white Christian Right

leaders. The debate was scheduled for this March at the “Black Church Summit” in Philadelphia, and hosted by the National Black Justice Coalition (NBJC), a black gay/lesbian/bisexual/transgendered rights group.

Jackson acknowledged his white colleagues on the Christian Right “wouldn’t even step in the door” for such a debate. But, he added, “I still don’t think I’ll come out of there changing my mind about the institution of marriage. ... My hope is that I come from a very clear biblical place. I know there are people who disagree with me, but my hope is that I am making a stand that is protecting an institution.”

Sylvia Rhue, director of religious affairs for NBJC, said that of all the anti-gay black pastors in the country, she finds Jackson one of the more pleasant she has had to deal with. He just happens to be wrong on gay rights, she said.

“I think it’s disturbing when black people join the contemporary Confederate army,” Rhue told the *Intelligence Report*. “I don’t see [anti-gay religious leaders] as any different than the army who wanted a civil war to maintain slavery. They were passionate and thought that God was on their side. But they were very wrong.”



HATING THE SINNER

Bishop Eddie Long pastors a huge church near Atlanta. He's also one of the most homophobic black ministers in America **BY BRENTIN MOCK**

LITHONIA, Ga. — “Men can look attractive when they are dirty,” writes Bishop Eddie Long in his 1997 book *I Don't Want Delilah, I Need You!* “We see sweating, dirty, hardworking men on television all the time and we say to one another, ‘There's a macho guy.’”

Despite this affinity for sweaty, macho men, Long is one of the most virulently homophobic black leaders in the religiously based anti-gay movement.

His book, subtitled *What a Woman Needs to Know, What a Man Needs to Understand*, appeared in the midst of a roaring growth period for Long's New Birth Missionary Baptist Church in Lithonia, Ga., near Atlanta. During the mid-'90s, it swelled to over 18,000 congregation members, men and women who worship in a multimillion-dollar complex that's the size of most major universities, spread out on 240 acres of land.

Much of what appears in *I Don't Want Delilah* was espoused in the videotaped “Back to the Future” sermon Long gave when his church was still small.

“It is the most unattractive thing

I have ever seen, when I see women wearing uniforms that men would wear, and women fighting to get in the military!” Long shouted to his congregation then. “The woman gets perverted to turn towards woman ... and everybody knows it's dangerous to enter an exit! And everybody knows, lady, if you go to the store and buy these devices [marital aids], it's Memorex! It ain't real!”

The audience, seated in a congested sanctuary, erupts in laughter. But what Long says next is no joke.

“God says you deserve death!”

Long's message is: Hate the sin *and* the sinner. It's a popular message. His congregation now tops 25,000.

In 2004, Long and his followers vigorously supported a proposed amendment to the Georgia state constitution to ban same-sex marriage. Civil rights activists cringed as Martin Luther King Jr.'s daughter, Bernice, handed a torch to Long, whom she has referred to as her “new father,” as they marched side by side to her biological father's gravesite in a demonstration held “to

protect the institution of marriage.”

The amendment ultimately passed.

When Bernice's mother Coretta Scott King died last year, her memorial service was held at Long's church. Harry Belafonte, the actor, refused to attend. Julian Bond, chairman of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, protested the funeral as well.

“I knew her [Coretta Scott King's] attitude toward gay and lesbian rights,” Bond told AOL Black Voices. “I just couldn't imagine that she'd want to be in that church with a minister who was a raving homophobe.”

In addition to Long's works, the bookstore in the front lobby of New Birth carries only the books of other high-profile white and black homophobes from the Christian Right. They include James Dobson, leader of the anti-gay Focus on the Family, and Bishop Harry Jackson (see profile, p. 22), leader of the evangelical anti-gay organization, High Impact Leadership Coalition. Long's 2004 book *Deliver Me From Adam* is foreworded by Rod Parsley, the hard-line leader of the anti-gay Center for Moral Clarity in Ohio, which led the charge getting a state referendum on banning same-sex marriage onto the 2004 ballot.

That passed, too.

In *Deliver Me From Adam*, Long pines for the days when “Leave it to Beaver” and “Father Knows Best” were on primetime television, a time when he claims “every family had a mom *and* dad.” Nowadays, Long continues, “most of the situation comedies project fractured families ... with openly gay family members and relationships.”

Also for sale in the New Birth store is *Ministering Graciously to the Gay and Lesbian Community*, by Bishop Brian Keith Williams. In a section titled “All Dogs Go to Hell,” Williams warns that “the truth concerning homosexuality is that, if one engages in this dog-like sin, it will result in both an immediate and ultimate hell.”

How's that for gracious ministering?

Last year, Long extended an invitation to gays and lesbians looking for

a “cure” to attend a “Sexual Orientation and Reorientation” conference at New Birth. The event consisted mostly of “ex-gay” ministers like the Rev. D. L. Foster and former gangsta rapper Samantha Coleman preaching that people can be “delivered” from the “unwanted desires” of homosexuality. Foster told the small crowd of black and white Christians with same-sex attractions how he “never once prayed to God for him to make me homosexual ... but I didn't know how to get rid of it.”

Coleman, similarly, said that she'd been aware of her feelings for women since she was 4, but would sometimes

regret them, wishing she were just a “normal girl.”

New Birth also offers an ongoing ministry called “Out of the Wilderness” that claims to help gays and lesbians “convert” to heterosexuality. New Birth's counseling staff did not return phone calls from *Intelligence Report* seeking specifics on the program. Program sessions are closed to the public.

In the 19th and early 20th centuries, merchants peddled skin-whitening bleach creams to African Americans, suggesting to potential customers they could alleviate the consequences of racism by simply changing their

skin color. Programs like “Out of the Wilderness,” which mainstream psychologists and medical experts reject because they say homosexuality is not a condition that needs a “cure,” operate on a similar principle. If black gays and lesbians feel emotionally desolate, alienated, or abandoned by their church, Long says, it's not because of bigoted attacks on them but because of their own sexual sin.

And if they don't change, he warns, they're going straight to hell. “Homosexuality and lesbianism are spiritual abortions,” Long says. “Homosexuality is a manifestation of the fallen man.” ▲

BISHOP ALFRED OWENS Washington, D.C.

In a Palm Sunday sermon delivered in April 2006, Bishop Alfred Owens served up his own macho recipe for what it takes to be a Christian.

“It takes a real man to confess Jesus as lord and savior,” the Washington pastor roared. “I'm not talking about no faggot or no sissy.”

Owens, the head pastor of the 4,000-member Mount Calvary Holy Church of America, is a member of Mayor Anthony Williams' Interfaith Council. After the Palm Sunday sermon, the mayor demanded that Owens apologize for his comments.

Owens responded with these words in a letter to *The Washington Post* published on May 18, 2006: “I used words that [a local human rights group] has denounced as offensive. ... On any given Sunday, I preach about love, faith and holiness, and, yes, about hell and sin.

“For that, I offer no apology.”

REV. JESSE PETERSON Los Angeles, Calif.

Whether speaking out against Mexican immigrants, affirmative action, or marriage equality, the Rev. Jesse Peterson is a reliable go-to African American for almost all things bigoted and conservative.

If his home state of California ever legalizes same-sex marriage, Peterson says, “It will destroy the family, especially the black family.” Peterson has also said that Mexican immigrants will destroy the black family, as will the twin evils of affirmative action and welfare.

Peterson heads up a group called Brotherhood of a New Destiny, or BOND, that states its purpose as “rebuilding the family by rebuilding the man” — an emphasis on men over women that echoes the patriarchal ideology of black nationalist groups like the Nation of Islam. Remarkably, Peterson finds the ultimate solution for black people in white people, without whom “in 10 years America would be a ghetto,” he says in his book *SCAM*. But at the end of the day, Peterson's main concern is homosexuality



and its alleged destructiveness. Homosexuality, says the reverend, “is not about love, it's not about civil rights, it's about sex — nothing else. You cannot get love from a homosexual relationship.”

REV. WILLIE WILSON Washington, D.C.

When a Washington newspaper published the contents of an anti-gay sermon delivered by the Rev. Willie Wilson in 2005, it put a major dent into the Rev. Louis Farrakhan's Millions More Movement March scheduled for later that year.

Even though Farrakhan and his march ally, New Black Panther Party leader Malik Zulu Shabazz, had repeatedly attacked homosexuals, Wilson's sermon, delivered at his Union Temple Baptist Church, was more inflammatory still. Despite Wilson's position as national executive director for the Millions More Movement, his words stirred a hornet's nest within that movement.

“Lesbianism is about to take over our community,” Wilson said in his sermon. And to gay men: “No wonder your behind is bleeding. It's destroying us.”

Millions More Movement staffers and advisers resigned in protest, including the Rev. Amina Binta, who told the *Washington Blade*, the gay and lesbian newspaper that broke the sermon story: “I don't care to eat their fare, because they're serving up a steady diet of homophobia that is very venomous.”

When the Millions More march finally arrived on Oct. 15, 2005, Wilson personally blocked an official of the National Black Justice Coalition, a civil rights group for black gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgendered people, from the stage. Wilson's actions came even though representatives of the group were told by march officials earlier in the week that their speaker would be welcome.

Wilson's intervention didn't help turnout any. Despite being open to men, women and children — as opposed to the 1995 Million Man March, which was for men only — just an estimated 100,000 turned out. That was far short of the almost 1 million people who attended its predecessor.



How an academic rose to the heights
of his profession while producing
'science' justifying the hatred of Jews

Promoting Hate

KEVIN MacDONALD

417

OFFICE HOURS

NAME	KEVIN MACDONALD
OFFICE	417
PHONE	562-999-1234
FAX	562-999-1234
EMAIL	kevin@csulb.edu
WEBSITE	www.kevinmacdonald.net
RESEARCH	Evolutionary Psychology
TEACHING	Psychology 101
ADVICE	Follow your instincts

BY HEIDI BEIRICH
PHOTOGRAPHY BY TODD BIGELOW

LONG BEACH, Calif. — California State University, Long Beach (CSULB), is a multicultural wonderland, with classrooms filled by Golden Staters whose ancestors came to this lively, diverse beach community from every corner of the world. Double-stocked with both an Office of Equity and Diversity and a Multicultural Center, CSULB openly proclaims its commitment to educating all of California's students, regardless of income, race, creed or national origin. ¶ Given its diverse student body, it would seem that CSULB would be the last place to find a tried and true anti-Semite and white supremacist lecturing. But that is where Kevin B. MacDonald, a 63-year-old man who developed a deep-seated mistrust for Jewish activists while protesting the Vietnam War, is employed as the psychology professor for those seeking degrees in child development.

From an office inside the bunker-like, six-story Psych building, a tall, thin, bespectacled MacDonald pumps out pages and pages of material on how Jews are genetically driven to destroy Western societies. According to MacDonald, who considers himself an evolutionary psychologist, Jews, who have typically been in the minority in countries around the world, are compelled by an evolutionary strategy that makes them push for liberal policies, like immigration and diversity, with the intent of weakening the power of the majority that rules them.

Ultimately, MacDonald blames the death of millions on "the failure of Jewish assimilation into European societies" and even suggests that "parity" between Jews and gentiles could be reestablished by discriminating against Jews in college admissions and establishing taxes to reduce "the Jewish advantage" in wealth.

MacDonald's three-volume set of books on Jews and their destructive tactics is devoured by anti-Semites the world over. Not since Hitler's *Mein Kampf* have anti-Semites had such a comprehensive reference guide to what's wrong with "the Jews." His work is widely advertised and touted on white supremacist websites and sold by neo-Nazi outfits like National Vanguard Books, which considers them "the most important books of the last 100 years." For years, MacDonald defended his research as apolitical and scientific, but that defense fell apart after the millennium, when MacDonald embarked on a white supremacist speaking tour. Last December, MacDonald dropped the defense altogether and declared his dislike for Jews.

"I have come to the point of seeing my subjects in a less than flattering light," the professor wrote on his kevinmacdonald.net website.

CSULB is not the first campus to employ an academic racist on its professorial staff. But what makes MacDonald's case unique is that he was able to reach the heights of his profession, securing a post on the executive council of the

professional body for evolutionary psychologists, all the while producing "research" now widely viewed as anti-Semitic. His work on Jewish evolutionary psychology made it into peer-reviewed publications and was taken seriously by many Ph.D.s. At CSULB, MacDonald sailed through his post-tenure review and was awarded sabbaticals and choice committee assignments (he currently serves on the Scholarly and Creative Activities Committee). MacDonald filled his university website with racist and anti-Semitic materials, using some of them in his classes. Even when his connections to a prominent Holocaust denier were made public in 2000, the reaction from his department and the university's administration was

silence. By last year, MacDonald had been awarded \$10,000 by one racist outfit for his anti-Semitic research and was appointed as an adviser to another. Through it all, MacDonald did not suffer one official word of censure until late 2006, when general resolutions from his department opposing the use of academic research by hate groups and applauding diversity were enacted (these resolutions were prompted by inquiries from a writer for the *Intelligence Report*). Instead, he was given rewards.



MacDonald refused repeated requests from the *Report* for comment over the course of several months, writing on his personal website that he had “no confidence” that he would be treated in a “non-biased way.”

A Bohemian Discovers the Jews

A former flower child and anti-Vietnam War activist, MacDonald was born in Oshkosh, Wis., to a middle-class family with a police officer dad. Raised in Joseph McCarthy’s home state in the midst of that senator’s anti-communist witch-hunts, MacDonald attended Catholic schools and played basketball. He enrolled at the University of Wisconsin in the early 1960s, majoring in philosophy. An ardent peacenik in college, MacDonald abandoned Catholicism and joined the anti-war movement. It was during these years that MacDonald would later admit he began to have suspicions about the motives of his Jewish fellow protesters. After school, MacDonald pursued the bohemian lifestyle of a jazz pianist, a career that ultimately failed. Not long after the fall of Saigon in 1975, he returned to the university campus.

MacDonald headed to graduate school at the University of Connecticut, earning a master’s in biology in 1977, at the age of 33. In 1981, he earned a Ph.D. in biobehavioral sciences from the same university. While in Connecticut, MacDonald studied the behavior of wolves, particularly wolf-cub interaction. He then spent two years as a post-doctoral fellow in the University of Illinois’ psychology department, where he received his first serious introduction to the discipline of psychology, which would be his life’s work. While there, MacDonald’s interest shifted from wolves to humans, as he studied parent-child play.

“I HAVE COME TO THE POINT OF SEEING MY SUBJECTS IN A LESS THAN FLATTERING LIGHT.”

MacDonald was hired as an assistant professor by CSULB in 1985, when he was 41 years old, and has been there ever since. MacDonald’s research in the 1980s and early 1990s was in line with this early training. His first academic publication was “Activity Patterns in a Captive Wolf Pack,” and he was still writing about wolves in the late 1980s. MacDonald published dozens of articles and a couple of books on parent-child behavior in the late 1980s and 1990s.



MacDonald’s academic career was sailing nicely along, and he was awarded a CSULB Distinguished Faculty Scholarly and Creative Activities Award in 1995. But MacDonald’s anti-war experiences haunted him, and he later told *New Times LA* journalist Tony Ortega that he had come to realize that that was when his fixation on Jews developed. Noticing many of fellow activists were Jewish, MacDonald developed his first inkling that Jews are compelled to challenge traditional American and Western ideals. He came to the conclusion that Jews take over political and cultural movements and front them with unsuspecting, token gentiles — just the way MacDonald felt he was treated while protesting the Vietnam War. In the 1980s, MacDonald started reading up on Jews, trying to determine the reasons behind what he saw as their lockstep liberalism and hatred of all things Western. His first effort, the first book in his trilogy on the Jews, was the 1994 publication of *A People that Shall Dwell Alone: Judaism as a Group Evolutionary Strategy*, which was published by Praeger Press and came out just after MacDonald was awarded his full

professorship. Today, most of MacDonald’s publishing is about Jews and the evils of the liberal immigration policies they support.

Landing at Long Beach

MacDonald was lucky he landed at Long Beach. The department where MacDonald found a permanent home turned out to be a good place for someone interested in publishing

things they might not want others to notice. Long troubled by internecine political battles, in 1994 CSULB’s psychology department was criticized by an external reviewer for being “devoid of open discussion of tough issues.”

Professors in that department, most of them only willing to speak on background because of fear of retribution from their colleagues, told the *Report* that the environment hasn’t changed much. The department hasn’t held faculty meetings in more than a decade, they say, and decisions, including those concerning academic tenure, are made by a small committee of full professors. “There’s always a lot of surprise among younger faculty that you don’t interact with your colleagues,” one assistant professor told the *Report*. “We are all independent contractors, we have no department meetings, no

social gatherings, and we don’t even know a lot of the senior faculty, let alone something about their research.”

Professor Michael Connor seconded those comments, telling the *Report* that it made sense someone like MacDonald had prospered in his department. “It’s not surprising that this happened here,” said Connor, the first black professor hired in the department, in the early 1970s. Connor pointed out that most of his senior colleagues were well aware of MacDonald’s views and that MacDonald, in line with his dislike of minority rights, had been very outspoken over the years against ethnic studies programs and diversity efforts. Saying that he would not have taught all these years at CSULB if it weren’t for his love of his students and the Black Psychology Students Association he advises, Connor labeled the department “a hostile work environment” where he had “experienced any number of racist incidents.”

MacDonald faced no such challenges. In 1994, in fact, he was promoted to full professor.

Professor Sara Smith, who served on the committee that promoted MacDonald to full professor, told the *Report* by E-mail she was “wary but supportive in principle” of his first two works on Jews. Describing MacDonald as a “personable colleague,” she wrote that the department had typically been

supportive of “new approaches to teaching and scholarship” and that she thought at that point that MacDonald seemed to have “not quite crossed any professional or ethical danger line, though we realized his work was susceptible to some scary interpretations.” She also noted that she had heard from students that “Kevin presented a view of race and intelligence that they found troubling,” but did little about it. She now regrets her earlier support.

“My views today are very different,” she told the *Report*.

Teaching the Young

The psychology chair, Ken Green, disagreed that his department had any hand in promoting MacDonald’s extremism. In an interview, Green defended MacDonald against earlier *Intelligence Report* articles that reported MacDonald’s anti-Semitic views and white supremacist activities, asking if the *Report* would now issue an update notifying readers that MacDonald had resigned in October as an advisor to the white supremacist National Policy Institute. (MacDonald quit only after learning that the *Report* was working on this article last year).

When pressed about whether MacDonald’s anti-Semitic and racist views had ever leaked into the classroom and affected student grades or learning, Green told the *Report*, “He keeps his outside stuff outside and he keeps his classroom activity consistent with what it ought to be.” Asked how he would know that, given that classroom visits are not allowed in the department, Green said: “The ways of knowing are to check the materials he has on his website, to ask the mediator and anybody else who might be receiving student complaints, including me.”

Whether or not administrators know about it, the fact is that MacDonald does use the work of notorious race scientists — including that of J. Philippe Rushton, a Canadian academic who argues that penis and brain size (and thus intelligence) are inversely related — as course material.

(Rushton argues that blacks, on average, have larger genitalia and smaller brains than whites.)

At least one student agrees with Green’s view of MacDonald’s teaching. Farnaz Kaighobadi, a psychology student for whom MacDonald has written a letter of recommendation for graduate school, called the *Report* to insist that MacDonald kept his views on Jews and non-whites out of the classroom. But students posting comments anonymously at rateyourprofessors.com

Professor Michael Connor, the first black teacher hired by CSULB’s Psychology Department, says he has experienced “any number of racist incidents” at work. He says it’s no surprise that Kevin MacDonald has prospered at the school.





say that they have seen bias in MacDonald's teaching. One student writes that MacDonald "promotes race-based theories of intelligence and will not consider alternate theories." Another comments that MacDonald has views "regarding the 'genetic superiority' of Whites over Blacks."

In 2000, MacDonald opened up his classroom to Tony Ortega, the *New Times LA* reporter. The topic of the day was IQ, which MacDonald told the class "is probably the most important human difference that we deal with." Arguing that day that a child's IQ can't be raised and that low IQ inevitably brought with it lower income, more children, and more illegitimacy, MacDonald relied on data from the controversial and heavily criticized book *The Bell Curve*. He commented to the class, "The dull ones are more fertile – what does this mean for our future?"

A Friendly Warning

The lack of discussion noted by younger psychology professors at CSULB ensured that only a few of MacDonald's colleagues realized that a racist activist was developing in their midst. Professors who knew of complaints about MacDonald's work, like Sara Smith, did little, and MacDonald continued about his business.

But not all were clueless. As long ago as 1993, after reviewing one of MacDonald's manuscripts, psychology professor Martin Fiebert, who then frequently played tennis with MacDonald, warned his then-friend: "Your manuscript, unintentionally perhaps, reinforces the stereotype that all Jews ... are clannish, deceptive, and exploitative." Fiebert wrote to MacDonald that he was "horrified" by his description of Hitler's writings as "entirely straightforward and making excellent sense from an evolutionary perspective." Fiebert gave MacDonald what turned out to be a prophetic warning: "I'm sure you would be dismayed to find that your book has a treasured place in the bookcases of neo-Nazis along with *Mein Kampf* and *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*."

It wasn't just CSULB's senior psychology staff that gave MacDonald and his increasingly controversial research a pass. In 1995, MacDonald reached the heights of his profession, winning election to a six-year term as Secretary-Archivist and member of the Executive Council of the Human Behavior and Evolution Society, the main professional association for evolutionary psychologists. He went on to publish several articles explaining his views of why Jews act as they do in a series of professional publications, including *Research in Biopolitics*, *European Sociobiological Society Newsletter* and *Population and Environment*, for which he would also serve as editor from 1999 through 2004.

For Emory University Professor of Jewish Studies Deborah Lipstadt, who MacDonald eventually testified against in a libel case brought by Holocaust denier David Irving, that is scandalous. Lipstadt wrote in her book *History on Trial*: "I found it hard to fathom that this man had been teaching at an American university for over fifteen years and had published what could arguably be described as anti-Semitic tomes without anyone — his colleagues in

particular — taking notice... . [N]ot only had his colleagues not taken notice, his fellow evolutionary psychologists elected him secretary of the association of evolutionary psychologists."

Crossing the Rubicon

Fiebert's friendly warning to MacDonald fell on deaf ears. Instead, during the 1990s, MacDonald dedicated himself to his anti-Semitic intellectual odyssey. He produced three volumes on the Jews, *A People That Shall Dwell Alone: Judaism as a Group Evolutionary Strategy* (1994), *Separation and its Discontents: Toward an Evolutionary Theory of Anti-Semitism* (1998), and *The Culture of Critique: An Evolutionary Analysis of Jewish Involvement in Twentieth-Century Intellectual and Political Movements* (1998). The trilogy provides a whole new justification for anti-Semitism that has nothing to do with Nazi race theories, which blamed Jews for introducing evil social vices and other perversions into Nordic society and portrayed them as degenerates praying on unsuspecting, wholesome Aryans. Instead of depending on Hitler, MacDonald has provided today's neo-Nazis with a whole new set of reasons for why Jewish behavior and culture are a threat to whites.

MacDonald's basic premise is that Jews engage in a "group evolutionary strategy" that serves to enhance their ability to out-compete non-Jews for resources. Although normally a tiny minority in their host countries, Jews, like viruses, destabilize their host societies to their benefit. Just last April, MacDonald explained on the anti-immigrant hate site vdare.com how Jews have sapped the power of the American white majority. "Despite the fact that Jews constitute less than 3 percent of the US population, the Holocaust has become a cultural icon as a direct result of Jewish activism and influence in the media, Israel has become a sacred cow in American politics, and the role of Jewish organizations in helping unleash massive multiethnic immigration into the U.S., as well as engineering the current American involvement in Iraq, goes unmentioned in public debate," MacDonald said.

MacDonald argues that this alleged Jewish evolutionary strategy is particularly sinister because, he says, it paints its opponents, meaning whites, as insane if they reject Jewish ideas. "Viewed at its most abstract level, a fundamental [Jewish]



PROFESSOR MARTIN FIEBERT WROTE TO MACDONALD THAT HE WAS "HORRIFIED" BY HIS DESCRIPTION OF HITLER'S WRITINGS AS "ENTIRELY STRAIGHTFORWARD AND MAKING EXCELLENT SENSE FROM AN EVOLUTIONARY PERSPECTIVE."



Kevin MacDonald was honored in 2004 for his work on the Jews by *The Occidental Quarterly*, a white supremacist publication. He was accompanied at the event by Virginia Abernethy, a self-described "white separatist" and member of the racist Council of Conservative Citizens. Ken Green (inset), head of MacDonald's department at CSULB, said that despite this kind of history, MacDonald has never brought his racist or anti-Semitic views into the classroom.

agenda is thus to influence the European-derived peoples of the United States to view concern about their own demographic and cultural eclipse as irrational and as an indication of psychopathology," MacDonald has written.

In perhaps MacDonald's most controversial chapter of the trilogy — "National Socialism as an Anti-Jewish Group Evolutionary Strategy" in *Separation and its Discontents* — the psychology professor argues that the Nazi movement developed specifically to counter "Judaism as a group evolutionary strategy." The upshot of his contention is that Jewish "group behavior," because it has produced much financial and intellectual success over the years, also has produced understandable hatred for Jews by gentiles. That means that anti-Semitism, rather than being an irrational hatred for Jews, is actually a logical reaction to Jewish success. In other words, the Nazis, like many other anti-Semites, were only anti-Semitic because they were countering a genuine Jewish threat to their well-being.

And the Jews' machinations don't merely destroy societies; they result in widespread death, according to



MacDonald. In *The Culture of Critique*, he blames Jews for having caused the deaths of millions by supporting such ideologies as Marxism. “In the 20th century many millions of people have been killed in the attempt to establish Marxist societies based on the ideal of complete economic and social leveling, and many more millions of people have been killed as a result of the failure of Jewish assimilation into European societies... . [T]he result has been a widening gulf between the cultural successes of Jews and Gentiles and a disaster for society as a whole.” MacDonald ends his book with some rather harsh possible policy outcomes for restoring what he calls “parity” between Jews and other ethnic groups: systematic discrimination against Jews in college admissions and employment and special taxes “to counter the Jewish advantage in the possession of wealth.”

Sussing Out the Race War

In the late 1990s, MacDonald started flirting with white supremacists, adding racism to his anti-Semitic dance card. According to his resumé, MacDonald’s first foray into the world of the radical right came in 1996, when he spoke on “Eugenics and Judaism” at a conference to defend *The Bell Curve* organized by British academic racist Richard Lynn. *The Bell Curve*, which argued that blacks are genetically inferior in intellect to whites, had been heavily critiqued for relying on Lynn’s intelligence data, which are viewed in the scientific community as flawed. Lynn, who directs a private race-science organization called the Ulster Institute for Social Research, specializes in research on IQ and race that has been funded primarily by the Pioneer Fund, on whose board he sits. The fund was originally set up to investigate “race betterment,” and today its resources still make possible the “research” of prominent academic racists.

Two years later, in 1998, MacDonald hooked up with another prominent racist when he participated on a panel

during the meetings of the Association of Politics and the Life Sciences. The panel was organized by Virginia Abernethy, a self-described “white separatist” and professor emerita at Vanderbilt University who has been active for a decade in the white supremacist Council of Conservative Citizens (CCC). (Abernethy gave a speech to the CCC in 1997 as the editor of *Population and Environment*, an academic journal. The CCC’s website has described blacks as “a retrograde species of humanity,” among other things.) The two would later work closely together at

Population and Environment, and MacDonald would become editor there in 1999. Five years later, in 2004, Abernethy would be photographed arm-in-arm with a smiling, tuxedoed MacDonald holding a plaque awarded to him for his work on Jews by the white supremacist publication, *The Occidental Quarterly*. With the plaque came a \$10,000 check.

By 2000, MacDonald already was openly endorsing the idea — popular in neo-Nazi and white supremacist circles — that Jewish-supported liberal immigration policies could lead to a race war. He had already said much the same in 1998’s *The Culture of Critique*, when he wrote: “I believe that in the United States we are presently heading down a volatile path — a path that leads to ethnic warfare and to the development of collectivist, authoritarian, and racist enclaves.”

Testifying for a ‘Pro-Nazi’

MacDonald started the new millennium off with a bang when he agreed to testify as an expert witness for the British Holocaust denier David Irving in a London libel trial. Irving had sued American professor Deborah Lipstadt and her publisher Penguin Books, claiming that she defamed him in her 1993 book, *Denying the Holocaust*. Irving (who was released from an Austrian prison in late 2006 after serving 13 months for denying many aspects of the Holocaust; see also story, p. 71) accused Lipstadt of damaging his reputation by writing that he had deliberately falsified history. Irving lost the internationally watched trial, with the judge ruling that he had “a distinctly pro-Nazi and anti-Jewish bias.”

Irving sought out MacDonald’s expert testimony on how Jews work as a group to harm gentiles. Irving had read the part of MacDonald’s trilogy that described the alleged suppression of Irving’s work as “an example of Jewish tactics for combating anti-Semitism.” MacDonald was happy to comply, flying to London in January 2000. During testimony, Irving asked MacDonald if he “perceived the Jewish community as

working in a certain way in order to suppress a certain book.” MacDonald answered in the affirmative and added that there were “several tactics the Jewish organizations have used.” MacDonald later wrote about his decision to testify in an article published in the *Journal of Historical Review*, a well-known Holocaust denial journal published in California. In the article, MacDonald writes that Jews undertake various strategies against their “enemies.” One is to distort history by presenting “Jews and Judaism in a positive light and their enemies in a negative light, often with little regard for historical accuracy.”

Media reports about MacDonald’s testimony hit CSULB like an earthquake. Professors from many departments realized, often after reading MacDonald’s university website descriptions of his work for the first time, that they had a major anti-Semitic activist in their midst — not merely a quiet colleague with possibly controversial research interests. His comments to the local press solidified this growing reputation. MacDonald told reporter Tony Ortega after the trial that he was “agnostic” on the Holocaust and, when asked if a race war was coming, said: “That’s right, exactly. I think that’s a real possibility. We’re entering a brave new world here, and we really don’t know what’s going to happen.” (MacDonald later disputed the accuracy of the quote, but *New Times LA* stood by Ortega’s story.)

The Awakening

Most of the blowback took place on the College of Liberal Arts’ listserv, where MacDonald engaged in verbal warfare with a handful of his colleagues. They challenged him on whether he believed the Holocaust had happened. His reply was that he didn’t have enough information to make a call about the details of the Holocaust, as the issue was “simply not relevant to any important theoretical issues to me.” They also challenged him on his read of Jewish history, an important part of which CSULB History Professor Don Schwarz called “unsupportable.”

As his colleagues finally began to read his books, many were downright horrified. Philosophy Professor Warren Weinstein told his colleagues that after reading *A People that Shall Dwell Alone* he felt MacDonald’s work was not science at all, but “something else, masquerading as science.” Its closest analogue: “It is in the great tradition of Nazi and Stalinist science which clearly and scientifically proved that their respective insanities were objectively true and defensible.”

Once again, Martin Fiebert called MacDonald out, this time writing an open letter to his “close friend” that demanded that MacDonald explain his views on the Holocaust and asked him whether he felt responsible if his work were to be used as a justification for neo-Nazi beliefs. Fiebert also pushed for his department to issue a statement calling on MacDonald to discuss the “implications” of his work — an effort that failed as many both in the department and outside

decided to leave the controversy behind. Sociology professor Barry M. Dank complained, “Even on this list, there is very little interest.” One professor went so far as to suggest that grading papers was more important than discussing MacDonald’s views.

Not everyone on the listserv believed that MacDonald had done anything wrong. A few argued that MacDonald’s views should not be discussed because that would threaten academic freedom. Another, English professor Kent Richmond, defended MacDonald in 2000 and still backs him fully. “You are 6-7 years too late [in investigating MacDonald],” he wrote the *Report* after a reporter visited CSULB in November. “This issue was discussed in great detail and resolved on campus many years ago, with both Kevin and evolutionary psychologists vindicated.”

The campus administration, too, said very little. CSULB officials categorically defended MacDonald’s academic freedom to express his views, but added that they “did not necessarily reflect those of the university.”

The Measure of MacDonald

MacDonald’s testimony for Irving led to some soul-searching among evolutionary psychologists who had worked closely with the maverick psychology professor.

Steven Pinker, the Johnstone Family Professor of Psychology at Harvard University, wrote that MacDonald’s work fails “basic tests of scientific credibility.” Another scientist, John Tooby, who, along with his wife Leda Cosmides, gave the field of evolutionary psychology its name in 1992, directly challenged MacDonald’s work. Tooby told Salon.com in 2000, “MacDonald’s ideas — not just on Jews — violate fundamental principles of the field.” John Hartung, the associate editor of the *Journal of Neurosurgical Anesthesiology* and an associate professor of anesthesiology at the State University of New York, called MacDonald’s *The Culture of Critique* “quite disturbing, seriously misinformed about evolutionary genetics, and suffering from a huge blind spot about the nature of Christianity.”

UPON READING MACDONALD’S BOOKS, COLLEAGUES
REALIZED HIS WORK WAS NOT SCIENCE AT ALL, BUT
“SOMETHING ELSE, MASQUERADING AS SCIENCE.”

At around the same time, the Human Behavior and Evolution Society (HBES), of which MacDonald was then a board member, began an investigation into his work. A forum, to be held at the group’s annual meeting, was organized by Dan Kriegman, founder of the Psychoanalytic Couple and Family Institute of New England and a faculty member at the Massachusetts Institute for Psychoanalysis, that featured two other specialists in evolutionary psychology, one of them Pinker. Although the panel was critical of MacDonald’s work, James Fetzer, a professor of philosophy at the University of

Minnesota, Duluth, at one point defended MacDonald with a call for academic free speech.

But Kriegman, who says MacDonald “believes his own nonsense,” produced a 50-page analysis that tore MacDonald’s work apart and deemed it “pseudo-scientific theorizing.” Referring to the fact that MacDonald became obsessed with Jews in college when he felt they were using or excluding him, Kriegman wrote in an E-mail: “MacDonald is not the first person to avoid the narcissistic injury of having his ideas rejected by concluding that there was a conspiracy against him rather than becoming aware of the standard nature [as evidenced in his trilogy] of his thinking.”

THE COVER PROVIDED MACDONALD AND HIS DUBIOUS RESEARCH UNDER THIS RUBRIC OF “ACADEMIC FREEDOM” BRINGS INTO QUESTION THE SINCERITY OF THE DIVERSITY COMMITMENTS MADE BY CSULB.

The burgeoning controversy over MacDonald’s anti-Semitism had no effect on his most important academic post at that time: serving (until 2004) as editor of the journal *Population and Environment*. In fact, MacDonald stacked the editorial board with intellectual allies, including the journal’s white supremacist former editor Virginia Abernethy and race scientist J. Philippe Rushton. MacDonald was now able to freely push his own and his friends’ controversial research in an academic journal that had the important and prestigious distinction of being peer-reviewed.

During MacDonald’s editorship, there were several complaints brought about the quality of the journal’s scholarship and the fact that the publication seemed to have strayed from its mission, according to Landis MacKellar, who is on staff at the Vienna Institute of Demography and edited the journal after MacDonald. MacKellar told the *Report*: “Among the complaints were that the journal was publishing an unusually high number of papers written by members of the editorial board and that, contrary to most journals, the more controversial the piece, the less solid the scholarship often appeared to be.” Kluwer Publishing commissioned an independent assessment that confirmed these problems. As a result, the publisher dissolved the editorial board and replaced it with new members before relaunching the journal.

Lately, MacDonald’s academic publishing has slowed and he has complained that academic venues won’t publish his work. Even so, articles by MacDonald are still appearing in a few places, including the *Human Ethology Bulletin*. And he still has prominent academic supporters, including Bob Burgess, a professor of human development at Penn State who graduated from CSULB and co-edited a 2005 book with MacDonald. Burgess told the *Report* he had “admired [MacDonald’s] work for many years.” He called it, “dispassionate, logical, and empirical” and, though it may be

“politically incorrect,” critical to dealing with the realities of diversity.

Hanging With Haters

Six months after the 2000 Irving trial, MacDonald told the *Chronicle of Higher Education* that he was “done with Jews.” That was a lie. MacDonald is producing a lot of new work on Jews that is in high demand in white supremacist circles. After the trial, MacDonald was welcomed with open arms by the Charles Martel Society, a white supremacist organization created in 2001 by Bill Regnery, a publishing magnate who also bankrolls a white supremacist think tank, the National Policy Institute. One of the society’s main activities is publishing *The Occidental Quarterly*, a racist journal devoted to the idea that as whites become a minority “the civilization and free governments that whites have created” will be jeopardized.

The society, whose private website is password-accessible only, holds what are apparently secretive, annual meetings. MacDonald spoke three times to the group, in 2001, 2002 and 2004, on the topics of “What Makes Western Culture Unique?,” “Understanding Jewish Activism” and “Empire Building and Jewish Identity.” Since its launch in 2000, MacDonald has published several articles in the society’s journal, which in 2004 put out a special monograph on MacDonald’s work, “Understanding Jewish Influence: A Study in Ethnic Activism.” MacDonald also serves on the quarterly’s editorial advisory board.

MacDonald is so beloved by Regnery-backed outfits that in 2004 the *Quarterly* awarded its first prize ever to him during a black-tie event held in Washington, D.C., at the luxurious Sky Room. MacDonald was honored with the “Jack London Literary Prize” and handed a check for \$10,000 in recognition of his work on Jews. MacDonald reciprocated by offering to serve on the advisory committee of Regnery’s white supremacist think tank, the National Policy Institute, which was launched in 2005. (He quit the institute last fall, after the *Report* disclosed his position there on a CSULB listserv.) In addition, a chapter by MacDonald was just published in *Race and the American Prospect: Essays on the Racial Realities of our Nation and our Time*, a volume backed by the National Policy Institute.

Anti-Semites also rave about MacDonald’s works. David Duke extols MacDonald and cites his trilogy as central to his thinking about the dangers posed by Jews in his autobiography, *My Awakening*, where Duke explains how he came to be an anti-Semite. (Duke, an infamous neo-Nazi and former Klan leader, later published a shortened version of his autobiography under the title *Jewish Supremacism*.) Longtime neo-Nazi Victor Gerhard wrote in a 2003 E-mail exchange that MacDonald’s *The Culture of Critique* “is completely true; that to rail against blacks and Hispanics without

mentioning Jews is like complaining about the symptoms and not the disease.”

Several white supremacist leaders traveled to Washington to attend *The Occidental Quarterly*’s 2004 celebration for MacDonald, including Duke; Don Black, founder of Stormfront, the oldest and most important American hate site and forum on the Web; Jamie Kelso, a senior moderator at Stormfront; and the head of the neo-Nazi National Vanguard, Kevin Alfred Strom (see story on Strom arrest, p. 12). By 2005, MacDonald was openly hobnobbing with anti-Semites, in particular Kelso. Last March, Kelso told the *Report* that he was in Los Angeles for a “business meeting” with MacDonald at his university office.

MacDonald is also featured in Stormfront member Brian Jost’s anti-immigrant film “The Line in the Sand,” where he appears blaming Jews for destroying America by supporting immigration from developing countries. “They have wanted to essentially end European domination of this society,” MacDonald told the filmmakers, “and I think they are well on their way to doing that.”

Wrong and Right

MacDonald is doing his best to stifle further debate among his colleagues about his anti-Semitic theories and white supremacist activism. After the *Report* began contacting professors for comment about MacDonald last fall, psychology department faculty members met with the staff of the Office of Equity and Diversity about possible responses to MacDonald’s research. In retaliation, MacDonald sent out a threatening notice to his colleagues, which claimed there was an “ongoing and serious attempt to impair my constitutional rights and academic freedom” that could result in “civil liability.” Saying he was speaking on the advice of an attorney, MacDonald stated he would “carefully monitor such actions, meetings and/or investigations to vigilantly safeguard my civil and constitutional rights.”

MacDonald’s threats didn’t stop the psychology department from finally taking action. In December, the department passed three resolutions prompted by MacDonald’s research. One strongly condemned the knowing misuse of psychological research “by groups that disseminate views of racial/ethnic superiority and/or racial/ethnic hatred” and pointed to the American Psychological Association’s ethical principles, which require its members to “take all reasonable steps to prevent the misuse or misrepresentation of their work.” The department also passed resolutions defending academic freedom and supporting diversity.

Under pressure after the resolutions were passed, MacDonald put up a disclaimer on his website that said that “nothing on this website should be interpreted to suggest that I condone white racial superiority, genocide, Nazism, or Holocaust denial.” MacDonald claimed that he had nothing to do with such groups and asked

that no one use his opinions “to support discrimination against Jews or any other group.” Regardless, MacDonald is still listed in the latest *Occidental Quarterly* as a member of that racist publication’s editorial advisory board.

The university administration backs MacDonald unequivocally. CSULB spokeswoman Toni Beron refused to make any comments about the nature of MacDonald’s research, telling the *Report*, “The university will support MacDonald’s academic freedom and freedom of speech” (see related legal analysis, p. 73).

Not long after the *Report* visited CSULB in November, the university shut down any further discussion of MacDonald and his research on the College of Liberal Arts’ E-mail list. It was a moment of high irony, given that university officials like Beron and Green had based their defense of MacDonald’s work on the lofty notions of academic freedom and free speech.

The cover provided MacDonald and his dubious research under this rubric of “academic freedom” brings into question the sincerity of the diversity commitments made by CSULB — commitments that helped the campus earn the 2006 University Committed to Diversity designation from Minority Access, Inc. Asked by the *Report* about the apparent conflict between the ideals of academic freedom and diversity, Craig Smith, who runs the CSULB Center for First Amendment Studies and is on the board of trustees for the entire California State University system, said the school is “hamstrung in reacting” until formal complaints are made against MacDonald by students or faculty members. Smith did say that MacDonald’s work and associations with hate groups should “certainly be looked at” by the university.

All of which means that Kevin MacDonald, critic of the Jews, will likely soldier on. Even though he now concedes that he dislikes Jews, he insists that that is irrelevant and should not stop the world from taking his research on them seriously. “In the end, does it really matter if my motivation at this point is less than pristine?” he asks in all apparent sincerity. “Isn’t the only question whether I am right?” ▲





VIGILANTE JUSTICE

A MOMENTOUS CONFRONTATION ENDS WITH A FAMILY OF U.S. CITIZENS TURNING THE TABLES ON AMERICA'S MOST NOTORIOUS BORDER VIGILANTE

BY SUSY BUCHANAN PHOTOGRAPHY BY AMY HASKELL

The victims with family members and their lawyer (from left): Ana English, Ed English, Vanese Morales, Ron Morales, Emma English, Renee Morales, attorney Jesus Romo Vejar (foreground), and Angelique Morales.

COCHISE COUNTY, Ariz. — Crouching low, Ronald Morales and his 11-year-old daughter moved quietly and quickly, hoping to escape detection. Stealth was vital as they crept around the boulders and scrub brush that clutter the Sonora desert just north of the Mexican border. ¶ It was Oct. 30, 2004. Morales, a 37-year-old Department of Defense employee, was deer hunting with his father, Arturo, and three little girls: his daughter, Vanese, who was then 11, her little sister Angelique, 9, and Emma English, a friend who was also 11. All were Mexican-Americans — U.S. citizens since birth. ¶ The way Ron Morales tells the story, around 4 p.m. he and his eldest daughter left the rest of the party at his truck to stalk a buck they had spotted. ¶ Vanese had the deer in her crosshairs when the sound of a distant ruckus in the direction of the truck alarmed her father. Morales took the rifle, slung it

over his shoulder, and they hurried back.

They arrived to find another truck parked near their own. Next to it, Morales says, an angry white man with a pistol strapped to his side paced back and forth, shouting obscenities. “You’re fucking trespassing! You guys need to get the fuck out of here!”

“I have a hunter’s permit, I have a map,” Morales protested as he walked to his truck, set down his rifle, grabbed a Bureau of Land Management map, and tried to reason with the man.

Morales, a Navy veteran, says he addressed him as “sir” and asked his name.

The man reached in the cab of his truck, yanked out an AR-15 assault rifle, and gave Morales his answer.

“My fucking name is Roger Barnett! If you don’t get off my property, I’m gonna shoot you and shoot you and shoot you!”

Then, Morales says, Barnett chambered a round and pointed his weapon at Morales’ chest.

The Clash

Two years later, Ron Morales and Roger Barnett met again, two men sitting stoically at opposite ends of Judge James Conlogue’s stark courtroom in Cochise County, which ends at the Mexican border in southeastern Arizona. Outside, November winds whipped the streets with impunity.

It was to be a momentous confrontation, probably the most dramatic yet seen between anti-immigration hard-liners and those who oppose them. Closely watched by reporters and other observers from near and far, the clash

would unfold at ground zero of the increasingly virulent battle over illegal immigration.

More people trudge across this ruggedly beautiful part of Sonoran Desert, which stretches from Mexico north into Arizona, than any other section of the 2,000-mile-long border. It is here that Roger Barnett brought national attention to the immigration situation with his loud and public complaints about illegal migrants who trespass on his sprawling ranch. It is also here that Barnett, a man who boasts of having personally apprehended 12,000 border-crossers, effectively sired the entire citizen’s border patrol movement — a movement once characterized as “vigilante” by President Bush, a Texan intimately familiar with the borderlands.

A rancher since 1996, Barnett’s a swaggering, silver-haired, ruddy-faced product of the desert sun whose militant reputation — like the vigilante movement he inspired — stretches far beyond Cochise County.

“Humans, the greatest prey on earth,” Roger Barnett told a reporter from London’s *Independent* in May of 2000, six months after he was photographed for *Time* magazine brandishing an M-16 — and a full 16 months before Chris Simcox would leave his California kindergarten classroom to form the Arizona militia that would eventually become the Minutemen, now the best-known citizen group to carry weapons to the border in an effort to halt illegal immigration.

“A vigilante goes out, rounds up people, holds a trial and executes them. I haven’t done that yet,” Barnett told *USA Today* that

same year. “But bloodshed could happen.”

Failure to Prosecute

While there’s no hard evidence Barnett has drawn blood, reports of Barnett and his brother Donald holding illegal immigrants at gunpoint, chasing them on ATVs, and using their dogs to intimidate and attack, have trickled into the Cochise County Sheriff’s Office for years. Four months before the Morales incident, for instance, a group of immigrants reported that Barnett held them at gunpoint, yanked a woman by her hair and stuck a pistol in her ribs. Another member of the group said the rancher threw him over the front rack of his ATV and sicced a dog on them.

Yet Cochise County Attorney Ed Rheinheimer has repeatedly declined to file criminal charges against the wealthy, gun-toting rancher, stating that Barnett is well within his rights to use the threat of deadly force to prevent or terminate a criminal trespass. “We try to avoid getting caught in the middle of political issues,” Rheinheimer said. “If Roger Barnett crosses the line and we get a prosecutable case, we won’t hesitate to prosecute him.”

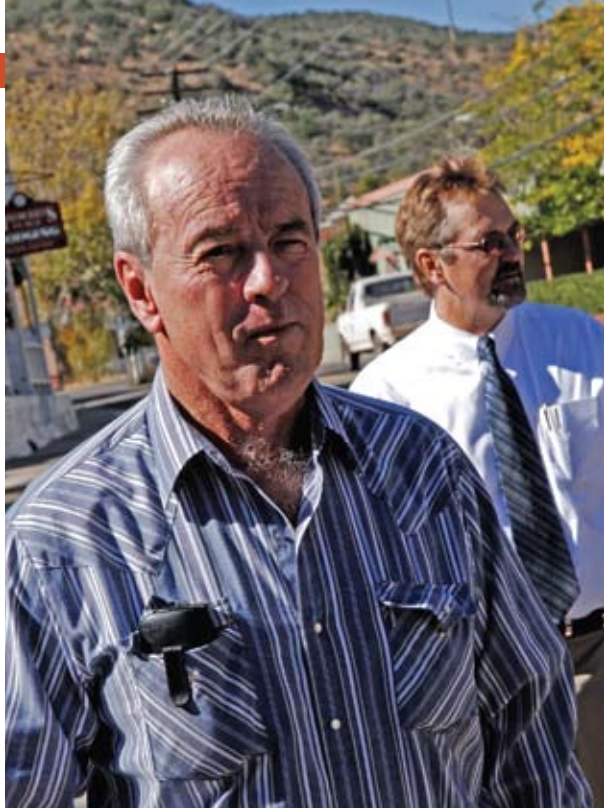
Even if that’s true, the local atmosphere is hardly conducive to such a prosecution.

“Cochise County is very conservative, one of the most conservative areas of Arizona,” Morales attorney Jesus Romo Vejar told the *Intelligence Report*. “Barnett has a great number of people who are of like mind here. There are a lot of people who support his ideas and the way he acts.”

Still, as the complaints against Barnett have mounted, so has the frustration of civil rights activists and others in Cochise County who see the lack of criminal prosecution as an official endorsement of Barnett’s actions. And so Vejar and his clients finally decided to take it upon themselves to seek justice through civil litigation, hoping that a victory could become the first crack in the dam of official reluctance to take on the vigilantes. Last fall, they filed a case against Barnett with the advice and financial assistance of the Southern Poverty Law Center (which publishes the *Intelligence Report*), accusing him of assault, false imprisonment and intentional infliction of emotional distress. They sought \$200,000 in damages.

Vejar knew full well the odds were against him, even though this time, unlike others, Barnett had threatened U.S. citizens. Vejar had lost another civil case against Barnett in the same courtroom just months before, and in this trial was facing a nearly all-white jury drawn from a county that is 30% Latino.

“It’s like trying a case in Mississippi in the ’60s,” he said with a weary smile.



Roger Barnett and his lawyer John Kelliher (background) argued that the rancher was merely protecting his property when he accosted the Morales family with a gun in his hand.

Here Comes the Judge

When Judge Conlogue calls for opening arguments, Vejar flips through a small stack of index cards before turning to face the jury. His manner is quiet, simple and methodical. Tall and balding, with bronze skin, warm eyes and a goatee, he looks like a chemistry professor and speaks with a marked accent.

“On Oct. 30, 2004, lives changed drastically for my clients,” he explains to the jury as he begins to walk them

through the details of what happened when three little girls encountered Roger Barnett “screaming obscenities that no child should hear, his face twitching, wearing a sidearm.”

Vejar is less flashy than determined. He closes by simply telling the jurors, “I ask you for justice.”

Barnett’s attorney John Kelliher, wearing a pinstriped suit and stroking his own goatee, presents his client as a local boy who grew up in Bisbee before becoming a rancher, eventually purchasing and leasing 22,000 acres of ranch land. Throughout the trial, Kelliher will attempt to keep the focus on the issues of trespassing and property rights, rather than Barnett’s controversial reputation and willingness to engage in armed confrontations.

“I don’t doubt that there were words spoken. There were people holding guns, people trespassing,” Kelliher tells the jury. “What I do doubt is whether this man, Roger Barnett, threatened to kill anyone.”

Vejar’s first witness is Arturo Morales, a nervous grandfather wearing a maroon and white shirt printed with horse silhouettes.

“The only things [words] he used was profanity, threats, that I need to get off his fu – his fucking ranch. Just looking at his face was enough to scare me.”

Barnett nonchalantly chews on his glasses and lets his fingers wander over his constantly twitching face as the old man details his version of events. Arturo testifies that Barnett was “wild” and ordered him to “get the fuck out of here or I’m going to start shooting!”

Kelliher’s cross-examination of Arturo is aggressive. “You say it has changed your life, was devastating, and yet you have sought no emotional or psychological help?”

Arturo concedes he has not.

Kelliher also gets Arturo to admit that he was cited for il-

legally hunting on Barnett’s land more than a year before the confrontation in 2004.

The attorney reads from the older man’s deposition slowly and haltingly, emphasizing Arturo’s grammatical errors.

Kelliher picks apart inconsistencies in Arturo’s statements about who was standing exactly where during the encounter, trying to impeach his credibility. Arturo is quickly confused, and Kelliher seems to delight in tripping him up on details.

Finally, Arturo Morales is dismissed from the stand and the judge declares a recess. Roger Barnett remains in the courtroom and jovially greets a supporter in the audience. A polarizing figure in this area, Barnett has as many fans in Cochise County as he does critics.

“This isn’t a border issue, it’s a constitution issue,” Barnett, who leases government lands in addition to his own, explains to his friend as they shake hands. “I gotta watch that state property carefully because I’m a caretaker.”

Barnett bends over and speaks with another friend who comments on the ethnic makeup of the jury, especially the lone Latino. “Yeah, there were three of ’em yesterday,” Barnett says with a grin. “They dumped two.”

Innocence Lost

The jury returns from recess and Vejar calls Ana English, an attractive Latina dressed in dark slacks and a creamy white sweater whose daughter, Emma, was with the Moraleses that day.

“[Roger Barnett] took part of her innocence away, he taught her what evil is, because that is evil, to traumatize a child for the rest of her life,” Ana says angrily. “People need to know what he’s doing. It’s not just illegals anymore, it’s little kids and they’re U.S. citizens.”

Kelliher spends much of his cross-examination attacking Ana’s parenting skills. “If you had known Arturo and Ron Morales were going to take your daughter to Roger Barnett’s ranch, would you have let her go?” Kelliher asks.

Ana’s reply is firm: “I know that Ron and his father would not put my daughter in danger on purpose.”

He then asks repeatedly if Ana has hired a counselor for her daughter. She answers each time that she has not, then finally erupts: “If

you’re trying to say I’m a bad parent because I haven’t taken this child to counseling, you’re wrong!”

“I’m suggesting,” Kelliher says, “that a reasonable parent would have taken their child to counseling.”

Kelliher’s bullying strategy appears to backfire. Several members of the jury glare at him with open contempt.

Vejar calls Tucson psychiatrist Hector Barillas, who addresses the jury in a gravely voice. Barillas walks the jury through a definition of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), the symptoms required for a diagnosis, and how they manifested in each of the three girls.

It’s a lengthy bit of testimony, and as Barillas talks, Kelliher

IN THEIR OWN WORDS: NATIVISTS ON BARNETT

The following excerpts are representative of nativist reactions to the civil verdict against Roger Barnett last November. They were published in the anonymous “On your Mind” section of the Bisbee (Ariz.) Review and in the Web forums of the Minuteman Civil Defense Corps (MCDC), a hard-line nativist group.

Bisbee Review

DEC. 8

My hunting plans have changed. I’m taking my grandkids, and our high-powered hunting rifles, and going hunting on the Barnetts’ ranch. Permission! I don’t need no stinkin’ permission. Hopefully he will foolishly try to defend himself against our trespassing and I am on my way to getting some big bucks in the form of cash from the evil Barnetts. We’ll all just whine, snivel and cry on the witness stand. I’m going to order my new pickup now!

DEC. 5

How terrible to be called a Mexican, or even a dirty Mexican. They say “dirty Gringo,” but that doesn’t matter, does it? Something’s wrong with this picture. I don’t see why Mr. Barnett should be treated in such a manner. That’s not justice.

MCDC Forums

NOV. 25

Posted by “mrmiata7”

I would not be surprised if these invaders were given carte blanche to enter our homes and take whatever they desire as we won’t be allowed to defend our homes but illegal alien invaders

will be allowed to use whatever means is at their disposal to achieve the rape and pillage of America. It has already started with the unlawful seizure of land from citizens lawfully trying to defend their families and property from the hordes of murdering, raping, molesting and thieving savages flooding across the border from Bush’s homeland of Mexico.

NOV. 25

Posted by “Native American”

There are many people like myself who will snap if pushed too far and if I were in this guy’s place there would be war already. If I can’t live like a civilized human being with the right to defend myself, my livelihood, and my property, then it’s simply not worth living and I would have nothing to lose by taking as many enemies down with me as possible! As more people are pushed to this point then war will be inevitable. I STRONGLY RECOMMEND EVERYONE ARM THEMSELVES ... HEAVILY!

NOV. 25

Posted by “John Galt”

Deadmen file no lawsuits. Shoot, shovel and shut up. Keep some quick lime in storage. Refuse to be a victim.

plainly demonstrates his impatience. He fidgets and paces, hops on one foot, scratches his head against the plaster on a wall, and continuously smoothes his mustache.

This frustration spills over into Kelliher’s cross-examination of Barillas, whom he criticizes for describing Barnett as a vigilante in his report. He asks Barillas whether such a description is crucial to diagnosing PTSD.

“I don’t know if it’s crucial but it is consistent with somebody accosting someone with an automatic rifle,” Barillas replies.

Vejar next calls Deputy Timothy Williams, a tall, hefty cop whose sunglasses have left tan lines on his face. Vejar asks Williams, who responded to Ron Morales’s 911 call, to read aloud the criminal charges he officially recommended that prosecutors bring against Barnett: “Three counts of aggravated assault, a Class 2 felony, two counts of Class 3 aggravated assault, three counts of Class 6 aggravated assault, five misdemeanor disorderly conduct charges, and five misdemeanor counts of threatening and intimidation.”

Not a single charge was ever filed.

‘Dirty Mexicans!’

Before the children take the stand, Roger Barnett and his wife leave the courtroom. Kelliher stresses that they volunteered to do so as a courtesy.

Of the three girls who testify, Emma English, now 13, is the most articulate and polished. The emotional eighth-grader tells the jury that Roger Barnett “started getting really red, his whole body started twitching, ‘You better get the fuck off my land, you fucking dirty Mexicans!’”

Barnett backers in the courtroom scoff loudly at the girl’s tearful statements.

Later, the testimony of both Morales girls is strikingly similar to Emma’s. Vanese and Angelique both cite Barnett’s red-faced rage, his twitching, and their fear that he would kill them.

“I don’t want Barnett doing this to anyone else,” Vanese says solemnly. “I don’t want him hurting anyone else.”

Renee Morales, a smiley stay-at-home mom with straight black hair, takes the stand and talks about watching Angelique play the video game Big Game Hunter and pretending she was killing Barnett instead of the deer, calling out “Die, Barnett, die!” as she pulled the trigger.

“My daughter wants somebody dead? But this is a child, and you have to put yourself in a child’s mindset. If he’s not here, she’s safe, and until that happens she’s not safe.”

Renee then turns away from the jury and fixes her gaze squarely on Roger Barnett, addressing him directly. The courtroom goes silent.

“I’m not asking this to hurt you or punish you,” she tells him. “We’re asking you to take responsibility for what you did. What did those children do to you, Mr. Barnett?”

Previous Encounters

When the trial shifts into the defense phase, Kelliher continues to counter high-pitched emotions with cold facts. He’s pitting property rights against civil rights, which he hopes will go over well in a conservative county where many view Barnett as a hero.

Kelliher begins the defense’s case with a videotaped deposition from an Arizona Game and Fish regional supervisor, who testifies that it’s illegal to cross private property to gain access to state land.

He brings in a surveyor who uses maps to show that for the Morales party to access the site of the confrontation, they had to cross private land owned by Roger Barnett, which Ron Morales admits he did.

Then Kelliher calls Donald Barnett, Roger’s younger, more dapper brother. Donald, a former sheriff’s deputy who resigned after beating a prisoner, paints the Moraleses as sneaky and threatening. He testifies that when he first spotted Ron and Vanese in the brush,

“Somebody wants to make this an immigration issue,” Barnett attorney John Kelliher said in closing arguments. “I sure don’t.”



“What caught my attention is that they were running in a crouched position, running to hide behind a bush.”

Donald then describes a previous encounter on the ranch with Arturo: “They had killed and were cleaning some deer. I asked who they were and they said none of my business. He became very angry and lunged at me with a hunting knife.”

“Objection!” Romo Vejar says angrily. “Sustained,” replies the judge, who then orders the jury to disregard the unsubstantiated comment about the knife.

Roger Barnett, also a former sheriff’s deputy, follows his brother to the stand. He looks at ease. Barnett, who lives in Sierra Vista, testifies that he goes “sightseeing” at his nearby ranch every weekend with his wife, his brother, and their dogs.

Barnett says that when he confronted Arturo Morales, he told the old man to start honking his horn to draw in the others that Donald had spotted in the brush. When Ron Morales and his elder daughter returned, Barnett testifies, Morales was carrying a rifle and arguing over their location, insisting that Barnett look at a map.

“I told him, ‘Just get the fuck out.’ There needed to be a shock factor,” Barnett says.

At that point, according to Barnett, Ron Morales turned and looked at him. “And that didn’t look right. I go, ‘Looks like we might get shot here.’ I felt threatened.”

The Rule of Law

Barnett tells the jury he was also concerned that Arturo Morales might sneak around the corner of the truck with a gun. Fearing for his own safety, Barnett says, he grabbed his AR-15 out of the cab of his truck and chambered a round. After that, he says, Ron Morales “didn’t jawbone no more. He told his people to get in the truck.”

Kelliher asks his client if he used any racial slurs during the encounter. “That’s a flat-out lie,” Barnett says.

Kelliher asks if he is a white supremacist. “No,” Barnett says. “Do you have a dislike for any particular race?” Kelliher persists. “No,” he answers again. “Do you like people trespassing on your property?” “Another no.”

Finally, Barnett tries one last time to assert that he was afraid for his life and property. “I was seeing the way he [Ron Morales] looked, and when he turned around I thought, ‘Boy, this is it. We’re gonna get shot.’”

Barbara Barnett is the last defense witness. An elegant woman in her late 50s who favors tunics in bold patterns, Roger Barnett’s wife says she was much too frightened by Ron Morales to even get out of the truck that day. “I was so afraid to say anything,” she says. “I thought this crazy man is going to kill us right in front of these little girls and he just doesn’t care!”

During closing arguments, Vejar quickly recaps his case, stressing the image of Barnett pointing a combat rifle at children, and the symbolic importance of a verdict against him.

“John Adams said a free people should be governed by law, not the whim of man,” he tells the jury. “Roger Barnett is dependent on a system that consistently favors him, not because he’s right, but because he’s Roger Barnett.”

Kelliher’s closing is more relaxed. He explains to the jury that “this is about access,” a point he has reiterated throughout the trial. “A landowner has a right to use reasonable force to eject trespassers.” He points out Morales admitted to crossing Barnett’s land, and he questions the sincerity of the children’s testimony, which wavered in some respects from their original written statements. The girls had no reason to fabricate or embellish their original witness statements, Kelliher points out, “but they do now, when they’ve got their parents talking to them for the past two years.”

“Somebody wants to make this an immigration issue,” he concludes. “I sure don’t.”

The Verdict

With 15 counts to weigh, the jury begins deliberations. Ed English and Ron Morales head down to a café to wait. Roger Barnett and his wife remain in the courtroom. Camera crews hover outside.

When the jury files back into the courtroom after just three hours of deliberation, the plaintiffs are stiff in their chairs. An ashen Ron Morales seems to stop breathing entirely as the jury foreman rises to read the verdicts, one by one.

The jury finds for the plaintiffs on 14 of 15 counts, and orders Barnett to pay the Morales and English families nearly \$99,000.

Kelliher and his clients leave the courthouse swiftly, refusing to comment. He also declined to reply to a later letter from the *Intelligence Report* requesting an interview.

Ron Morales appears stunned, pacing back and forth to one side of the courthouse door and whispering, “Thank God, thank God, thank God.” Romo Vejar expresses his satisfaction to reporters and television cameras, calling the

verdict a “landmark decision,” and calling on County Attorney Rheinheimer to reconsider filing criminal charges against Barnett.

A few days later Rheinheimer tells the *Bisbee Herald-Review*, “It’s obvious that the civil jury saw something, and so we’re going to take a good look at the jury’s findings.”

Three months later, Rheinheimer still has not filed a single criminal charge against Roger Barnett.

The Heat Goes On

The civil verdict was hailed by civil and immigrant rights organizations around the United States and reported in newspapers from coast to coast. Without question, it represented a gleam of hope to those in Arizona, in particular, who feel vigilantes and vigilantism have been allowed to run roughshod over the rule of law and basic humanity. But, at the end of the day, it was only a civil verdict.

Local support for Barnett galvanized in the trial’s aftermath and seemed to grow even stronger with passing weeks. “I think most of the people of Cochise County support Roger Barnett in principle, as far as rightfully protecting his family and property from the invasion of illegal immigrants,” read one of many pro-Barnett comments published in the *Bisbee Herald-Review* after the trial (see other excerpts, p. XX). “My personal thanks to the Barnetts and Mr. Kelliher for standing up for us all.”

At the same time, prosecutors like Andrew Thomas in Maricopa County, where Phoenix is located, continue to decline similar prosecutions — and are even now charging illegal immigrants with conspiracy, a novel legal construction, for conspiring to smuggle themselves. The first months of 2007 were marked by several murders of border crossers, and although authorities continue to attribute such deaths to human- and drug-smuggling disputes, suspicions are mounting that some immigrant-bashers may actually be murdering people (see story, p. XX).

Meanwhile, the Roger Barnett story goes on. Last Dec. 30, five weeks after the verdict, Barnett got into a heated confrontation with paramedics attempting to administer medical aid to an injured Mexican who Border Patrol agents had just arrested on Barnett’s land.

The man, who was carrying a backpack full of marijuana, told sheriff’s deputies that Barnett had set three dogs on him and that he ran, fell, and injured his knee. He also said he was diabetic and hadn’t eaten in three days.

The EMTs had just put him in the back of the ambulance when Barnett flagged them down and demanded they let him inside to look at the man’s shoes to see if he was the same person Barnett had been tracking earlier in the day. When the paramedics refused, Barnett, who was armed with a pistol, became abusive, according a criminal complaint EMT Robert Vega filed with the Cochise County Sheriff’s Department.

According to the deputy assigned to the case, Barnett stated the EMTs were “fuckin’ lying” and claimed that the encounter, as they described it, “never happened.” He also refused to give his own account of what happened.

Two months later, Cochise County Attorney Ed Rheinheimer, citing a lack of evidence, officially declined to press charges. ▲

‘SHOOT, SHOVEL, SHUT UP’

As the anti-immigration movement grows even more vitriolic, the Intelligence Project identifies 144 ‘nativist extremist’ groups

By Susy Buchanan and David Holthouse

Early one Saturday morning last November, armed men on motorcycles hounded Latino immigrants into the desert around Cave Creek, Ariz., a rustic town 20 miles north of Phoenix. It was the first day of operation “Adios Illegals,” a campaign to scare off immigrants at day-labor sites organized by the American Freedom Riders, a Phoenix-based motorcycle group that held its first meeting last summer and has since grown to 12 chapters in eight states.

The belligerent tactics and rapid expansion of the American Freedom Riders represent a much larger lightning storm of militant xenophobia that is crashing over the county and swiftly gathering strength. The Intelligence Project has identified 144 nativist extremist groups active across 39 states in recent months. Most of these organizations — nearly 100 of them — have taken form since April 2006. Their rhetoric and their methods grow ever more extreme.

Throughout the morning in Cave Creek, the American Freedom Riders played cat and mouse with immigrants clustered on street corners and in front of convenience stores. The sight of the advancing bikers, some of whom were strapped with handguns, scared the immigrants into seeking cover in nearby dry washes. “They scattered like cockroaches in all directions,” American Freedom Riders leader “Buffalo” Rick Galeener later boasted in a letter published in the *Sonoran News*. “They simply ran, like the criminals they are!”

In one instance, a two-ton truck flying a huge American flag roared into the parking lot of the Good Shepherd of the Hills Episcopal Church, where 20-30 Latinos were gathered at a day labor shelter provided by the church. The truck drove in tight circles around the immigrants, trailed by about 20 motorcycles. Half the immigrants fled. According to Rev. Glenn Jenks, rector at Good Shepherd, the bikers cheered

and shouted, “Go back to Mexico!” Later the members of the American Freedom Riders surrounded the church, videotaping and photographing any Latinos who remained, and vowing to come back until Cave Creek is “illegal alien-free.”

Paranoia and Sniper Teams

The groups identified by the Intelligence Project as “nativist extremist” groups target people, rather than policy. They do not limit themselves to advocating, even in forceful terms, for stricter border security, tighter population control, or tougher enforcement of laws against hiring illegal immigrants.

Instead, they go after the immigrants themselves.

Their strategies include vigilante border patrols; conspicuous surveillance of apartments and houses occupied by Mexicans and Central Americans; publicizing photos and home addresses of “suspected illegal aliens”; and harassment and intimidation of Latino immigrants at day-labor sites and

migrant-worker camps.

Their rhetoric is frequently warlike.

“An army of illegal aliens, including criminals, drug smugglers, and terrorists, is invading our country,” declares the Indiana Federation for Immigration Reform and Enforcement.

“America is being destroyed by a modern version of Genghis Khan’s army,” according to the Emigration Party of Nevada, whose leader, Donald Pauly, has called for the Department of Homeland Security to station “sniper teams” on the border and demanded that Latino women apprehended by the U.S. Border Patrol be forced to undergo sterilization so that America does not become a “Third World sewer.”

Increasingly, the ideology of nativist

extremist groups is shot through with paranoid conspiracy theories strongly reminiscent of the antigovernment militia movement of the 1990s.

“You need to understand that WE ARE AT WAR RIGHT HERE IN AMERICA,” reads the recruiting literature of United Citizens of America, a group based in Omaha, Neb. “We are being invaded by a foreign country and we are being betrayed from within. Our government, from top to bottom, is being controlled by global elites. They have infiltrated our government at ALL levels.”

According to the Minutemen Midwest, a group based in Harvard, Ill.: “There is a conspiracy afoot to merge the U.S. and Mexico. This heinous ongoing treason has been engineered



American vigilantes have taken on an increasingly predatory look. Intimidation, threats and worse are now normal facts of life on the border.

by an entrenched cabal of legislators, courts, military brass, and government employees embedded at all levels of the executive branch, constituting a ‘Shadow Government,’ who are working to dismantle this country in plain sight.”

Rogue Minutemen

Though most heavily concentrated in Arizona, California and Texas, nativist extremist groups are active in all regions of the United States. Many of the groups in non-border states are local chapters of either the Minuteman Civil Defense Corps or the Minuteman Project. These separate, competing nationwide organizations both emerged from the original month-long Minuteman “civilian border patrol” operation held in Cochise County, Ariz. (see related story, p. 39), in April 2005.

Combined, the local chapters of the Minuteman Civil Defense Corps and Minuteman Project comprise 57 of the 144 nativist extremist groups identified by the Intelligence Project. These Minuteman chapters raise money for their parent organizations and muster volunteers for vigilante border actions. Many also hold protest actions or conduct “surveillance ops” at day-labor sites in their home cities. In states where it’s allowed by law, their members openly carry firearms.

The Minuteman Civil Defense Corps and Minuteman Project also have spawned a slew of imitators, spin-offs and splinter groups that have no official affiliation with either national Minuteman organization.

These rogue Minuteman outfits include the Antelope Valley Minutemen, whose leader, Frank Jorge, writes on his website: “We have a right, and an obligation, to defend our country, our homes, and our families not only from this invasion, but also from the very

“Once you shoot a few of these sons of bitches, they’ll think twice.”

—Fred Puckett, *Minuteman of One*

Government that is precipitating this treasonous act.”

The most radical and widespread rogue Minuteman group is the so-called Minuteman of One, which consists of at least three chapters in Arizona, two in California and one in Texas. More of an extremist creed than a hierarchical organization, Minuteman of One was founded by Fred Puckett, who was expelled from the original Minute-man operation for, among other things, violating rules against openly carrying assault rifles (the original Minuteman Project restricted volunteers to handguns only).

“We don’t have no by-laws, we don’t have nothin’,” Puckett told a Phoenix television news crew last April. “We go out in two-man teams and we hit them like we did 40 years ago in Vietnam.”

Puckett has since distributed videos of himself and other Minuteman of One members displaying and shooting a

small arsenal of assault rifles, ransacking vehicles, and shouting death threats at immigrants fleeing in the desert.

“Once you shoot a few of these sons of bitches, they’ll think twice,” Puckett says on camera.

‘Go vigilantes!’

On Jan. 28 of this year, four heavily armed men wearing military-style berets and camouflage fatigues ambushed a pickup truck carrying 12 illegal immigrants in a farm field near Eloy, Ariz. The assailants shot and killed the driver and wounded one of the passengers. The survivors described the shooters as three white men and one Latino who spoke limited Spanish.

The attack near Eloy occurred in the midst of a month-long flurry of similar ambushes in southern Arizona, in which six victims were killed, six were shot and wounded, and 18 were robbed at gunpoint in four separate incidents.

But the Eloy ambush stood out because it lacked any characteristics of typical borderland violence committed by bandits or rival smugglers. No one was robbed in the Eloy ambush, there were no drugs in the truck, and no one was kidnapped (rival immigrant smugglers, or “coyotes,” frequently steal each other’s human cargo). Also, three of the men were white, which is exceedingly rare for coyotes or border bandits.

The incident remains under investigation. No arrests have been made, and there is no hard evidence the killers were acting as anti-immigration vigilantes. Even so, Jeff Schwilk, the founder of the San Diego Minutemen, a highly active and aggressive new group that targets migrant worker camps in semi-rural canyons in Southern California, openly celebrated the murders.

“In America, we call incidents like that ‘cleansing the gene pool,’” Schwilk declared in an E-mail to his group’s members.

Online public forums hosted by various nativist extremist groups are rife with calls for more violence and support for the Arizona killers. “I really hope it IS pissed off Americans who are taking justice into their own hands, doing what the Border Patrol and the National Guard ARE NOT ALLOWED to do,” a member of Save Our State posted to a public online forum in early February. “Go vigilantes! Where can I send a check?”

Mines and Machine Guns

Unlike the Ku Klux Klan or neo-Nazi organizations, the ideology of most Nativist extremist groups is not explicitly racist.

There are exceptions. Nine of the groups identified by the Intelligence Project as “nativist extremist” also operate as hate groups. They are listed as hate groups because they disparage all Latinos on a racial basis, regardless of immigration status,

or because they plainly endorse white nationalism, sometimes prophesizing impending race war.

“Ethnic cleansings and demographic warfare are being waged against European-Americans by Mexico and its proxies in the U.S. under the cloak of protecting the ‘human rights’ of criminal invaders,” states Rescue Without Borders, a vigilante militia based in Boulder, Colo., that is identified by the Intelligence Project as both a nativist extremist group and a hate group. “The U.S. is third on the list to end White rule after Rhodesia and South Africa. First, the globalists must create a non-White majority through illegal immigration, diversity lotteries, visas, and a guest worker (invader) program... . Political correctness and ‘diversity training’ are the AIDS and HIV of White nations.”

While only a few nativist extremist groups deal in such unvarnished white supremacist ideology, most of them are

playing a role similar to that of traditional hate groups in the raging national immigration debate. They are interjecting wacky conspiracy theories, disseminating false statistics about “criminal” immigrants and the problems they create, blaming and targeting Latino immigrants as individuals, and promoting direct intimidation, mean-spirited harassment, and even murder.

The online forum hosted by the Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, the single largest nativist extremist organization in the country, with 34 chapters in 27 states, publicized several calls last November for the U.S. government to place land mines and machine gun towers on the border. One Minuteman advised other members to keep a supply of quick lime on hand to hasten the decomposition of corpses. Another summed up his policy recommendations most succinctly: “Shoot, shovel, and shut up.” ▲

THE GROUPS

What follows is a list of groups that the Intelligence Project has determined to be “nativist extremist” organizations, meaning that they target individual immigrants rather than immigration policies. The groups are listed with their locations when known; locations of groups that are statewide units with no known headquarters are designated by state name alone. Groups that are also listed by the Intelligence Project as hate groups are designated by an asterisk (*).

ALABAMA (3)

Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement, Birmingham
Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, Montgomery
Minuteman Project, Pinson

ARIZONA (19)

American Freedom Riders, Lake Havasu City
American Freedom Riders, Payson
American Freedom Riders, Phoenix
Arizona Border Watch, Phoenix
American Border Patrol (*), Sierra Vista
Border Rescue, Douglas
First Defenders Corps, Mesa
Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, Phoenix
Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, Tucson
Minuteman of One, Douglas
Minuteman of One, Peoria

Minuteman of One, Three Points/Robles Junction
Minuteman Project, Maricopa County
Mohave County Minutemen, Kingman
Mothers Against Illegal Aliens, Phoenix
Truth In Action/US Constitution Enforcement, Tucson
Warden Burns Mexican Flags, Tucson
United for a Sovereign America, Phoenix
Yuma Patriots, Yuma

ARKANSAS (1)

Protect Arkansas Now, Fort Smith

CALIFORNIA (25)

Antelope Valley Minutemen, Antelope Valley
Border Rescue, Sacramento
California Coalition for Immigration Reform (*), Huntington Beach
Campo Minutemen, Campo
Carlsbad Citizens Brigade, Carlsbad

Crispus Attucks Brigade, Los Angeles
East Bay Coalition for Border Security, Emeryville
Encinitas Citizens Brigade, Encinitas
Friends of the Border Patrol, Covina
Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, San Diego

Minuteman of One, Campo
Minuteman of One, San Diego
Minuteman Project, Huntington Beach
Minuteman Project, Ontario
Minuteman Project, San Clemente
Mountain Minutemen, Jacumba
No Invaders, Running Springs
Oceanside Citizens Brigade, Oceanside
Rancho Bernardo Citizens Brigade, Poway
Ramona Citizens Brigade, Ramona
Report and Deport, Sonoma County
San Diego Minutemen, San Diego
Save Our State (*), Sacramento
Save Our State (*), San Bernardino
Vista Citizens Brigade, Vista

COLORADO (7)

American Freedom Riders, Grand Junction
American Freedom Riders, Loveland
Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, Colorado Springs
Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, Denver
Minuteman Project, Byers
Ranch Rescue, Boulder
Rescue Without Borders (*), Boulder

CONNECTICUT (1)

Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, Glastonbury

FLORIDA (4)

American Freedom Riders, Big Bend
American Freedom Riders, Sarasota
Central Florida Patriots, Paisley
Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, Lee County

GEORGIA (3)

American Resistance, Marietta
Dustin Inman Society, Marietta
Minuteman Project, Atlanta

ILLINOIS (4)

Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, Skokie
Minutemen Midwest, Harvard
Minuteman Project, Lindenhurst
Save Our State (*), Chicago

INDIANA (2)

American Freedom Riders, Kokomo
IFIRE, Valparaiso

IOWA (2)

Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, Des Moines

Riders Against Illegal Aliens, Ottumwa

KANSAS (3)

Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, Emporia
Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, Kansas City

Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, Wichita

KENTUCKY (1)

Ranch Rescue, Hebron

MAINE (1)

Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, Hanover

MARYLAND (1)

Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, Silver Spring

MASSACHUSETTS (2)

Minuteman Project, Boston
New England Minuteman Association, Framingham

MINNESOTA (1)

Minuteman Project, Hanska

MISSISSIPPI (1)

Minuteman Project, Mississippi

MISSOURI (3)

Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, Joplin
Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, Springfield
Ranch Rescue Missouri, Saint Charles

NEBRASKA (2)

Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, Omaha
United Citizens of America, Omaha

NEVADA (7)

American Freedom Riders, Las Vegas
Emigration Party of Nevada (*), Henderson
Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, Las Vegas

Minuteman Project, Las Vegas
Nevada Action Coalition, Las Vegas
Pahrump Minutemen, Pahrump
Unite to Fight, Las Vegas

NEW HAMPSHIRE (1)

Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, Exeter

NEW JERSEY (4)

Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, Linden
Minuteman Project, Bergen County
Minuteman Project, Trenton
United Patriots of America, Linden

NEW MEXICO (2)

Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, Hachita
New Mexico Border Watch Rough Riders, Organ

NEW YORK (3)

Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, Suffolk County
Minuteman Project, New York
Save Our State (*), New York City

NORTH CAROLINA (2)

American Freedom Riders, Raleigh
Americans for Legal Immigration PAC, Raleigh

OHIO (2)

Border Rescue, Brooklyn
Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, Dayton

OKLAHOMA (4)

American Freedom Riders, Tulsa

Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, Oklahoma City
Minuteman Project, Tulsa
Ranch Rescue Oklahoma, Marietta

OREGON (4)

Coos County Citizen Caucus, Coos Bay
Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, Salem
Minuteman Project, Cornelius
Oregonians for Immigration Reform, McMinville

PENNSYLVANIA (6)

Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, Philadelphia
Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, Pittsburgh
Minuteman Project, Pennsylvania
Pennsylvania Minutemen, Quakertown
Pennsylvania Minutemen, Reading
Citizens for Immigration Control and Enforcement, Warminster

RHODE ISLAND (1)

Minuteman Project, Providence

SOUTH CAROLINA (1)

Minuteman Project, Greenville

SOUTH DAKOTA (1)

Minuteman Project, South Dakota

TENNESSEE (2)

Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, Murfreesboro
Tennessee Volunteer Minutemen, Morristown

TEXAS (13)

Border Guardians (*), Livingston
Border Rescue, Richardson
Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, Ft. Worth
Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, Laredo
Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, Midland/Odessa
Minuteman of One, Denton
Minuteman Project, Arlington
Minuteman Project, Lone Star
Patriot Force Border Patrol, Breckenridge
Rio Grande Guard, San Antonio
Texans for Immigration Reform, Houston
Texas Border Volunteers, Conroe
U.S. Border Watch, Spring

UTAH (1)

Utah Minuteman Project, Salt Lake City

VIRGINIA (1)

Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, Herndon

WASHINGTON (2)

Grassrootsonfire, Yakima Valley
Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, Tacoma

WYOMING (1)

American Freedom Riders, Gillette

the YEAR IN HATE

Hate groups grow steadily as the anti-immigration movement swells; 40% rise reported since the start of the millennium

Energized by the rancorous national debate on immigration and increasingly successful at penetrating mainstream political discourse, the number of hate groups in America continued to grow in 2006, rising 5% over the year before to 844 groups.

That increase translated into a 40% jump in the number of groups since 2000, when there were 602 hate groups operating in America, according to research by the Intelligence Project of the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC). Much of the expansion has been driven by hate groups' exploitation of the issue of illegal immigration, which most Americans see as a pressing concern.

Last year's hate group growth came despite continuing disarray on the neo-Nazi scene, with various relatively weak groups vying for dominance; a series of embarrassments including the arrests of two key leaders; the deaths of many stalwarts of the white supremacist old guard; signs of a splintering skinhead alliance; and the absence of any single major group working to unify the others.

At the same time that hate groups continued to proliferate, the United States has seen the breathtakingly rapid rise of a right-wing anti-immigration movement made up of groups that are xenophobic but mostly stop short of the open racial hatred espoused by hate groups. In

just the last two years, some 250 new nativist organizations have sprung up, some of them armed and engaged vigilante round-ups of undocumented Latino immigrants (see related story, p. 44). More and more of them have taken up the tactics of personal, in-your-face intimidation.

Most of these anti-immigration groups routinely denigrate undocumented Latinos and also popularize conspiracy theories, such as an alleged Mexican plot to annex the American Southwest, that originate in hate groups. As a result, it is no longer uncommon for these ideas and theories to make their way to radio, television or other mainstream venues. Even U.S. congressmen now bandy about unsub-

stantiated accusations of immigrant criminality, helping to whip up an atmosphere in which immigrants are seen as personally threatening.

"This kind of really vile propaganda begins in hate groups, makes its way out into the larger anti-immigration movement, and, before you know it, winds up in places like 'Lou Dobbs Tonight' on CNN," said Mark Potok, director of the SPLC's Intelligence Project. "This country needs a robust debate on immigration, but it does not need a debate based on racist allegations and bogus conspiracy theories."

Although the anti-immigration movement has endured several recent splits, it appears to be growing more radical overall, particularly since its supporters on the right wing of the Republican Party have grown increasingly isolated and weak as the GOP suffers from election losses and an unpopular war. That radicalization was reflected in a recent comment from Chris Simcox, a co-founder of the Minute-Man Project who had been a relatively moderate voice in the nativist movement.

"Be prepared and stock up on survival supplies, you may well need them," Simcox warned movement colleagues in an E-mail early this year, as immigration legislation that could bring a guest worker program advanced. "I'm not advocating it, nor am I claiming I will participate, however, the fact remains, hundreds of thousands of Americans will consider this the final straw, violent civil disobedience will break out all over the country if this legislation gets passed."

Here's a more detailed look at several sectors of the radical right:

NEO-NAZIS

The Minnesota-based National Socialist Movement (NSM), with 81 chapters in 36 states, remained the largest group on the neo-Nazi scene last year and was highly active for the first half of that period. But in July, scandal hit the group in the form of reports that Chairman Cliff

group has begun to publish a magazine, thus far it has done little else.

NSM has been pushing immigration heavily, and planned to follow a rally held in Texas last fall with a "Rock Against Illegal Immigration" concert and "mass rally" scheduled for Laurens, S.C., this April. NSM leader Jeff Schoep has led several such rallies, attacking Latino immigrants for "stealing jobs" and more.

The neo-Nazi National

ary, when Strom was arrested on charges of possession of child pornography and witness tampering. It soon came to light that a prominent National Vanguard organizer outside Boston, Matthew Downing, also had been arrested, for statutory rape, just two weeks earlier.

Like the NSM, National Vanguard has concentrated heavily on the issue of immigration. On its website this spring, the group claimed that



Headliners: The National Socialist Movement's rallies, including an appearance in the liberal college town of Madison, Wis., were among the year's notable extremist events.

Herrington's wife was a practicing Satanist. Before it was over, both Herringtons had left the group, as had its energetic spokesman, Bill White of Roanoke, Va. White took several NSM members and officials with him to form the American National Socialist Workers Party. Although that

Vanguard, formed in 2005 as a split-off from the once-dominant National Alliance, had 14 chapters last year. But it was not a very active group, and last July its leader, Kevin Strom, took a leave of absence without any real explanation. That mystery was apparently resolved in Janu-

"the upsurge of anti-Third World immigration sentiment ... is pushing a small but increasing number of ordinary White people into considering serious White nationalist alternatives like National Vanguard."

The National Alliance continued its long decline

into irrelevance. Although it still claimed 12 chapters last year, it was hardly visible on the white supremacist scene — “essentially dead,” in the words of long-time Alliance-basher Bill White. The nadir came in June, when Alliance Chairman Shaun Walker was arrested in Utah and charged with federal civil rights violations in two attacks on non-white bar patrons in 2002 and 2003. Another Alliance member was also arrested. Former chair Erich Gliebe, demoted in 2005, was returned to the Alliance’s top post.

Aryan Nations, still recovering from a devastating lawsuit brought by the Southern Poverty Law Center in 2000, grew by six chapters to 20, partly by reaching out to racist skinheads and, especially, Klan members. In October, it managed to draw some 150 people to its 25th Aryan Nations World Congress in Laurens, S.C. But by this February, a split developed over how much to emphasize racist Christian Identity theology, and a splinter group, United Church of Yhwh, broke away.

KU KLUX KLAN

The Klan, composed of 34 named groups with a total 164 chapters, was down by 15 chapters last year. But that dip came after years of growth, from 110 chapters in 2000 to 179 in 2005. Still, that steep five-year rise, some 63%, probably came more in the number of chapters than in actual Klansmen. There are likely between 6,000 and 8,000 Klansmen in all 34 Klan groups combined.

The Kentucky-based Imperial Klans of America (IKA), the largest Klan group in 2005, dropped by almost half to 23 chapters

last year. It fell behind the Illinois-based Brotherhood of Klans (BOK), which had 30 chapters in 2006. Imperial Wizard Dale Fox died in November, but was quickly replaced by Jeremy Parker.

Both Klan groups, like most others, have concentrated heavily on immigration. A recent IKA pamphlet said that the huge pro-immigrant marches held last year showed that American cities are “terrorized by hateful, racist illegal aliens marching under a foreign flag.” Not to be outdone, the BOK website, under the headline “RE-MEMBER THE ALAMO!” announced this winter that it was time for white Americans “to declare war on these illegal Mexicans.”

Last fall, two IKA members were indicted for allegedly beating a teenage boy they believed was Latino at a county fair. This February, immediately after Jarred Hensley and Andrew Watkins were sentenced to three years in prison because of the assault, the Southern Poverty Law Center filed a civil lawsuit against them.

RACIST SKINHEADS

During the first half of 2006, the Vinlanders Social Club, a Midwestern coalition of racist skinhead crews, made a remarkable bid for power on the larger skinhead scene, challenging the Hammerskin Nation that had once been the unquestioned dominant force in that world. The Vinlanders, a group that includes crews from Ohio, Indiana and elsewhere, were admired for their cohesiveness and defiance toward the Hammerskins, who are widely seen by other racist skinheads as elitist and overbearing.

But as the year wore on, there were rumblings of internal divisions. Still, it came as a surprise when, as 2007 began, the group announced that it planned “to separate [itself] from the racist movement,” which it characterized as rife with “paid informants, social outcasts, and general losers in life.” It’s not clear what that meant, however, as the Vinlanders also said they would keep operating their Council of 28, an umbrella leadership group that also includes Klansmen and neo-Nazis.

In California, meanwhile, David Lynch, who in the mid-1980s established a skinhead group called American Front, brought that group back to life in late 2005 and 2006. He has also reconnected with Richie Myers, a violent Florida skinhead who served a prison term for nearly drowning a fellow skinhead who was secretly Jewish. Lynch also runs the Sacto Skins, based in Sacramento, Calif., and has ties to international groups.

NEO-CONFEDERATES

The principal neo-Confederate organization, the League of the South, grew slightly to 103 chapters. But the group did not seem to be very active beyond Internet postings and the third, failed attempt to hold a Southern National Congress (apparently the group couldn’t muster sufficient interest).

At the same time, the league, which has described slavery as “God-ordained” and seeks a return to European “hegemony” in a newly seceded South, has forged two interesting new alliances. In South Carolina, it

works closely with Christian Exodus, a group that is trying to get right-wing Christians from other states to move there in a bid to take over political power. In Vermont, the league participated in a “North American Secessionist Convention” in Burlington last fall. Most of the other attendees represented left-wing groups, like the Second Vermont Republic (SVR). Not long after the convention, an SVR leader publicly offered up a Southern revisionist account of Lincoln.

WHITE NATIONALISTS

The Council of Conservative Citizens (CCC), a group directly descended from the old segregationist White Citizens Councils that has claimed as many as 15,000 members, announced last year that it was making non-white immigration its top priority. At the same time, it adopted a new “statement of principles” at its June convention that described the United States as “a European country” and opposed “all efforts to mix the races” — remarkable statements for a group that only a few years ago claimed to be non-racist.

Last fall, the CCC’s Michigan chapter head, the Rev. John Raternik, allied with Ward Connerly, a well-known black conservative, to back a state referendum to ban affirmative action. Connerly rejected calls to denounce the CCC, which has referred to blacks as “a retrograde species of humanity.” The ban passed. ▲

Heidi Beirich, Michelle Bramblett, Angela Freeman, Anthony Griggs, Janet Smith and Laurie Wood contributed to this report.

KU KLUX KLAN

When the Klan was formed in 1865, it was a single, unitary organization. Today, there are dozens of competing Klan groups.

American White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Cordele, GA *
San Angelo, TX
Sherman, TX
Bayou Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Homer, LA *
East Camden, AR
Smackover, AR
Denham Springs, LA
Mansfield, LA
St. Amant, LA
Kiln, MS
Shawnee, OK
Tennessee
Midlothian, TX

Brotherhood of Klans Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Marion, OH *
Crescent City, CA
San Luis Obispo, CA
Soledad, CA
La Fayette, GA
Nevada, IA
Beardstown, IL
Berwyn, IL
Troy, IL
Lakeville, IN
Ironwood, MI
Elizabethtown, NC
Omaha, NE
Columbus, OH
Dayton, OH
Lancaster, OH
Atoka, OK
Cement, OK
Coalgate, OK
Hinton, OK
Moyers, OK
La Pine, OR
Decaturville, TN
Dunlap, TN
Henderson, TN
Hickory Valley, TN
Lake Jackson, TX
Hardwick, VT
Rutland, VT

Christian White Knights Church of the Ku Klux Klan

Petal, MS
Confederate Knights of America
Millville, NJ

Confederate White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Richmond, VA
Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Homosassa Springs, FL*
Grove Hill, AL
California
Auburn, IN
Wooster, OH
Oregon
Saint Thomas, PA
Gilbert, SC
Readyville, TN
San Angelo, TX

Fraternal White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Charles City, IA
Free Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Hiram, GA *
Madison, NC
New York

Georgia Knight Riders Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Ellijay, GA *
Bainbridge, GA
Great Tennessee Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Telford, TN

Griffin Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Imperial Klans of America
Dawson Springs, KY *
Alabama
Arkansas

Hurley, WI
Washington, DC
Georgia
Center Point, IN
Brandenburg, KY
Maryland
Michigan
Mapaville, MO

International Keystone Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Johnstown, PA *
Cleveland, OH
Fairmont, WV
Invisible Empire of the International Knights
Enoree, SC
Klan Store

North Carolina
New York
Amelia, OH
Cincinnati, OH
St. Marys, OH
Boothwyn, PA
Mountain City, TN
Austin, TX
Desoto, TX
Houston, TX
Lefors, TX
Richmond, VA
West Virginia

Mississippi White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Petal, MS *
Winslow, AR
Bay St. Louis, MS
Bruce, MS
Hattiesburg, MS
Jackson, MS
Laurel, MS
Philadelphia, MS
Star, MS
Tremont, MS

Knight Riders of the Ku Klux Klan

Daniels, WV
Knights of Yahweh
Dandridge, TN *
Morristown, TN
Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Harrison, AR *
Concord, AR
Florida
Fairdale, KY

National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Englewood, FL *
Winnsboro, LA
National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
South Bend, IN *
Red Bay, AL
Calpella, CA

National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan/Ladies Auxiliary

Pauline, SC
North Georgia White Knights of

Mystic Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Dayton, OH
National Aryan Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Englewood, FL *
Winnsboro, LA
National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
South Bend, IN *
Red Bay, AL
Calpella, CA

National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Englewood, FL *
Winnsboro, LA
National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
South Bend, IN *
Red Bay, AL
Calpella, CA

National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan/Ladies Auxiliary

Pauline, SC
North Georgia White Knights of

the Ku Klux Klan

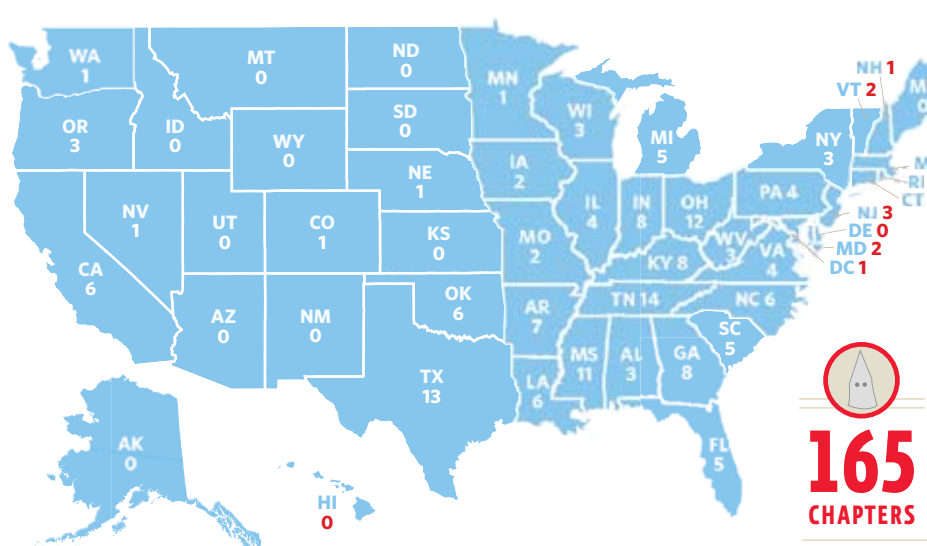
Ft. Oglethorpe, GA
The Redneck Shop
Laurens, SC
Southern Realm
Invisible Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Inc.
Lincolnton, NC
Texas Knights of the Invisible Empire Inc.
San Antonio, TX

National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

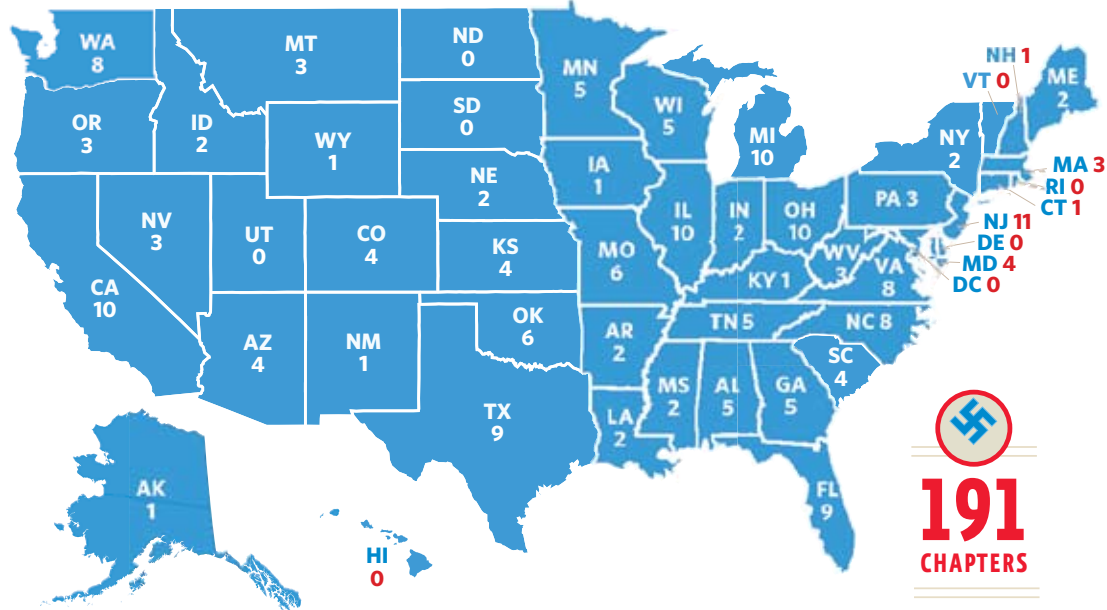
Englewood, FL *
Winnsboro, LA
National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
South Bend, IN *
Red Bay, AL
Calpella, CA

National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan/Ladies Auxiliary

Pauline, SC
North Georgia White Knights of



Cleveland, TX *
Houston, TX
White Legion
Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Santa Ana, CA
White Mountain
Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Buffalo, KY
World Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Sharpsburg, MD *
New Castle, PA ▲



NEO-NAZI

This listing of neo-Nazi groups does not include racist skinheads, although most of them hold neo-Nazi beliefs.

American National Socialist Workers' Party Roanoke, VA * Auburn, AL Phoenix, AZ Sarasota, FL Pembroke, GA Brooks, KY Elkridge, MD Danforth, ME Jackson, MI Conway, MO Wilmington, OH Tulsa, OK Fisher, WV American Nazi Party Westland, MI American Thule Society Black Canyon, AZ California Illinois Cleona, PA Texas Richmond, VA Aryan Nations Lincoln, AL * Selma, AL London, AR Chino, CA Conyers, GA	Coeur d'Alene, ID Lewiston, ME Missouri North Carolina Midland Park, NJ Toms River, NJ Bixby, OK Lemoyne, PA Moncks Corner, SC Tennessee Bellmead, TX Houston, TX Spokane, WA Tacoma, WA Appleton, WI Aryan Nations (offshoot) Lexington, SC Aryan Nations Youth Action Corps California * Minnesota Aryan Raiders Alexander City, AL Christian Defense League Mandeville, LA Creativity Movement East Peoria, IL * Davie, FL Bloomington, IL Chicago, IL	Joliet, IL Raymond, MS Hamilton, NJ Island Heights, NJ Jackson, NJ Toms River, NJ Ohio Newport News, VA National Alliance Hillsboro, WV * Sacramento, CA Chicago, IL Baltimore, MD Minneapolis/St. Paul, MN Benson, NC Raleigh, NC Cincinnati, OH Cleveland, OH Dallas/Fort Worth, TX Houston, TX Douglas, WY National Socialist Freedom Movement Tulsa, OK National Socialist German Workers Party Lincoln, NE National Socialist Movement Minneapolis, MN *	Alaska Alexander City, AL Fresno, CA Glendale, CA Sacramento, CA Colorado Springs, CO Denver, CO Citrus County, FL Ocala, FL Orlando, FL St. Augustine, FL Augusta, GA West Georgia Iowa Athol, ID Chicago, IL Quincy, IL Schiller Park, IL Indianapolis, IN Wakarusa, IN Hutchinson, KS Kansas City, KS Scandia, KS Wichita, KS Walker, LA Boston, MA Maryland Cadillac, MI Detroit, MI Grand Rapids, MI Northern Michigan Port Huron, MI Northern Minnesota Columbia, MO Jefferson City, MO	St. Louis, MO Mississippi Billings, MT Butte, MT Libby, MT Charlotte, NC Elizabeth City, NC Greensboro, NC Winston-Salem, NC Livingston, NJ Vineland, NJ New Mexico Fallon, NV Las Vegas, NV Brooklyn, NY Cincinnati, OH Covington, OH Freemont, OH Lakewood, OH Lewisburg, OH Spencerville, OH Oklahoma City, OK Tulsa, OK Portland, OR Sisters, OR Bethlehem, PA Enoree, SC Spartanburg, SC Central Tennessee East Tennessee Nashville, TN Houston, TX Lubbock, TX Richardson, TX Berryville, VA	Harrisonburg, VA Norfolk, VA Shenandoah Valley, VA Mukilteo, WA Richland, WA Seattle, WA Romney, WV Green Bay, WI Madison, WI Milwaukee, WI National Vanguard Charlottesville, VA * Phoenix, AZ Tempe, AZ Sacramento, CA Boston, MA Michigan St. Louis, MO Elmwood Park, NJ Hewitt, NJ Jackson, NJ Las Vegas, NV West Hurley, NY Raleigh, NC Seattle, WA Nationalist Coalition St. Petersburg, FL * Denver, CO New Order Milwaukee, WI Nordwave Lake Worth, FL NS Publications Wyandotte, MI
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Prussians Motorcycle Club
Ogilvie, MN
SS Enterprises
Fresno, CA
SS Regalia
Edgewater, MD
Seattle Creators Assembly
Puyallup, WA
Seattle, WA
Thule Publications
Portland, OR
White Aryan Resistance
Temecula, CA
White Revolution
Russellville, AR *
Estes Park, CO
Bridgeport, CT
Lakeland, FL
Brooks, GA
Illinois
Haverhill, MA
Ironwood, MI
Omaha, NE
Winchester, NH
Lawton, OK
Decherd, TN
Texas ▲

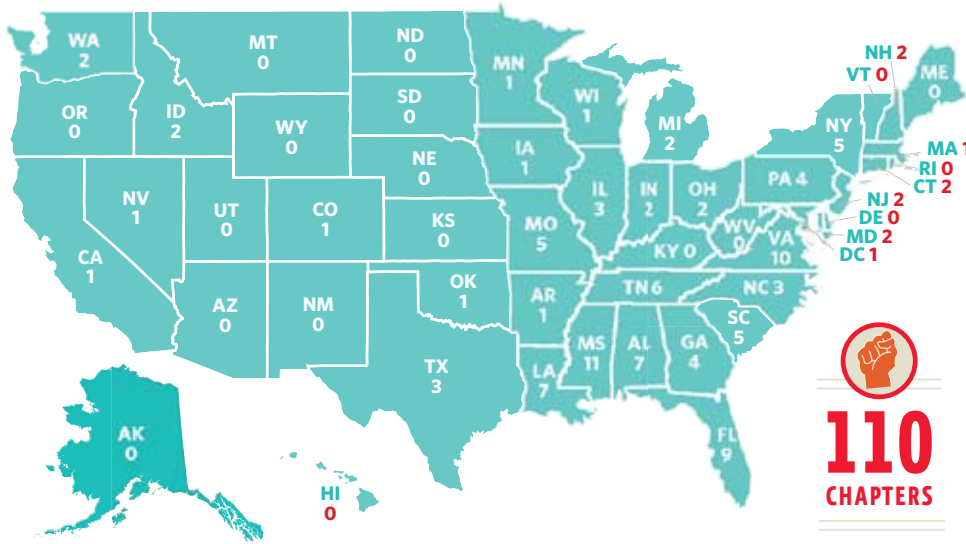
WHITE NATIONALIST

White nationalist groups espouse white supremacist or white separatist ideologies, often focusing on the alleged inferiority of nonwhites. Groups listed in several other categories could also be described as white nationalist.

14 Word Press Wilmington, NC American Nationalist Union Allison Park, PA American Renaissance/New Century Foundation Oakton, VA * Chicago, IL Arlington, VA Americans for Self Determination Falls Church, VA Aryan Wear Keller, TX Center for Perpetual Diversity Washington, DC * Gaithersburg, MD Charles Darwin Research Institute Port Huron, MI Charles Martel Society/The Occidental Quarterly Mount Airy, MD Conservative Citizens Foundation, Inc.	St. Louis, MO Council of Conservative Citizens St. Louis, MO * Birmingham, AL Cullman, AL Huntsville, AL Jasper, AL Montgomery, AL Little Rock, AR Jacksonville, FL Chicago, IL Southern Illinois Martinsville, IN Baton Rouge, LA Southeast Louisiana New Orleans, LA Caledonia, MI Mississippi Valley Region, MO St. Louis, MO Calhoun City, MS Greenwood, MS Grenada County, MS Jackson, MS Leflore County, MS Mathison, MS Vaiden, MS Clemmons, NC	Dublin, NH Fort Lee, NJ New York, NY Parishville, NY Grove City, OH Allison Park, PA Revere, PA Charleston, SC Saluda, SC West Columbia, SC Cleveland, TN Franklin, TN Kingsport, TN Memphis, TN Ashburn, VA Madison, WI European American Heritage Foundation Bunnell, FL European American Issues Forum San Bruno, CA European American Unity and Rights Organization Mandeville, LA * Jacksonville, FL Columbus, GA Savannah, GA
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Coeur d'Alene, ID
Shreveport, LA
Thibodaux, LA
Ripley, MS
Cleveland, OH
Tulsa, OK
Columbia, SC
Woodruff, SC
Memphis, TN
Dallas/Fort Worth, TX
Irving, TX
Richmond, VA
The Fitzgerald Griffin Foundation
Vienna, VA
Folk and Faith
Idaho Falls, ID
Germanenorden Society
Danbury, NH
Heritage and Destiny
Falls Church, VA
Hypatia Publishing
Vancouver, WA *
New Jersey
Kinist Institute
Orlando, FL
Lawrence Dennis Institute
Fairfax, VA
Lebensborn Assembly Church
Birmingham, AL
NAACP Florida Chapter Inc.
Jacksonville, FL
National Policy Institute
McLean, VA
National States Rights Party
Philadelphia, MS
Nationalist Free Press
Dandridge, TN
Nationalist Movement
Learned, MS
North East White Pride
Chelsea, MA *
New Fairfield, CT
Stratford, CT

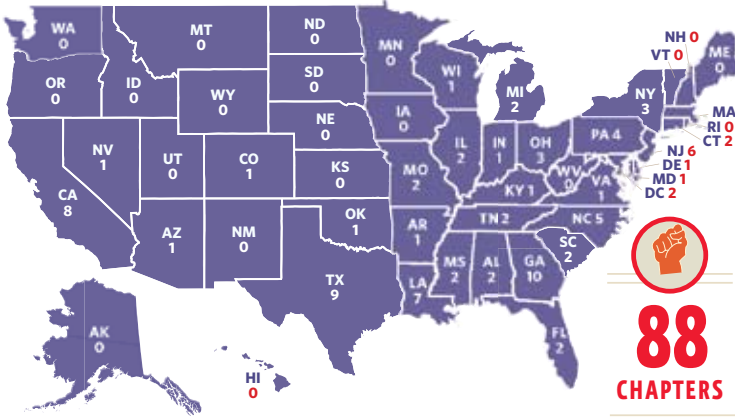
Northern Voice Bookstore
Wildwood, PA
Order of St. Andrew
Southaven, MS
Our Race is Our Nation
Hoover, AL
Pioneer Fund
New York, NY
Racial Nationalist Party of America
Lockport, NY
Right Now!
Augusta, GA
Sigdrifa
Vancouver, WA
Sons of Liberty Committee
Shady Hills, FL
Stormfront
West Palm Beach, FL
United Patriots and Associates
Shreveport, LA
VDARE/Center for American Unity
Warrenton, VA
Washington Summit Publishers
Augusta, GA
White Christian Soldiers
Lee's Summit, MO
White Nation Network
Lakeland, FL
White Peoples Party
Las Vegas, NV
White Working Mans Party
Minneapolis, MN
Women for Aryan Unity
Brooklyn, NY *
Denver, CO
Florida
Iowa
Raleigh, NC
WTM Enterprises
Roanoke, IN ▲



Detroit, MI
Kansas City, MO
St. Louis, MO
Greenville, MS
Jackson, MS
Charlotte, NC
Durham, NC
Greensboro, NC

Philadelphia, PA
Pittsburgh, PA
Wilkinsburg, PA
Charleston, SC
Columbia, SC
Memphis, TN
Nashville, TN
Austin, TX

Atlanta, GA
Augusta, GA
Chicago, IL
Baton Rouge, LA
New Orleans, LA
Detroit, MI
Newark, NJ
Trenton, NJ



Greenville, NC
Winston-Salem, NC
Newark, NJ
New Brunswick, NJ
Plainfield, NJ
Trenton, NJ
Las Vegas, NV
Buffalo, NY
New York, NY
Cincinnati, OH
Cleveland, OH
Columbus, OH
Tulsa, OK

Dallas, TX
Fort Worth, TX
Houston, TX
San Antonio, TX
Texarkana, TX
Waco, TX
Richmond, VA
Milwaukee, WI
New Black Panther Party
Washington, DC *
Los Angeles, CA
Denver, CO

Philadelphia, PA
Dallas, TX
Houston, TX
United Nuwaubian Nation of Moors/ All Eyes on Egypt
Athens, GA
Atlanta, GA
Augusta, GA
Macon, GA
Savannah, GA
Brooklyn, NY ▲

GENERAL HATE

These organizations are subdivided into anti-gay, anti-immigrant, Holocaust denial, racist music, and radical traditionalist Catholic groups. A final “other” sub-category includes groups espousing a variety of hateful doctrines.

ANTI-GAY 6

American Vision
Powder Springs, GA
Chalcedon Foundation
Vallecito, CA
Family Research Institute
Colorado Springs, CO
Traditional Values Coalition
Anaheim, CA *
Washington, DC
Westboro Baptist Church

Topeka, KS

ANTI-IMMIGRANT 12
American Border Patrol
Sierra Vista, AZ
American Immigration Control Foundation/Americans for Immigration Control
Monterey, VA
American Patrol/Voice of Citizens Together
Sherman Oaks, CA

Border Guardians

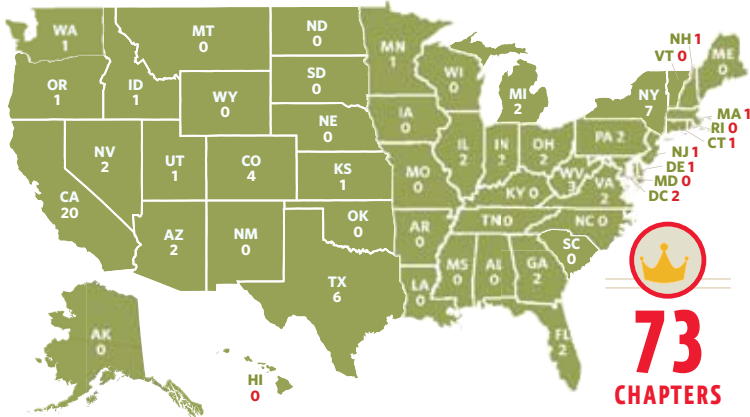
Livingston, TX
California Coalition for Immigration Reform
Huntington Beach, CA
Emigration Party of Nevada
Henderson, NV
Rescue Without Borders
Boulder, CO
Save Our State
San Bernardino, CA*
Sacramento, CA

Chicago, IL
New York, NY
Social Contract Press
Petoskey, MI
HOLOCAUST DENIAL 5
Barnes Review/ Foundation for Economic Liberty, Inc.
Washington, DC
Castle Hill Publishers
New York, NY
Institute for Historical Review
Newport Beach, CA
International Conspiratological Association
Coeur d'Alene, ID
Noontide Press
Newport Beach, CA
RACIST MUSIC 14

Condemned Records
San Diego, CA
Desastrous Records
Springtown, TX
Diehard Records
Chesapeake, OH
Final Stand Records
Newark, DE
Free Your Mind Productions
Valdosta, GA
ISD Records
Lancaster, OH
Micetrap Distribution
Maple Shade, NJ
MSR Productions
Wheat Ridge, CO
Old Guard Records
Plano, TX
Resistance Records
Hillsboro, WV
Unholy Records

Marlinton, WV
Vinland Winds Records
New York, NY
White Devil Industries
Ventura, CA
Whiteheat Productions
Santa Ana, CA
RADICAL TRADITIONALIST CATHOLIC 13
Alliance for Catholic Tradition
Summersville, WV
Catholic Apologetics International
State Line, PA
Catholic Counterpoint
Broomall, PA
Catholic Family News/Catholic Family Ministries, Inc.
Niagara Falls, NY
Culture Wars/ Fidelity Press
South Bend, IN
The Fatima Crusader/ International Fatima Rosary Crusade
Constable, NY
Legion of St. Louis/ IHS Press
Norfolk, VA
OMNI Christian Book Club
Palmdale, CA
The Remnant/The Remnant Press
Forest Lake, MN
Slaves of the Immaculate Heart of Mary
Richmond, NH
St. Joseph Forum
South Bend, IN

St. Michael's Parish /Mount St. Michael
Spokane, WA
Tradition in Action
Los Angeles, CA
OTHER 23
Fundamentalist Latter Day Saints
Hildale, UT *
Colorado City, AZ
Mancos, CO
Eldorado, TX
Jewish Defense League
Los Angeles, CA *
Brookdale, CA
North Hollywood, CA
Sacramento, CA
Southern California
Colebrook, CT
Fort Lauderdale, FL
Skokie, IL
Revere, MA
Reno, NV
Brooklyn, NY
Rochester, NY
Waco, TX
National Prayer Network
Clackamas, OR
Odium Books
Montecito, CA
Palm Beach Christian Group
Lantana, FL
Power of Prophecy
Austin, TX
Voz de Aztlan
Whittier, CA
Young Americans for Freedom—Michigan State University
East Lansing, MI ▲



HATE WEBSITES

ACTIVE IN THE YEAR 2006

This list of 566 U.S.-based hate sites active on the World Wide Web in 2006, up from 522 a year earlier, includes pages espousing Ku Klux Klan, Neo-Nazi, White Nationalist, Racist Skinhead, Christian Identity, Neo-Confederate, Black Separatist, and General Hate beliefs. Websites tend to move from server to server or shut down without notice, so they may be hard to locate. Sites marked with an asterisk (*) are organizations that actively promote hate beyond the mere publishing of Internet material (see also hate group listing, p. 52).

Locations where sites are based are listed when known.

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KU KLUX KLAN 65

311 Mountain Church of Florida
expage.com/mountainchurchoffl
American White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan *
www.awkkkk.com/
www.awkkkk.org/
www.awkkkk.net/
Cordele, GA
Bayou Knights of the Ku Klux Klan *
www.bayouknightskkk.com/
Homer, LA
louisianakkk.homestead.com/
St. Amant, LA
mississippikkk.com/
Kiln, MS
www.oklahomakkk.com/
Shawnee, OK
tennesseekkk.homestead.com
/index.html
Tennessee
www.kkktxas.com/
Midlothian, TX
Brotherhood of Klans Knights of the Ku Klux Klan *
www.bok33.org/
Marion, OH
Christian White Knights Church of the Ku Klux Klan *
www.christianwhiteknights.com

Petal, MS

Confederate White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan *

www.webspawner.com/users/
ironguard1940/index.html
Richmond, VA
Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
www.ekofalabama.com
Grove Hill, AL
www.knights311.org/california/
California
www.knights311.org/
www.floridakkk.com
Homasassa Springs, FL
www.indianaknights311.
netfirms.com/main
Auburn, IN
www.ohiokkk.com/
Wooster, OH
www.knights311.org/oregon/
Oregon
www.keystoneknights.org/
Saint Thomas, PA

Free Knights of the Ku Klux Klan *

www.geocities.com/free
knightsnc/
www.geocities.com/bigj418/
index.html?986331629890
Hiram, GA
www.geocities.com/free
knightsnc/

Madison, NC

www.geocities.com/free_
knights_of_ny/free_knights_
of_ny.html?1009398641870
New York
Georgia Knight Riders Knights of the Ku Klux Klan *
www.georgiaknightriderskkk.
com/page2.html
Ellijay, GA

Imperial Klans of America *

www.kkkk.net/Indiana/
ikaind.htm
Center Point, IN
www.k-k-k.com
www.kkkk.net/
www.kkkk.net/kentucky1/
index.htm
Dawson Springs, KY
www.kkkk.net/michigan/
Michigan
www.kkkk.net/missouri/
index.htm
Mapaville, MO
www.kkkk.net/pennsylvania/
Boothwyn, PA
www.kkkk.net/tennessee/
index.htm
Mountain City, TN
www.kkkk.net/texas/
Austin, TX
International Keystone Knights of the Ku Klux Klan *

www.geocities.com/keystone
knights/ohio.html
Cleveland, OH

Invisible Empire International Knights of the Ku Klux Klan *

www.theredneckshop.com/
kkk/index2.html
Enoree, SC
Klan Net Services
www.klannet.net/
Klan Store *
klanstore.com/store/
Ocala, FL
Knights of Lady Inamorata
www.geocities.com/knightso-
fladyinamorata/
Knights of Yahweh *
www.knightsofyahwehkuklux
klan.com/
Dandridge, TN
Knights of the Ku Klux Klan *
www.arkpower-light.com/
Concord, AR
www.kkk.com/
kkk.bz/
Harrison, AR
www.pagerealm.com/florida/
KnightsFla.htm
Florida
www.newporttennessee.net/
Newport, TN
Konfederation of Klans

www.konfederationklans.com/
Homosassa, FL
Ku Klux Klan, LLC *
www.kukluxklan.bz/
Compton, AR
Louisiana White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan *
www.lwkkkk.org/
Walker, LA
Mississippi White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan *
www.mwkkkk.com
Petal, MS
Mississippi White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan/White Knight Alliance *
www.arkansaswhiteknights.com/
Winslow, AR
Mystic Knights of the Ku Klux Klan *
www.mysticknights.org/
Dayton, OH
National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan *
www.cnkkkk.com/
South Bend, IN
North Georgia White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan *
ngwkkkk.org/
Ft. Oglethorpe, GA
Order of the Ku Klux Klan
www.kkkklan.com/
The Redneck Shop *
members.aol.com/padragon36/
redneck.htm
Laurens, SC
Texas Knights of the Invisible Empire Inc. *
tktie.org/
San Antonio, TX
United Northern and Southern Knights of the Ku Klux Klan *
www.unskkkk.com/
Fraser, MI
www.unskkkk.com/Michigan.html
Milan, MI
Warriors of the White World *
www.warriorsofthewhiteworld.com/
Leitchfield, KY
White Camelia Knights of the Ku Klux Klan *
www.wckkkk.com/
Cleveland, TX
White Legion Knights of the Ku Klux Klan *
www.whitelegionknights.org/

Santa Ana, CA
World Knights of the Ku Klux Klan *
www.worldknights.org/
worldknightskkk.expage.com/
Sharpsburg, MD
www.expage.com/worldknights
realmofpa
New Castle, PA

NEO-NAZI 90

Adolf Hitler Research Society
www.adolhitlerresearchsociety.org/
American National Socialist Workers' Party *
www.answp.com/
Roanoke, VA
American Nazi Party *
www.americannaziparty.com
Westland, MI
American Thule Society *
www.american-thule-society.org/
Cleona, PA
Aryan Confederation
www.geocities.com/arcon_wp/
Aryan Matters
www.aryanmatters.com/
Aryan Nations *
www.twelvearyannations.com
Lincoln, AL
www.aryannationspa.com/
Lemoine, PA
Aryan Nations (offshoot) *
www.aryan-nations.org
www.posse-comitatus.org
Lexington, SC
Aryan Nations Records
www.aryannationsrecords.com
Aryan Nations Youth Action Corps *
www.Aryanyouth.com
www.anyac.4t.com/
Lake Arrowhead, CA
www.freewebs.com/anyacm/
Minnesota
Aryan Raiders *
www.freewebs.com/aryan
raiders/index.htm
aryanraiders2.bravehost.com/
index.html
Alexander City, AL
Aryan Union
www.aryanunion.org/
Christian Defense League *
www.cdlreport.com

Mandeville, LA
Cosmotheism
www.cosmotheism.net/
Couch Potato Show
www.couchpower.com/
Creativity Movement *
www.creativitymovement.net/
East Peoria, IL
www.creator.org/
www.rahowa.net/
Petoskey, MI
Final Solution 88
www.finalsolution88.com
Klassen's Teachings
rahowa.com/
Libertarian National Socialist Green Party
www.nazi.org/
Local White Boy
www.localwhiteboy.com/
National Alliance *
www.natallmd.com/
Baltimore, MD
www.natall.com
www.natvan.com
www.natallwest.com
www.natallco.com
Hillsboro, WV
National Alliance News
www.natallnews.com
National Socialist Black Metal
www.nsbm.org/
National Socialist German Workers Party *
www.nazi-lauck-nsdapao.com/
Lincoln, NE
National Socialist Movement *
www.nsm88ca.com
Glendale, CA
www.bayounazis.com/
Walker, LA
www.nsmne.cjb.net/
www.geocities.com/nsmboston/
Boston, MA
www.webspawner.com/users/
nsmmaryland88/index.html
Maryland
nsmmichigan.us/
flyservers.com/members5/
nsmmichigan.us/
Cadillac, MI
www.nsmmichigan.org/
Michigan
www.nsm88.com/
Minneapolis, MN
www.nsm88mo.com/

Jefferson City, MO
www.geocities.com/nsm_libbymt/
NSMNorthwesternMontana.html
Libby, MT
nsmnc.2ofr.com
Greensboro, NC
www.nsm88nv.com
Nevada
www.nsm88nj.com
New Jersey
www.nsm88ny.com
New York
www.nukeisrael.com/
Portland, OR
www.nsmspartanburg.2ofr.com/
Enoree, SC
nazirebels.com/
East Tennessee, TN
www.lubbockunitnsm.com
Lubbock, TX
www.nsmofnova.org
Berryville, VA
www.webspawner.com/users/
virginia88/index.html
Harrisonburg, VA
www.ns-wa.org
Mukilteo, WA
www.nsm88wi.com
Green Bay, WI
National Socialist Movement Forum
whitepowerchat.com/nsmforum/
National Socialist Movement News
nationalist88.blogspot.com/
National Socialist Movement Radio
www.nsm88radio.com/
National Socialist Party
nspusa.freespaces.com/
National Vanguard *
www.natvanaz.com/
Tempe, AZ
www.natallca.com/
Sacramento, CA
nvboston.com/
Boston, MA
www.natallstl.com/
St. Louis, MO
www.natallnj.com/
Hewitt, NJ
www.lasvegasna.com/
Las Vegas, NV
www.nationalvanguard.org/hv/
www.nationalvanguard.org/wny/
West Hurley, NY

www.nationalvanguard.org/
www.CAROLINAVANGUARD.COM
Charlottesville, VA
Nationalist Coalition *
www.ncoal.com/
St. Petersburg, FL
natvantampa.com/
Tampa, FL
New Order *
www.theneworder.org/
Milwaukee, WI
Nordwave *
nordwave.net
Lake Worth, FL
NS Publications *
www.nspublications.com/
Wyandotte, MI
NSM Outreach *
www.nsm88outreach.aryan
pride.net/
NSM88 Woman's Division *
www.nsm88womensdivision.com/
Prussians Motorcycle Club *
www.geocities.com/prussiansmc
Ogilvie, MN
SS Enterprises *
www.ssenterprises.com
Fresno, CA
SS Regalia *
www.ssregalia.com/
Edgewater, MD
Thule Publications *
www.thulepublications.com/
Portland, OR
White Alert
www.whitealert.com/
White Aryan Resistance *
www.resist.com/
Temecula, CA
White Revolution *
www.whiterevolution.com/
Russellville, AR
White Revolution's Selectively Single
selectivelysingle.com
White Struggle
www.whitestuggle.net/
White Wire
www.whitewire.net/
World Union of National Socialists
www.nationalsocialist.net

WHITE NATIONALIST 176

14 Word Press *
www.14wordpress.com/

Wilmington, NC
All White Dating
www.allwhitedating.com/
AlterMedia International
www.altermedia.info
American Defense League
www.adlusa.us/
www.americandefenseleague.com/
American National Conference
ancpage.com/
American Nationalist Union *
www.anu.org/
Allison Park, PA
American Renaissance/ New Century Foundation
www.chicagoamren.com/
Chicago, IL
www.amren.com/
Oakton, VA
Americans Against Zionist Oppression and Occupation
ourworld.cs.com/nonzion/
Americans for Self-Determination *
www.separatism.org/index.htm
Falls Church, VA
aprilgaedesblog
aprilgaedesblog.blogspot.com/
Aryan Wear
www.aryanwear.com/
Keller, TX
Awakened White
www.awakenedwhite.com/
Bars N Stars (White Singles)
www.bars-n-stars.com
Bedlam Nation
bedlamnation.blogspot.com/
Birdman Bryant: The World's Most Controversial Author
www.thebirdman.org/
Black Exodus
fathersmanifesto.com/
Caste Football
www.castefootball.us/
Celtic Friends
www.celticfriends.com/
Celtic Reign
www.celticreign.com/
Center for Perpetual Diversity *
www.perpetualdiversity.com/
Washington, DC
Charles Darwin Research Institute *
www.charlesdarwinresearch.org/
Port Huron, MI
Charles Martel Society/

The Occidental Quarterly *
theoccidentalquarterly.com/
Augusta, GA
Christian Legal Reformation Club
www.clrc.net/
Christian Party
www.christianparty.net/
Conspiracy Penpal
conspiracypenpal.com
Council of Conservative Citizens *
arcofcc.freervers.com/index.html
Little Rock, AR
groups.firstcoastcommunity.com
/main.wsi?group_id=471
Jacksonville, FL
indianacofcc.org/
Martinsville, IN
www.micofcc.org/
Caledonia, MI
members.aol.com/kidrebel777/
KidRebel777/
Mississippi Valley, MO
www.cofcc.org/
www.galilei.com/stl/cofcc/
www.slacc.com/stlcofcc/
countenance.wordpress.com
groups.firstcoastcommunity.com/
frame.wsi?groupsite=cofcc.org
St. Louis, MO
www.cofcc.org/chapters/
mississippi/index.htm
Greenwood, MS
www.cofcc.org/chapters/
mississippi/index.php
Jackson, MS
nycofcc.blogspot.com/
New York, NY
www.heritagelost.org/
Charleston, SC
www.heritagelost.org/columbia/
Columbia, SC
David Duke Online
www.davidduke.org/
www.duke.org/
www.davidduke.com/
David Lane's Pyramid Prophecy
www.davidlane1488.org/
Death to Zog
www.deathtozog.com/
Defensive Racism
defensiveracism.com/
Euro Date Link
www.eurodatelink.net
European American

Heritage Foundation *
www.eahf.org/index.htm
Bunnell, FL
European American Issues Forum *
www.eaif.org/
San Bruno, CA
European American Unity and Rights Organization *
www.whitecivilrights.com/
Mandeville, LA
Fallen Freedom
fallenfreedom.blogspot.com/
First Amendment Exercise Machine
www.faem.com/
First Freedom
www.gulfstel.com/firstfreedom/
Folk and Faith
www.folkandfaith.com/
www.revolutioninternational.
blogspot.com/
Idaho Falls, ID
FolkCom
www.folkcom.com/
Portland, OR
Free American Magazine Online
www.freeamerican.com/
Free the Order
www.freetheorder.com
Germanenorden Society
mysite.verizon.net/vzessewg/
aboutthegermanenordensociety/
Danbury, NH
Hal Turner Show
www.halturnershow.com
Hate and Flame
www.hateandflame.com
Heartland
www.heartlandusa.org
Heathen Folk Revival Network
www.heathenfolk.com/
Holy Western Empire
www.holywesternempire.org/
Homefront Publications
homefrontpublications.com/
Honest Media Today
www.honestmediatoday.com/
Hypatia Publishing *
rahowa.com/hypatia/
Vancouver, WA
Inverted World
www.inverted-world.com

Iron Guard
www.ironguard.org/
Jerry's Aryan Battle Page
www.jabpage.org/jabpage.html
Jew Watch
www.jewwatch.com/
Jewish Tribal Review
jewishtribalreview.org/
Jews 101
www.jews101.com/
Kevin Strom
Kevin-Strom.com/
Kinist Institute *
www.kinism.net
Orlando, FL
KPS Report
www.teutonicism.com/
The Last Ditch
www.thornwalker.com/ditch/index.html
Lawrence Dennis Institute *
www.lawrencedennis.org/
Fairfax, VA
Lebensborn Assembly Church *
lebensbornassemblychurch.com/
Birmingham, AL
Little Geneva
www.littlegeneva.com
Louis Beam
www.louisbeam.com/
Magna Est Veritas Et Praevalet
www.greatistruth.blogspot.com/
March of the Titans
www.white-history.com/
Martin Luther King Jr. A Historical Examination
www.mlking.org
www.martinlutherking.org/
NAAWP Florida Chapter, Inc. *
www.naawpfch.org/
Jacksonville, FL
National Policy Institute *
www.nationalpolicyinstitute.org
McLean, VA
National Socialism
www.national-socialism.com
National States Rights Party *
www.nsrp.biz
Philadelphia, MS
Nationalist Free Press *
www.nationalistfreepress.com/
www.liesexposed.net/nfp/nfp.htm
Dandridge, TN
Nationalist Movement *
www.nationalist.org/
Learned, MS

Nationalist Party of the United States of America
www.nationalistpartyusa.com/
Neo Eugenics
www.neoeugenics.com
Neo White Revolutionary Press
www.nwrpress.com
New Nation News
www.newnation.org/
New Saxon
www.newsaxon.com/
NewsNet14
www.1488.net/
www.newsnet14.com/
No New World Order
www.nonwo.com/
No War for Israel
www.nowarforisrael.com/
Noahide News
www.samliquidation.com/
noahidenews30.htm
North East White Pride *
www.newp.org
Chelsea, MA
Northern Voice Bookstore *
www.northernvoicebookstore.com/
Wildwood, PA
Northwest Homeland Blogspot
nwhomeland.blogspot.com/
NS88 Videos
www.ns88.com/
Occidental Imperium
occidentalimperium.blogspot.com/
Occidental Origin
www.occidentalorigin.com/
Odin's Reich
www.odinsreich.com/
Order of St. Andrew *
www.osa.faithweb.com/
Southaven, MS
Order of White Knights
www.orderofwhiteknights.org/
Original Dissent
www.originaldissent.com/
Our Race Is Our Nation
www.ourraceisournation.com/
Overthrow.Com
www.outherthrow.com/
Overthrow Blog
overthrow88.blogspot.com/
Pioneer Fund *
www.pioneerfund.org/
New York, NY
Political Cesspool
www.thepoliticalcesspool.org/
Professor Kevin MacDonald

www.kevinmacdonald.net/
Prussian Blue
www.prussianblue.net
Prussian Blue Blog
prussianbluefan.blogspot.com
Put Troops on the Border
www.puttroopsontheborder.com/
Putting Up a Fight
www.geocities.com/puttingupafight/
Rac USA
www.rac-usa.org/
Race Realist
www.racerealist.com/
Racial Compact
www.racialcompact.com/
Radio White Austin
www.radiowhiteaustin.org/
Rebel Army
www.rebelarmy.com
Remove Jews
www.removejews.com/
Revilo Oliver
www.revilo-oliver.com/
Sam Francis Letter
samfranciscolumn.blogspot.com/
Sam Francis Online
www.samfrancis.net
Serbian Defense League
sdlusa.com/sdl/
serbiandefenseleague.com/
Shots Fired
www.shotsfired.us/
Sigrdrifa Publications *
www.sigrdrifa.net/
Vancouver, WA
SolarGeneral.com White Nationalist News Portal
www.solargeneral.com
Sons of Liberty Committee *
www.solpac.org/
Shady Hills, FL
Stalking the Wild Taboo
www.lrainc.com/swtaboo/index.html
Stormfront *
www.wpww.com/
www.stormfront.org/
West Palm Beach, FL
Taking it Back
takingitback.net/
Tightrope
www.tightrope.cc
The Truth About Panzerfaust Records
www.anthonypierpont.com

The Truth About White Supremacy
geocities.com/white_truth/
The Truth Newspaper
www.thetruthnewspaperinc.com
Unite Against Multiculturalism
www.geocities.com/anti_multi_culture/index.html
United Patriots and Associates *
www.geocities.com/rebely2070/RebelYell1776.html
Shreveport, LA
VDARE.com: Blog Articles *
blog.vdare.com/
Warrenton, VA
VDARE/Center for American Unity *
www.vdare.com
www.cfau.org
Warrenton, VA
Vanguard News Network
www.govnn.com
www.vanguardnewsnetwork.com/
www.vnnforum.com
Volkermord
www.volkermord.com/
VoteForUSA-Informing the American Voter
www.voteforusa.com/
Wake Up or Die
www.wakeupordie.com/
Washington Summit Publishers *
www.wspublishers.com/
Augusta, GA
Western Nationalist
www.gossiping.net/phpBB2/?mforum=newsboard
Western Safeguards Initiative
wsi.matriots.com/index.html
Whitaker Online
www.whitakeronline.org/
White Christian Soldiers *
www.angelfire.com/nys/lansky2000/wcs1.html
Lee's Summit, MO
White History
www.white-history.com/
White Nation Network *
whitenation.blogspot.com
Lakeland, FL
White Nationalist Social & Business Network
wnsbn.forumup.us/
White Nationalist Family
whitenationalistfamily.com/index.html

White Nationalist Family Forum
www.longcountyrebel.org/wnb
White Patriot Party
www.whitepatriotparty.com/
White People's Party *
www.whitepeoplesparty.com/
Las Vegas, NV
White Picket Fence
www.kinfence.blogspot.com/
White Working Man's Party *
www.wwmp.us
Minneapolis, MN
Women for Aryan Unity *
www.uiowa.edu/policult/politick2000/front14.org/wau/_wau_lowa
w-a-u.net/
www.wauhqs.cjb.net/
www.rac-usa.org/wau/
Brooklyn, NY

RACIST SKINHEAD 33

Aryan Anarchist Skins *
ilskinheadgrll.tripod.com/index.html
Mount Morris, IL
Aryan National Front
klik.to/anf88
Bergen County Hooligans *
www.furiat.net/
Wallington, NJ
Blood and Honour *
www.kriegsberichter.com/
www.bloodandhonour-usa.com/
Richardson, TX
Blood and Honour/Volksfront
bhamerica.net
Portland, OR
California Skinheads *
www.caskinhead.com/
California
Confederate Hammerskins *
www.chs38.com/
Jacksonville, FL
Confederation of Racialist Working Class Skinheads *
www.crwskinheads.com
Ventura, CA
Connecticut White Wolves *
www.connecticutwhitewolves.tk
connecticutwhitewolves.free
webpages.org/
Stratford, CT
Crew 38

www.crew38.com/forum/
Eastern Front Skinheads *
www.geocities.com/efsny/
New York, NY
Eastern Washington Skinheads *
www.freewebs.com/ews_wa/
Spokane, WA
Golden State Skinheads *
www.goldenstateskins.com/
California
Hammerskin Nation
www.hammerskins.net
Independent Skins Southwest *
www.independentskins.com/
Newcastle, WY
Keystone State Skinheads *
kss88.com
www.keystonestateskinheads.com/
Harrisburg, PA
Maryland Skinheads *
www.marylandskinheads.com/
Baltimore, MD
National Socialist Skinhead Front *
www.nssf88.org/
San Luis Obispo, CA
Natural State Skinheads
naturalstateskinheads.com/
links.html
Russellville, AR
Ohio State Skinheads *
www.ohiostateskins.com/
Lancaster, OH
Retaliator Skinhead Nation *
www.retaliatorskins.com/
Mondovi, WI
Sacto Skinheads *
books.dreambook.com/sacto_skinheads/geocities_white_power.sign.html
Sacramento, CA
Silver State Skins *
www.freepowerboards.com/dhc88/index.php?
Las Vegas, NV
Skinheadz
www.skinheadz.com/
Southern Nevada Skinheads *
www.sns88.com/home.html
Las Vegas, NV
Storm Skins
www.anycities.com/user/stormskins/
Terror Edge
terror-edge.com
Those Opposed

www.thoseopposed.com/
Vinlanders Social Club
www.vinlanders.com/
Volksfront *
volksfrontinternational.com/
Portland, OR

CHRISTIAN IDENTITY 42

American Reformation Ministries *
www.kelticklankirk.com/
Malvern, AR
America's Promise Ministries *
www.amprom.org/
Sandpoint, ID
Artisan Publishers *
www.artisanpublishers.com/
Muskogee, OK
Aryan Nations *
www.aryannations.org/
Lincoln, AL
By Yahweh's Design *
www.live365.com/stations/reaamerica
Stevensville, MI
Children of Yahweh
www.childrenofyahweh.com/
Christian Guard *
mysite.verizon.net/resq9cf2/index.html
Kathleen, FL
www.christianguard.org/
Kenosha, WI
Christian Research *
www.christianresearch.info/
Eureka Springs, AR
Christian Separatist Church Society *
www.christianseparatist.org/
Kodak, TN
Church of Jesus Christ/Thomas Robb Ministries *
www.christianidentity.tv/
Bergman, AR
Church of True Israel *
www.churchoftrueisrael.com/
Noxon, MT
Church of the Sons of Yhvh *
www.churchofthesonsofyhvh.org/
Calhoun, LA
Church of the Southern Cross *
www.cotsc.org
Lucedale, MS
Covenant Church of Yahweh *
www.covenantchurchofyahweh.net/

Pipestone, MN
Covenant People's Ministry *
cpm.freehostia.com/
Brooks, GA
Covenant Truth
www.covenanttruth.org/
Ecclesiastical Council for the Restoration of Covenant Israel *
www.anglo-saxonisrael.com
Chicago, IL
Faith Web
study.faithweb.com/
First Century Christian Ministries
www.angloisrael.com/
Gospel Broadcasting Association *
www.broadcaster.org/
Houston, TX
Gospel Ministries *
www.gospelministry.net/index.html
Boise, ID
House of Yahweh *
www.pastorbuddy.com/
New Tazewell, TN
Israel Elect
www.israelect.com/
Kingdom Identity Ministries *
www.kingidentity.com/
Harrison, AR
Kinsman Redeemer Ministries *
www.kinsmanredeemer.com/
Tacoma, WA
Mission To Israel *
www.missiontoisrael.org/
Scottsbluff, NE
New Beginnings *
www.sonplace.com/new_beginnings.htm
Waynesville, NC
Proud White Brotherhood *
www.freewebs.com/pwb88
www.thepwb.org/
Experiment, GA
Reformed Church of Israel *
www.reformedchurchofisrael.com/
Schell City, MO
Remnant Outreach Ministries *
www.scatteredremnant.org/
Cottonwood, AZ
Scriptures for America *
www.scripuresforamerica.org/

www.scripaturesforamerica.com/
Laporte, CO
Stone Kingdom Ministries
stonekingdom.org
Asheville, NC
Thatcher Thunders*
www.thatcherthunders.org/
Anderson, TX
Virginia Publishing Company*
www.richardhoskins.com
Lynchburg, VA
Watchman Outreach Ministries*
www.dangayman.com/
watchmanoutreach.com/
Schell City, MO
Weisman Publications*
www.seek-info.com/
Burnsville, MN
Yahweh The Real Truth
www.clintonfultz.com/index.htm
Yahweh's Truth*
www.jameswickstrom.com/
Essexville, MI

NEO-CONFEDERATE 32

**Florida League of the South
Online Store***
www.cafepress.com/freeflorida
League of the South*
www.dixienet.org
leagueofthesouth.net
Killen, AL
www.freearkansas.org/index2.htm
Hot Springs, AR
www.rebelgray.com
San Jose, CA
www.coloradolos.net/
Louisville, CO
www.freeflorida.org/
Florida
fire.prohosting.com/flalos/
Archer, FL
home.earthlink.net/~ocflos/
Bellevue, FL
home.earthlink.net/~swflalos/
Ft. Myers, FL
www.cflos.org/
Goldenrod, FL
www.coolchange.net
Jacksonville, FL
cloud.prohosting.com/flos/
Suwanee, FL
savedixie.homestead.com
Brunswick, GA
bartowlos.tripod.com/

www.georgiacsa.org/
Silver Creek, GA
www.missouricsa.com/nwchapter
Holt, MO
www.missouricsa.com/swchapter
Lebanon, MO
www.missouricsa.com/
Nevada, MO
www.TarheelLS.com/
Charlotte, NC
members.tripod.com/
New York
lsinstitute.org/
Clemson, SC
www.redshirts.org/
www.sclos.org
www.palmetto.org
Columbia, SC
rutherfordlos.tripod.com/
Murfreesboro, TN
www.freetennessee.org/
entry.phtml
Westpoint, TN
www.texasls.org/index.shtml
Iredell, TX
www.virginials.org/
Bluefield, VA
johnnyreb22553.tripod.com/
Fredericksburg, VA
**League of the South
Online Store**
www.cafepress.com/losstore
Southern Events
www.southernevents.org/
Main.htm

BLACK SEPARATIST 20

Blacks and Jews Newpage
www.blacksandjews.com/
Final Call
www.finalcall.com/
Nation of Islam*
www.noila.org/
Los Angeles, CA
www.noi.org/
Chicago, IL
www.no174.org/
Indianapolis, IN
noineworleans.org/
New Orleans, LA
www.noiboston.com/
Dorchester, MA
www.noibaltimore.org/
Baltimore, MD

muhammadmosque28.org
St. Louis, MO
www.muhammadmosque34.org/
Durham, NC
www.muhammadmosque92.org/
Greensboro, NC
www.mosque7.org/
New York, NY
muhammadmosque18.blinks.net/
Cleveland, OH
www.pghmosque22.org/
Pittsburgh, PA
www.muhammadmosque55.com/
index2.html
Memphis, TN
www.noidallas.org/
Dallas, TX
www.noiswregion.org
Houston, TX
New Black Panther Party*
www.newblackpanther.com/
Washington, DC
**United Nuwaubian
Nation of Moors***
www.unitednuwaubiannation.com
Athens, GA
www.unnm.com/
Macon, GA

GENERAL HATE 108

Anti-gay 7
American Vision*
www.americanvision.org
Powder Springs, GA
Chalcedon Foundation*
www.chalcedon.edu
Vallecito, CA
Chalcedon Store
www.chalcedonstore.com
Family Research Institute*
www.familyresearchinst.org
Colorado Springs, CO
Traditional Values Coalition*
www.traditionalvalues.org/
Anaheim, CA
Westboro Baptist Church*
www.godhatesamerica.com/
www.godhatesfags.com/
Topeka, KS

Anti-immigrant 13
American Border Patrol*
www.americanborderpatrol.com
Sierra Vista, AZ
American Immigration Control

**Foundation/Americans for
Immigration Control***
www.americanimmigration
control.com
www.immigrationcontrol.com/
Monterey, VA
**American Patrol/Voice
of Citizens Together***
www.americanpatrol.com/
Sherman Oaks, CA
Border Guardians*
www.borderguardians.org
Livingston, TX
**California Coalition for
Immigration Reform***
www.ccir.net/
Huntington Beach, CA
**Emigration Party
of Nevada***
www.sendeback.org
Henderson, NV
First Defenders Corps
www.firstdefenders.com/
Rescue Without Borders*
www.rescuewithoutborders.org/
Boulder, CO
Save Our State*
www.saveourstate.org
San Bernardino, CA
Social Contract Press*
www.thesocialcontract.com/
Petoskey, MI
Support Border Controls
supportbordercontrols.com/
Washington Grassroots Granny
www.grassrootsgranny.com/

Holocaust Denial 19
**Barnes Review/Foundation
for Economic Liberty***
www.barnesreview.org/
Washington, DC
Calculatefree.com (or die)
calculatefree.com/
**Campaign for Radical
Truth in History**
www.revisionisthistory.org/
**Committee for Open
Debate on the Holocaust**
www.codoh.com/
**Friedrich Paul Berg's
'NaziGassings.com'**
www.nazigassings.com/
**Historical Revisionism by
Virj Historisch Onderzoek**
www.vho.org

**Holocaust Historiography
Project**
www.historiography-project.org/
**Holocaust Revisionism
in English**
www.litek.ws/aaargh/engl/
engl.html
**Home Web Page of
Arthur R. Butz**
pubweb.northwestern.edu/
%7eabutz/
Institute For Historical Review*
www.ihr.org/
Newport Beach, CA
**International Conspiratological
Association***
www.conspiratology.com/
Coeur d'Alene, ID
Jewish Treason
www.jewishtreason.com/
Noontide Press*
www.noontidepress.com/
Newport Beach, CA
One Third of the Holocaust
www.onethirdoftheholocaust.com/
ReportersNotebook.com
www.reportersnotebook.com/
Revisionists.com
www.revisionists.com/
**The Sheeple Analyst:
The Search for Holocaust
Evidence**
www.the7thfire.com/
Politics%20and%20History/
sheeple_analyst/sheeple_
analyst—the_haters.htm
Theses & Dissertations Press
www.tadp.org/index2.html
**Zundelsite — Dedicated to
Ernst Zundel — Prisoner
of Conscience**
www.zundelsite.org/

Racist Music 24
Battlecry
www.battlecrymusic.com
Condemned Records*
www.condemnedrecords.com/
San Jose, CA
Counter Culture Music
www.counterculturemusic.net
Defiant Records
www.raise-hell.com
Desastrious Records*
www.desastrious.com
Springtown, TX

Diehard Records*
www.diehardrecords.net/
Chesapeake, OH
Final Stand Records*
www.finalstandrecords.com
Newark, DE
Free Your Mind Productions*
www.freeyourmindproductions.com/
Valdosta, GA
ISD Records*
www.isdrecords.com/
Lancaster, OH
Label 56 Music*
www.label56.com/
Micetrap Distribution*
combat18.com
www.whitepride.com/
www.micetrap.net
www.whitepride.net/
www.whitepride.com/rahowa/
Maple Shade, NJ
MSR Productions*
www.msrproductions.com/
Wheat Ridge, CO
Nordic Diffusion
www.nordicdiffusion.net
NSM 88 Records*
nsm88records.com/
Minneapolis, MN
Old Guard Records*
www.oldguardrecords.net
Plano, TX
Resistance Records*
www.resistance.com/
Hillsboro, WV
Unholy Records*
www.unholyrecords.com
Marlinton, WV
Vinland Winds Records*
www.vinlandwinds.com/
New York, NY
White Devil Industries*
whitedevilindustries.com/
Ventura, CA
Whiteheat Productions*
www.whiteheatproductions.com/
Santa Ana, CA

Radical Traditional Catholic 14
**Catholic Apologetics
International***
www.catholicintl.com/
State Line, PA
Catholic Counterpoint*
www.catholiccounterpoint.com/
Broomall, PA

Catholic Counter-Revolution
www.catholicrevolution.org
**Catholic Family News/Catholic
Family Ministries, Inc.***
www.cfnews.org/cfn.htm
Niagara Falls, NY
Culture Wars/Fidelity Press*
culturewars.com/
South Bend, IN
FATIMA NETWORK
www.fatima.org/
Joanna Francis
joannafrancis.wordpress.com
Legion of St. Louis/IHS Press*
www.legionofstlouis.com/
Norfolk, VA
Mount St. Michael*
www.stmichaels.org/
Spokane, WA
OMNI Christian Book Club*
www.omnicbc.com/
Palmdale, CA
The Remnant Newspaper*
www.remnantnewspaper.com/
Forest Lake, MN
**Slaves of the Immaculate
Heart of Mary***
www.catholicism.org/
Richmond, NH
St. Joseph Forum*
www.stjosephforum.org/
South Bend, IN
Tradition In Action*
www.traditioninaction.org/
Los Angeles, CA

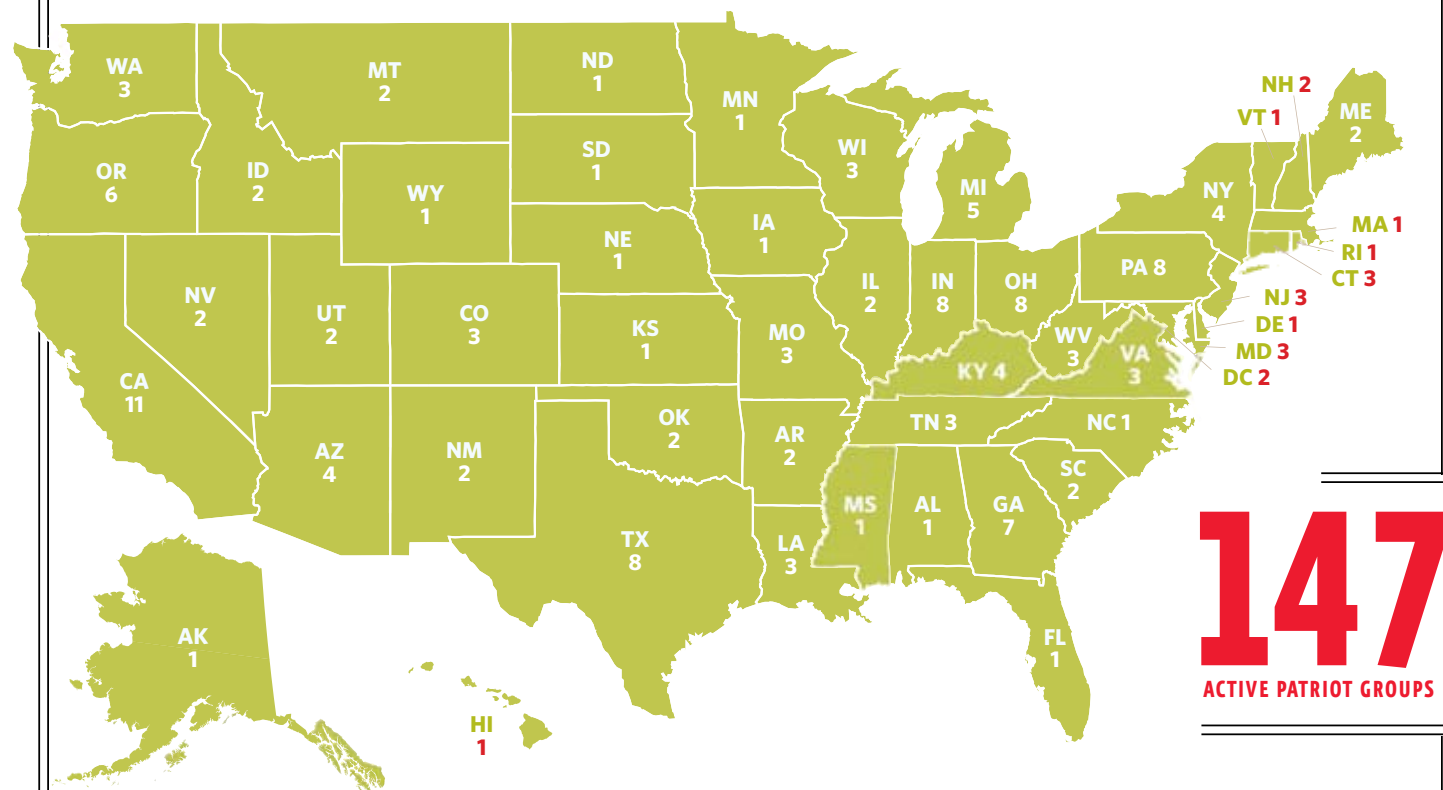
OTHER 31
Arab Israelites
www.arabisraelites.com/
Army of God
www.armyofgod.com/
Bamboo Delight Company
www.bamboo-delight.com/
Christian Resistance
christianresistance.blogspot.com/
Dave's Diatribe
www.davesdiatribe.com
Ether Zone
www.etherzone.com/
The French Connection
iamthewitness.com/
**Genocide of African Americans
in America**
www.genocideofafricanamericans
.8m.com/
Hitler Historical Museum

www.hitler.org
James Hart for Congress
www.jameshartforcongress.com/
Jewish Defense League*
www.jdl.org
jdl.org.il/
www.jewishdefenseleague.org
Los Angeles, CA
Judicial Inc.
judicial-inc.biz
Long County Rebel
www.longcountyrebel.org/
National Prayer Network
truthtellers.org/index.html
Clackamas, OR
National Socialism
www.national-socialism.com/
Niggermania!
niggermania.com/
Odium Books/Stormbird Press*
www.stormbirdpress.com
Montecito, CA
Own A Nigger
www.blackpearlcasino.net/
ownanigger.htm
Palm Beach Christian Group*
www.debunkingtfc.com/
Lantana, FL
Power of Prophecy*
www.powerofprophecy.com/
www.texemarrs.com/
Austin, TX
Racist Jokes
racist-jokes.com/
Rense.com
www.rense.com
Shank Radio
www.shankradio.com/
Support Border Controls
supportbordercontrols.com
Voz de Aztlan*
www.aztlan.net/
Whittier, CA
Wake Up America!!!
wake-up-america.net
Wing TV
www.wingtv.net/
**Young Americans for
Freedom — Michigan
State University***
www.msu.edu/~yaf/
East Lansing, MI ▲

PATRIOT GROUPS

ACTIVE IN THE YEAR 2006

The Intelligence Project identified 147 “Patriot” groups that were active in 2006. Of these groups, 52 were militias and the remainder includes “common-law” courts, publishers, ministries and citizens’ groups. Generally, Patriot groups define themselves as opposed to the “New World Order” or advocate or adhere to extreme antigovernment doctrines. Listing here does not imply that the groups advocate or engage in violence or other criminal activities, or are racist. The list was compiled from field reports, Patriot publications, the Internet, law enforcement sources and news reports. Groups are identified by the city, county or region where they are located. Within states, groups are listed alphabetically by location.



147
ACTIVE PATRIOT GROUPS

ALABAMA
Constitution Party
Cullman
ALASKA
Constitution Party
Kenai
ARIZONA
Border Rescue
Arizona Citizens Militia
Douglas
American Patriot
Friends Network
Glendale

Constitution Party
Golden Valley
ARKANSAS
Constitution Party
Fayetteville
Militia of Washington
County
Fayetteville
CALIFORNIA
Border Rescue
California Militia
Brea
State Citizens Service

Center Research
Headquarters
Canoga Park
Truth Radio
Delano
Free Enterprise Society
Fresno
Second Amendment
Committee
Hanford
John Birch Society
Irvine
American Independent

Party
Lemon Grove
Southern California High
Desert Militia
Oceanside
Freedom Law School
Phelan
John Birch Society
Walnut Creek
COLORADO
Constitution Party
Arvada
Ranch Rescue

Boulder
American Freedom Network
Johnstown
CONNECTICUT
Connecticut 71st Militia
East Hampton
Connecticut Survivalist Alliance
Middlefield
Constitution Party
Wolcott
DELAWARE
Constitution Party
Newark
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
American Free Press
Washington
Constitution Party
Washington
FLORIDA
Constitution Party
Jupiter
GEORGIA
Republic of Georgia
Georgia Militia
Chatham County
Georgia Militia
Cobb County
Georgia Militia
Gwinnett County
Militia of Georgia
Lawrenceville
Georgia Militia
Stephens County
Constitution Party
Woodstock
HAWAII
Constitution Party
Honolulu
IDAHO
Police & Military Against
the New World Order
Kamiah
Constitution Party
Parma
ILLINOIS
Constitution Party
Belleville
Southern Illinois
Patriots League
Benton
INDIANA
NORFED — National
Organization for the Repeal
of the Federal Reserve Act

Evansville
Indianapolis Baptist Temple
Indianapolis
Constitution Party
Mishawaka
Indiana Militia Corps
Northeast Indiana
Indiana Militia Corps
Northwest Indiana
Indiana Militia Corps
Pendleton
Indiana Militia Corps
Southeast Indiana
Indiana Militia Corps
Southwest Indiana
IOWA
Constitution Party
Randall
KANSAS
Constitution Party
Wichita
KENTUCKY
Take Back Kentucky
Clarkson
Ranch Rescue
Hebron
Constitution Party
Louisville
Kentucky State Militia
Stanford
LOUISIANA
Constitution Party
Elizabeth
Louisiana Unorganized Militia
Lafayette
John Birch Society
New Orleans
MAINE
Maine Constitutional Militia
Constitution Party
Chelsea
MARYLAND
Southern Sons of Liberty
Constitution Party
Glen Burnie
Save A Patriot Fellowship
Westminster
MASSACHUSETTS
Constitution Party
Townsend
MICHIGAN
Southeast Michigan
Volunteer Militia
Detroit

Patriot Broadcasting Network
Dexter
East-Central Volunteer
Militia of Michigan
Lapeer County
Michigan Militia, Inc.
Redford
Constitution Party
Westland
MINNESOTA
Constitution Party
Zimmerman
MISSISSIPPI
Constitution Party
Okolona
MISSOURI
Constitution Party
Fenton
Missouri Militia
St. Louis
Ranch Rescue
Saint Charles
MONTANA
Constitution Party
Great Falls
Militia of Montana
Noxon
NEBRASKA
Constitution Party
Wausa
NEVADA
Center for Action
Sandy Valley
Independent American Party
(Constitution Party)
Sparks
NEW HAMPSHIRE
Constitution Party
Epsom
U. S. Constitutional Rangers
West Lebanon
NEW JERSEY
Constitution Party
Cinnaminson
John Birch Society
Kearny
New Jersey Militia
Trenton
NEW MEXICO
Border Rescue
Constitution Party
Albuquerque
NEW YORK
Empire State Militia

Constitution Party
Albany
New York Unorganized
Militia
New York
We The People
Queensbury
NORTH CAROLINA
Constitution Party
Fuquay-Varina
NORTH DAKOTA
Constitution Party
New Salem
OHIO
Ohio Militia
Constitutional Militia
of Clark County
Clark County
Constitution Party
Columbus
Border Rescue
Island Heights
Ohio Defense Force
Lebanon
Ohio Defense Force
Lisbon
Unorganized Militia
of Champaign County
Saint Paris
Ohio Defense Force
Zanesville
OKLAHOMA
Constitution Party
Chandler
Ranch Rescue
Marietta
OREGON
Oregon Militia Corps
Emissary Publications
Clackamas
Southern Oregon Militia
Eagle Point
Freedom Bound International
Klamath Falls
Constitution Party
Scappoose
Embassy of Heaven
Stayton
PENNSYLVANIA
Pennsylvania Militia
Pennsylvania Mountain
Men Militia
John Birch Society
Connellsville

PATRIOT WEBSITES

ACTIVE IN THE YEAR 2006

This list of 167 sites on the World Wide Web includes pages linked to the “Patriot” movement, which generally defines itself as opposed to the “New World Order” or advocates or adheres to extreme antigovernment doctrines. Pages were current in 2006, but sites tend to move from server to server or shut down without notice, so they may be hard to locate. Of the sites, 41 were connected to militias or militia ideology; the rest, grouped in the Patriot category, include sites associated with “common-law courts,” publishers, ministries and citizens’ groups. Listing here does not imply that the individuals or groups connected to these websites advocate or engage in violence or other criminal activity, or are racist. The 64 listings indicated with an asterisk (*) belong to actual groups that promote Patriot doctrine beyond the mere publishing of their Internet material.

MILITIA 41

A Well Regulated Militia

www.awrm.org/

www.AWRMSignalCorps.org

A Well Regulated Militia — The Novel

[www.awrmthenovel.com/Home_](http://www.awrmthenovel.com/Home_Page.php)
[Page.php](http://www.awrmthenovel.com/Home_Page.php)

American Minuteman Forum

[www.americanminuteman.net/forums/](http://www.americanminuteman.net/forums/index.php)
[index.php](http://www.americanminuteman.net/forums/index.php)

Arizona Citizens Militia *

www.arizonamilitia.com/
Douglas, AZ

Border Rescue *

www.borderrescue.com/
Richardson, TX

California Militia *

[geocities.com/CapitolHill/](http://geocities.com/CapitolHill/Congress/2608/welcome.html)
[Congress/2608/welcome.html](http://geocities.com/CapitolHill/Congress/2608/welcome.html)
Brea, CA

Connecticut 71st Militia *

www.ct71st.com/

East Hampton, CT

Constitutional Militia

*of Clark County **

ccsg0.tripod.com/

Clark County, OH

East-Central Volunteer Militia of Michigan *

[www.michiganmilitia.com/evmm/](http://www.michiganmilitia.com/evmm/evmm.htm)
[evmm.htm](http://www.michiganmilitia.com/evmm/evmm.htm)

Lapeer County, MI

Empire State Militia *

www.empirestatemilitia.org/
New York

First Defenders Corps

www.firstdefenderscorps.com

Georgia Militia (Emergency Response Team) *

www.georgiamilitia.com/
Gwinnett County, GA

Indiana Militia Corps *

www.IndianaMilitia.homestead.com/
Pendleton, IN

Kentucky State Militia *

www.kysm.org/
Stanford, KY

Maine Constitutional Militia *

www.maine patriot.741.com/
Maine

Michigan Militia *

www.michiganmilitia.com/

Redford, MI

Militia of Florida

www.militia-of-florida.com/

Militia of Georgia *

www.militiaofgeorgia.com/
Lawrenceville, GA

Militia of Montana *

www.militiaofmontana.com/
Noxon, MT

Militia of Washington County *

arkansasmilitia.com

Fayetteville, AR

Missouri Militia *

www.missourimilitia.com/
terrorism.missourimilitia.com/
St. Louis, MO

Modern Minuteman

www.modernminuteman.net

New Jersey Militia *

www.njmilitia.org/
Trenton, NJ

Northeast Ohio Defense Force *

www.neodf.org/
Lisbon, OH

Ohio Defense Force *

www.sodf.org/
Zanesville, OH

Ohio Militia *

www.freewebs.com/ohiomilitia/
Ohio

The Patriot Underground

[www.geocities.com/save](http://www.geocities.com/saveamerica1/)
[america1/](http://www.geocities.com/saveamerica1/)
[www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/](http://www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/Parliament/1691/index.html)
[Parliament/1691/index.html](http://www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/Parliament/1691/index.html)

Pennsylvania Mountain Men *

www.pamountainmen.com

Ranch Rescue *

www.ranchrescue.com/
Boulder, CO

Southeast Michigan

Volunteer Militia *

www.michiganmilitia.com/
SMVM/svm.htm
Detroit, MI

Southern California High

Desert Militia *

www.hdmsc.org/
Oceanside, CA

Southern Illinois

Patriots League *

sipl.addr.com/

Benton, IL

Southern Sons of Liberty *

ssol.cjb.net/

Maryland

Unorganized Militia of Champaign County *

champaigncounty.tripod.com/
Saint Paris, OH

U.S. Constitutional Rangers *

www.uscrangers.org/
West Lebanon, NH

Virginia Citizens Militia *

www.virginiamilitia.org/
vcm.freesevers.com/
Roanoke, VA

Women's Militia Corps

www.georgiamilitia.com/
wmc.htm

PATRIOT 126

American Free Press *

www.americanfreepress.net/
Washington, DC

American Freedom Network *

www.americanewsnet.com/
Johnstown, CO

American Independent Party (Constitution Party) *

www.aipca.org/
Lemon Grove, CA

American Opinion

Book Services *

www.aobs-store.com/
Appleton, WI

American Patriot Friends Network *

www.apfn.org/
Glendale, AZ

American Patriot Network

www.civil-liberties.com/

American Sovereign

www.americansovereign.com/

Amero Currency

www.amerocurrency.com/
www.Assaultweb.net/

AssaultWeb.Net

Barefoot's World

www.barefootsworld.net/

Buffalo Creek Press *

www.buffalo-creek-press.com/
Cleburne, TX

Center for Action *

www.bogritz.com/
Sandy Valley, NV

Christian Exodus

www.christianexodus.com/

Christian National Common-Law Court

[www.christiancommon](http://www.christiancommonlaw-gov.org/)
[law-gov.org/](http://www.christiancommonlaw-gov.org/)

Church of God Evangelistic Association (Newswatch Magazine) *

www.newswatchmagazine.org/
Waxahachie, TX

Concerned Citizens Party (Constitution Party) *

www.concernedcitizensparty.com
Wolcott, CT

Connecticut Survivalist Alliance

[p207.ezboard.com/bconnecticut](http://p207.ezboard.com/bconnecticutsurvivalistalliance)
[survivalistalliance](http://p207.ezboard.com/bconnecticutsurvivalistalliance)

Conservative Caucus

(Constitution Party) *

www.conservativeusa.org/
Vienna, VA

Constitution Party *

www.alconstitutionparty.org/
Cullman, AL
www.cparkansas.org/
Fayetteville, AR
azconstitutionparty.org/
www.freewebs.com/cparizona/

Golden Valley, AZ

[www.americanconstitution](http://www.americanconstitutionparty.com/)

[party.com/](http://www.americanconstitutionparty.com/)

Arvada, CO

www.cpfloida.com/

Jupiter, FL

www.gaconstitutionparty.org/

Woodstock, GA

[www.constitutionpartyof](http://www.constitutionpartyofhawaii.com)

[hawaii.com](http://www.constitutionpartyofhawaii.com)

www.freewebs.com/cphawaii/

Honolulu, HI

www.cpidaho.org

Parma, ID

[www.constitutionparty](http://www.constitutionpartyillinois.com/)

[illinois.com/](http://www.constitutionpartyillinois.com/)

Belleville, IL

www.freewebs.com/cpindiana/

Mishawaka, IN

ks.constitutionparty.com/

Wichita, KS

www.cpkv.com/

Louisville, KY

www.constitutionpartymd.com

Glen Burnie, MD

www.cpo Maine.com/

Chelsea, ME

www.constitutionpartymi.com/

Westland, MI

www.cpmn.org/

Zimmerman, MN

www.constitutionpartymo.org/

Fenton, MO

home.centurytel.net/amfam/

CPOMT/

Great Falls, MT

www.constitutionpartynd.com/

New Salem, ND

www.nhconstitutionparty.org/

Epsom, NH

www.constitutionparty-nj.org/

Cinnaminson, NJ

members.ispwest.com/

davebatch/

Albuquerque, NM

www.nyconstitutionparty.com/

Albany, NY

www.ohiocp.org/

Columbus, OH

www.freewebs.com/cpoklahoma/

Chandler, OK

www.constitutionpartyoregon.net

Scappoose, OR

www.constitutional.net/

www.constitutionparty.org

www.constitutionpartypa.com/

Lancaster, PA

www.dsindex.com/cp/

www.sconstitutionparty.com

Greenville, SC

www.cpot.org/

Germantown, TN

www.cptexas.org/index.shtml

Kerrville, TX

www.cputah.org

Layton, UT

www.constitutionpartyva.com/

Vienna, VA

www.constitutionpartyvt.com/

[Williston, VT](http://www.constitutionpartyofwa.com/)

www.constitutionpartyofwa.com/

Tacoma, WA

www.cpow.org/

Appleton, WI

www.cpvv.org/

Martinsburg, WV

Constitution Society *

www.constitution.org/

John Birch Society

Greensburg

John Birch Society

Independence

Constitution Party

Lancaster

John Birch Society

Pittsburgh

John Birch Society

Washington

RHODE ISLAND

Constitution Party

North Kingstown

SOUTH CAROLINA

Patriot Network

Anderson

Constitution Party

Greenville

SOUTH DAKOTA

Constitution Party

Sioux Falls

TENNESSEE

Constitution Party

Germantown

John Birch Society

Hendersonville

Lawful Path

Lynnville

TEXAS

Constitution Society

Austin

Buffalo Creek Press

Cleburne

Constitution Party

Kerrville

God Said Ministries

Mount Enterprise

Republic of Texas

Austin, TX
David Wynn Miller
www.dwmlc.com/
Dixieland Law Journal
fly.hiwaay.net/~becraft/
Embassy of Heaven *
www.EmbassyOfHeaven.com
Stayton, OR
Emissary Publications
Midnight Messenger *
www.midnight-emissary.com/
Clackamas, OR
The Federal Observer
www.federalobserver.com/
index.php
Flyover Press
www.flyoverpress.com/
Freedom Bound International *
www.americansovereign.com/
freedombound.htm
Klamath Falls, OR
Freedom Domain
www.freedomdomain.com/
Freedom Law School *
www.livefreenow.org/
Phelan, CA
Free Enterprise Society *
www.freeenterprisesociety.com/
Fresno, CA
Free Republic
www.freerepublic.com
Freedom Underground
www.freedomunderground.org/
Frugal Squirrel's Homepage
for Patriots, Survivalists,
and Gun Owners
www.frugalsquirrels.com/
Genesis Communication
Network
www.gcnlive.com/
Get Us Out of the
United Nations
www.getusout.org
God Said Ministries *
www.godsaidministries.com
Mount Enterprise, TX
Hour of the Time
www.hourofthetime.com/

Iahushua
www.iahushua.com/
Idaho Observer
www.proliberty.com/observer/
Independent American Party
(Constitution Party) *
www.iapn.org
Sparks, NV
Indianapolis Baptist Temple *
www.indianapolisbaptist
temple.com/
Indianapolis, IN
Infowars.com
www.infowars.com/
In Search of Honesty,
Justice, Freedom
hometown.aol.com/edsfreedom/
myhomepage/profile.html
JackBlood
www.jackblood.com/
John Birch Society *
www.jbsirvine.com/
Irvine, CA
www.nolajbs.net/
New Orleans, LA
www.nowitsyourmove.org
Pittsburgh, PA
www.jbs.org/
www.stoptheftaa.org/
www.trimonline.org/
Appleton, WI
Lawful Path *
lawfulpath.com
Lynnville, TN
Liberty Dollar of
Chambersburg
www.chambersburgliberty
dollar.com/
Liberty Tree Radio
www.libertytreeradio.4mg.com/
index.html
LizMichael.com
www.lizmichael.com/
Media Bypass
www.mediabypass.com/
MeMilitant.com
www.memilitant.com/

Minuteman Patriot
MinutemanPatriot.
homestead.com/
National Economic Security
and Reformation Act
www.nesara.us
Nebraska Party
(Constitution Party) *
www.nebraskaparty.org
Wausa, NE
The New American
www.thenewamerican.com/
NORFED — National
Organization for the Repeal
of the Federal Reserve Act *
www.norfed.org/
www.LibertyDollar.org/
Evansville, IN
Patriot Broadcasting Network *
www.pbn.4mg.com/
Dexter, MI
Patriot Network *
www.patriotnetwork.info/
Anderson, SC
The Patriot Radar
www.debeardesigns.com/
Police & Military Against
the New World Order *
www.police-and-military-against-
the-new-world-order.org/
Kamiah, ID
The Power Hour
www.thepowerhour.com/
Radio Liberty
www.radioliberty.com/
Republic of Texas *
www.republic-of-texas.net/
Overton, TX
Save A Patriot Fellowship *
www.save-a-patriot.org/
Westminster, MD
Second Amendment
Committee Home Page *
www.libertygunrights.com/
Hanford, CA
The Sierra Times
www.sierratimes.com/

Stanley 2002
www.stanley2002.org/
State Citizens Service Center
Research Headquarters *
www.state-citizen.org
Canoga Park, CA
Stop the North American Union
www.stopthenorthamerica-
nunion.com/
Stop the Security and
Prosperity Partnership
stopssp.com/stopssp/
Supreme Court of Law
www.supremecourttoflaw.us/
Take Back Kentucky *
www.takebackkentucky.com
Clarkson, KY
Taking Back America
www.wealth4freedom.com/
Team Law
www.teamlaw.org/
Ten Foundation
www.tenfoundation.com
Truth Radio Network *
www.truthradio.com/
Delano, CA
United By Truth
unitedbythetruth.faithweb.
com/index.html
U. S. Taxpayers Party
(Constitution Party) *
ustaxpayerspartyofmichigan.com/
Westland, MI
U.S.A. The Republic:
How You Lost It
www.usa-the-republic.com/
We the People *
www.givemeliberty.org
Queensbury, NY ▲



David Duke, a man who once favored brown shirts and swastika armbands, said the Holocaust denial conference he attended in Iran last December was merely about “respect for intellectual freedom.”

onism, in a formal statement called this conference a ‘disgrace’,” Duke said. “But we at this conference have decided that no longer will we let the Zionists dictate to us.” Duke was officially billed as representing MAUP, a Ukrainian-language acronym for the Inter-Regional Academy of Personnel Management, a sprawling university in suburban Kiev with nearly 60,000 students. Duke has spoken many times at MAUP and was awarded an honorary doctorate there several years ago, before earning a “real” doctorate in September 2005 for a thesis entitled “Zionism as a Form of Ethnic Supremacism.” The university, labeled a “diploma mill”

by the U.S. State Department, is infamous for its anti-Semitic publications and leadership.

IRAN

Duke Addresses Tehran Holocaust Denial Conference

Neo-Nazis and other extremists from the United States and Europe headlined a December conference in Tehran that Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad described as a scholarly gathering to debate issues surrounding the Holocaust. But it was actually nothing more than a worldwide conference of virulent Jew haters.

The Dec. 11-12 gathering, hosted by the Foreign Ministry and entitled “Review of the Holocaust: Global Vision,” was denounced by the governments of the United States, Britain and numerous other countries. But its sponsors insisted that its only purpose was “to clarify the hidden and open corners of this issue.”

Ahmadinejad’s proclivities already were well known. He has called the murder of millions of Jews by the Nazis a “myth” and proposed Israel’s destruction. Last August, Tehran hosted an exhibition of cartoons mocking the Holocaust.

A glance at the conference agenda made that point clearly enough. Among the 67 participants from 30 countries were Holocaust deniers including Frederick Töben of Australia, Robert Faurisson of France, and David Duke of the United States. The list was rounded out with dubious Iranian scholars, a handful of “investigators” from other countries, and a tiny fringe group of Orthodox Jews who despise Zionism.

The best known was certainly Duke. The former imperial wizard of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan — a man who once wore a swastika armband and faux brown-shirt outfit — told the crowd the conference was “one of the most important of the 21st century,” adding it was “truly about respect for intellectual freedom.”

“The U.S. State Department, under thorough control of international Zi-

CANADA

University Kills ‘Diversity’ Debate With U.S. Extremist

Canada’s Dalhousie University has cancelled a debate between the head of its black history department and an American who describes himself as a “race realist.” The decision came after university officials in Halifax said they had looked further into the background of Jared Taylor, editor of *American Renaissance* magazine.

Dalhousie officials cited the “controversy surrounding the issue” after newspapers reported that Taylor’s January appearance was being publicized

on Stormfront, the largest white supremacist web forum in America. Saying that hearing Taylor’s views “would not be a useful way to explore the topic,” they instead scheduled his erstwhile debating partner, Professor David Divine, to simply give a lecture on “Racial Diversity: North America’s Strength or Weakness?”

Taylor, whose Virginia-based magazine specializes in eugenics and the alleged links between race



and intelligence, said he was “absolutely astounded.”

He was not alone. James Turk, executive director of the Canadian Association of University Teachers, told the *National Post* newspaper that abhorrent speech should not be censored, but instead answered with criticism and debate. “We’re always concerned when a university shuts down debate like this,” he said.

Taylor is a cosmopolitan racist, shunning epithets and abusive terms in favor of the language of academia. In the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, however, he was blunt enough, saying the storm showed that “[w]hen blacks are left entirely to their own devices, western civilization — any kind of civilization — disappears.”

After his Jan. 15 talk was cancelled, Taylor promised to come to Halifax anyway and hold a public forum the day after Divine’s speech. But officials warned that Taylor could be forbidden entry to Canada if he is coming to “spread hatred.”

AUSTRIA

Leading Holocaust Denier Freed Two Years Early

David Irving, the infamous British writer who was sentenced in 2005 to three years in an Austrian prison for denying the Holocaust, returned to England in late December after a Vienna court reduced his remaining sentence to probation.

The 68-year-old Irving didn’t take long to repay the favor.

A day after landing in London, Irving, who had told the sentencing court in a bid for leniency that he was “mistaken” about the Holocaust, held a press conference to repeat old assertions that Hitler was not party to the genocide of the Jews and that the number of Jews murdered had been exaggerated. He said actor Mel Gibson was right when he drunkenly claimed that Jews were “responsible for all the wars in the world.” He boasted about the success of his World War II books and said he’d made so much money that he once paid cash for a “nigger-brown Rolls Royce.” He called for a boycott of German and Austrian historians whose minds were “polluted.”



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

And the once-respected writer suggested that Jews take a look at themselves. “They should ask themselves the question, ‘Why have they been so hated for 3,000 years that there has been pogrom after pogrom in country after country?’”

It was a remarkable if not unexpected performance from a man whose professional life has been devoted to writing World War II histories that minimize or deny Nazi atrocities, repeatedly

insulting Jews in the most vulgar terms, and giving speeches to neo-Nazi groups in America and Europe. Although some of his early books enjoyed success, Irving was permanently discredited when he brought a libel case against American scholar Deborah Lipstadt in 1998. A British court ruled that Irving was a Nazi sympathizer who manipulated facts for political reasons.

Irving was arrested in Austria in November 2005 on warrants dating to 1989, when he gave two speeches denying the Nazi genocide. Last December, after he was sent home to Britain, Austria announced that Irving was barred from re-entry.

UNITED KINGDOM

BNP Seeks to Whitewash its Racist Image

In the mid-1970s, then-Klan leader David Duke began exhorting followers to “get out of the cow pasture and into hotel meeting rooms” in a bid for mainstream respectability. Years later, after abandoning the Klan but not its ideology, Duke was elected a Louisiana state representative and then very nearly became governor.

Now, the British National Party hopes to emulate that performance.

The BNP is well known as a neofascist party on the fringes of British politics. But its current leader, Nick Griffin, has sought to give the party an image makeover, de-emphasizing its extremism and playing up its claim to be a mainstream anti-Muslim, anti-immigration group. Last (continued on p. 76)



Testing ‘Academic Freedom’

Can universities discipline professors for racist or other controversial speech?

BY RHONDA BROWNSTEIN

Kevin MacDonald is not the only college professor to come under fire for racist and anti-Semitic views (see story, p. 28). In the early 1990s, faculty and students at the City University of New York called for the

In all of these cases, the hotly debated issue is the same: What are the limits on academic freedom of speech?

First Amendment Protections

The answer is not a simple one. The First Amendment to the United States Constitution protects the right of all Americans to free speech, including university professors at public institutions. (Because the First Amendment is only a curb on governmental power, it does not protect speech by employees of a wholly private university.) The United States Supreme Court has long recognized that, because classrooms are a “marketplace of ideas,” “[o]ur Nation is deeply committed to safeguarding academic freedom,

which is of transcendent value to all of us.” *Keyishian v. Bd. of Regents*, 385 U.S. 589 (1967). “The vigilant protection of constitutional freedoms is nowhere more vital than in the community of American schools.” *Shelton v. Tucker*, 364 U.S. 479 (1960).

The right to academic free speech is not, however, absolute. Academic freedom does not cover statements that threaten to excessively hamper the mission of the

university, or that do not specifically address a public concern. Academic speech that calls the competency of the professor into question because it expresses ideas that are clearly untrue may not be protected; a science professor who teaches that the world is flat would not be protected. Likewise, speech that is not germane to the subject being taught — such as the (continued on p. 76)



TODD BLEDLOW

ouster of Professor Leonard Jefferies Jr., the chairman of the Afro-American Studies Department, for his anti-Semitic statements and for teaching that blacks are intellectually superior to whites. More recently, Florida State University professor Gayle Whitney came under attack by his colleagues and state legislators for writing the preface to the autobiography of the notorious ex-Klan leader, David Duke.

Rhonda Brownstein is the director of the Southern Poverty Law Center’s Legal Department.

KLAN COP FIRING UPHELD

A district judge in December vacated an arbitrator’s decision ordering the Nebraska State Patrol to rehire a trooper fired for being a member of the Klan-affiliated Knights Party. The judge acted after Nebraska Attorney General Jon Bruning appealed the arbitrator’s decision.

Trooper Robert Henderson was fired on March 15, 2006, after officials received a tip that he had posted several messages to the white supremacist group’s website and was, in fact, a group member. But Henderson disputed the firing, and the matter went to an arbitrator, as specified in a collective bargaining agreement. The arbitrator ordered Henderson reinstated in his job.

After the judge’s decision vacating the arbitrator’s order, Bruning in early March filed a formal complaint with the Nebraska Commission on Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, asking that Henderson’s certification as a law enforcement officer be permanently revoked.

“We can’t allow members of the KKK to carry a gun and a badge,” Bruning said. “Nebraskans need to trust that officers enforce the law without prejudice.”

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 fourth quarter of 2006 (any additional listings may be found on the Intelligence Project’s web site at www.intelligenceproject.org.)

ALABAMA

Anniston • Dec. 30, 2006

Anti-Christian words and symbols were spray-painted on a Catholic school.

Northport • Oct. 6, 2006

The letters “KKK,” swastikas, and drawings of burning crosses were written on the doors of five apartments of interracial couples or white people with black friends.

ARIZONA

Phoenix • Nov. 26, 2006

The walls of a black couple's new residence were smashed and racist epithets and profanities were carved into the interior of the house.

CALIFORNIA

Baldwin Hills • Dec. 14, 2006

Racist graffiti was written on the walls of a state-operated Head-start school with a predominantly black student body.

Claremont • Dec. 8, 2006

Chad Timothy Milson, 20, of Yucca Valley; Anthony Scott Allen, 23, of Big Bear City; Ryan Christopher White, 28, of Joshua Tree; and Joseph Dale McCool, 20, of Yucca Valley were charged with stabbing a black man while the four were on the way to a neo-Nazi rally in Los Angeles.

Davis • Oct. 1, 2006

Sean Kennedy, 18, and a 17-year-old boy were charged with battery and hate crime for allegedly beating an 18-year-old Jewish man.

Lake Los Angeles • Oct. 4, 2006

The letters “KKK” were scratched on the vehicle of an African-American worker at a local park.

Long Beach • Oct. 31, 2006

Ten black youths, nine of them

girls, ranging in age from 12 to 17 years old, were charged with a hate crime attack after they allegedly attacked a group of white girls and shouted racial slurs.

Pasadena • Dec. 9, 2006

Bogos Barsegian, a 59-year-old cab driver, was charged with suspicion of hate crimes, attempted robbery and making terrorist threats after he allegedly knocked two black women to the ground and threatened to blow up their house when one of the women couldn’t pay her cab fare.

San Jose • Dec. 26, 2006

Gary Klamm, 54, was charged with felony stalking with a hate crime enhancement for allegedly leaving racist notes for his African-American neighbor and her 10-year-old daughter.

Santa Maria • Nov. 9, 2006

Sixteen suspected neo-Nazis, ranging in age from 16 to 24, were arrested after allegedly scattering candles and tearing up floral wreaths placed on a stone memorializing the 68th anniversary of Kristallnacht, a 1938 prelude to the Holocaust when thousands of Jewish homes, synagogues and businesses were destroyed.

Taft • Nov. 20, 2006

Russell J. Bacon, 25, was charged with committing a hate crime, making criminal threats and burglary after he allegedly shouted racial slurs at two black children playing in their front yard and threatened to hang them and their father.

COLORADO

Fort Collins • Oct. 21, 2006

An anti-Semitic message was written on a sign.

Fort Collins • Dec. 19, 2006

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

CONNECTICUT

Bridgeport • Oct. 29, 2006

Ramiro Sampayo, 16, was charged with intimidation based on bigotry or bias, carrying a dangerous weapon, third-degree assault and second-degree criminal mischief after he allegedly shot BBs from a slingshot into a Portuguese neighbor’s house and into cars parked at another neighbor’s residence. A man in one of the houses was struck in the leg by the BBs. Sampayo allegedly used racial slurs and told police that he “didn’t like” people from Portugal.

Seymour • Nov. 13, 2006

A “whites only” message was written behind a water fountain near a school gym.

Stamford • Oct. 29, 2006

Swastikas and references to the Ku Klux Klan were spray-painted on a sheet hung to look like a ghost for Halloween, a stone pillar, and a series of mailboxes.

Winsted • Oct. 31, 2006

Two 15-year-old boys were charged with third-degree intimidation for allegedly spray-painting Nazi propaganda at a high school.

DELAWARE

Talleyville • Nov. 7, 2006

Anti-Semitic graffiti was scrawled on a Jewish community center.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Washington • Dec. 10, 2006

Racist and anti-Semitic literature was left in the driveway of a former strategist for President Bill Clinton.

FLORIDA

Avon Park • Dec. 2, 2006

The letters “KKK” were spray-painted on a couple’s mailbox.

Boca Raton • Dec. 1, 2006

Mark Rowley, 47, was charged with a hate crime for allegedly spray-painting “666” in front of five places of worship in the city.

Gibsonton • Dec. 5, 2006

A group of white teens allegedly used racial slurs and attacked a 15-year-old black youth outside the band room of a high school.

Palm Springs • Dec. 21, 2006

Anti-gay epithets were written in a gay couple's vandalized apartment and many items were stolen.

Tampa • Nov. 22, 2006

Anti-Semitic graffiti was scrawled on a portable toilet at the beach.

Wellington • Nov. 28, 2006

Racial epithets and swastikas were spray-painted on garage doors, driveways, cars, signs and the pavement outside residences in a neighborhood.

GEORGIA

Atlanta • Oct. 20, 2006

A 28-year-old gay man was attacked in the parking lot of his apartment complex by a man who yelled anti-gay epithets.

Atlanta • Oct. 22, 2006

A 29-year-old gay man was attacked by a group of young men who yelled anti-gay slurs.

INDIANA

Valparaiso • Oct. 18, 2006

A racial slur was painted on an apartment door.

IOWA

Independence • Oct. 15, 2006

Fliers from the neo-Nazi National Alliance were inserted into copies of a local newspaper.

Iowa City • Oct. 27, 2006

Michael D. Murphy, 20, was charged with assault in violation of individual rights as a hate crime for allegedly making several derogatory comments about another man’s sexual orientation before punching him.

Waterloo • Oct. 14, 2006

Fliers from the National Alliance were distributed throughout a neighborhood.

Waterloo • Oct. 19, 2006

Racist fliers targeting blacks and immigrants were distributed throughout downtown.

MAINE

Portland • Nov. 6, 2006

Racist fliers were distributed throughout the city.

MARYLAND

Aberdeen • Dec. 28, 2006

Swastikas, racial slurs and references to the Ku Klux Klan were painted in a neighborhood.

Havre de Grace • Dec. 26, 2006

Racial slurs were painted on two houses under construction and swastikas and the letters “KKK” were spray-painted on a statue.

Rockville • Oct. 1, 2006

A bus belonging to a Jewish group was vandalized.

Welcome • Nov. 11, 2006

Racist graffiti, including the words “white power” and the letters “KKK”, were spray-painted on a road leading to the parking lot of a predominantly black church.

MASSACHUSETTS

Brockton • Dec. 3, 2006

A large “X”, two large swastikas, the letters “KKK” and racial epithets were written over a cartoon image on the back wall of a convenience store.

MICHIGAN

Roseville • Dec. 22, 2006

Racist leaflets from the National Socialist Movement were dropped

on sidewalks in the city.

MISSISSIPPI

Marshall County • Nov. 15, 2006

A cross was burned in a black family’s front yard. Tina Looney, a 16-year-old boy and another juvenile were charged with harassment.

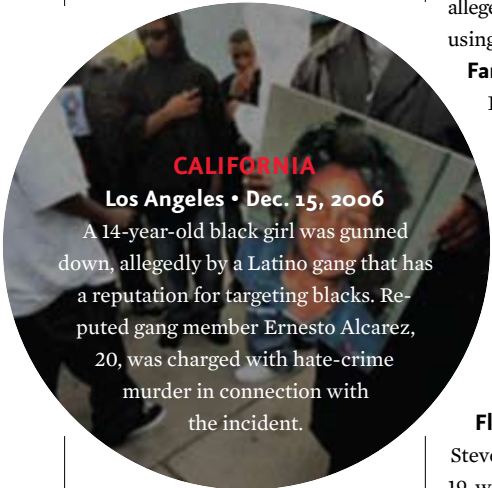
NEW JERSEY

Edgewater Park • Nov. 2, 2006

Dennis E. Wasphal, 19, was charged with bias intimidation and harassment for allegedly using a lawn mower to cut a racial slur in the grass of an open field.

Howell • Oct. 2, 2006

Two teenage boys, 14 and 15, were



each charged with conspiracy to commit bias intimidation, bias intimidation and criminal mischief, and harassment, after they allegedly spray-painted swastikas and profanities on a residence.

Little Egg Harbor • Nov. 13, 2006

A 4-foot swastika was carved into the green of a golf course.

Trenton • Dec. 20, 2006

A small cross was burned on a black resident’s lawn.

NEW YORK

Bay Shore • Dec. 25, 2006

A holiday menorah in front of a synagogue was knocked down and destroyed.

Brooklyn • Oct. 8, 2006

Ilya Shurov, 20; Gary Timmons, 16, and John Fox, 19, were charged with first-degree assault as a hate crime and first- and second-degree robbery as hate crimes after they allegedly assaulted and robbed a black man because he was gay. The man died five days after he was attacked.

Brooklyn • Oct. 20, 2006

A black man allegedly used racial slurs and stabbed a white man during an argument at a subway station.

Elmira • Oct. 17, 2006

Joseph Loudenslager III and Justin Edwards, both 20, were charged with third-degree assault after they allegedly attacked a man while using slurs.

Far Rockaway • Oct. 28, 2006

Devin Arce, 27, and Rayshawn Johnson, 25, were charged with attempted murder as a hate crime for allegedly beating a gay man with a baseball bat, smashing a beer bottle over his head and slicing his neck with a razor while using anti-gay epithets.

Flushing • Dec. 10, 2006

Steven Chan, 30, and Robert Wu, 19, were charged with assault and face charges of attempted murder after they allegedly shouted racial epithets and attacked three Hispanic men.

Howard Beach • Oct. 10, 2006

John Moderno, 30, was charged with criminal mischief as a hate crime, criminal mischief, aggravated harassment and endangering the welfare of a child for allegedly yelling racial slurs against Puerto Ricans at his neighbor for seven months.

Howard Beach • Oct. 31, 2006

Patrick Rich, 17, was charged with second-degree harassment as a bias crime, disorderly conduct and resisting arrest after he allegedly used racial slurs toward a black police officer.

New York City • Oct. 1, 2006

A group of teens allegedly used anti-Semitic epithets and attacked a 16-year-old Jewish teen.

New York City • Oct. 23, 2006

A 60-year-old Dominican building superintendent was killed allegedly because of his ethnicity. Charges were pending against Raffin Vellon, 36, in connection with the death and the killings of Vellon’s ex-girlfriend and her 36-year-old son.

New York City • Oct. 29, 2006

Yitzi Horowitz and David Brach, both 15; Yossi Friedman, 17; and Shulomi Bitton and Benjamin Wasserman, both 16, were charged with several crimes, including menacing and assault as a hate crime, for allegedly attacking a Pakistani man.

New York City • Dec. 19, 2006

An 8-foot menorah was kicked down by vandals.

Sound Beach • Nov. 12, 2006

Several swastikas were spray-painted on the front door of a church.

NORTH CAROLINA

Raleigh • Nov. 23, 2006

Ku Klux Klan fliers were left on the front yards of residences.

OREGON

Eugene • Dec. 19, 2006

A swastika was spray-painted on an elementary school.

Eugene • Dec. 20, 2006

Racist, sexual and satanic graffiti was spray-painted on houses, a church and a car.

PENNSYLVANIA

Bethlehem • Nov. 17, 2006

Two swastikas were spray-painted on a building.

Bethlehem • Nov. 26, 2006

Racist graffiti and the letters “KKK” were spray-painted on a racquetball court wall at a local park.

Lower Frankford • Dec. 5, 2006

Hate messages were painted on a house and driveway.

South Middleton • Nov. 24, 2006

A 12-year-old boy and 13-year-old

boy were charged with harassment for allegedly making racial slurs toward an Asian man.

SOUTH CAROLINA
Salem • Dec. 9, 2006

The letters ‘KKK’ and a racial epithet were spray-painted on a middle/high school gym.

TENNESSEE
Marshall County • Oct. 31, 2006
A cross was burned in a black family’s yard.

TEXAS
Austin • Nov. 11, 2006
Members of the National Socialist Movement held an anti-immigration rally.

VIRGINIA
Richmond • Oct. 3, 2006
Racial slurs and the letters “KKK” were spray-painted on a biracial couple’s home.

WASHINGTON
Bellevue • Dec. 23, 2006
Randy Welborn, 48, and Randall Stencel, 52, were charged with hate-crime malicious harassment and assault after they allegedly taunted their black supervisor with racial epithets and beat him after he asked the pair to stop making disparaging comments about Hispanics.

WISCONSIN
Waukesha • Dec. 5, 2006
Former North Lake firefighter Mark Weber, 42, pleaded guilty to disorderly conduct with a hate crime enhancer and pointing a firearm at a person after he allegedly used a racial slur and threatened a black man with a handgun in April 2005. In connection with the same incident, former North Lake Fire Chief Terrence Stapleton, 67, was placed on 12 months’ probation and ordered to perform 100 hours of community service, 50 hours of that to an organization that primarily serves African-Americans, after Stapleton entered a no contest plea to disorderly conduct with a hate crime enhancer. Stapleton used a German Shepherd to threaten the same black man as Weber. ▲

INTERNATIONAL BRIEFS (continued on p. 71)

November, for instance, the BNP withdrew a speaking invitation to well-known Holocaust denier Lady Michelle Renouf.

In December, the British newspaper *The Guardian* found more evidence of the same trend during a seven-month undercover investigation. The paper said that the BNP has been instructing its activists to use encryption software to avoid the discovery of any embarrassing electronic messages. It reported that a secret BNP rulebook, issued only to party organizers, urges them to avoid actions and the public use of racist language that underscore the BNP’s racism. And it said that the BNP is recruiting affluent members to counteract its image of working-class thuggery.

There is much at stake. BNP activists claim that they are gaining up to 100 new recruits every week, and the party currently has more than 50 seats on local councils, similar to county commissions in America. BNP leaders clearly hope that the party now has a chance to win its first-ever national parliamentary seat. ▲

LEGAL BRIEF (continued on p. 73)

gratuitous use of racial slurs — is typically not protected.

In recent years, there has been a gradual shift in the courts away from protecting academic speech. Last year, in a ruling that may be extended to the academic setting, the Supreme Court sharply curtailed the protections given to public employees’ speech by ruling that statements made “pursuant to official duties” now fall beyond First Amendment safeguards; only public statements made in a government employee’s role “as a citizen” remain protected. *Garcetti v. Ceballos*, 126 S. Ct. 1951 (2006). If this case is applied to academic speech, it could spell the death of protection for any statements made by teachers in the classroom.

Academic Freedom

In addition to their legal First Amendment protections, university professors enjoy a right to “academic freedom” that is enshrined in the by-laws of many colleges and universities. The concept of

academic freedom began in this country in the late nineteenth century, when professors teaching Darwin’s theory of evolution were being fired from academic institutions. Then, in 1900, Stanford University fired an economics professor for criticizing the use of Chinese laborers to build railroads; the university was named for Leland Stanford, a railroad magnate. The uproar over the firing led to the creation of the American Association of University Professors (AAUP), which defined academic freedom for the first time.

The AAUP’s academic freedom principles, which are accepted by most universities, state that a professor’s speech is protected by academic freedom “unless his methods are found by qualified bodies of his own profession to be clearly incompetent or contrary to professional ethics.” Although the AAUP principles recognize that there are valid restrictions on speech in the classroom, they maintain that teachers should be free to speak as citizens outside of the classroom without fear of reprisal, so long as their remarks do not bear on their professional competence.

An example of the protections afforded by modern principles of academic freedom is the case of Arthur Butz, a Northwestern University engineering professor who for decades has claimed in public speeches that the Holocaust never occurred. The university has resisted pressure to fire him, given that he has never taught his anti-Semitic and factually incorrect views in the classroom. But even though his remarks were made outside the classroom, his professional competence might have been questioned had he taught history rather than engineering.

Psychology professor Kevin MacDonald’s publications containing his anti-Semitic theories fall within the academic subfield that he claims to be an expert in: evolutionary psychology. Many experts in evolutionary psychology, including the founders of the field, have condemned his work as unscientific. But it’s unknown whether MacDonald has taught these theories within his classroom because the psychology department at Cal State doesn’t allow in-class reviews. If he has, McDonald may not enjoy legal protection for any anti-Semitic and unscientific statements made in the classroom. ▲

Lawless Behavior

The recent burning of a Mexican flag by American extremists raised a number of questions. Luckily, they aren’t hard to answer

By Susy Buchanan and David Holthouse

PHOENIX, Ariz. — Last Dec. 16, two hate group leaders burned a Mexican flag in front of the Mexican consulate here. Laine Lawless, the head of Border Guardians, and Donald Pauly, the founder of the Emigration Party of Nevada, had boastfully predicted that 500 supporters would show up.

But as it turned out, counter-demonstrators, members of the media, and a Phoenix Police Department tactical unit vastly outnumbered the handful of extremists Lawless and Pauly managed to muster.

Lawless seemed particularly mystified and furious. “This is an outrage!” she bellowed into her bullhorn. “I want to know what’s the matter with the men of Phoenix. Aren’t your balls big enough to stand here with me and burn the Mexican flag?”

Apparently not. Dozens of hand-lettered “Go Back to Mexico” signs Lawless brought went unused, stacked forlornly on the grass behind her.

The event was heavily covered in the Phoenix media, and provided the opening scene for a national wire service story on the rise of anti-immigration extremism.

With an eye to offering readers a test of their knowledge of nativist extremism, here is a simple, seven-question quiz:

1) During her megaphone-amplified rant, what phrase did Lawless repeatedly use to describe immigration from Mexico and Central America?

- A. “Foreign invasion.”
- B. “Foreign infection.”
- C. “Foreign infestation.”
- D. All of the above.

2) When Lawless asked, “Why are more American citizens not joining me here

today to protect American sovereignty?” what did a protester immediately call out in response?

- A. “Because you’re a racist nut!”
- B. “Because you’re scary! Very, very scary!”
- C. “Because they’re intimidated by your brilliance!”
- D. “Because they’re busy learning Spanish!”



Border Guardians chieftain Laine Lawless at her favorite pastime: burning the Mexican flag.

3) On the topic of violent crime, Lawless claimed that “illegals among us victimize an American citizen...”

- A. “...every 17 seconds.”
- B. “...every 17 minutes.”
- C. “...every 17 hours.”
- D. “...every 17 days.”

4) When pressed by a journalist to identify the source or sources for her statistics, Lawless said:

- A. “I heard them on ‘Lou Dobbs Tonight.’”
- B. “I divined them by casting bones.”
- C. “They’re a distillation of different

sources a confederate came up with.”

5) When a protester interrupted Lawless’ speech by shouting, “You’re a fucking Nazi!” what did Lawless yell back?

- A. “I know you are, but what am I?”
- B. “Thank you for the compliment, young man!”
- C. “No, I’m a high priestess of Wicca who writes erotic fan fiction about Xena, the warrior princess!”
- D. “*No soy fascista. Soy cazamigrante y bruja pendejo!*”

6) What festive nighttime event did Lawless attend after the flag burning, and what did she do there?

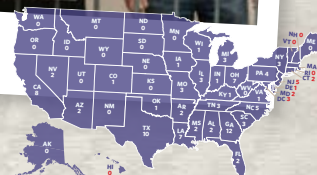
- A. The Arizona Renaissance Festival, where she defeated all challengers in the Broadsword and Buckler tournament.
- B. A karaoke contest at a Macayo’s Mexican Kitchen franchise, where she pounded strawberry margaritas and placed second with her rendition of “Livin’ La Vida Loca.”
- C. A high-stakes poker game fundraiser for the Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, where she called MCDC founder Chris Simcox “the little twerp” every time he folded.
- D. “Winterfest,” a “Yulettime” turkey dinner hosted by the neo-Nazi group National Vanguard, where she listened to white-power folk music and speeches by Holocaust deniers Paul Fromm and Fritz Berg.

7) When asked by the Intelligence Report about her attending the post-flag burning event, what did Lawless write in reply?

- A. “I am interested in history, and the speakers provided an unusual point of view, if an unconventional one.”
- B. “I found no hate there, but nice friendly folks.”
- C. “I had a good time.”
- D. All of the above. ▲

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