

IMMIGRATION: FACTS, PROPAGANDA, CONSPIRACIES



Intelligence Report

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Southern Gothic

A North Carolina Klan conspiracy lifts the veil on a dark world

TROUBLE IN PARADISE

ANTI-SEMITES IN NEW HAMPSHIRE

PLUS

BLUNT FORCE

San Diego Minutemen in Trouble

HATING THE HOMELESS

Are New Laws Needed?

{ the dead man in glen gautier's dreams always asked the same question ... }

Bait and Switch

BY MARK POTOK, EDITOR

even as a shaky legislative agreement on immigration reform is debated in the halls of Congress, poisonous and untrue propaganda continues to leak into the national dialogue on undocumented migration to the United States.

Secret Mexican conspiracies to take over the American Southwest or



merge with Canada and the United States. Murders and drunken-driving deaths caused by “illegal aliens” reaching astounding levels. Emergency rooms in California, overwhelmed by the migrants, going out of business. Jobs stolen and wages lost to the tune of billions. Epidemics of frightening diseases like leprosy.

Where do these ideas come from?

In a surprising number of cases, they are propounded on mainstream cable television and radio shows and are even voiced by national politicians. And these tales are dangerous. When millions of Americans are told by people they trust that immigration from the south is destroying their country, many of them take that as fact. It’s no surprise that some even respond with criminal violence.

That’s why a debate this spring between the Southern Poverty Law Center and CNN host Lou Dobbs was important. For more than four years now, Dobbs has been delivering almost nightly reports suggesting that

undocumented immigration is harming this country in innumerable ways. On the way, he’s managed to spread ideas that are not only one-sided, but in some cases entirely false.

Take leprosy.

On May 6, CBS’ “60 Minutes” ran a profile of Dobbs in which correspondent Lesley Stahl reported that in 2005, CNN reporter Christine Romans “told Dobbs that there have been 7,000 cases of leprosy in the U.S. in the past three years.” Stahl pointed out that the government had actually reported that that was the number of cases in America over 30 years, not three. In the three years referenced by Romans, in fact, the government registered just 398 new cases.

“If we reported it, it’s a fact,” Dobbs responded defiantly. He was asked how he could guarantee that. “Because I’m the managing editor, and that’s the way we do business. We don’t make up numbers, Lesley. Do we?”

The next night, on his own show, Dobbs, after lambasting me for comments I’d made in Stahl’s story, repeated that he stood “100% behind Romans’ report. And he brought back Romans, who said: “I was quoting from Dr. Madeleine Cosman, a respected medical lawyer and medical historian... : ‘Suddenly, in the past three years, America has more than 7,000 cases of leprosy.’”

On May 15, SPLC ran ads in *The New York Times* and *USA Today* asking that CNN retract Dobbs’ false leprosy claim, as Dobbs himself refused to. The following day, SPLC President Richard Cohen and I were invited on Dobbs’ show, presumably to argue out the veracity of Romans’ claim.

What we were met with was a classic bait and switch.

Just before the debate, Dobbs ran a taped piece that made an entirely new set of claims. Now Dobbs said

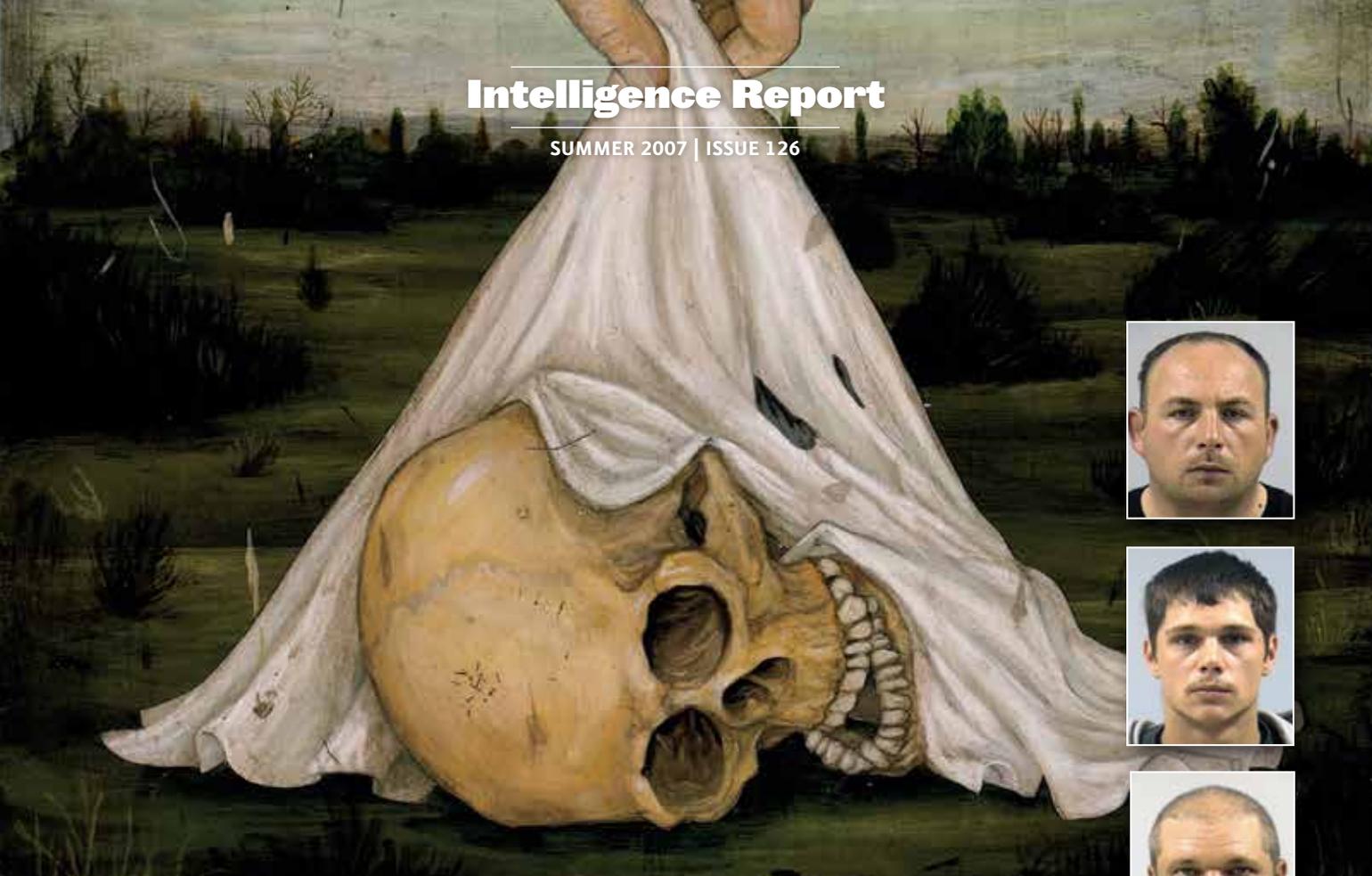
that new cases had “risen” to 166 in 2005. He insisted that “we did not say there were [7,000] new cases at any time.” And then, bizarrely, he reran the clip of Romans saying, on May 7, that “there were about 900 cases of leprosy for 40 years. There have been 7,000 in the past three years.”

Dobbs also now claimed that Romans’ reporting had always been based on statistics from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. But that was simply false. As Romans had made crystal clear in her own comments, the report was based entirely on Cosman, the “respected” lawyer and historian.

Cosman, who died last year, was no “doctor” — she had a Ph.D. in literature. And she was hardly a “respected” authority on disease and immigrants. In fact, she was a wild-eyed propagandist who made a series of charges about Latino men heading north, including this gem from 2005: “Most of these bastards molest girls under 12, although some specialize in boys, and some in nuns.” As the *Intelligence Report* showed two years ago, Cosman also lied about a 1976 book she wrote being nominated for the Pulitzer Prize and the National Book Award.

The importance of this debate went far beyond Dobbs’ refusal to accept responsibility for a clear and egregious error. As Cohen wrote to CNN President Jonathan Klein: “This is hardly the first time that Mr. Dobbs has chosen to rely on dubious sources with a virulent anti-immigrant agenda.”

If Americans are to sort out the mess that immigration policy has become, they need to know the facts of the situation. Misleading and false propaganda from the likes of Lou Dobbs, who works for a respected news operation, can only poison the debate and demonize a huge number of people in the process. ▲



COVER ILLUSTRATION: JASON HOLLEY



ON THE COVER

44 SOUTHERN GOTHIC

Prompted by the murder confession of a Klansman, authorities in North Carolina have brought charges against men accused of plotting to blow up a courthouse and murder a sheriff. Their probe has opened a window onto a world where coon dogs are traded for dynamite, crosses burn next to a local Waffle House, and a Klan grand dragon directs operations from a ramshackle clubhouse at the edge of a swamp.



DAVE WHITE

13 Trouble in Paradise

In idyllic Richmond, N.H., a conflict is heating up between a growing number of townfolk and the Saint Benedict Center, an anti-Semitic group of “radical traditionalist Catholics” estranged from the Vatican. Locals, fearful of cult plans to expand, have likened their simmering battle to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.



BREITH WOCK

20 Hating the Homeless

Escalating violence against the homeless has prompted lawmakers in six states to introduce laws to expand hate crime penalties. The bloodshed also has raised a key question: Should the homeless, frequently targeted out of hatred but also because of the sheer ease of attacking them, be protected by hate crimes legislation?



TODD BELOW

26 Blunt Force

The San Diego Minutemen is one of America’s most aggressive anti-immigrant formations, marked by a willingness to engage in direct confrontations and harassment. But all is not well with the group. Its leaders are under scrutiny, former allies and members have attacked it, and internal feuding is spreading.

Intelligence Report

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Most people know Robert Pastor as a distinguished scholar. But for anti-immigration extremists, he is the architect of the much-feared "North American



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After nearly a decade of maintaining a low profile, racist skinhead leader David Lynch is re-emerging as a key player in California, Utah and Florida.

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In Kennesaw, Ga., pistol-packing Dent "Wildman" Myers runs a shop specializing in racist memorabilia. He also has become something of a local celebrity.

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.

NEO-NAZIS

The Mad Professor: Out of the Closet and Into the Fire

The on-again, off-again neo-Nazi is, apparently, on again.

Of course, it's always hard to tell with Jacques Anthony Pluss, the fired New Jersey university history professor who now describes himself as a National Socialist, psychotherapist and expert horseman. He's told so many lies, elaborated so many fairy tales, and contradicted himself so many times, that the uninformed bystander could be forgiven for thinking the man is simply unhinged.



In fact, many people do. As Pluss spins his latest takes on reality in a Web forum hosted by the History News Network (HNN), he is regularly confronted by those who call him “psychotic,” “a borderline personality,” and worse.

It's not that Pluss doesn't try to speak plainly. These days, the ex-professor signs his E-mails “SS-Obersturmbannführer [Senior Storm Unit Leader] Dr. Jacques PLUSS.”

The strange saga of Dr. Pluss, who earned his Ph.D. in medieval history from the University of Chicago, began in February 2005, when, as a professor at Fairleigh Dickinson University, he joined the crudely neo-Nazi National Socialist Movement (NSM). Pluss managed to get fired by the university the next month, after telling the school newspaper about his doings in the NSM. School officials did not mention his politics, attributing the firing instead to his repeated absences.

In January 2006, three months after finally exiting NSM, Pluss wrote “Now It Can Be Told: Why I Pretended to Be a Neo-Nazi,” claiming he had been infiltrating NSM to gather material for a book on fascism. But six months later, he said he had never claimed *not* to be a National Socialist.

Now, says HNN, Pluss is completely out.

In a website article this March, HNN reported that Pluss, 53, has written on his blog that African Americans “are not human” and that “each one of them should be liquidated, that is, killed immediately or after performing forced labor without shelter or food.” He said that Jews, too, should be “liquidated,” and described them as “dangerous sub-humans.” And he announced that he had started the U.S. branch of *Stille Hilfe* (Silent Help), a German organization that aids old Nazis.

He was asked on an HNN forum why his normally secretive superiors in Germany had instructed him to go public about his new group. “I am not permitted,” he barked back in true “Hogan's Heroes” fashion, “to say more.”

Pluss has many enemies these days. Not only does he hate blacks and Jews (and a number of ex-colleagues at Fairleigh Dickinson), but also his old running mates in the NSM, which he now describes as tainted with Satanism and typical of the “mediocre” American brand of National Socialism. Many neo-Nazis, in turn, have accused him of falsifying his tour in Vietnam and some even allege he is secretly Jewish — a poisonous charge in National Socialist circles.

Today, Pluss describes himself as the director of Aargau Books, whose sole accomplishment seems to have been publishing Pluss' 1,077-page horse-and-war epic, *Jumping Fences: An Artfully Crafted Madness*. The hero, as Pluss explained in the glowing, five-star review he gave to his own 2005 novel on Amazon.com, endured events that “sent him to the brink of madness.”

Dr. Pluss should know.

EXTREMISTS IN THE MILITARY

U.S. Navy Suspends 'Radical Traditionalist,' Launches Probe

Lt. Cmdr. John Sharpe Jr., the public affairs officer for the aircraft carrier USS Carl Vinson, was temporarily relieved of duty and placed under investigation in early March for allegedly violating a rule that forbids all personnel in the U.S. Navy to “participate in any organization that espouses supremacist causes.”



JOHN SHARPE JR.

The anti-Semitic activities of the 1993 Naval Academy graduate were first revealed in an exposé in the Winter 2006 edition of the *Intelligence Report* that explored the “radical traditionalist Catholic” movement in the United States. Sharpe was suspended after a reporter for *Port Folio Weekly* of Norfolk, Va., where the Carl Vinson is based, asked military officials if Sharpe's activities were permitted.

The *Report* article detailed two of Sharpe's organizations, the Legion of St. Louis and IHS Press, both now listed by the Southern Poverty Law Center as hate groups. The story also noted that Sharpe was a vendor at the 2006 conference of *American Renaissance*, a racist publication (Sharpe was at a table next to a man selling "White Power" T-shirts). And it reported he is on the board of the St. George Educational Trust, a radical British Catholic group whose trustees once included convicted Italian terrorist Roberto Fiore. The trust has been accused of helping fund a project by the anti-Semitic International Third Position (ITP), which sought in the late 1990s to create a radical Catholic community in Los Pedriches, Spain.

Sharpe is on administrative leave pending the outcome of the Navy investigation, but that hasn't stopped him from continuing his extremist activities. At press time, he was still slated to speak at an August conference of the anti-Semitic St. Benedict Center, a New Hampshire group also profiled in the *Report* article that believes "the Jewish race" is working to overthrow Christian society (see related story, p. 13). And Sharpe's Legion of St. Louis was still selling an array of anti-Semitic books, including Hilaire Belloc's *The Jews* and Henry Ford's *The International Jew*, on its website.

Sharpe also co-published an anti-Iraq war two-volume set, *Neo-Conned!*, with "D. Liam O'Huallachain," who is really Derek Holland, a British extremist and former member of the racist National Front and ITP, which seeks a "third way" that is neither capitalism nor communism. Holland is also a director of IHS Press.

Another radical traditionalist profiled by the *Report*, hard-line anti-Semite E. Michael Jones, caused a ruckus during a March speech at the National Press Club in Washington, D.C. Jones joined other extremists at a conference held to promote the ideas of white nationalist columnist Sam Francis, who died in 2005. The meeting was orga-

nized by the Fitzgerald Griffin Foundation, where Francis was a resident scholar. The foundation is headed by Fran Griffin, who runs a public relations firm, Griffin Communications, that also publishes *Sobran's*, a newsletter by columnist Joe Sobran. Sobran is an anti-Semite who has written for a Holocaust denial journal.

A red-faced and shouting Jones devoted a full hour to denouncing the "revolutionary Jew" who, he claimed, has been fighting the Catholic Church and Christianity in general for some 2,000 years. Among other things, Jones denounced the civil rights movement as "controlled by Jews" who used blacks as "pawns."

Jones' furious speech was not received well by most attendees, who had expected a more dignified gathering. Attendee Peter Brimelow — the man who runs *Vdare.com*, a white supremacist website named after Virginia Dare, who is said to be the first white born in the New World — even called Jones a "Catholic bigot" and mocked him as "a prize specimen even by the standards of my lifelong study of characters on the American right." Jones was so extreme that C-SPAN decided to cancel a planned broadcast of the event.

ANTIGOVERNMENT EXTREMISM

Law Enforcement Officials Pursue Differing Standoff Policies

Two recent potential standoff situations — one in Wisconsin and one in New Hampshire — illustrate radically different law enforcement approaches to dealing with such confrontations with members of the radical right.

In Wisconsin, authorities were faced with a couple who refused to leave the house they lost to fore-



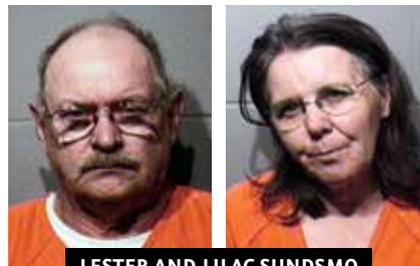
Spewing violent threats, tax protester and former militia leader Ed Brown has holed up in his New Hampshire home in a standoff with federal authorities. Brown and his wife were convicted of a total of 20 felonies for refusing to pay taxes since 1996.

closure after failing to pay taxes, and who had filed illegal court liens against some 25 people. Lester Sundsmo, 64, and his wife Lilac, 56, falsely claimed that their home some 30 miles north-east of Madison was actually a church, and they filed the liens — which, even when unjustified, can make it extremely difficult for victims to sell their own house or land — against county and bank officials involved in legal proceedings against them.

The authorities made their move in March, when more than 100 federal and local law enforcement officers, backed by a bomb squad, helicopters, ambulances and fire trucks, arrested the Sundsmos as they drove away from their rural log cabin in Columbia County. They

were arrested without incident.

The firepower used brought some criticism of law enforcement. But officials



LESTER AND LILAC SUNDSMO

AP WIDE WORLD PHOTOS



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

pointed out that the Sundsmos had a long history of involvement with members of the radical antigovernment right, some of whom could have been at their house at the time of the raid; had had several prior minor conflicts with police; and kept a 70-foot tunnel that could have been used to store weapons. (None were found.)

Prosecutors later told a judge that after the March 14 arrest, Lilac Sundsmo told an officer that “we’re going to kill” anyone who takes over their foreclosed house. Both Sundsmos were ordered held in lieu of \$10,000 bond.

In New Hampshire two months earlier, a former militia leader prone to making violent threats and his wife were convicted of an array of felonies for refusing to pay taxes for 12 years. Ed Brown was convicted of three felony tax crimes, while his wife Elaine — who earned most of the family income as a dentist in Lebanon — was convicted of 17 felony counts. The couple, who were to be sentenced in the late spring, face up to five years on each count.

Just a few days after the federal trial began, Ed Brown left the courtroom and holed up at his home near Plainfield — a home equipped with 10-inch cement walls, a huge watchtower, a plethora of guns and a whole array of radical sympathizers. His wife initially

“OVERHEARD”

“[C]ivil rights ... is a racket that is used to exploit primarily heterosexual, Christian, white males’ birthright and ... give it to people who didn’t qualify for it.”

— Host **MICHAEL SAVAGE**, speaking on Jan. 15, Martin Luther King Jr. Day, on Talk Radio Network’s “The Savage Nation”

“Are we going to force the Jews to apologize for killing Christ?”

Virginia Rep. **FRANK HARGROVE** (R-Hanover), in remarks that prompted angry rebukes, speaking on the statehouse floor Jan. 16 against a proposed state apology for slavery

“One wanted to kick me in the uterus until I couldn’t have children. Others have all kinds of really lewd and awful threats. ... [I]f the goal of these people was to scare me, it worked.”

— Arizona Rep. **KYRSTEN SINEMA** (D-Phoenix), describing in the Jan. 30 issue of *The Arizona Republic* the rape and death threats she received after proposing a bill that would have outlawed armed civilian border patrol groups

“Indisputable evidence ... demonstrates conclusively that so-called secular evolution science is the ... ‘creation scenario’ of the Pharisee Religion.”

— Anti-Semitic memorandum circulated to the entire Texas House of Representatives on Feb. 9 by Rep. **WARREN CHISUM** (R-Pampa) that was earlier circulated to Georgia House members over the signature of that state’s Rep. Ben Bridges (R-Cleveland), who denied authorship

“[George Soros] apparently very cheerfully and willingly went to work for the Nazis.”

— **LEE RODGERS**, co-host of San Francisco radio station KSFO-AM’s “Morning Show,” characterizing the liberal Jewish financier, who was 13 when the Nazis invaded his native Hungary, in Feb. 9 remarks later retracted by the program director

“Classes promoting the homosexual lifestyle will be included in school curricula beginning with the lower grades.”

— American Family Association Chairman **DONALD WILDMON**, in a Feb. 20 “action alert” warning of “what homosexual activists are trying to force on every American”

“I was going to have a few comments on the other Democratic presidential candidate John Edwards, but it turns out you have to go into rehab if you use the word ‘faggot.’”

— Columnist **ANN COULTER**, in a March 2 speech to the Conservative Political Action Conference that was denounced by CPAC’s main host, the American Conservative Union, and several Republican presidential candidates, and resulted in newspapers canceling her column

“[John] Edwards would be the first female president. ... [W]ho would design and make Edwards’ inaugural gown?”

— Host **RUSH LIMBAUGH**, expanding on a *New York Sun* story and Coulter’s remarks, on the March 8 edition of Premiere Radio Network’s “The Rush Limbaugh Show”



April 21, 2007 · Columbia, S.C.

About 80 members of the National Socialist Movement and allied white supremacist organizations rallied outside the South Carolina Capitol to protest illegal Mexican immigration and show off NSM's presidential candidate. Although the NSM had billed the event as "the largest White Peoples [sic] March in the U.S. of the Decade," the swastika-clad group was outnumbered by counter-protesters (including an official of the white supremacist League of the South who branded the neo-Nazis as "Yankee scum"). After the rally, participants traveled to Laurens, S.C., where, on the following day, they hosted a "Rock Against Illegal Immigration" concert featuring bands like Brutal Attack and Achtung Juden. The NSM recently bought the Redneck Shop in Laurens, which had been a Klan meeting hall for decades.



THE STATE

declined to join him, continuing to attend the trial, but then broke an agreement with the judge and joined her husband at the home.

Brown, who has a long history of involvement with radical groups, issued a series of threats from his home, warning of violence if the authorities moved against him. He also claimed "thousands" of sympathizers would help him.

U.S. Marshal Stephen Monier repeatedly told reporters that he was in no hurry to bring the Browns in. He said he spoke to Ed Brown daily, but had "low-key" and "amicable" conversations, and predicted no standoff.

The Browns were still in their homemade fortress at press time.

In the 1990s, in the aftermath of deadly standoffs in Waco and elsewhere, many law enforcement agen-

cies began to pursue noticeably more patient policies in such situations. Numerous experts have suggested that using more lenient tactics costs law enforcement little and often saves lives. But others have argued that waiting can actually worsen the situation and raise the stakes.

NEO-NAZI CRIMES

New Sex Charge Brought Against National Vanguard Founder

Neo-Nazi leader Kevin Alfred Strom, arrested last January on charges of possession of child pornography and witness tampering, now faces a key additional accusation — that he "enticed" a 10-year-old girl to engage in sexual activity.

The new charge came in an April federal grand jury indictment that also formalized the other felony charges faced by the founder of National Vanguard, a neo-Nazi group that collapsed after Strom's arrest (see story, p. 8). In addition to the "coercion and enticement" charge, they include four counts of receipt of child pornography (via a computer); one count of possession of child pornography; and one count of obstructing justice by assaulting or threatening a witness.

It wasn't clear from the indictment what Strom is accused of with regard to the young girl, and officials have not publicly detailed their allegations. The charge says only that Strom enticed or attempted to entice or coerce the girl.

In a widely circulated E-mail, meanwhile, Strom pleads for money for his jail "canteen fund," complains that

he's being kept in solitary confinement, and asserts that he is "not guilty of the charges against me" — even though Strom apparently signed a notarized "contract" with his wife Elisha last year in which he promised to attend counseling until he "has been declared free of pedophilia." Elisha Strom posted a copy of the document on a neo-Nazi site after her husband's arrest.

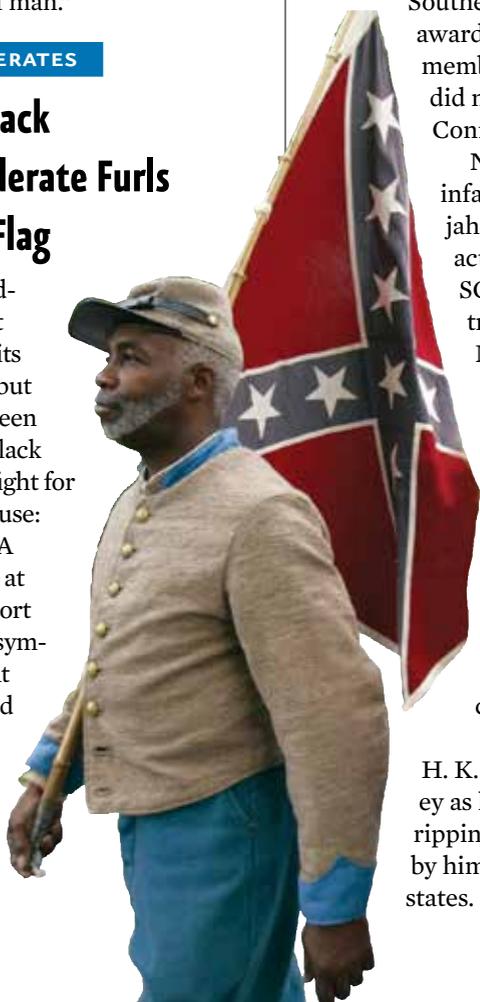
Kevin Strom also allegedly said in his February E-mail that he had written "a long and detailed account of the spousal betrayal which has resulted in my current situation," but added that his lawyers had advised him not to circulate it. Elisha Strom has hotly denied that she had anything to do with Strom's arrest.

Strom, who long kept a collection of cheesecake photos of young girls on his website under the heading of "feminine beauty," ended his E-mail on an upbeat note. "I remain," he said, "dedicated to the cause of life and the ennoblement of man."

NEO-CONFEDERATES

A Lonely Black Neo-Confederate Furls His Battle Flag

The neo-Confederate movement isn't known for its racial diversity, but there long has been one dedicated black man willing to fight for the Southern cause: H.K. Edgerton. A constant fixture at protests in support of Confederate symbols, Edgerton at one point walked from his home in Asheville, N.C., to Austin, Texas, dressed all the while in



Confederate gray and toting a battle flag.

In March, after being accused by white neo-Confederate colleagues of financial improprieties, Edgerton quit the fight and furling his flag.

Edgerton served for years as the lone member of the board of advisers of the Southern Legal Resource Center (SLRC), a position without pay or authority. In that role, Edgerton provided a thin defense against the charges of white supremacy that are regularly levied against SLRC Chief Trial Counsel Kirk Lyons, who was married at the Idaho compound of the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations and has long had close ties to major racist figures.

Edgerton's apparent selflessness made him popular among neo-Confederates, particularly members of the Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV), a Southern heritage group that awarded him an honorary membership even though he did not have the requisite Confederate ancestors.

Now, Edgerton is more infamous than popular. Elijah Coleman, a prominent activist in the Georgia SCV, wrote a widely distributed E-mail in early March accusing Edgerton of selling hundreds of SCV-provided battle flags at a NASCAR event and pocketing the funds. Coleman also claimed that Edgerton was demanding huge sums for a new car, even after he was offered one costing \$3,000.

"I began to see a new H. K. obsessed with money as he spoke of everyone ripping him off on past visits by him to Florida and other states. Money was the main



thing on his mind," wrote Coleman. "I realized he was now in the heritage fight only for the money."

In response, Edgerton sent out an open letter announcing that he was leaving the movement after more than a decade and complaining of his treatment. Edgerton insisted that he

received few funds from his compatriots, having selflessly given away his time and impoverished himself only to be called "a money grubber." Edgerton said he would shut down his neo-Confederate group, Southern Heritage 411, on April 14.

Lyons offered a halfhearted defense of Edgerton on the SCV's Southern Herald mailing list, calling him "a close friend." But Lyons also wrote that "the SLRC is not and has not been involved in any of H.K.'s travel or appearances for some time." Lyons added that Edgerton is no longer with the SLRC.

Though avowedly saddened to give up the cause, Edgerton did point proudly to the "historic H.K. Edgerton Shirt" produced by Dixie Outfitters as a high point of his neo-Confederate career, noting that he was "the first living person" represented in the firm's "Modern Confederate Hero Line."

BLACK SEPARATISTS

Abannaki Indigenous Nation Members Arrested

Another fringe black separatist group has come into the crosshairs of law enforcement. Like many others, the Abannaki Indigenous Nation propounds a bizarre ideology that's a mix of pseudo-scientific ideas about white people and groundless theories about being immune to U.S. laws that originated in white supremacist groups.

In March, police in Trenton, N.J., told *The Trentonian* that they had encounters with several men claiming to have immunity from U.S. laws. Four were arrested in separate incidents over the course of three days on

charges ranging from possession of a controlled substance to displaying fraudulent documentation. The men identified themselves as members of the Abannaki Indigenous Nation, but the group's formal name, according to its website, is the Abannaki Aboriginal Nation of Muurs (such groups commonly use variants of the word "Moor," the ancient name for a dark-skinned North African people, to describe themselves).

In each incident, the men said they did not recognize U.S. law and presented "diplomatic identity papers" that the police determined were fraudulent. The men, who later called themselves "diplomats," said they were members of an "indigenous nation" that includes people from "the so-called planet earth" and other planets including Mars and Venus. The police impounded a car with phony diplomatic license plates.

One of the four, Wilbert Harrington, also known as Shir M. Bey, 27, of Hamilton, N.J., was charged with possessing a controlled dangerous substance with the intent to distribute, obstructing the administration of law, resisting arrest and displaying fraudulent documentation. Harrington arrived in court wearing a fez and demanded that a jury of his peers — several of whom were seated in the courtroom and also dressed in the red felt hats — preside over his case.

International Indigenous Society Chief Executive Abdul-Ali Muhammad, the leader of the Abannaki Nation, told *The Trentonian* that the men's identification documents are real and signed by U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice. After the arrests, Muhammad published a 20-point statement, "Conspiracy on Nation Exposed," which attacked the local police for being ignorant of international law, the Constitution and state law.

According to law enforcement, the Abannaki Nation first appeared in Philadelphia, where its headquarters is located. Members were discovered in Mercer County, N.J., last October.

The group's website praises the late Nation of Islam founder Elijah Muhammad and agrees with his view that whites are "a grafted race." According to Abdul-Ali Muhammad, whites live a "toxic existence" because they need animal proteins to offset a deficient "chemical makeup." Because of this defect, whites are a "negative influence" on black people and the earth. Muhammad also believes that AIDS comes from eating meat and dairy products.

WHITE NATIONALISM

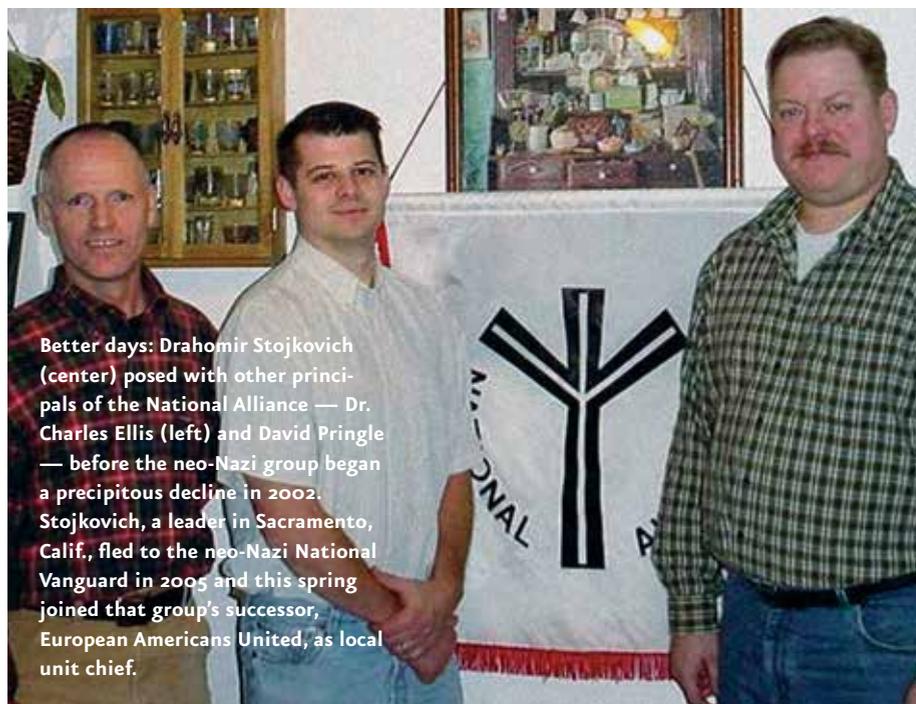
National Vanguard, Confederate Knights Are Kaput

Two more white supremacist organizations collapsed this spring, the latest casualties in a radical right characterized in the last few years by major troubles and organizational shifts. One of them, National Vanguard, was recently an important component of the racist scene, with 14 chapters in 11 states. The other was a tiny New Jersey Klan group best known for its pugna-

cious but ineffective leader.

The neo-Nazi National Vanguard (NV) fell apart in late March, apparently unable to survive the imprisonment of its leader, Kevin Strom, on charges of child pornography and witness tampering (see story, p. 7). Strom had formed the group in April 2005 as a breakaway from the neo-Nazi National Alliance and headquartered it in his hometown of Charlottesville, Va. But as early as last September, four months before Strom's arrest, rebellious elements within NV already had attempted to move the headquarters to Sacramento, Calif. Early this year, the state of Virginia liquidated the group's legal parent, making it impossible, according to the Sacramento insurrectionists, to access the group's bank accounts.

A March posting on the NV website proposes that readers "interested in pro-European-American activism" sign on with what is apparently NV's newly minted replacement, European Americans United (EAU), which supports white separatism and is against "Third World immigration," and that they keep abreast of the news at the group's Western Voices World News



Better days: Drahomir Stojkovich (center) posed with other principals of the National Alliance — Dr. Charles Ellis (left) and David Pringle — before the neo-Nazi group began a precipitous decline in 2002. Stojkovich, a leader in Sacramento, Calif., fled to the neo-Nazi National Vanguard in 2005 and this spring joined that group's successor, European Americans United, as local unit chief.

THE BLOTTER

UPDATES ON EXTREMISM AND THE LAW

JAN. 12

A federal jury in **Fayetteville, Ark.**, convicted Hollis Wayne Fincher, the lieutenant commander of the **Militia of Washington County**, of owning illegal machine guns and a sawed-off shotgun. Fincher, 60, argued that the Second Amendment made gun control laws unconstitutional, but the court disagreed.

JAN. 22

Pistol-packing **anti-immigrant** activist Roy Warden, who specializes in burning Mexican flags, was sentenced to three years probation for pushing and threatening people outside the Mexican Consulate in **Tucson, Ariz.**, in June 2006. The judge expressed wonder that local prosecutors didn't seek jail time for Warden, given that he had been videotaped threatening to shoot a child during the incident.

JAN. 29

Patrick Bearup, the son of a former high-ranking **Maricopa County, Ariz.**, sheriff's official, was convicted of the torture-murder of a man he and other members of the **Unit 88** skinhead crew suspected of stealing money. Bearup, who helped chop his still-living victim's finger off in order to steal a ring, threw the body of Mark Mathes off a cliff after Mathes was shot. Bearup was sentenced to death in February.

JAN. 30

Ingeborg Richter, the wife of a mob enforcer who served six months in prison for helping U.S. **neo-Nazis** organize a 1981 attempt to invade the Caribbean island of Dominica, was convicted in **Canada** of 30 counts of trafficking in guns she thought were going to gangsters. Husband Charles "Chuck" Yanover, who once planned to use Dominica as a gunrunning base, was already in prison on similar charges.

FEB. 8

Thomas Martin, a **Hammerskin** probationary member and former webmaster for **White Revolution**, was arrested with another man in **Orlando, Fla.**, for allegedly planning to rob crack cocaine dealers. In a court hearing, it accidentally emerged that David Gletty, organizer of a 2006 **National Socialist Movement** march in Orlando, was a paid FBI informant who wore a wire to a meeting with the two suspects.

FEB. 17

A fourth man tied to the racist **Aryan Circle** prison gang was arrested and charged with the murder of Roland Dickinson, whose battered body was found in a ravine in **Howard County, Texas**, in January. Billy Wayne Haynes' arrest followed those of Christopher David Lovett, Kirk Douglas Flanary and John Michael Hays. Officials said that Hays had earlier confessed to his own role in the murder, which was allegedly carried out because Dickinson insulted a member of Hays' family.

MARCH 1

A **New York City** jury convicted Steven Johnson, an unemployed man who shot and wounded three people and sprayed others with kerosene before threatening to set them afire, of attempted murder as a hate crime. Johnson, who reportedly had planned his **anti-white** June 2002 attack on a wine bar in Manhattan for two months, screamed during the rampage, "White people are going to burn tonight!"

MARCH 9

Sentencing was delayed for Keith Gilbert, a **Seattle** neo-Nazi convicted in late 2006 of selling and possessing more than 70 illegal weapons. Gilbert already had served time for plotting to murder Martin Luther King Jr. during a 1965 speech; shooting a black teenager while spouting racial slurs; and trying to run over an adopted black child. In the 1970s, Gilbert was an aide to **Aryan Nations** chieftain Richard Butler.

MARCH 22

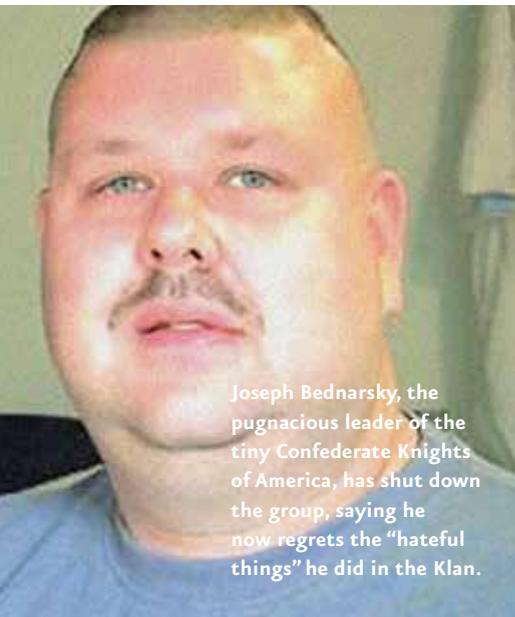
Police arrested the second of two members of a **Riverside, Calif.**, white supremacist gang called the **Riverside Skins** for allegedly murdering an acquaintance. Officials believe Darrin Agbara and Joseph Salem shot Michael Clearwater, who was a month away from beginning a prison sentence for a drug conviction, because they feared Clearwater was about to inform authorities about their own drug dealing.

MARCH 27

The first of three men accused of a brutal **anti-Indian** assault in **Farmington, N.M.**, in June 2006 pleaded guilty to attempted kidnapping, armed robbery, conspiracy as a hate crime, and aggravated battery. John Winer, 18, could face up to 35 years when he is sentenced. Two other men, both 21, still face trial in the assault on William Blackie, which was featured in the Winter 2006 *Intelligence Report*.

site. To avoid the kind of collapse that happened to NV, a board of directors, instead of one person, will run EAU, and all directors must prove they have no criminal background. Paeans to neo-Nazi leaders like the late National Alliance founder William Pierce are to be replaced with calls to white nationalism in hopes of building a broader movement.

In late March, EAU held its first event in Sacramento, where Drahomir Stojkovic, a former leader in



GANNETT NEWS

Joseph Bednarsky, the pugnacious leader of the tiny Confederate Knights of America, has shut down the group, saying he now regrets the “hateful things” he did in the Klan.

NV and the National Alliance, heads the group’s local chapter. It featured a four-course dinner, complete with wine tasting, and a talk by Croatian academic Tomislav Sunic about his most recent book, *Homo Americanus: Child of the Postmodern Age*. A former American university professor and Croatian diplomat, Sunic often writes for the far-right *Chronicles: A Magazine of American Culture*. Sunic also gave a late March talk to a gathering in Phoenix primarily made up of former NV members. According to activist Kevin Walsh, Sunic gave the audience some tactical advice — talk about “European-American” consciousness rather than “white” consciousness — that EAU does seem to be following.

Meanwhile, the Confederate Knights of America, a one-chapter Klan group in Millville, N.J., that is known for its frequent rallies and belligerent leader, also shut its doors in late March. Imperial Wizard Joseph V. Bednarsky disbanded the group and said he was leaving the movement. He cited his family’s safety, Klan infighting, and a newly discovered aversion to “hate.”

“Don’t make the same mistake that I made and waste half your life on a cause that is going nowhere,” Bednarsky admonished his former friends. In a letter entitled “My Apology,” Bednarsky also expressed regret for his 20-year involvement in the Klan and for the “hateful things” he had done. Bednarsky says he’s now dedicated to fighting hate and plans a book, tentatively entitled *Life Behind the Mask*.

INTO THE MAINSTREAM

Radical ‘Cesspool’ Host Appears on CNN as Commentator

When CNN decided to tackle the question of “self segregation” of racial groups in America this April 4, host Paula Zahn lined up a panel of commentators who seemed like they’d make for a lively discussion.

There was Molly Secours, a white liberal who writes a column for *Black-commentator.com*; Jesse Lee Petersen, a right-wing black activist who founded the Brotherhood Organization of a New Destiny; Roland Martin, a regular CNN contributor and black liberal; and finally, rounding out the panel that was to provide commentary during the hour-long special on “Paula Zahn Now,” there was 27-year-old James Edwards, who Zahn introduced sparsely as the host of a radio show on WLRM-AM in Memphis, Tenn., called “The Political Cesspool.”

Edwards isn’t kidding about that cesspool.

The acolyte of white nationalist Pat Buchanan, for whose 2000 presidential

campaign he worked, Edwards has played host to a “Who’s Who” of the worst of the American radical right for the last two years now. His guests have included neo-Nazi and former Klan leader David Duke; long time Klan attorney Sam Dickson; leading anti-Semitic publisher Willis Carto; Nick Griffin, leader of the whites-only British National Party; Michael Hill, the League of the South leader who defends slavery as “God-ordained”; Prussian Blue, a singing duo composed of teenaged neo-Nazi twin girls; raging anti-Semitic attorney Edgar Steele; and scores of others.

Zahn made it clear that she didn’t have a position on self segregation in American neighborhoods and schools. “We’re not making a judgment here,” she told the panel before their first televised exchange.

The shaven-headed Edwards, on the other hand, certainly had. He said it was “natural and healthy” for whites to seek out those who shared “the same values and traditions and heroes.” “There’s nothing enriching for white schoolchildren to be bused across town to gang-ridden schools,” he said.

Edwards went on to lambaste “the failed civil rights movement.” “Forced integration is not a path to equality, it’s



a march toward totalitarianism,” he said, adding that white liberals should spend a week “on the mean streets of South Memphis” to learn the realities of black America. He berated the support of many Christian churches and individuals for the civil rights movement, saying the role of the church is “not to preach the failed gospel of cultural Marxism.”

Debating “self segregation” (clockwise from below): Molly Secours, Jesse Lee Petersen, Roland Martin and James Edwards. Edwards is a promoter of neo-Nazis, segregationists, Holocaust deniers and Klan associates, but was introduced on CNN merely as a Memphis radio host.



Forty minutes into the program, returning from a commercial break, Zahn did fleetingly refer to Edwards as a “white separatist.” But there was no further indication of the nature of the self-described “unabashed crusader” for whites.

For some people, the whole thing was a bit much. Reacting to an Edwards tirade about school integration, Roland Martin shook his head. “It is offensive,” he said, “to project this level of ignorance on national television.”



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS



Twenty-two-year-old Eric Hunt was charged with attacking 78-year-old Holocaust survivor and Nobel laureate Elie Wiesel in a San Francisco hotel. Hunt was located after allegedly posting boasts about the attack on white supremacist websites.

HOLOCAUST DENIAL

Holocaust Denier Arrested in Attack on Nobel Laureate

World-famous author and Auschwitz survivor Elie Wiesel was attacked by a Holocaust denier who had evidently been shadowing Wiesel for weeks before accosting him Feb. 1 in a hotel elevator in San Francisco, where Wiesel had just finished speaking at a peace conference.

According to police reports, Eric Hunt, 22, of Sussex County, N.J., dragged Wiesel, 78, from the elevator while demanding that Wiesel admit the Holocaust is a myth, and then fled when Wiesel cried for help.

Hunt later allegedly posted this account on several white supremacist and anti-Semitic websites: “After ensuring no women would be traumatized by what I had to do (I had been trailing Wiesel for weeks), I stopped the elevator at the sixth floor. I pulled Wiesel from the elevator. I said I wanted to interview him. I told him, ‘Why don’t you want people to know the truth?’ His expression changed, and he began screaming.”

Hunt allegedly added that his

intention was to “bring Wiesel to my hotel room where he would truthfully answer my questions regarding the fact his ... Holocaust memoir ... is almost entirely fictitious.”

Wiesel survived the Nazi death camps at Auschwitz and Buchenwald during World War II, and has since written more than 40 books. He is best known for his memoir, *Night*, about his experiences at Auschwitz. Wiesel won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1986.

Hunt was arrested Feb. 17 in New Jersey, and later extradited to San Francisco on charges of attempted kidnapping, battery, stalking, elder abuse, and commission of a hate crime. Hunt’s lawyer asked that his client be granted bail so he could enter a psychiatric clinic, but a judge refused.

‘PATRIOT’ CRIMES

Jury Sentences Zealot to Death in South Carolina Shootout

If Steven Bixby ever had a chance of avoiding the death penalty for murdering two South Carolina law enforcement officers in 2003, it surely disappeared under the torrent of 1,500 pages of let-

ters he wrote a girlfriend while awaiting trial.

Signing each of his missives “chaotic patriot Steve,” the 39-year-old New Hampshire transplant wrote Alane Taylor that God had sent him and his father “to get rid of the evil in Abbeville,” S.C., where the pair were involved in a massive shootout and standoff with police. He identified himself as the triggerman in the deaths of Abbeville County Sheriff’s Deputy Sgt. Danny Wilson and State Constable Donnie Outz. He boasted that he could have killed eight additional officers.

And Bixby even described how, after shooting Wilson through a window of the family home, he handcuffed the dying officer and dragged him inside. Then, the antigovernment “Patriot” explained, he read Wilson his Miranda rights.

“What we did in Abbeville on Dec. 8 was right,” Bixby said.

A South Carolina jury didn’t see it that way. Bixby, 39, was convicted in February of the two murders, kidnapping, conspiracy and 12 counts of assault. Days later, the jury sentenced Bixby to death. His father Arthur, said by family members to be suffering from Alzheimer’s, is likely to be tried on the same charges later this year. His mother, who is not eligible for the death penalty, is also expected to face trial on accessory charges. Rita Bixby was not present during the explosive Dec. 8, 2003, confrontation at the Bixby home, but is accused of helping to plan it.

Incredibly, the murders stemmed from a dispute between the Bixbys and state highway workers who wanted to widen a road that ran in front of the Bixbys’ house. Although the state had



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

Raised on a steady diet of “Patriot” teachings about property rights, Steven Bixby (below) was convicted of murdering law enforcement officers Danny Wilson and Donnie Outz in a gun battle that left his home destroyed. A South Carolina jury rapidly sentenced Bixby to die.

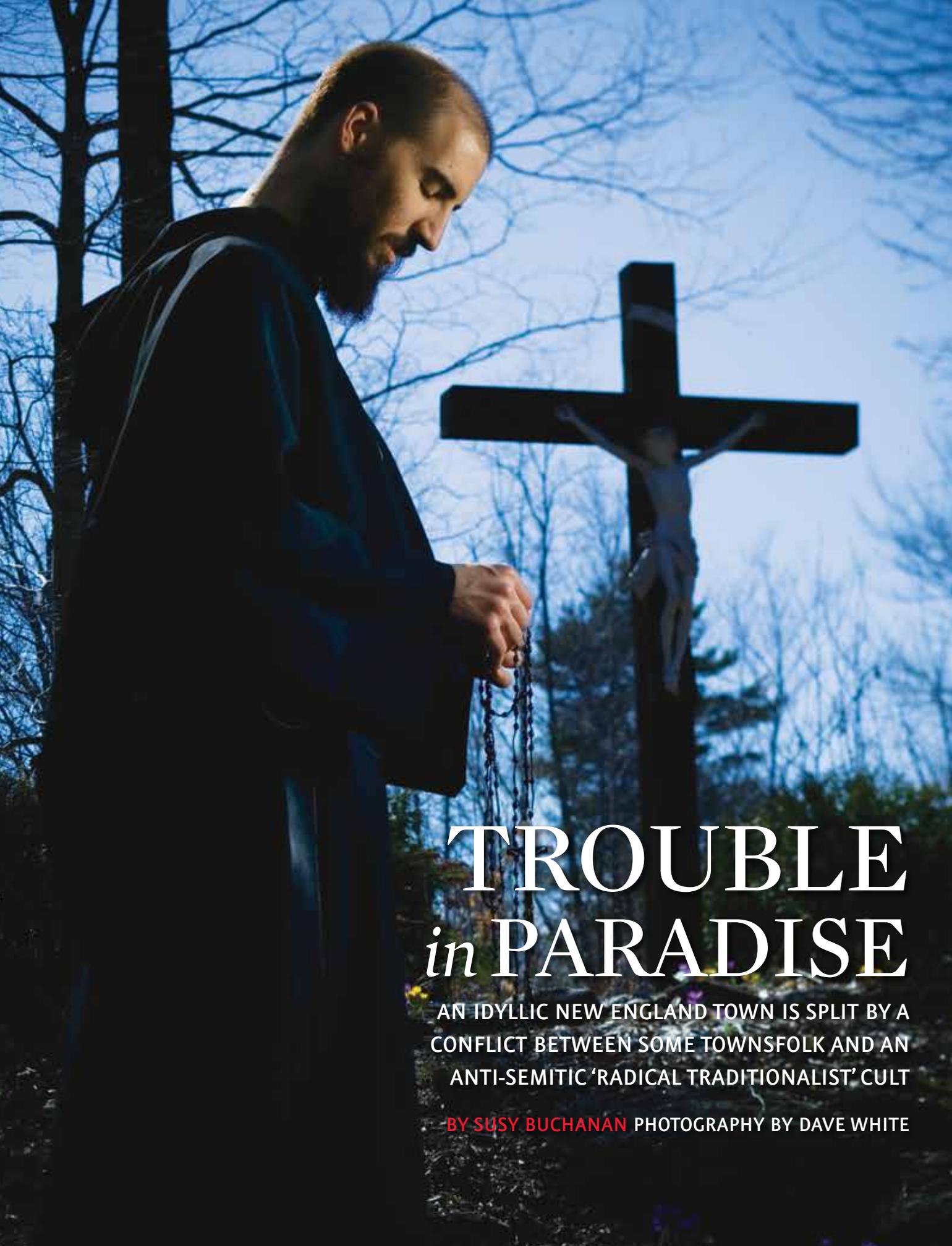
the Bixby home to talk to the family about the dispute. Outz was shot in the back as he stepped out of his car after coming to check on Wilson’s welfare. A 14-hour standoff ensued, with hundreds of shots fired, and Arthur Bixby was left badly wounded.

The Bixbys had been involved in tax-protest and other radical groups in New Hampshire before moving to Abbeville.

Rita Bixby home-schooled her son with a special emphasis on the Constitution, teaching him, as she testified in his defense, that he had “the right to protect his property by any means necessary.” ▲

purchased the 20 feet of frontage in question years before the Bixbys moved there, the family furiously vowed to defend the land with force.

Wilson was shot through the armhole of his bulletproof vest as he approached

A man with a beard, wearing a dark, heavy robe, is shown in profile, looking down and holding a string of prayer beads. He is standing in a cemetery, with a large wooden crucifix visible in the background. The scene is set against a clear blue sky with bare trees, suggesting a late autumn or winter setting. The lighting is dramatic, with the man's face and hands highlighted against the darker background.

TROUBLE *in* PARADISE

AN IDYLIC NEW ENGLAND TOWN IS SPLIT BY A
CONFLICT BETWEEN SOME TOWNSFOLK AND AN
ANTI-SEMITIC 'RADICAL TRADITIONALIST' CULT

BY SUSY BUCHANAN PHOTOGRAPHY BY DAVE WHITE



RICHMOND, N.H. — Nestled among rolling hills and thick, verdant forests, this small and quiet place is to all outward appearances a typically peaceful New England town.

A single flashing light at the intersection by the Four Corners convenience store marks the town's center. Apart from an antiques shop, a quiltmaker's studio and a Christmas tree farm, there's little other visible commerce.

Old farmhouses sit behind the stone walls that mark off parcels of land with a three-acre minimum, many constructed more than a century ago. Most are on dirt roads and rely on wood stoves for heat in the winter and artesian wells for water. There's no cell phone reception in these rugged hills, no cable television or high-speed Internet. Neighbors, for the most part, are few and far between.

The rural character of this town is precisely what drew Betty Jose and her husband to Richmond 10 years ago. "We like country living, hate traffic," says the stay-at-home mom, a woman who cares for her autistic son in a canary-yellow house just off the main road. A large cross adorns the family's barn.

But Richmond has changed lately, Jose says, and not for the better.

What has soured Betty Jose on this place that many would consider a paradise is a long-simmering conflict that recently has threatened to engulf her community. A growing number of

townspeople are up in arms about the nearby Saint Benedict Center (SBC), home to a group of "radical traditionalist Catholics" who espouse a number of beliefs rejected by the Vatican. Swelling bad feelings on both sides have created an atmosphere that Jose likens to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

And Jose, who was raised a conservative Catholic but later became a Protestant, has had enough. She says the climate in Richmond has become so hostile of late that she and her husband are planning to sell their house, leave Richmond and move deeper into the woods. Along with a number of other locals, she feels that the SBC has begun to threaten her formerly idyllic way of life.

At issue are both the beliefs and the practices of the SBC, which is home to a little-known order called the Slaves of the Immaculate Heart of Mary.

Although the Slaves have been in Richmond since the late 1980s, their religious beliefs — which include anti-Semitism, angry opposition to homosexuality and a desire to convert others to their hard-line views — have only recently become widely known. Adding fuel to that fire has been what critics see as the plans of the SBC to "take over" Richmond and perhaps other, nearby towns.

Already, three of Richmond's key official posts — town moderator, tax collector, and one seat on the local planning board — are held by SBC members. At town meetings, local critics of the Slaves say, SBC members turn out in large numbers and vote in a hard-to-defeat bloc. Increasingly, folks

here are objecting to the SBC's desire to outlaw divorce, abortion, birth control, pornography, sodomy, public education and even, some fear, government in general.

SBC officials declined to speak to the *Intelligence Report*, which published an earlier, critical article about the group. But in angry statements to the press, they have hotly denied that they or their ideology is anti-Semitic.

That doesn't mollify Betty Jose. "I believe in schools, the police department, all the things that make our society run," Jose says wearily. "Then I see SBC members voting aggressively against everything. They want to destroy our public institutions so they can make their own little town." She pauses to think. "I'm not saying they don't belong here. Just don't impose your beliefs on everyone else and don't do weird or sketchy things — like try and take over our town government."

'Rooted in Hatred'

Paul Anthony Melanson, a Catholic writer who lives in nearby Manchester, has been warning of the SBC's extremist rhetoric on his blog for years.

In an interview with the *Intelligence Report*, Melanson said he first became aware of the SBC in 1990. What bothered him most, he said, was the SBC's wholehearted embrace of the thinking of the late Father Leonard Feeney, the founder of the Slaves. Melanson described Feeney as "a tremendously gifted writer and talented man, but also an individual who was on the verge of a nervous breakdown and began to say



and do strange things.”

Feeney founded the Slaves in Cambridge, Mass., in 1949, long before the Vatican sought to begin a reconciliation with Jews in the 1960s, during the liberalizing Vatican II reforms. He became known for the Jew-bashing sermons he delivered regularly on the Boston Common, like this 1953 rant: “Every Protestant hates the Jews. Harvard loathes Jews. That is why they got a new president — to keep the Jews away! I don’t hate Jews for the reason he hates them. I hate them because they hate Jesus. They hate Jesus because they are Jews!”

Feeney was excommunicated that same year, and although he reconciled with the church shortly before his 1979 death, the Diocese of Manchester states that it “has no relationship” with the current Saint Benedict Center

Members of the Saint Benedict Center, which has been in a protracted dispute with many of its neighbors, include (clockwise from upper left) Brothers Maximilian Maria and Andre Marie, their superior Francis, and Sisters Marie Therese and Maria Philomena. Andre Marie, whose real name is Louis Villarrubia, condemns “the Jewish tendency to undermine public morals” — one of many reflections of the center’s anti-Semitism.

(neither does the official Roman Catholic Church). “Therefore,” a diocesan official said recently, “faithful Roman Catholics are urged to not participate.”

Yet the Slaves hotly defend Feeney and his beliefs from any criticism, echoing the anti-Semitism of their founder as they do.

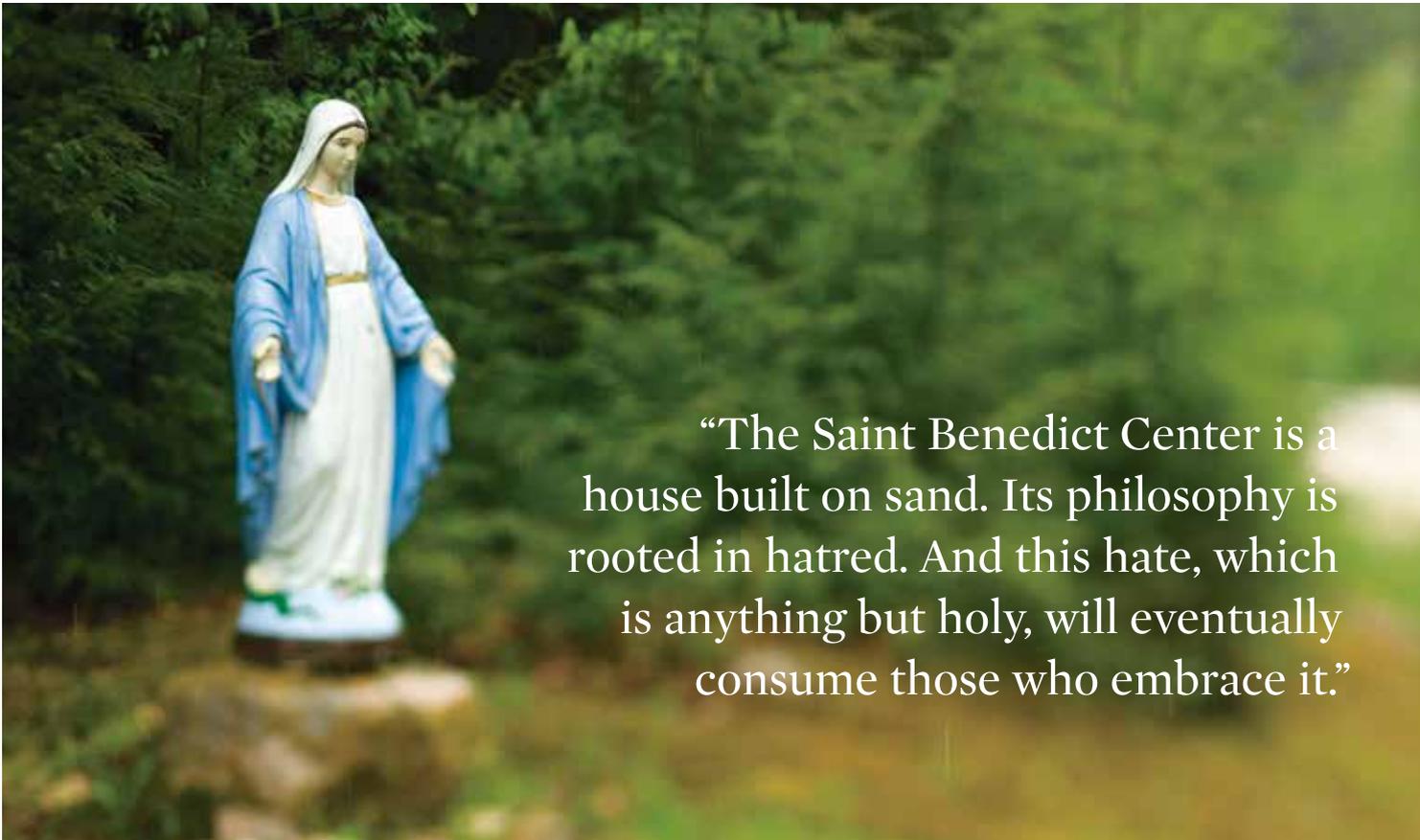
In 2004, SBC prior Louis Villarrubia, who goes by the name of Brother Andre Marie, put it like this: “If an-

ti-Semitism means opposing the Jews on religious matters, opposing the Zionist state in Palestine (as St. Pius X did), or opposing the Jewish tendency to undermine public morals (widely acknowledged by Catholic writers before the present age of PC [political correctness]), then we could rightly be considered such.”

That same year, *The Boston Globe* quoted Brother Anthony Mary, whose real name is Douglas Bersaw, blaming the Jews for the murder of Christ and denying the World War II Holocaust: “There’s a lot of controversy among people who study the so-called Holocaust. There’s a misperception that Hitler had a position to kill all the Jews. It’s all a fraud. Six million people... it didn’t occur.”

In 2005, at a radical conference hosted by a group called St. Joseph’s Forum,





“The Saint Benedict Center is a house built on sand. Its philosophy is rooted in hatred. And this hate, which is anything but holy, will eventually consume those who embrace it.”

A zoning dispute over the proposed expansion of a religious center, pitting men like superior Francis (top left) and Brother Andre Marie (top right) against long-time residents of Richmond, N.H., including town planning board member Norma Thibodeau (top center), has been fueled by revelations of the center's anti-Semitic ideology. The battle, which has played out over several planning board meetings, has partly focused on concerns over traffic on a one-lane bridge.

Bersaw added that “the perpetual enemy of Christ is the Jewish nation” and said Jews should be dealt with using “blood and terror if it's required.”

Today, Douglas Bersaw is Richmond's town moderator.

To Melanson, that is frightening. “The Saint Benedict Center cult is a house built on sand,” he said. “Its philosophy is rooted in hatred. And this hate, which is anything but holy, will eventually consume those who embrace it.”

Melanson says he has visited the SBC compound several times over the years. On one such visit about a year

and a half ago, he says he was told that SBC members were training in the use of firearms and Tae Kwon Do. “The fact that a religious community would be training in martial arts and weapons struck me as odd,” he said, adding that he worries even more now as the situation heats up.

In a recent blog posting, the writer referred to his ultimate fear. “I just hope that we don't have to experience another Waco,” he said, referring to the 1993 Texas standoff that left some 80 people dead, “before most people come to realize that something is radically wrong in Richmond, N.H.”

Squaring Off

Since last December, Richmond has become a rhetorical battleground, with parties squaring off on an Internet forum set up by the local paper, in letters to the editor, and in heated discussions at town and planning board meetings.

At the crux of this most recent debate is the SBC's proposed expansion of its school, which currently has an

enrollment of about 40 students. SBC wants to build a 10,320-square-foot, cross-shaped building on its 26-acre compound, which is set upon a wooded hill at the end of a narrow, winding dirt road.

Many residents argue that the building is too large for Richmond, that traffic on the road is already too high and doubling the school's capacity would require serious improvements at the town's expense. Some even fear that the Slaves really intend to draw children away from public schools in favor of their own, possibly crippling secular public schools by de-funding them in the process.

There are also concerns about damage to wetlands, the potability of wells on the SBC property, and local residential zoning laws that appear to prohibit private schools from operating in the area.

For their part, SBC members claim anti-Catholic prejudice is fueling their opponents' objections. In an extended argument on the local newspaper's “re-



ligious tolerance” Internet forum, they deny they are anti-Semites.

“The opposition in town to the Center’s expansion is precipitated by silent bigotry,” Steve Boscarino, an SBC member who is also Richmond’s tax collector, wrote there on Jan. 23. “Do you think those who oppose us are going to publicly admit that? The cat would surely be out of the bag along with a big fat lawsuit. These folks, sadly, are dishonest and mean-spirited.”

Then, as if to prove his opponents’ point, Boscarino posted a series of comments attacking “Zionism.” In one, on Jan. 31, he wrote that the “Zionist Agenda is a one-sided program aimed solely to advance the one world, one religion, one government, anti-Christian/anti-Catholic work of Godless men.”

SBC also offered its own official commentary on the Jews in a March newsletter. “Our Lord goes on to warn the Jews that they cannot remain bystanders,” the newsletter said in part. “[T]heir lackadaisical attitude, their unwillingness to commit, and their damnable

Betty Jose and her family moved to Richmond 10 years ago for its easygoing, rural character. Now, feeling pressured by the far-right Slaves of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, they plan to move deeper into the woods.

complacency will soon have a price.”

At the same time, SBC added an essay to its website entitled “Are You Anti-Semitic?” Examining itself, the essay pronounced the SBC innocent of anti-Semitism. Then it went on to describe the Jewish Talmud: “The Talmud, a two-part collection of rabbinic commentary which defines Orthodox Judaism, is a mixture of authentic Jewish oral tradition and shocking blasphemy. It is filled with attacks against our Lord and our Lady, and is racist in the extreme.”

The volatility of the debate has thrust it onto the pages of *The Keene* (N.H.) *Sentinel* in several articles, and also onto the airwaves in the form of a New Hampshire Public Radio story. On the radio, Brother Andre Marie, the prior, complained of religious intolerance. “Our religion claims we are the

one true church founded by Christ and there’s no salvation outside the Catholic Church. That’s not something that’s exactly politically correct,” he said. “Some people seem to be under the delusion that there is a democratic process which allows people like them to prevent people like us from building buildings in the town of Richmond.”

It didn’t help the situation when SBC was profiled in a Winter 2006 *Intelligence Report* story on radical traditionalists that described it as a hate group. The article circulated widely among Richmond residents. One anonymous local even slipped it under tax collector Boscarino’s door, much to his outrage.

The SBC’s reaction may not have helped its case. Officials there described the Southern Poverty Law Center, which publishes the *Report*, as an anti-Catholic “rainbow Gestapo” of “intolerant homosexual thought-crimes thugs who want to enforce their wicked lavender agenda on the world.” They also issued a press release that sounded a lot like a call to martyrdom — or a new Crusade.

“Virulently standing up for Catholic doctrine and the Rule of Christ the King are becoming hate crimes now and Catholic men should not stand for that one bit,” wrote Brother Andre Marie. “In the not-too-distant future, we may well be openly attacked in a bloody persecution, but until the time comes for such a show of fortitude and endurance, we must make another show of these virtues — and that is a free and open resistance to the irreligious death-spiral afflicting our American society, which can only be saved by Jesus Christ and His Church.”

Tolerance vs. Fear

On a brisk spring evening, more than a dozen residents of Richmond made their way up a muddy, rutted road to a hilltop home. They gathered with their neighbors and a reporter to discuss the biggest issue to hit their town in recent memory, and the mood among the group was tense.

According to these neighbors, Richmond welcomed the SBC initially, especially because it represented itself as a Catholic organization. “When they came we were excited,” said John Bocalini, whose property abuts the SBC compound. “They gave a good sales pitch about how it would be good financially for the town. They wouldn’t send their kids to public school, [and they] would build nice houses and pay their taxes.”

But those attitudes have changed, at least among some residents. More and more of them say that they feel the SBC wants them out.

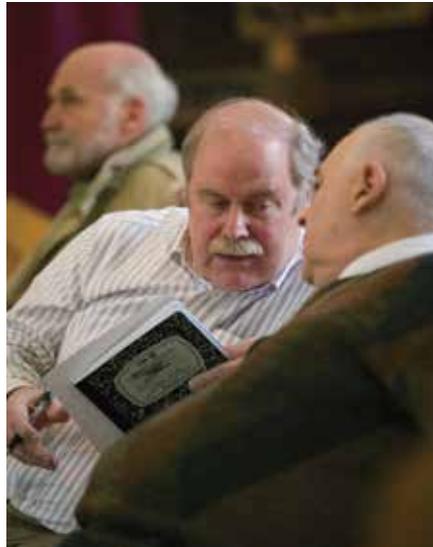
“This is a sleepy little town run by volunteers,” said resident Fred Goldberg, who runs a nonprofit organization nearby and sees a concerted attempt to take over local government by the SBC. “If this [school] expansion gets in, they’re going to outnumber us pretty quickly. The [SBC’s] goal was to have people get wind of this expansion and then move out.”

The group discussed but was unable to substantiate rumors that SBC members have rifles equipped with night vision scopes. Several claimed that they had heard the sound of automatic weapon fire at SBC on a regular basis.

This is New Hampshire, someone reminded them. Guns aren’t out of the ordinary.

But such mistrust and suspicion among neighbors of nearly 20 years in the small town of Richmond is. Residents here have traditionally maintained a live-and-let-live philosophy, especially on issues of religious tolerance.

“The religious history of the town is very curious, a marked exception to that of the typical New England town. Keene to the north and Winchester to the west built churches and ‘called’ ministers



Attorneys for the Saint Benedict Center confer during one of a series of public meetings in which the center’s expansion plans were opposed.

as part of their first town business; but Richmond, as a town, did neither of them, nor ever spent a cent for the support of any church,” Neith Boyce wrote in the book *The Town in the Forest: Life Story of Richmond, New Hampshire*. “So long as he pays his taxes and doesn’t burden the town in any way, [the Richmond resident] may think and, within just limits, act as he likes. But the town dislikes fanaticism in any form.”

Boyce’s assessment of the do-your-own-thing religious character of Richmond residents was written in the 1930s, but still rings true today.

“My mother and father are Catholic, my sister is Buddhist, my husband is an atheist, I’m an agnostic. My adult son told me recently he prays every night

before he falls asleep. My daughter’s boyfriend is a Jew,” Richmond resident Vickie Provost wrote on the *Keene Sentinel’s* online forum.

“What I am trying to get at here is that there really is no room in our lives for intolerance and bigotry — religious or otherwise. One’s religious beliefs, however different from another’s, are personal.”

‘Live Free or Die’

While many Richmond residents would prefer not to have a colony of Jew-bashing, anti-gay religious militants in their midst, they are still in a state whose motto is “Live Free or Die” — a place where even requiring motorists to wear seatbelts is viewed as an infringement on personal liberties.

Back at her sunny yellow farmhouse, Betty Jose sips her coffee, gazing out the window at a field of crisp spring snow.

New Hampshire can be a fertile ground for extremists, Jose explains. “Our laws are very, very hands off — don’t mess with my family or personal property. There are so few rules in small towns like this, you never have the feeling someone is going to come check on you. And we like it that way.”

Even so, Jose says being a former Catholic in Richmond has become uncomfortable as the Slaves take deeper root there.

“I feel hate, really strong hate because I’m a Protestant,” she says. “They have convinced themselves so strongly that theirs is the one true faith and everyone else is damned.”

Jose recalls an encounter with an SBC family when her children were younger. “I had small kids and was looking for babysitters. One of them tried to convert me. They referred to people who used crystals as witches and fags. I started to wean myself from that family after that.”

But Betty Jose isn’t starting her own crusade. As uncomfortable as she is with the Saint Benedict Center and its members, she’s also worried about intolerance directed at the SBC — even if it’s justified.

“What I see that group being accused of, I don’t want to do to them,” she says with a sigh. “We don’t have the right to tell them to go away. But we do have the



HATING THE HOMELESS



AS ATTACKS RISE AROUND THE COUNTRY, A DEBATE ON EXTENDING HATE CRIME LAWS TO PROTECT THE HOMELESS DIVIDES ADVOCATES **BY BRENTIN MOCK**

ST. PETERSBURG, Fla. — Harold Washington has two strikes against him: He’s black, and he’s homeless.

For the last seven months, Washington has slept in tents, under bridges, or on park benches. He temporarily claimed a room at a friend’s apartment until his roommate got in a fight with his girlfriend and she set the place on fire.

“We were all lucky to get out of that one,” says Washington.

Last November, the day before Thanksgiving, he wasn’t so lucky.

Washington had just finished a day of labor at Tropicana Field, a major league baseball stadium located in a formerly African-American, working-class neighborhood near downtown St. Petersburg. Soon after he left the stadium, Washington was ambushed by a gang of six white youths he describes as “skinheads.”

“All I remember was waking up from a coma,” says Washington. “I ain’t heard no more about it.”

Similar reports of violent targeting of the homeless are rising sharply in America. According to *Hate, Violence,*

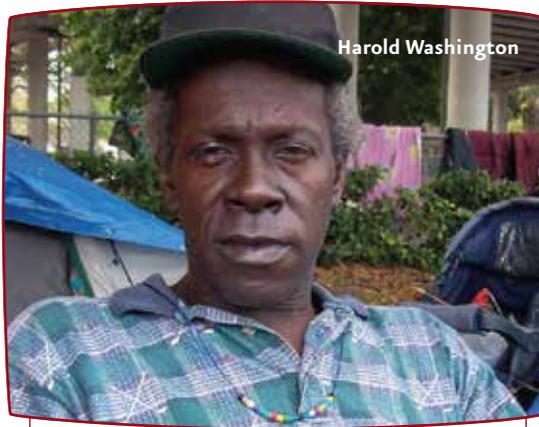
and Death on Main Street USA, a 2006 report from the National Coalition for the Homeless (NCH), 26 states recorded assaults or murders of homeless people committed last year, not counting so-called “homeless-on-homeless” violence. Nationwide, there were 142 reported attacks on homeless persons, up 65% from the 86 logged in 2005, and up almost 300% from the 36 docked in 2002. Included among the 2006 crimes were five rapes, six people set on fire and 20 murders. These numbers are almost certainly low, because a high percentage of attacks

on the homeless are believed to go unreported.

The escalating violence and accompanying media coverage has prompted lawmakers in six states — California, Florida, Maryland, Massachusetts, Nevada and Texas — to introduce legislation that would extend hate crime laws to enhance penalties for violent crimes committed against homeless people. A seventh state, Maine, recently passed a law mandating harsher penalties for violence against the homeless without labeling such attacks hate crimes.

Florida led the nation in 2006 with 48 reported attacks on the homeless in cities in all regions of the state — but legislators there voted down the proposed legislation in May. The state with the second highest tally, Arizona, had 16, all but one of which occurred in the Phoenix metropolitan area.

Last January, shortly before the NCH report came out, three teenagers



Harold Washington

“All I remember was waking up from a coma.”

were arrested for shooting to death two homeless men in St. Petersburg, Fla. during a botched robbery.

“Clearly, homeless people are targeted because of their lack of housing,” said NCH executive director Michael Stoops. “If every homeless person had a door, a key, whether to a shelter, or

apartment or motel room, there would be less attacks.”

The spreading violence has raised a key question for Stoops, other advocates for the homeless, and the larger civil rights community: Should the homeless, who are frequently targeted out of hatred but also because of the sheer ease of attacking them, be protected by hate crimes legislation?

Mutual Protection

Harold Washington, who considers himself lucky to have survived last year’s beating at the hands of six skinheads, still carries his Bayfront Medical Center hospital records in a black leather waist pouch. They show he was admitted to the emergency room and discharged last Dec. 1. The attack left scars on his forehead and an abscess below his bloodshot right eye.

After the attack, Washington moved into St. Petersburg’s infamous “tent city,” a place where dozens of homeless people congregate inside tents on

BRENTIN MOCK PHOTOS



Twice this year, police in St. Petersburg, Fla., tore down a “tent city” that had become a refuge for the area’s embattled homeless.

a small plot of land just outside the downtown business corridor. St. Petersburg homeless advocate Eric Rubin, who used to be homeless himself, said that homeless people created the tent city last year to be a safe zone of mutual protection, with its own democratically elected government and security patrols. “That is what brought it [the tent city] together, people being beat up and murdered,” Rubin told the *Intelligence Report*. “The homeless spontaneously came together for protection, and that’s what we’re still working toward.”

The tent city made headlines in January when local police raided it, slicing tents down with blades while homeless men and women cringed inside. The campers rebuilt. But on March 13, the encampment swarmed with police and contracted workers who broke the city down again. Municipal officials planned to move the campers to a city-run lot where they would be photographed, fingerprinted and wristbanded, then supervised by city officials.

Washington, who is the tent city’s elected donations intake officer, sat aloof in a rickety lawn chair, watching the city workers dismantle his city one stake at a time. Kathy Hines, the encampment’s elected mayor, said almost everyone who stays there has been attacked or harassed, including herself.

“I’ve had eggs thrown at me and my stuff stolen,” said Hines, known affectionately to her constituents as “Mom.” “They’re just rich kids. ... When they throw whatever at you and you see the car they’re driving, it’s not an old Chevy, y’know?”

Many attacks on the homeless go far beyond throwing eggs from nice cars.

In February, two white teenagers and a 22-year-old white man videotaped their premeditated attack on a randomly chosen homeless person, who they kicked and beat in Corpus Christi, Texas.

On March 27, homeless Army vet-

with a cinderblock.

“Yeah, they attacked me because I’m homeless,” D’Amico told *Intelligence Report*. “They were calling me ‘ol’ man’— this and that. They were just looking for a fight.”

Two days later, in Laguna Beach, Calif., a 22-year-old member of MS-13, a particularly violent Latino street gang, was arrested for stabbing a homeless man he apparently chose at random.

Neo-Nazis Chip In

Unlike the Laguna Beach stabbing, the vast majority of attacks on the homeless are carried out by young, white and middle-class males, according to the NCH study of crime statistics. The study showed that 84% of attacks on the homeless in 2006 were carried out by assailants under the age of 25 and 62% were committed by youths between 13 and 19.

Stoops blames at least some of the violence on “thrill seekers” inspired by the wildly popular “Bum Fights” DVD series.

“These kids are bored to death,” says Stoops. “They’re at home watching violence on TVs and on their computers, and they say, ‘Let’s go emulate what we just saw.’”

Last January, surveillance cameras captured three Florida Atlantic University students beating to death a 45-year-old homeless man with baseball bats in Fort Lauderdale. The graphic images quickly made their way to mainstream news broadcasts and YouTube video streams.

“We had been the lonely advocate on this issue until the beating in Fort Lauderdale,” says Stoops. “That became our Rodney King video, which raised awareness and sparked media attention and legislation being introduced.”



Kathy Hines (below), the elected mayor of a homeless encampment in Florida, said assaults like those captured on video earlier this year in Fort Lauderdale are common and often perpetrated by “rich kids.”



“I’ve had eggs thrown at me and my stuff stolen.”

eran John D’Amico and his friend Michael Wantland, who’s also homeless, were attacked by two 10-year-old kids and one 17-year-old in Daytona Beach, Fla. One of the 10-year-olds allegedly smashed D’Amico in the eye socket



“People being beat up and murdered” is what brought men and women together in a North Florida encampment, says homeless advocate Eric Rubin. The community even organized its own security patrols.

While most of the white youths who attack homeless people are not affiliated with hate groups, there are notable exceptions. In April 1992, long before NCH began tracking violence against the homeless, several members of the Aryan National Front, a hardcore racist skinhead gang, beat and kicked an African-American man to death beneath a bridge in Birmingham, Ala., shortly after leaving an Adolf Hitler birthday celebration.

“It’s just another dead, homeless black man,” the gang’s leader, Bill Riccio, said afterward in defense of his followers. “If their entire life is messed up forever because one black homeless man lay dead, then I think that’s a tragic waste.”

Just this February, FBI agents arrested neo-Nazi skinhead Charles Marovskis in Avoca, Pa., for his role in the random murders of two homeless men

in Tampa in 1998, when Marovskis was a member of the Tampa Blood and Honour skinhead group. His indictment said: “Tampa Blood and Honour members considered homeless persons as an inferior class of persons regardless of race. ‘Bum rolling’ was a term used by ‘Tampa Blood and Honour’ members to describe the activity of targeting and committing acts of violence against homeless persons.”

In April, a second suspect and member of Blood and Honour, Kenneth Hoover, pleaded guilty in the same attack, which allegedly involved many group members. As part of his plea agreement, Hoover told authorities that members involved received spider’s web tattoos after the murders.

The same month, three members of the racist skinhead group Vinlanders Social Club — Timothy Dumas, Eric “the Butcher” Fairburn, and

Joshua Kern — were arrested in Indiana for assaulting a homeless black man. The Vinlanders had helped raise funds for Blood and Honour’s Marovskis in February.

Also in April, the last of four racist skinheads were sentenced to prison for their role in the murder of Randall Mark Townsend, a gentle homeless man beaten to death with baseball bats and steel-toed boots under a bridge in Tacoma, Wash. The March 23, 2003, attack was led by Kurtis Monschke, then the Washington state leader of Volksfront, a neo-Nazi group based in Oregon. A jury sentenced Monschke to life in prison without the possibility of parole. The two other men involved in the attack were sentenced in April to 30 years in prison, while a 22-year-old female confederate got almost 14 years. Prosecutors say the attack was carried out so the woman, Tristain Frye, could

“earn” the right to wear red shoelaces.

But Is It ‘Hate’?

Racist skinheads beating to death a randomly selected black homeless man is easy to define and recognize as a hate crime. But should the same rules apply when white skinheads kill a white transient for being an “inferior Aryan”? And what about white youths who aren’t skinheads randomly attacking a white homeless man simply because he’s easy prey? Is that a hate crime?

These are questions even homeless advocates struggle to answer.

“I don’t know if it’s based on hate as we traditionally think of the hate crime. I think it’s more a dehumanization factor that plays an important role,” says Sean Cononie, whose Helping People in America organization in Hollywood, Fla., is acknowledged in the NCH report as “the most active local organization nationwide doing work on the hate crimes/violence issue.”

The federal Hate Crimes Sentencing Enhancement Act protects people on the basis of race, color, national origin, ethnicity, gender, disability and sexual orientation. NCH and other advocates for the homeless are pressing the federal government to add housing status to that list. But extending hate crime protection to the homeless is controversial, and opposition is growing. The California Association of Human Relations Organizations, an association of human rights groups, has come out against designating random attacks on the homeless as hate crimes. And Republican lawmakers in Florida last year voted down a homeless hate crimes bill that was named after Norris Gaynor, the victim in the Fort Lauderdale baseball bat murder.

“People don’t beat each other up because they love each other,” state

Sen. Mike Bennett (R-Bradenton) told *The Miami Herald*, echoing an argument commonly made against all hate crimes legislation.

Similarly, this March, after the Maryland Senate approved a bill to add homelessness as a protected category under that state’s hate crime laws, the *Baltimore Examiner* published an editorial titled, “Hate Crime Legislation Won’t Help Homeless.” It read, in part:

“Religious groups and minorities, including those designated so by their sexual orientation, are also covered under the legislation — in other words, almost everyone. Isn’t all crime hateful?” Maryland state Sen. E.J. Pipkin (R-Annapolis) said he voted against the bill because it was “undermining the original intent of the hate crimes law.”

Supporters of the proposed homeless bill in the Florida legislature point out that existing state law there already provides penalty enhancements for acts of violence committed against a wide array of victims based on their status — police officers, firefighters, emergency medical personnel, bus drivers, prison staffers, and even sports referees, teachers and code inspectors — but not the homeless.

But while Florida law increases penalties for criminal attacks on ambulance drivers and Little League umpires, it doesn’t classify those attacks as hate crimes. And no one’s arguing it should. So why are the homeless different?

Prejudicial Targeting

Brian Levin, director of the Center for the Study of Hate and Extremism at California State University, San Bernardino, points out that for a crime to legally qualify as a hate crime in most states and on the federal level, the identifying factor of the victim, such as race or gender or religion, does not have to be the only reason they were

targeted — just a substantial one.

“These attacks [on the homeless] are hate crimes because you have an identity characteristic being a significant motivating factor in the prejudicial selection of a target,” says Levin, who has testified before several state legislatures on behalf of extending hate crime protection to the homeless.

To support his argument, Levin points to the FBI’s data on hate crime homicides between 1999 and 2005. According to the FBI, 82 murder victims during that period were targeted substantially because of their race, religion, sexual orientation, or ethnicity. During that same time period, 167 homeless people were murdered, not counting so-called “homeless-on-homeless” killings.

“The homeless are at an astronomical risk of attack compared to other people,” says Levin.

But there is significant opposition to that view, and not only from people and groups who oppose all hate crime penalty enhancement laws on principle. Some critics of offering homeless people hate crime protection argue that homeless people are at increased risk of street violence primarily because they live on the streets, and that being homeless is often a lifestyle choice, not an immutable characteristic like race.

“People aren’t born into homelessness,” says Robin Tomas, president of the California Association of Human Relations Organizations. “But there are reasons why people fall into homelessness, such as drug addiction and unemployment. It’s a status. The other categories covered by the hate crime bill ... ethnicity, sexual orientation, are categories that we don’t choose.”

Harold Washington, the homeless man in St. Petersburg who was attacked outside the baseball stadium, admits that he’s homeless by choice. “I really don’t have to be homeless because my family got money. I wanted to really find out what low-life is ... deal with the homeless and see what they was all about.”

But Levin and other supporters of



extending hate crime protection to the homeless point out that religion is also a choice, yet religion is protected by hate crime laws.

“The notion that something is temporary and not necessarily something society would want to have around doesn’t mean it is not worthy of protection,” says Levin. “Most hate crimes are not committed by hardcore hatemongers. These attacks [on the homeless], like other hate crimes, involve individuals with latent and not necessarily deep prejudices, but are relying on negative stereotypes that help identify where their aggression should be directed.”

The Un-Welcome Mat

“When a city passes laws targeting and singling out homeless people, it sends messages that the homeless are just low-lives that need to be driven out of the cities,” says Stoops.

Take Phoenix, Ariz., where there is no greater hater of the homeless than the desert sun. In the summer of 2005, 32 homeless people died on streets hot enough to fry eggs. During the summer of 2006, four homeless men died of heat exposure in one weekend.

Advocates for the homeless argue that the fact that homeless people die from heat exhaustion in the shadows of air-conditioned office buildings and shopping plazas with no resulting public outcry sends the same message as widely publicized police rousts and harsh anti-panhandling ordinances: that homeless people are worthless, which makes them fair game.

“When you have city ordinances that say people who are homeless are criminals, then the malcontent elements of society feel they have the license to attack them,” says Eric Rubin, a St. Petersburg homeless advocate. “Anytime you stigmatize a group of people, then those on the fringe feel

they deserve that license to attack.”

According to Stoops, who monitors anti-homeless laws across the country, Florida historically is “one of the worst states for criminalizing homelessness.” He points out an Orlando ordinance that limits feeding homeless people in public places. On April 4, undercover cops were sent to Orlando’s Lake Eola



“They got nothing better to do than mess with a homeless person.”

Park, to arrest Eric Montanez for feeding 30 homeless people — five more than the city’s 25-person limit.

Similar anti-feeding ordinances were recently passed in Dallas, Las Vegas and Wilmington, N.C.

“You can feed pigeons, dogs and squirrels, but God forbid you try to feed the homeless,” Stoops says.

“Some attackers have the impression that they are carrying out a social good while having fun,” says Levin. “The victimization rates are so significant that we have to make a specific statement to deter the conduct — not just because people think the homeless are worthless, but also because law enforcement will think they are worthless and not put attackers under any punishment.”

Gerald Murphy, a homeless man

in a Hollywood, Fla., shelter, told the *Intelligence Report* that when he was jumped and robbed by four black men, the police he told about it didn’t bother filling out a report.

“They got nothing else better to do than mess with a homeless person,” says Murphy bitterly. “I been arrested for stupid stuff, like open container.”

During a March 16 visit to Fort Lauderdale, many homeless people interviewed by the *Intelligence Report* said they’d recently been arrested for violating the city’s open container law. That same weekend, hundreds of St. Patrick’s Day revelers walked the streets of downtown Ft. Lauderdale carrying open beer bottles and plastic cups filled with cocktails in plain view of police officers.

Edward Overman, the chief of police in Deland, Fla., a small town near Daytona Beach, said that he resists pressure from business and home owners who often pressure him to crack down on the homeless.

“They want us to arrest them for just sitting on a bench,” Overman said. “I say,

‘If I start knocking them off the bench, then we might as well take the benches away and not let civilians sit there either.’”

Sean Cononie, who runs Helping People in America in Hollywood, said that young people need to hear from public officials more often that “being homeless is not against the law” because they’re hearing too much of the opposite.

“The mayor says, ‘I don’t want a homeless shelter in my city because it’s going to ruin our city, lower real estate values, cause bums to hang around, and it’s gonna get our kids molested,’” said Cononie. “Kids are reading these quotes in the paper and they see the news conferences. It sends them the message that it’s alright to attack them — they’re only homeless.” ▲

BLUNT FORCE

The San Diego Minutemen, a particularly virulent nativist group, is making a thuggish name for itself in Southern California

BY CASEY SANCHEZ PHOTOGRAPHY BY TODD BIGELOW

OCEANSIDE, Calif. — For Halloween last year, Jeff Schwilk turned his front yard into “Casa La Migra,” a play on the Spanish words for U.S. immigration authorities. To depict the Mexico-California border, he fenced his yard with sheets of corrugated tin, rimmed with coils of black cord representing barbed wire. Border-hopping scarecrows straddled the fence.



Jeff Schwilk

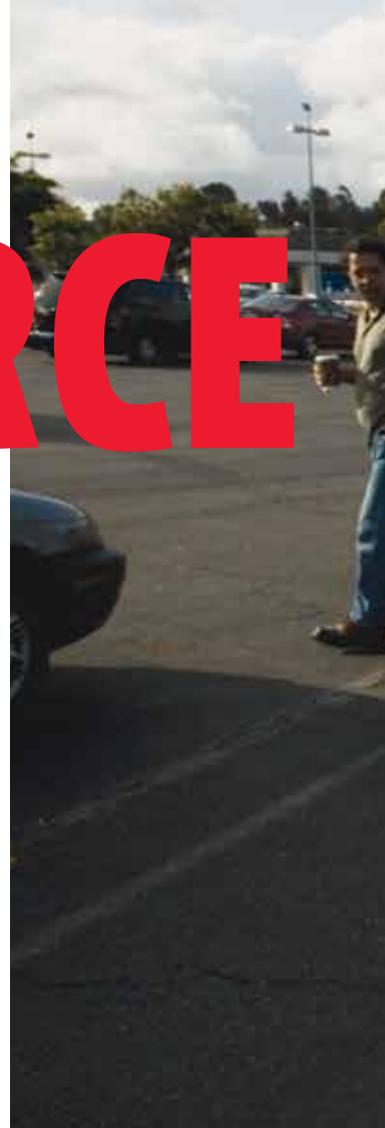
them. Calling those who hire day laborers “slavemasters,” they’ve been known to slap flashing amber police lights on their SUVs and chase the would-be employers down. When they’re not busy physically intimidating migrants, they take to the airwaves and the Internet to accuse them, without a shred of evidence, of running child prostitution rings and practicing “voodoo Santeria rituals.”

The group, in short, does not merely target immigration policies it doesn’t agree with; it harasses and vilifies individual men and women.

But it’s not only immigrants that the San Diego Minutemen (SDMM) have trouble with. Late this winter, police began scrutinizing members and supporters of SDMM for possible involvement in a cruel attack on what little property is owned by the residents of a local migrant camp. Another Minuteman was recently charged in connection with an assault on a group of immigrants and falsifying a police report.

The SDMM also has been rejected by the very groups it borrowed its name from — the Minuteman Project and the Minuteman Civil Defense Corps (MCDC) — because even for these hard-line groups, the SDMM is a bit much. “[T]hey don’t abide by our rules, our SOP [standard operating procedure], and would not be considered Minutemen,” said Carl Braun, MCDC’s California leader.

The group isn’t much better off internally. Earlier this year, two SDMM principals who had been romantically





involved filed dueling legal actions and traded invective and even, one says, physical blows. Two of its top spokesmen have quit, one of them writing in a subsequent newspaper column that Schwilk “has the ability to schmooze people who, by nature, are peaceful to become angry and vindictive and to commit acts they normally would not even consider.”

The San Diego area is no stranger to immigrant-bashing or even more extreme forms of nativism — John Metzger, the son of the White Aryan Resistance leader who lives nearby, still regularly calls in to local radio shows to remind listeners of his father’s participation in a 1979 “Klan Border Patrol.” But that Klan effort, and most of the nativist attacks of the past, pale in comparison with the SDMM.

“I’ve been up and down the state,” says Claudia Smith, a long-time pro-immigrant activist with the California Rural Legal Assistance Foundation. “There’s a rawness to the anti-immigration feeling here. You can almost taste it.”

‘Bring It On, Bitch’

The scene unfolds on a Saturday morning in March in Bonsall, Calif. Palm trees, rolling brown hills, a McDonald’s and an Arco gas station mark the area where a couple dozen *jo-*

neros, or day laborers, wait for work. It’s not untypical of the 40 or so informal day labor sites spread throughout metropolitan San Diego.

But on this day, the circus of the San Diego Minutemen and a sideshow of pro-immigrant observers already have arrived. The handheld cameras favored by both camps are rolling and the epithets stand ready.

A small black pickup arrives. The driver signals and two Latino immigrants quickly climb into his cab. But the truck can’t get out of the lot before one of the Minutemen thrusts his upper body into a window.

“This is not a legal hiring center. Do what’s right for your country,” the Minuteman admonishes the driver, handing him a list of licensed day labor sites and a flier entitled “Stopping SPP” a reference to a supposed secret government plan to destroy U.S. sovereignty by merging the country into an European Union-style federation with Canada and Mexico (see story, p. 41).

At another day labor site that day, a Minuteman is yelling at

In your face: Members of the San Diego Minutemen, many of them given to wearing flag-themed clothing, regularly confront suspected undocumented immigrants like these men at a shopping center in Vista, Calif.



Blinded by the light: Using a flashing amber light atop his car, Minutemen leader Jeff Schwilk has often chased people who hire day laborers.

immigrants. “Hey, putas,” the man shouts, calling them whores, before he remembers that Spanish has gendered word endings and starts calling the men “putos” instead. The word translates best into the English-language epithet, “faggot.”

A motorist who’s stopped by the Arco station to top off his tank leans out his window to tell off SDMM leader Schwilk. “Hey, Billy boy,” he begins.

Furious, Schwilk demands that the man get out of his car. Then the SDMM boss pulls out a can of Mace. “Bring it on, bitch,” Schwilk says. “Bring it on.” The man drives off instead.

There doesn’t seem to be much holding an angry Jeff Schwilk back these days. On another day at the Bonsall day labor site, the SDMM founder was videotaped angrily slapping a magnetized flashing amber light on the roof of his mini-SUV. With the light whirling, he roared away, chasing someone who had just hired a day laborer out of the lot and down the road. A half-hour would elapse before Schwilk returned to the filling station.

A Crime in the Canyon

There are an estimated 270,000 undocumented immigrants living in the San Diego metro area and perhaps another 100,000 undocumented workers who cross the border there from Mexico each year. But the San Diego Minutemen may well end up being remembered for their persistent attempts to roust a few hundred immigrants living in a sad little plastic-tarp shantytown, a settlement of people who can’t afford to live anywhere other than a rough canyon 20 miles north of the city.

McGonigle Canyon straddles the breach between the affluent suburbs of Carmel Valley and Rancho Penasquitos. Most of the canyon is privately owned by a few farm interests and real estate development companies. For decades, seasonal workers from Mexico have made temporary homes there, called *cartones*, that are built out of scrap lumber, tarpaulins, and even tomato plant stakes and discarded

couches. They live there with the forbearance of the private property owners. In the late 1980s, when as many as 10,000 migrants camped in the canyon, the area came to be known as “a little Mexico.”

Over two decades, health worker Robert Baca says he’s seen the camps intermittently vandalized by teenagers and the migrants periodically evicted due to expanding real estate developments. Aside from these encounters, Baca says, getting check-ups and vaccine shots from his North County Mobile Health Clinic were among the few interactions McGonigle’s migrants had with outsiders.

That was until San Diego Minutemen began to show up in the canyon to film and hassle migrants in the last couple of years. Then it began to get really ugly.

Last summer, Baca says, SDMM members started a showing match with health workers and immigrants at the mobile clinic. “They were out here screaming and yelling at workers using our services. They formed a line to intimidate workers from coming up to the truck,” he recalled. “Most migrants have to be convinced, just to visit our services, that they won’t be mistreated or deported.”

Things quickly got worse still. Last fall, hundreds of locals joined Minutemen and even some state politicians for a campout meant to “reclaim the canyon.” The event was organized by local resident Julie Adams and KFMB-AM radio host Rick Roberts, but it was attended by dozens of SDMM members (both Adams and Roberts had worked closely with the group). Roberts brought hundreds of T-shirts to the campout that read “I am an Illegal Immigrant” — his plan was to distribute them to the migrants, many of whom speak no English, an idea he evidently found amusing. But by the time Adams, Roberts and the other protesters arrived, most migrants had fled the canyon, tipped off by warnings from Spanish-language radio and other supporters of the *jornaleros*.

That was the first scare for McGonigle Canyon’s migrants.

Then, this Jan. 27, the men and women who remained in the McGonigle shantytown returned from a day’s work to find their homes and meager possessions sliced to ribbons. Pants had their seats cut out. Shirts had been cut in half. Sleeping bags were sliced open. Tarp roofs, always scant protection against the chilly winter rains, drooped from their supporting frames in tatters.

Roberto Peña, a migrant who lived in the canyon, told police that he came back to his shack early that afternoon and spotted a group of four men and women using knives to cut up migrant property while a tall, blonde woman videotaped them. The men, he told police, chased him with knives. Peña ducked into the bushes. He lay there, according to a police affidavit, “watching the group destroy his property [when] he

heard them saying, ‘Fuck Mexicans.’”

Two months later, at the end of March, police searched the homes of Schwilk and Adams, looking for video or other evidence. But they started looking at SDMM principals earlier, focusing in first on Christie Czajkowski, the SDMM’s self-proclaimed “Minute Mom.”

The Videographer and Her Man

Six feet tall, blonde and striking, Christie Czajkowski is quite possibly the only SDMM member who could pull off wearing a sequined American flag baseball cap. And she was, until quite recently, the group’s chief videographer, a woman known for aggressively shoving her video camera into the midst of confrontations involving migrants, Minutemen, pro-migrant activists, and police.

She can also be hard to miss, which is why many eyebrows were raised when she became the only person identified by migrants from a photo lineup.

Czajkowski denies any role in the Jan. 27 attack, although hers was the first house to be searched by police looking for evidence in the case (computers and other items that might have contained images of the attack were seized).

But she does offer some insight.

“We had a special op in the canyon that day beginning at 8:30 a.m.,” Czajkowski confirmed to the *Intelligence Report* in an interview. But she insisted that she spent the morning at an anti-immigration rally in San Juan Capistrano, nearly 60 miles to the northwest, and, indeed, a photo of her at that event appeared the next day in the *Orange County Register*.

Czajkowski acknowledges that she came back to McGonigle Canyon that afternoon. She says she arrived just in time

to see Schwilk and others walking out of the canyon. At the time, she and Schwilk had been dating for months and were even considering living together. They have since broken up amidst a welter of accusations and bitter recriminations.

“I know you want to know what happened in the canyon and I wish I could tell you,” Czajkowski told the *Report*. “As angry as I am now, I would love more than anything to tell you Jeff is responsible... But I can’t say it because I didn’t see that.”

She says she did hear something, however.

Czajkowski claims that Schwilk asked her to tell people that she had never seen him at all in the canyon that day. She said she responded unequivocally to her former lover: “If someone asks if I saw you guys there, I can’t lie.”

Love Goes South

After that, their relationship quickly unraveled. The weekend after the McGonigle Canyon attack, Czajkowski attended a Superbowl party at Schwilk’s house — a celebration that



Toe to toe: Minute-men leader Jeff Schwilk regularly orchestrates public confrontations with people he suspects of being undocumented and their allies. On a recent day in Vista, Calif., he faced down nemesis Claudia Smith (above and at left) of the California Rural Legal Assistance Foundation. Members of Schwilk’s group have rained down sexually explicit epithets on Smith and other women who oppose them.



ended amid the blare of police sirens.

Like always, she filmed the incident. It began with an argument over who owned the many videos that Czajkowski had filmed and Schwilk posted on the group's website. In her Superbowl video, Schwilk, holding a can of beer, swats at the camera, yelling, "Out of my fucking house now!" Czajkowski and her camera retreat as Schwilk backs her into a doorway. That's where the film stops.

Today, Czajkowski claims that Schwilk struck her after the video ends. For his part, Schwilk says Czajkowski was trespassing at his house and filming there without permission. In court, he obtained a restraining order against her, but a judge allowed it to lapse weeks later. Czajkowski, meanwhile, filed a \$700,000 lawsuit against the SDMM leader, based on his alleged physical abuse.

Since then, the one-time "Minute Mom" has been booted out of the Minutemen. She's been branded by radio nativist Rick Roberts as a traitor to the movement. The entire domestic soap opera, coupled with the McGonigle Canyon attack and a series of other untoward incidents, has left the SDMM better known for its follies than its attempts to save America from immigrants.

Schwilk lays the blame for his image problem at Czajkowski's doorstep. At least that's what he told her. In a voice-mail recording that Czajkowski posted on an Internet site, Schwilk can be heard urging her to scuttle her Superbowl Sunday footage. "I hope you won't post the video," Schwilk says, "because you will destroy the San Diego Minutemen, the strongest Minuteman group in the nation."

Minuteman Misogynist?

Christie Czajkowski isn't the only woman angry at Jeff Schwilk. A number of women who were never part of the SDMM say he's a raging chauvinist.

"There's a real misogyny to their actions," says Claudia Smith, the activist and veteran of many encounters with the SDMM. "You were never just against them. You were a 'commie bitch.' You were called a 'commie cunt'."

In her charges, Smith is echoed by an unlikely ally — radical nativist, ex-militia member and Mexican-flag-burner Russ Dove. Although Dove, an ex-felon, is one of the harder-line nativists in a hard-line world, he has helped Czajkowski prepare her civil suit against Schwilk. (In April, Dove even posted a defense of Czajkowski on the neo-Nazi National Vanguard web forum.) He compares the SDMM leader's alleged abuse to accusations brought against Chris Simcox, leader of the Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, by one of his ex-wives.

"It's a driving force for me," Dove says. "I'm tired of them justifying the abuse and beating of women. I've had enough of it."

So has Joanne Yoon. A 24-year-old Korean-American college student who helped monitor SDMM rallies for pro-immigrant groups led by the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), Yoon recently filed a \$1 million defamation lawsuit against Schwilk and a one-time SDMM spokesman named Ray Carney. According to Yoon's suit, the two men circulated photos of her in late 2006, along with comments referring to her as "the Korean anorexic ACLU slut." They were posted to a Schwilk Yahoo group entitled "Korean Kommie Kunt."

Under pressure, Schwilk finally renamed the Yahoo group "Joanne_Yoon_ACLU_Goon," saying "because it contained



Life in the shadows: Pricey homes line the rim of McGonigle Canyon (far left), where the few remaining undocumented workers sleep in dens of earth and leaves. Robert Baca (below), a worker with the North County Mobile Health Clinic, says many have been chased away by teenage vandals and members of the San Diego Minutemen.

a non-pc [politically correct] word, by popular demand I renamed it.” That didn’t stop Ray Carney from allegedly sending an E-mail to SDMM members suggesting that one reason that Yoon wanted to help defend immigrants was a fondness for “Brown Schlong.”

The Selling of ‘Rape Grove’

The misogyny of the SDMM leader is an accompaniment to his propaganda about an unclean Third World nation next door, brimming with cheap labor and sex trafficking. The group’s rationale for attacking immigrants shifts often from staving off an illegal alien invasion to reversing ecological plunder to stopping slave labor. But what has gotten SDMM the most mainstream mileage is its scary claim that the migrants of McGonigle run a child prostitution ring in one corner of the canyon.

They call it the “Rape Grove.”

The SDMM’s only evidence for this is a half hour of shaky, hand-held video footage shot covertly by Czajkowski and SDMM activist John Matthew Monti in McGonigle Canyon. (Monti was charged in April with four misdemeanor counts of battery and four counts interference with civil rights, in addition to one count of filing a false crime report. The charges stem from a Nov. 18 incident at a day labor site in Rancho Penasquitos in which Monti initially claimed to police that he’d been attacked and robbed by immigrants.) Filmed in December 2006, “Rape Grove” is the most widely linked and downloaded SDMM video of all.

But what “Rape Grove” proves isn’t clear at all. Despite its highly provocative title, no sexual activity, let alone child prostitution, is ever seen. Even the on-the-fly voiceover by Czajkowski never once includes the word “rape.”

The video opens with daytime shots of immigrant men walking around the canyon. Minutemen are seen placing calls to the police to report that they are observing a prostitution transaction. Two officers arrive and look around, but, finding nothing, end up warning the SDMM members they could be arrested for trespassing on private property. In a final section, the video shows Minutemen walking through canyon brush in low light, searching for the alleged prostitution.

It’s not easy to find, although Czajkowski, sounding obsessed, is looking. Spotting a condom and a tampon on the ground, she turns excitedly to migrants nearby. “Do you have lots of penis here?” she asks in broken Spanish.

And that’s it. As the video rolls out its final minutes, various Minutemen can be heard expressing frustration that they can’t find



any evidence of prostitution. At one point, even Czajkowski sounds unhappy. “Really, that was a big waste of time,” she says. “I don’t get what we’re waiting for.”

Incredibly, to this day, the SDMM and its sympathizers circulate this video as proof of a child prostitution ring nestled in the wilds of McGonigle Canyon.

Two Views of McGonigle

John Carlos Frey, an L.A. filmmaker, spent a year documenting the lives of the residents of McGonigle Canyon for his 2006 film, “The Invisible Mexicans of Deer Canyon” (Deer Canyon is an older name for the place). It is a place, the film suggests, of real hardship — but also, at times, extraordinary beauty.

An immigrant named Pedro says he lives in the canyon to save \$700 a month on what a studio apartment would cost him in Escondido, some 20 miles away. Another shows Frey how he lines the ground under his bed with stones to keep down fleas, while a third finds a rattlesnake curled up in his bed. Workers are shown eating and cooking, some with propane stoves and others on campfires.

Hidden away in a willow grove far inside the canyon, the film also shows a chapel built for the masses conducted by representatives of Our Lady of Mt. Carmel, a Catholic church in a nearby town. Wood pews spiral out from a pink adobe altar inlaid with turquoise tiles and topped with silk flowers

and a statue of the Virgin of Guadalupe, the patron saint of Mexico. It is a beautiful and quiet place that, since the late 1980s, was home to services for those with no other church. (Late last year, the structure was taken down by the church because of encroaching development.)

But to the men and women of the SDMM, this canyon has long been a Third World hellhole, a terrifying vision of what America is fast becoming. Although few of them live anywhere near here — with area homes averaging \$500,000 apiece, hardly any can afford the neighborhood — they come here to protest and to engage in what they call “recon.” To them, that means collecting and disposing of “litter.” To the canyon’s residents, that “litter” is personal property that the SDMM members are stealing and destroying in an attempt to push them out once and for all.

To the SDMM, after all, this is a place not of struggling and marginalized workers, but of child prostitution and “voodoo Santeria sacrifices.”

The “voodoo” charge originates in an SDMM video, now posted to YouTube, showing Minutemen walking around a manmade mound of soil and smooth stones. They can be heard suggesting that this is a Santeria altar that likely contains the remains of animal sacrifices, perhaps even dead human bodies. But Frey didn’t have to speculate. Just a few months earlier, he asked canyon residents about the mound.





In Oceanside, Calif., the San Diego Minutemen protested “wolves in sheep’s clothing” — men seeking work at a local day labor site.

Pointing to the green shoots emerging from the mound, they explained that it was a traditional Mexican planter used to start young lemon saplings.

But the truth has never distracted Jeff Schwilk.

“This beautiful American open space canyon will finally return to its original glory once it heals from the devastating environmental nightmare of 400-2000 migrants trashing the place for decades,” Schwilk wrote in an SDMM E-mail not long ago. “It will soon be free from tons of disgusting trash, human waste, weekly child prostitution, drug dealing, other crimes, families and babies living in unsafe and unsanitary conditions, massive alcohol consumption, and the extreme fire danger posed by illegal camp fires. And the recently discovered open practice of Santeria in the canyon, the demonic voodoo religion practiced in some places in Latin America, complete with illegal animal sacrifices.”

Whither the SDMM?

Jeff Schwilk and his followers remain under scrutiny by police, held at arm’s length by national Minuteman groups, and subjected to criticism by former spokesmen including Ray Carney, who accuses Schwilk of “wearing a clean white suit while everyone else gets dirty playing in his mud.”

But Schwilk soldiers happily on, convinced that his battle against “foreign subversives” is turning the tide. He boasts of getting a day labor site in Oceanside closed and, less credibly, of exposing invidious Mexican government meddling in U.S. immigration policy.

One SDMM “success” is apparent. A look around today shows that Schwilk and his allies may be well on the way to pushing the last migrants out of McGonigle Canyon. The remaining immigrants, terrified of vigilante operations, now build only the slightest and easiest to hide shelters. This March, a reporter found no lean-tos higher than the knee. One bed was made of sticks, mud and stones, a human nest no bigger than a surfboard. In another spot, a radio, lamp, sweaters, phone cards and a love letter written in Spanish were left behind, indicating their owners left in a hurry.

Schwilk, meanwhile, has started working as the communications director for the local chapter of the American Independent Party (AIP), which opposed civil rights legislation and served as the electoral vehicle for segregationist Alabama Gov. George Wallace’s presidential campaign in 1968.

AIP, currently affiliated with the far-right Constitution Party, has joined in the battle to end illegal immigration in recent months. But while this hard-line party’s leaders have enthusiastically endorsed Schwilk, the daughter of the party’s founder told reporters that she was “very disturbed” by his appointment. Given Schwilk’s political and legal record, Nancy Spirkoff told the *North County Times*, linking the AIP’s name to his is “a blow to the party.”

Is Jeff Schwilk winning his battle? That’s open to debate.

But one thing is sure. Despite its record, the SDMM has gotten some traction.

That was especially obvious last November, when KNBC-TV of Los Angeles ran a story on McGonigle Canyon. Using “undercover” footage shot by the station, and clearly inspired by the “Rape Grove” allegations, reporter Ana Garcia did a two-part series that purported to show how the canyon had become a den of “drinking, drug dealing and prostitution.” Aside from footage of the canyon, the series focused in on interviews with Julie Adams, the woman who led last fall’s effort to “reclaim” the canyon (this was not mentioned in Garcia’s piece), and Brook Young. Young is a SDMM associate whose website includes links to an array of hate groups and features videos with celebratory titles like “Commisses Get Beat Down.”

“Lots of beer drinking and the drunkenness that goes with it, as well as drug dealing and prostitution,” Garcia says in her staccato voiceover. “The women are driven into the village in groups, the brothel set up in the bushes.”

There was just one problem. None of the KNBC’s footage showed anything like prostitution, let alone drug dealing or even drinking. Lauren Mack, spokeswoman for the federal immigration office in San Diego, had told reporters earlier that officials were unable to substantiate any complaints of sex trafficking in the canyon. San Diego Police Capt. Boyd Long, who worked with federal officials to carry out undercover surveillance of the canyon, said the very same thing. But none of that seemed to bother KNBC, which ran its piece during sweeps week.

Garcia did cut away during her first piece at one point to ask Capt. Long about the sex trade: “And what about the prostitution we caught on tape?”

“I don’t know that prostitutes are going in there,” the police captain replied. “I’d like to see any evidence or video

THE PARANOID STYLE REDUX

CONSPIRACY THEORIES ANIMATE THE ANTI-IMMIGRATION MOVEMENT

BY HEIDI BEIRICH

Americans, particularly on the far right, have always been given to conspiracy theories. From the assassination of President Kennedy to Neil Armstrong's landing on the moon to the addition of fluoride to drinking water, wild-eyed and unsubstantiated theories have been part and parcel of the American political experience. Historian Richard Hofstadter, writing in a 1965 essay, famously described this phenomenon as "the paranoid style in American politics."



The rabidly anti-Communist John Birch Society has become a primary promoter of a conspiracy theory about plans for a sovereignty-destroying "North American Union" incorporating the United States, Canada and Mexico. Others include the "Stop the North American Union" website run by Daneen Peterson.

The paranoid style came dramatically back to public attention in the 1990s, when the then-swelling militia movement seized upon a speech by the first President Bush about a post-Cold War "new world order" to suggest that Bush really was describing a takeover of America by nefarious "one-world government" forces. So-called "Patriots" also theorized that they were being spied on by "black helicopters," that a secret weather machine in Brussels was ruining American farms, that the United Nations was planning to kill four-fifths of Americans, and so on.

Since the dawning of the contemporary anti-immigration movement around the turn of the millennium, a new set of conspiracy theories has emerged. Stoked by paranoid far-right groups like the John Birch Society, which once accused President Eisenhower of being a secret Communist, these theories revive militia fears about the United States losing its sovereignty to various foreign powers. But like the many plots alleged by militia ideologues, the allegations are fantasies.



The 'North American Union'

Since 2005, the dominant conspiracy theory animating the anti-immigration movement has been the so-called "North American Union," described as a plot to surrender American sovereignty in a planned merger with Canada and Mexico. The plotters are typically said to be various foreign leaders, President George W. Bush and his "neo-conservative" allies, and an array of leading American liberals.

If the John Birch Society (JBS) and others pushing this theory are to be believed, President Bush began ceding American sovereignty on March 23, 2005, at a meeting in Waco, Texas, with Canadian Prime Minister Paul Martin and Mexican President Vicente Fox. The meeting ended with the signing of what was called the Security and Prosperity Partnership (SPP), which set up a series of working groups to study cooperation in transportation, energy, aviation, the environment and more.

Most people familiar with the SPP understand that it is a benign and slow-moving attempt to coordinate trade and security policies in a bid to improve the lives of citizens in all three countries. But to the conspiracy theorists, it is a plot that will end with

Mexico sending millions more of its citizens to the United States, international courts that overrule American justice, hate crime laws that will send anti-gay Christian preachers to prison, and more. The plotters are said to include the militia bogeyman of the Council of Foreign Relations and are supposedly directed by American University Professor Robert Pastor (see interview, p. 41).

Lately, the paranoia about the SPP process has become so intense that a proposed highway linking Canada, Mexico and the United States is seen as part of evil machinations that will end with the Mexican government seizing control of the key Mississippi River port in Kansas City. Other conspiracy theorists fear that a new currency, the "Amero," will displace good, old-fashioned American dollars.

The leader in "educating" the public about the North American Union (NAU) plot has been the JBS, which says "politicians and internationalists" in America are "effectively destroying the United States." In fact, the long dormant group has been reanimated by the theory, assigning writer Mary Benoit to cover it relentlessly in the JBS magazine *The New American*. JBS has allied itself on this issue with



Constitution Party boss Howard Phillips (top left) and Minuteman Civil Defense Corps chief Chris Simcox (top right) are among those pushing the "North American Union" conspiracy theory. The alleged plot involves plans by the leaders of Mexico, the United States and Canada to eventually merge their nations into a single entity.

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS



AP WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

Howard Phillips, leader of the anti-immigrant Constitution Party, and added nativist leader Chris Simcox of the Minuteman Civil Defense Corps to its speakers bureau.

But the JBS is far from alone. A website run by Daneen Peterson called stopthenorthamericanunion.com shrieks that the NAU is a plot by “a government cabal bent on destroying our sovereignty” and hurls accusations of “TREASON.” Jerome Corsi, author of the notorious book attacking 2004 presidential candidate John Kerry’s Vietnam service, says President Bush has a “secret agenda,” adding that “an executive branch coup d’etat may be under way.” Minuteman Project co-founder Jim Gilchrist, who recently co-authored a book with Corsi, says the NAU is “a dagger pointed at the heart of America.” Christian Right activist Phyllis Schlafly, head of the Eagle Forum, has joined an alliance with Phillips, Corsi and others in calling for a congressional investigation and disclosure of secret documents.

The theory has made its way into the mainstream. U.S. Rep. Tom Tancredo (R-Colo.) has demanded an end to the SPP and insisted that the NAU theory is not limited to “right-wing kooks.” Other congressional conservatives have joined a “Coalition to Block

the NAU” headed by U.S. Rep. Virgil Goode (R-N.C.). CNN anchor Lou Dobbs has devoted several segments to the issue, telling listeners that the NAU is a “shadow government” that should concern all Americans.

Most remarkably, the theory has enjoyed widespread legislative endorsement. At press time, the houses of representatives of 18 states had passed resolutions opposing the alleged NAU plan. In Idaho and Montana, the state senates have added their voice, resulting in official legislative resolutions.

The Bush Administration has mounted a tepid effort to fight back, putting up a web page last year on “SPP Myths vs. Facts” that points out that nothing in the SPP affects U.S. sovereignty or the Constitution. For his part, conservative commentator Michael Medved decried the “mounting hysteria” caused by “a shameless collection of lunatics and losers, crooks, cranks, demagogues and opportunists.”

The Plan de Aztlan

Until the NAU conspiracy theory largely pushed it aside, the so-called Aztlan conspiracy was the dominant fear in the minds of paranoid nativists. Hawked most heavily by two hate groups — the California Coalition for

Immigration Reform, led by Barbara Coe, and American Patrol, headed by Glenn Spencer — this theory has been so widely circulated that CNN’s Dobbs reported on it with a straight face.

The theory is based on the “Plan Espiritual de Aztlan,” a real document adopted in 1969 at the First National Chicano Liberation Youth Conference that originated in the student group MEChA (Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan). A radical document that reflected the spirit of the times, the plan called on Chicanos (Mexican Americans) to “reclaim the land of their birth” and unite to fight “oppression, exploitation and racism.” It is still occasionally cited by a handful of left-wing Chicano activists in California as a valid document and plan of action.

But nativist forces, including a probable majority of the 250 new anti-immigration groups that have sprung up in the last two years, do not see the Plan Espiritual as a relic of the counterculture of the 1960s. To them, it is the founding document of a bona fide conspiracy endorsed and backed by Mexico and, in some versions, by most Mexican Americans. They have described it as an explicit plan to “reconquer” the seven Southwestern states and merge them with Mexico. ▲



GETTY IMAGES



Eagle Forum leader Phyllis Schlafly (from left), U.S. Rep. Tom Tancredo (R-Colo.) and Minuteman Project co-founder Jim Gilchrist are among those who insist that the “North American Union” conspiracy theory is not limited, in Tancredo’s words, to “right-wing kooks.” But the facts about that conjecture — and another, the “Aztlán” conspiracy theory recently promoted by CNN’s Lou Dobbs — suggest otherwise.

IMMIGRATION: GETTING THE FACTS STRAIGHT

BY HEIDI BEIRICH

Almost every day now, it’s possible to hear supposedly authoritative “facts” about illegal immigration and immigrants bandied about by politicians, major media commentators and even allegedly objective news reporters — statistics and other assertions that paint a frightening picture of hostile, disease-carrying and highly criminal Latino “aliens” bringing economic ruin to the United States. A case in point is the 2005 claim made by CNN’s “Lou Dobbs Tonight” show that 7,000 cases of leprosy had been reported in the United States in a recent three-year period — one of the “deadly imports,” in Dobbs’ words, that immigration brings. In May, the night after a CBS “60 Minutes” profile of Dobbs aired, Dobbs went on the air to furiously attack *Intelligence Report* Editor Mark Potok, who had been quoted in the piece criticizing Dobbs’ characterizations of illegal immigrants. Christine Romans, the CNN reporter who first brought up the 7,000 figure, said she had got it from “a respected medical lawyer and medical historian” — the late Madeleine Cosman, a woman who told a 2005 nativist conference that “most” Latino immigrant men “molest girls under 12, although some specialize in boys, and some in nuns.” As it turns out, officials say there are fewer than 250 new cases of leprosy each year.

These kinds of “facts” generally originate with modern nativist groups and ideologues like Cosman or even unabashedly race-based hate groups, but that has not stopped them from making their way, often by force of sheer repetition, into mainstream venues like “Lou Dobbs Tonight.” In addition, it’s no longer uncommon to hear false or distorted statistics and half-truths coming from more mainstream groups like the Federation for American Immigration Reform and The Heritage Foundation, a conservative think tank, and aired on innumerable radio talk shows and major cable programs like the Fox News Channel’s “The O’Reilly Factor.”

This kind of mass defamation of certain immigrants is hardly a new phenomenon in American history. In earlier periods, Irish, Jewish, Catholic, Asian and other groups were publicly vilified, often by our country’s leading statesmen, as lazy, degenerate, stupid, ugly, criminal, disloyal and more. Today, very few of the current

roster of negative stereotypes — not to mention the conspiracy theories about immigration that are also increasingly widespread (see story, p. 34) — contain any truth at all. But they play to an audience that may be predisposed to believe them; in 2000, even before the current immigration debate heated up, the General Social Survey published by the National Opinion Research Center found that 73% of Americans felt immigrants were likely to cause crime and 60% believed they were likely to cost native jobs. Today, in an even more poisonous atmosphere, millions of Americans apparently believe the lies touted by nativist extremists. What follows is an attempt to distinguish demonizing propaganda from reality.

THE CLAIM: Immigrants are infecting the country with diseases like leprosy.

THE PURVEYORS: CNN’s Lou Dobbs, in an April 14, 2005, broadcast, said an “invasion of illegal aliens” was bringing “highly contagious diseases” to America “decades after those

diseases had been eradicated” here. Colorado columnist Frosty Wooldridge claimed in 2003 that “7,000 new cases of leprosy” had been carried here by immigrants from Mexico, Brazil and India in the previous three years. Patricia Doyle, a “health columnist” for the hate site *www.rense.com*, repeated that number on Peter Boyles’ KHOW-AM show in late 2006. The late anti-immigration activist Madeleine Cosman claimed in 2005 that “illegal aliens” were bringing in leprosy, malaria, tuberculosis and Chagas disease. White nationalist Pat Buchanan, appearing on Boyles’ show in September 2005, asserted that undocumented immigrants were responsible for once nearly eradicated bedbugs reappearing in 26 states.



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

U.S. Rep. Steve King (R-Iowa) has claimed that “murderous illegal aliens” kill 12 American citizens a day, while “uninsured drunk driving illegals” run down another 13. King’s statistics have no basis in reality, but that has not stopped nativist extremists across America from repeating them at every opportunity.

gion is limited.

THE CLAIM: Undocumented immigrants kill 25 Americans a day.

THE PURVEYORS: U.S. Rep. Steve King (R-Iowa), in a May 5, 2006, column on his website, claimed that a day without immigrants would create a far safer America: “The lives of 12 U.S. citizens would be saved who otherwise die a violent death at the hands of murderous illegal aliens each day. Another 13 Americans would survive who are otherwise killed each day by uninsured drunk driving illegals.” King’s claim has been repeated hundreds of times, sometimes by extremist activists like Clyde Harkins of the American Constitution Party, and frequently by radio hosts like Peter Boyles of Denver’s KHOW-AM. Boyles also suggested last year that illegal immigrants had murdered 45,000 American citizens since Sept. 11, 2001.

THE FACTS: King claimed he had “extrapolated” his numbers from a study by the General Accounting Office, Congress’ nonpartisan investigative arm, that he said showed 28% of inmates in local jails and state and

federal prisons were “criminal aliens.” What the GAO study actually showed was that 28% of all federal prisoners (federal prisoners make up 12%-17% of the total incarcerated population in the U.S.) were either legal or illegal immigrants. The study did not distinguish between legal and illegal immigrants. It also stated that about 50% of those immigrants were only charged with being in the country illegally, a federal misdemeanor. Just 12% of the total in federal custody were there for murder, rape, robbery or other violent crimes. Regarding the claim of 45,000 Americans murdered by illegal immigrants, FBI statistics show some 85,000 murders from 9/11 to the end of 2006. If the claim by Boyles and others were true, that would mean undocumented immigrants, who make up under 4% of the U.S. population, were responsible for 53% of all murders.

THE CLAIM: Undocumented immigrants are more criminal than natives.

THE PURVEYORS: Dan Stein, executive director of the supposedly mainstream immigration restriction organization Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), claimed

in a March 8 press release that illegal immigration poses “a real and documentable risk” to Americans. “Illegal aliens are more prone to criminal activity than the rest of the population,” Stein said. Twenty-three days later, Jim Gilchrist, co-founder of the vigilante Minuteman Project, told an audience that it was “okay to say ‘rapist,’ ‘robber’ and ‘murderer’” when describing “illegal aliens.”

THE FACTS: Several studies refute the notion of relatively high criminality among Latino immigrants (the vast majority of today’s immigrants). Ramiro Martinez Jr., a criminal justice professor at Florida Atlantic University who’s spent years studying homicide statistics in U.S. border cities heavily populated by Mexican-born men and women, found the homicide rates were significantly lower for Latinos there than for other groups — even though the Latinos’ poverty level was very high, and poverty and criminality are closely correlated statistically. Criminologist Andrew Karmen, in his 2006 book *New York Murder Mystery*, found the same trend in New York City, where the “disproportionately youthful, male and poor immigrants” of the last two decades “were surprisingly law abiding.” Robert J. Sampson, chairman of Harvard’s sociology department, reported in a 2005 article in *The American Journal of Health* that the rate of violence among Mexican Americans was significantly lower than among non-Latino white and black Americans. Remarkably, studies by sociologists Alejandro Portes and Ruben Rumbaut also show that second- and third-generation immigrants are significantly more criminal than their parents, suggesting that U.S. culture somehow eventually produces more, not less, criminality among its citizens.

THE CLAIM: Immigrants are depressing the wages of native Americans.

THE PURVEYORS: On his April 1,

2006, show, CNN’s Lou Dobbs said that the “most authoritative” study showed that legal and illegal immigration was depressing native wages by \$200 billion a year. California nativist activist Joe Guzzardi has claimed that wages remain “stagnant” because of illegal immigrants. Similar claims have been made by almost all immigration restrictionists in recent years.

THE FACTS: Despite what many view as the intuitively obvious relationship of immigration to wages, the fact is that most economists have not found a significant link between rising immigration and falling wages, the exception being studies in the early 1990s that showed a slight negative effect on African-American high school dropouts’ pay. Overall, the National Academy of Sciences found in a broad look at the question in 1997, there was “only a weak relationship between native wages and the number of immigrants”

DAN STEIN OF THE FEDERATION FOR AMERICAN IMMIGRATION REFORM FALSELY CLAIMS THAT “ILLEGAL ALIENS ARE MORE PRONE TO CRIMINAL ACTIVITY THAN THE REST OF THE POPULATION.”

in a given place. This was true for all types of native workers. The one group that did suffer were “immigrants from earlier waves, for whom the recent immigrants are close substitutes in the labor market.” More recent studies have actually found a positive effect on native wages. The Public Policy Institute of California published a study this year that found that immigrants arriving in that state between 1990 and 2004 increased native-born workers’ wages by 4%. The benefits, attributed to immigrants generally performing complementary rather than competitive work, extended to native workers at all educational levels.

THE CLAIM: Undocumented immigrants are “stealing” American jobs.

THE PURVEYORS: The allegation that illegal immigrants are causing native unemployment is pervasive in the nativist movement. Terry Anderson, a black Los Angeles radio host and hard-line anti-immigration activist, for instance, told “Lou Dobbs Tonight” on Oct. 23, 2003, that legal and illegal immigration was “killing the [native-born] work force.” Texas nativist leader Debbie Rawlins said in 2006 that “Hispanics” were “taking our jobs, our homes.” The far-right California Coalition for Immigration Reform has a billboard on the California-Arizona border that reads, “Demand Illegal Aliens Be Deported. The Job You Save May Be Your Own.”

THE FACTS: A 2006 Pew Hispanic Center study, “Growth in the Foreign-Born Workforce and Employment of the Native Born,” found no evidence that the large increases in immigration since 1990 have led to higher unemployment among native Americans. The center examined census data on the increase in immigrants in each of the 50 states, comparing those figures to state jobless rates and participation in the labor force by the native born. Although immigrants tended to be younger and less educated than native workers, the report found “no apparent relationship between the growth of foreign workers with less education and the employment outcome of native workers with the same level of education.” These findings were in line with those of most economists, who have failed to find a link between immigration and job loss. “The big message here,” said University of California economist Giovanni Peri, who conducted a similar study in California, “is there is no job loss from immigration.”

THE CLAIM: Poor immigrants cost native taxpayers a fortune in social services.



The Heritage Foundation's Robert Rector, a repeat guest on CNN's "Lou Dobbs Tonight," has made a series of questionable claims about immigrants. Leading demographers and other scholars call his assertions baseless.

THE PURVEYORS: Robert Rector, senior research fellow at the conservative Heritage Foundation, told CNN's "Lou Dobbs Tonight" on June 12, 2006, that immigrants were exponentially driving up welfare costs. "[I]f you're bringing in high school dropouts who aren't married and have children out of wedlock, what are they going to do? They're going to be on welfare. ... It's going to cost at least \$70 billion a year." Heather MacDonald, a fellow at the conservative Manhattan Institute and contributing editor at its *City Journal*, wrote in 2002 that illegal immigrants "do get welfare" based on having children who are born in this country and are therefore citizens (she did not explain how parents pulled this off). U.S. Rep. Steve King (R-Iowa), citing Rector, claimed this year that low-skill immigrant households were costing American taxpayers "over \$1 million per head of household."

THE FACTS: As a general rule, the federal government reaps a net benefit from illegal immigrants in the form of Social Security payments that the workers are never able to collect because they are not citizens; it is the states, in terms of social services, education and medical services, that pay the bulk of costs associated with

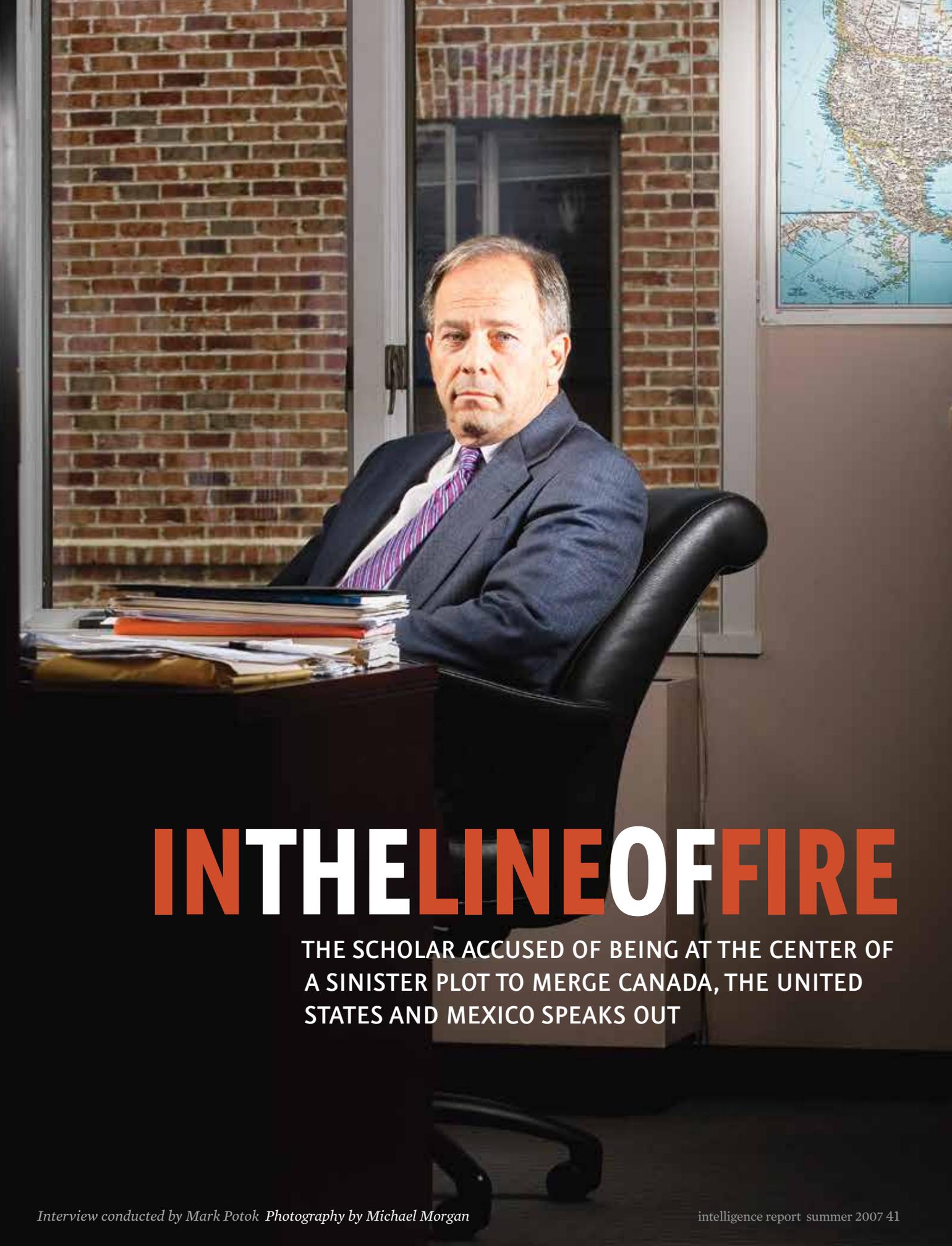
supporting the undocumented population. Even so, Rector and MacDonald's claims are disputed by numerous scholars, including even MacDonald's senior colleague at the Manhattan Institute, Tamar Jacoby. Jacoby, who studies immigration extensively, told the conservative *National Review* that while individuals might receive more in services than they paid in taxes, "they are growing the [overall economic] pie so significantly that that cost pales in comparison." Jacoby cited a recent study of immigrants in North Carolina that reported that over the prior 10 years, Latino immigrants had cost the state \$61 million in a variety of benefits — but were responsible for more than \$9 billion in state economic growth. The same point was made in a 1997 National Academy of Sciences study that found "the less-educated immigrants who impose a fiscal burden are the very same immigrants who provide the economic benefit reported." A major survey of the net effects of immigration, published in 2006 in *The New York Times Magazine*, cited only one economist, George Borjas of Harvard, claiming a negative net effect. Many other economists disputed Borjas. "If Mexicans were taller and whiter," University of California, Berkeley, professor David Card told the maga-

zine, "it would probably be a lot easier" for the public to accept the majority view of economists that the net effects of immigration, which is now predominantly Latino, are positive.

THE CLAIM: Proposed immigration reform would vastly overpopulate America.

THE PURVEYORS: Heritage Foundation senior fellow Robert Rector, quoted in a May 15, 2006, article on the far-right NewsMax.com website, said that the proposed Kennedy-McCain immigration reform bill would likely result in 103 million legal immigrants in the next 20 years. He added that the maximum number in that period could reach 200 million people. Years earlier, immigrant-bashing columnist Frosty Wooldridge of Colorado claimed that current immigration "is pushing us toward 200 million added people vying for diminishing resources," though he offered no support for his number. Other nativists have repeatedly made similar assertions.

THE FACTS: As was quickly pointed out when Rector first made these claims, his numbers defy basic logic. His minimum figure of 103 million people is roughly equal to the entire current population of Mexico; to reach his high figure of 200 million people moving to the United States in the next 20 years, you'd have to throw in the equivalent of the current population of Central America, too. Several leading demographers told the *San Francisco Chronicle* in May 2006 that Rector's projections were vastly overstated, ignored the effects of emigration, and used unreasonably high estimates of legalization and naturalization. The same month, a report from the Congressional Budget Office, specifically analyzing the Kennedy-McCain proposal, estimated that the bill would result in 8 million people entering the country legally over 20 years — 4% and 8% of Rector's two estimates. ▲



IN THE LINE OF FIRE

THE SCHOLAR ACCUSED OF BEING AT THE CENTER OF
A SINISTER PLOT TO MERGE CANADA, THE UNITED
STATES AND MEXICO SPEAKS OUT

To most people who know him, Robert A. Pastor is a distinguished professor of international relations at American University, a long-time foreign policy adviser to Democratic presidents and candidates, the author or editor of 16 books, and the director of the Center for North American Studies. But to a rapidly growing number of people on the extreme right, this lifelong scholar is a “globalization pimp,” one of the “traitors” trying to “effectively destroy the United States of America,” a man, in the angry summation of far-right attack dog Jerome Corsi, who is the “father of the North American Union” (see related story, p. 34). What has Pastor done to deserve the opprobrium? He wrote a 2001 book on building a North American community, co-chaired a 2005 tri-national task force that produced a similar document, and had some of his ideas incorporated into the “Security and Prosperity Partnership” (SPP) announced by the U.S., Canada and Mexico on March 23, 2005. Although he has never come close to proposing that the three countries merge, that is the accusation now being touted by the radical right — and touted so effectively that the houses of representatives of at least 18 states have passed resolutions denouncing the SPP and what they characterize as a planned “North American Union.” In fact, Pastor has never advocated more than a “community” of the three countries — essentially, a closer relationship among the three governments — and the SPP has produced little of substance. The Intelligence Report interviewed Pastor about his ideas and their misinterpretation.

INTELLIGENCE REPORT You seem to have been singled out as the evil genius behind the so-called North American Union. What has that been like?

ROBERT PASTOR I’m complimented that I’m considered the architect of a new relationship with our two neighbors. I wish it were not my enemies who were giving me all the credit! I get an average of 20 E-mails a week, with sometimes an avalanche after an article is written about me or after [CNN anchor] Lou Dobbs or [MSNBC commentator] Pat Buchanan or [Fox News Channel host] Bill O’Reilly go after me. The E-mails are sometimes quite vicious, accusing me of treason and worse. Sometimes, they approach being death threats. One I’m looking at right now says, “All we see is more and more damned illegal Mexicans being welcomed with open arms... Robert Pastor ... isn’t a politician, but he sure has his hands in destroying America.”

How has the far-right press treated you?

PASTOR Well, most of the attacks are premised on a series of charges about what I have allegedly proposed, virtually all of which happen to be false. The people who feel most intensely and have been writing me tend to be people who disregard any information that runs contrary to their view that I am an evil architect

whose intent is to erase our borders and create a North American Union. When I deny that this is my proposal, that doesn’t stop them from proceeding as if I had said nothing at all.

What are you, in fact, proposing?

PASTOR Lou Dobbs, Patrick Buchanan, Jerry Corsi [Jerome Corsi, co-author of one book attacking 2004 presidential candidate John Kerry and also of a recent nativist tome with Minuteman leader Jim Gilchrist] and many of their readers have accused me first of promoting a North American Union. That’s bull. I’ve never promoted a North American Union.

What I have written extensively about is how to create a North American *community* of the U.S., Canada, and Mexico. The difference between a union and a community is the difference between the United States and a free association of sovereign states. The United States is a union. If there were a North American Union, there would be one capital and one national government in the U.S., Canada and Mexico. I have never proposed that, nor do I know anyone else who has.

What I think is both desirable and necessary is a different relationship between the three countries of North America, not only because of the rapid

growth of trade and investment among our countries and the need to find ways to share the benefits of that growth among all the people of the three countries, but also to enhance our security against terrorism and other threats.

Historically, our two neighbors have wanted a more distant relationship from the U.S. because of the sheer power of the United States. Now they understand that their economies are very dependent on ours and a closer relationship would benefit them. The great irony is that Americans now seem more fearful of Canada and Mexico, despite the fact that their economies, population, and military power are a small fraction of that of the U.S. Despite this asymmetry in power and wealth, there are many in the United States that apparently feel that Canada and Mexico will take us over. And they see a North American community as a path towards that.

That’s absurd. The Canadians and Mexicans have much more to fear from the U.S. than the U.S. has to fear from them. And yet, they are bolder in conceptualizing a new relationship.

The nativists also charge you with promoting a North American currency to be called the “Amero.” Is that so?

PASTOR I borrowed that idea from a Canadian economist called H. G. Grubel. But I just put his idea on the table for discussion, along with other options. The problem is that the right-wing attacks have made people so fearful they don’t even want to open a discussion.

As economies become more integrated, the cost of changing money and of anticipating sharp changes in the exchange rate become a burden on the economies. That is why Europe moved to a single currency. A few economists have begun to raise the question as to what can be learned from Europe’s rocky road to a single currency that might be helpful in thinking about the economic future of North America. These are complicated issues that will take time to study. The problem is that these vicious, know-nothing attacks have stifled research and debate.

There are other charges that I’m trying to dissolve the United States,

erase our borders, discard the Constitution. All these are ridiculous and false. And also that I'm the principal author of President Bush's "Security and Prosperity Partnership," which emerged from a trilateral conference among the three heads of government of North America in Waco, Texas. Regarding this last charge, I was co-chair of a tri-national study group organized by the Council on Foreign Relations, which prepared a report on building a North American community. That report followed in some ways what I had previously written in a book of a similar name. But it also was different because the report was a consensus document of 31 very strong-willed and intelligent leaders from all three countries who had their own ideas. Our group issued a preliminary statement just before Waco,

related to regulations and border security, and they are looking at "rules of origin" provisions one at a time. What they're trying to do is well-intentioned, but they seem to measure progress by counting the number of meetings that bureaucrats attend.

I wish there were more to it. The major thrust of the right-wing criticism is that there *is* more to it, that it's bad, and that it is secret. Unfortunately, that criticism has inhibited the governments from taking their own initiative seriously.

What's the most that could come out of this process?

PASTOR To do anything serious would require all three countries to come to an agreement, which would require a [congressional] debate. But all three

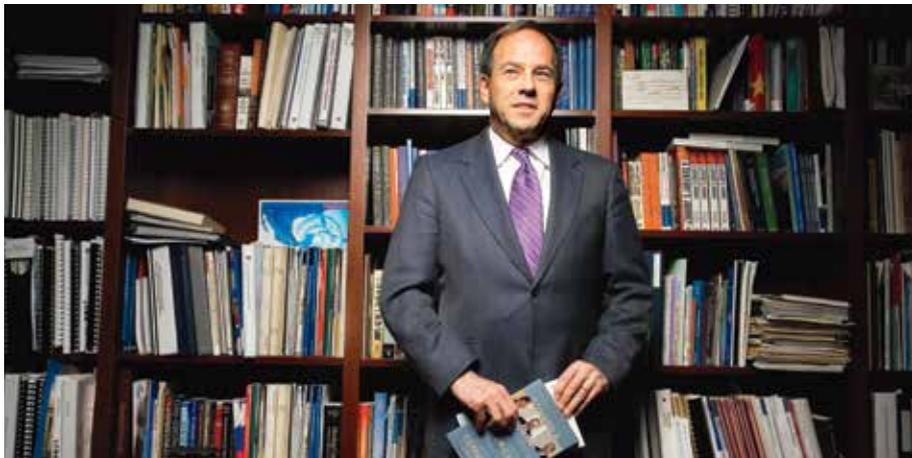
Does it surprise you that the conspiracy theories about the NAU and SPP make their way into mainstream news venues?

PASTOR That is partly due to cable TV and the development of niche journalism where people like Lou Dobbs can make a program based on fears of immigration. Their programs aim to promote their views, not to have a discussion. Bill O'Reilly will prevent the audience from hearing you if you're not saying what he wants them to hear. Their programs are for people like them to yell at their targets of opportunity. As an academic, I'm of two minds about going on these shows. On the one hand, I want to explain my ideas and have a good discussion. On the other hand, Bill O'Reilly and Lou Dobbs do not let you do that.

What do you think is behind all this fear-mongering?

PASTOR I think there are two different phenomena that have begun to interact and create an "imperfect storm," if you will. On the one hand, there has always been xenophobia in America — a fear of the world, a fear of American engagements in the world, a desire to isolate the United States as a way to protect America's precious bodily fluids. That's always been there, but there are different moments in time when those views become stronger, when there's fear in America. That's the second element, which makes this more compelling — the fear that started with Sept. 11 [2001] and that has been mobilized further by immigration and especially by undocumented immigration. This has given people the feeling that they're losing control, that somehow their politicians are giving away the store. So, in brief, a combination of historical xenophobia and contemporary fears stemming from 9/11 and illegal migration are keeping our leaders from beginning an extraordinarily important discussion on the future of North America.

The tragedy is that this is the time to begin to grapple with hard issues that could generate significant growth in North America and that could make us more prosperous and secure and a model for the world. Instead, we are compelled to respond to ludicrous charges of a North American Union. ▲



and we are either given credit or blame for encouraging the three leaders of Canada, Mexico, and the United States to do a Security and Prosperity Partnership. I'm glad we encouraged the three leaders to propose a new initiative, but frankly I think their new initiative is quite timid. Ironically, it provoked fear because the governments tried to downplay their own initiative, and not ask the Congress for anything.

What are the three governments doing with respect to the SPP?

PASTOR They're not doing much at all. They have set up dozens of working groups to look at a wide range of issues

governments are now "minority" governments, and are reluctant to begin such a debate. Therefore, the most one can expect from the SPP is incremental and timid — in other words, some regulatory cooperation.

But to read some of the conspiracy theorists, the NAU would ultimately result in some kind of international court that could do things like jail Christians in the United States who preach against homosexuality. Is there anything to this?

PASTOR That's totally ridiculous. The only way that could happen is if the U.S. Congress accepted it, but that won't happen.





Southern

Two North Carolina Klan cases
open a window onto a bizarre southern
underworld of murder, cocaine,
and a plot to blow up a courthouse

Goth- ic

by david holthouse & casey sanchez
illustration by jason holley photography by jenny warburg



A plot is born: On a fall day in 2001, nearly 100 Klansmen gathered near this Waffle House in downtown Benson, N.C., to burn a cross and make plans to infiltrate a local parade the next day. A Klan boss' humiliation at that celebration set events in motion that included plans to murder a local sheriff.

SMITHFIELD, N.C. — The dead man in Glen Gautier's dreams always asked the same question: "Why didn't you bury me with my glasses?" The nightmares began torturing Gautier in early 2002. That year, a certain phantom kept leading Gautier back to a hayfield on his brother's farm along Pine Ridge Road in Sampson County, N.C., where the body of the man Gautier had conspired to murder, a fellow member of the Ku Klux Klan, had lain buried and rotting for a year and a half.

By his own account, Gautier (pronounced "go-chay"), who was 50 at the time, had carried out the killing with three other members of two separate but allied Klan chapters, or "klaverns," that roamed the backwoods of semi-rural central North Carolina in 2001, stealing guns, making bombs, plotting murders, and carrying out at least one.

The others seemed to pay the killing no mind. But Gautier was different. He kept driving to the hayfield and standing over the grave like he was paying his respects, and he had recurring nightmares in which he sat across a table from the dead man, unable to speak or move.

On Jan. 1, 2003, Gautier called the North Carolina State Bureau of Investigation (SBI) and said he knew all about a Klan killing, that he'd been there when it happened, that he'd tell them who else had done it, and that

he'd show them where the body was buried.

The next day, at one in the afternoon, Gautier met with detectives from the SBI and the Sampson County Sheriff's Office in a room at the Southern Belle Motel, where he spilled his guts. His confession triggered parallel state murder and federal gunrunning cases. They've since dragged on for years but are now finally approaching resolution, either by trial or plea bargains.

These investigations have opened a rare window into the inner workings of the modern-day Klan in the South, a secret and sordid culture of violence, racism and paranoia, where coon dogs are traded for liquid dynamite, crosses are burned next to the local Waffle House, and a Klan grand dragon presides over meetings in a ramshackle clubhouse on the edge of a swamp.

The following account is based on interviews with law enforcement authorities as well as court records, including hearing transcripts and detailed notes on interviews of seven Ku Klux Klan members, both suspects and witnesses, conducted by investigators from the SBI, the Sampson and Johnston County Sheriff's Offices, the FBI, and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives. Although resolution of both the gunrunning and murder cases now awaits the psychiatric evaluation of the main Klan leader, almost every part of this account is supported by multiple sources. Most participants, including the Klan leader's son and wife, have pleaded



Charles “Junior” Barefoot (from left), his son Daniel Barefoot and Michael Anthony Brewer were all enmeshed in the labyrinthine criminal world of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

THEY AGREED TO “TAKE CARE OF EACH OTHER’S PROBLEMS” AND “KILL SNITCHES.”

guilty to charges in the gunrunning case and have made concurring official statements detailing their activities.

Burger King Wizards

Gautier joined the Klan when he was 47. It was early 1999. His landlord and sometime employer, a vinyl-siding contractor named Charles “Junior” Barefoot, had just formed a new klavern of the Church of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, one of the oldest and largest multi-state Klan organizations in the United States. Ray Larsen, the group’s Indiana-based imperial wizard, or national leader, issued Barefoot a charter to form his klavern after Barefoot contacted Larsen by phone and the Internet. Barefoot appointed himself grand dragon, or local klavern leader, and practically begged Gautier to join. (The title of grand dragon normally designates a statewide Klan leader; in the National Knights, however, klavern bosses often refer to themselves as grand dragons.)

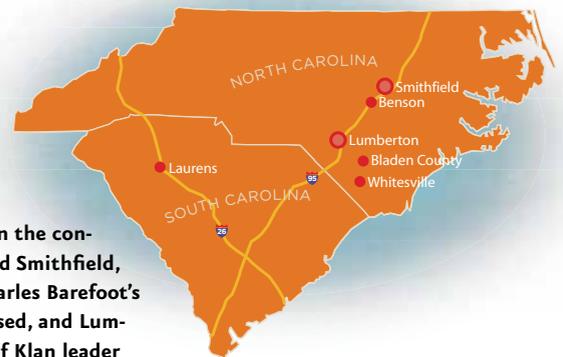
At the time, Gautier was staying in a singlewide trailer on a small plot Barefoot owned next to a marsh, a few miles off a winding state highway lined with cotton fields. Barefoot lived in a house on the same land with his wife and hunting dogs. Flying from a flagpole in the front yard were a Confederate battle flag, a Ku Klux Klan banner, and a tapestry bearing the likeness of country music legend Hank Williams Sr. Signs on the fence read: “No trespassing. Your ass will be shot if you come upon my property, signed owner.”

Within a few months, the klavern had about 20 members who each paid \$13 to join and \$5 a month in dues. They met on the third Sunday of every month at five o’clock, either at Barefoot’s house or their alternate

clubhouse, a large wooden chicken shack a few miles away. The meetings opened with a Bible reading and then rapidly degenerated into alcohol-fueled bull sessions about the plight of the white man.

So it went for about a year. Then, in March 2000, Larsen put Barefoot in touch with Michael Anthony Brewer, a 28-year-old plumber with a long criminal record. Brewer was the grand dragon of a klavern based in Lumberton, N.C., a Robeson County town about 90 miles south of Raleigh.

Larsen, the imperial wizard from Indiana, wanted the two grand dragons to get to know one another and to consider merging their klaverns. Barefoot and Brewer exchanged E-mails to arrange a meeting at a Burger King in Benson. There, they made plans to bring their klaverns together the



Key locations in the conspiracy included Smithfield, N.C., where Charles Barefoot’s klavern was based, and Lumberton, home of Klan leader Michael Anthony Brewer.

following Sunday at Brewer’s home in Lumberton.

At this initial gathering of the two klaverns, Brewer’s wife Sissy served a chicken dinner while the grand dragons and their klaverns formalized the alliance. As Barefoot later put it in a statement to investigators, they agreed to “take care of each other’s problems” and “kill snitches.”

Threats, Prayers and Crack Cocaine

Brewer, the grand dragon of the Robeson County klavern, also met in 2000 and 2001 with National Knights klaverns in Bladen County, N.C., Whiteville, N.C., and Laurens, S.C. But his association with the Barefoot

“[WE WERE] ACTUALLY ABLE TO INFILTRATE THE MEETING THAT WAS BEING HELD. THEY WERE GONNA MOVE TO DISRUPT THE PARADE AND BE A FORCE TO BE RECKONED WITH.”

klavern was the tightest, probably because it required the shortest drive.

The grand dragons had a rocky relationship. At one meeting, fellow Klansmen told officials later, Barefoot told Brewer that he didn't like the way Brewer was looking at Barefoot's wife and threatened to skin Brewer alive, "like he had a boy in Florida." Brewer replied that if Barefoot wanted a war, Brewer would give him one.

Violent boasts and death threats were as common at the klavern meetings as the Bible readings they opened with. Klansmen boasted of shooting a black man five times before lynching him near Godwin Lakes in Harnett County that spring. Barefoot hinted that he'd had a hand in killing two black men in the late 1980s, saying their bodies had been dumped within the space of a week near Stricklands Crossings. Brewer claimed he was "responsible" for the body of a "gutted prostitute" he said had been found near his property.

According to North Carolina law enforcement authorities, none of these details match any unsolved homicides.

Barefoot ranted about overthrowing the United States government by assassinating its officials, starting with Johnston County Sheriff Steve Bizzell. Barefoot and his wife had gone broke trying to run a honky-tonk bar they bought called the Enchanted Barn, and Barefoot blamed the sheriff. He said Bizzell kept sending deputies into the Enchanted Barn to "check for licenses," effectively shutting him down.

"I'll have his head," Barefoot allegedly sputtered. He said he had a "50-pound bomb" he was saving "for the sheriff's office."

There were rumors within the klaverns, meanwhile, that a small faction of the National Knights led by Brewer was ripping off crack cocaine houses in Fayetteville, N.C. According to later statements by Klansmen to police, Brewer had talked openly at a meeting about making money by busting into crack houses, killing all the black drug dealers and users inside, and stealing all the cash and cocaine. He said that a friend had driven him around Fayetteville, pointing out easy targets. Months later, Brewer and his two closest Klan confidants suddenly all bought new pickup trucks, and Brewer purchased a new doublewide trailer. These sudden purchases struck the other members of the klavern as strange, since the grand dragon was always whining about his financial problems.

Combined, the two klaverns of central North Carolina had nearly 50 members. For more than a year after they united, the klaverns kept a low profile and, whatever

they may have been up to, avoided trouble with the law.

But then the grand dragons decided to join a parade.

Trouble Comes to Mule Days

Every September, as many as 40,000 people travel to Benson, N.C., population 10,000, to participate in Mule Days, a four-day Southern hoedown of mule racing, coon jumping, ugliest and prettiest mule pageants, and human braying contests. Most years, the gravest danger Mule Days' organizers have to worry about is drunken riders wobbling in their saddles on jam-packed streets. But in 2001 they had to contend with the Klan.

Barefoot and Brewer put out the word to all the klaverns of the National Knights that the North Carolina boys would host a big cross-burning in Benson during Mule Days. Ray Larsen agreed to attend as the guest of honor and to bring his Indiana klavern with him.

Eager to impress the imperial wizard, Barefoot and Brewer applied for a permit to allow the Klansmen to march in the Mule Days parade. The Benson Chamber of





At the 2001 Mule Days hoedown in Benson, N.C., Sheriff Steve Bizzell (above) unintentionally humiliated Klan boss Charles “Junior” Barefoot. A few days later, by his own account, Barefoot began to build bombs.

Commerce promptly rejected their request.

The night before the parade, nearly 100 Klansmen from klaverns in five states camped out in a field adjacent to a Waffle House in downtown Benson. They grilled meat and burned a cross. Larsen conducted a ceremony inducting Barefoot’s son, Daniel, into the National Knights. As the night wore on, the Klansmen laid plans to show up and march in the next day’s parade, permit be damned. They either didn’t know or didn’t care that undercover agents from the FBI and the Benson Police Department were among them.

“[We were] actually able to infiltrate the meeting that was being held,” Steve Bizzell, Johnston County’s sheriff, told the *Intelligence Report*. “They were gonna move to disrupt the parade and be a force to be reckoned with.”

The next morning, about a dozen Klan members attempted to join the parade dressed in black combat fatigues decorated with blood-drop Klan insignia and Confederate battle flags. Barefoot and Larsen were among them.

“They were actually on the sidewalks amongst families,” said Sheriff Bizzell. “They actually came down the parade route walking behind observers on the sidewalks. They tried to intimidate the crowd there.”

But the Klan members were outnumbered. “We had approximately 60 deputy sheriffs and FBI agents, and some plainclothes [officers] stationed amongst the crowd,” said Bizzell. After a brief confrontation, the Klansmen dispersed, with Larsen ranting about his constitutional rights being violated.

Barefoot had been embarrassed in front of the imperial wizard, outmaneuvered on his own turf by a local sheriff who was already his proclaimed enemy.

“We [the KKK] don’t believe in violence. We’re different now,” Barefoot told a local reporter that day. “We’re out here to make a point, that white people are a declining breed but we are still here.”

A short time later, the Wal-Mart in the nearby town of Dunn held a deer-season sale on Pyrodex black powder, commonly used as a propellant in muzzle-loading rifles. Junior Barefoot, as he told law enforcement agents later, bought a cartload and started making bombs.

Dogs for Dynamite

The design was crude but deadly. According to his wife, Barefoot packed five cans of black powder into a two-foot section of PVC pipe attached to a quart jar filled with ether, gunpowder and dry-wall screws. He made a series of these bombs in late 2001 and detonated at least three in his backyard, experimenting with fuse lengths. He talked a lot about Timothy McVeigh, the Oklahoma City bomber, and about blowing up the Johnston County Courthouse to kill Sheriff Bizzell.

Late in 2001, Barefoot added to his explosives arsenal by trading one of his prized hunting dogs for two tubes of Kinetik, a highly volatile and powerful liquid explosive. Barefoot stored the pink gel in his freezer. He allegedly instructed his son Daniel that if Barefoot were ever arrested and put in the county jail, which is housed in the same building as the courthouse, that Daniel should place a bomb beneath a propane tank outside Sheriff Bizzell’s office, light the green trip line, and run like hell. The grand dragon wasn’t sure he’d survive the blast in his cell, but his rough plan for that eventuality was to follow the Neuse River to Greensboro and go into hiding with the help of a klavern there.

Early in 2002, witnesses told the authorities, Barefoot



directed his son to bomb a different target: his stepdaughter's house. Barefoot had repeatedly threatened his wife's daughter by another man, once suggesting that he'd arranged to have her gang raped. Now he wanted her house destroyed by one of his black powder-and-ether bombs. Daniel said he was "excited" to do it. In preparation, Daniel kept the Kinestick in his freezer, a fact his roommates discovered when he warned them not to slam the freezer door. But Daniel's eagerness outstripped his nerve. When he crept up on the target house, the stepdaughter's dogs scared him off, so he set fire to an empty hay barn and a school bus parked on the property instead. (Daniel Barefoot later pleaded guilty to reduced charges in the case.)

As the year progressed, Barefoot grew increasingly unhinged. One night, in a rage, he pulled a 9mm pistol fitted with a laser sight and, his wife said, pressed the barrel to her forehead. She left him, moved into a motel, and obtained a restraining order that prohibited Barefoot from coming near her or possessing firearms outside his home.

Then, on July 16, 2002, Renee Barefoot sat down with an ATF agent. She told him that her estranged husband was making bombs, buying liquid dynamite, and talking about blowing up the local sheriff's office. The next day, local police pulled Barefoot over. They found a .25-caliber handgun in the driver's side door compartment of his red Ford pickup and the laser-sighted semi-automatic in a shoulder holster Barefoot was wearing. The officers placed Barefoot under arrest for violating the terms of his restraining order, then drove him in handcuffs to his house, where they served him with a warrant for a search of the premises.

The search turned up the pipe bombs, 4,500 rounds of hidden ammunition and two dozen handguns, mini-assault rifles and pump-action shotguns. They also found the pink Kinestik in the freezer. There was no sign of the "50-pound bomb" Barefoot had boasted about reserving for Sheriff Bizzell.

Of Guns and Strippers

Several of the firearms the ATF agents found were from a batch of 31 guns reported stolen months earlier from an outbuilding belonging to the uncle of a 17-year-old Klan member.

Sometime in late 2001, a group of eight Klansmen drove to the building, where the smallest of them crawled through air-conditioning ducts and unlocked a door. The Klansmen loaded the weapons into the trunk of one of their cars and drove back to Barefoot's house, where they wiped them down with WD-40 to remove fingerprints. Barefoot then divided the guns evenly between the eight thieves, according to their later statements. He gave them a choice: keep one firearm each, sell the rest and give him all the money, or take a cut of the total sales.

The stolen gunrunning scheme evidently served to ease tensions between the two grand dragons. Those tensions ran



Klan home Carolina: The plotters gathered at the home of Michael Anthony Brewer (top) and on land owned by Charles Barefoot (middle). The central figure was Barefoot (right), a man who publicly claimed to reject violence.





Charles Barefoot and his wife went broke trying to run the Enchanted Barn honky-tonk, and Barefoot blamed Sheriff Steve Bizzell. Later on, Barefoot allegedly boasted that he'd prepared a "50-pound bomb" for the lawman.

high that winter after Barefoot refused Brewer's alleged request to orchestrate the murder of two former members of Brewer's klavern, a father and his son who quit Brewer's group to form their own splinter cell in Fayetteville after Brewer refused to initiate a stripper into the Klan.

Brewer played a major role in dealing the stolen guns, most of which were stored in his barn (he later pleaded guilty to federal weapons charges). In the months leading up to Barefoot's arrest, some of the firearms were transported over state lines into South Carolina. In one transaction, a buyer left \$1,500 in Brewer's mailbox.

The July 2002 arrest of Barefoot and the discovery of his guns and bombs generated paranoia among the other Klan members in North Carolina. They speculated endlessly about who was wearing a wire and who was talking to the "feds." But they had more to worry about than just stolen guns.

There was the matter of the dead man buried in a certain hayfield on Pine Ridge Road.

Killing Larry

In August 2001, Brewer called Barefoot and said he had "a problem." The problem's name was Larry Pettit, a new member of Brewer's klavern. Brewer allegedly swore, "If we have to, we're going to get rid of him." It's unclear exactly why Pettit was targeted. He'd spent most of the previous year in a Florida prison on a breaking and entering conviction. During



Unreconstructed: Reminders of certain icons of Southern life, including guns and the Confederate battle flag, appear in a pawn shop window in Benson, N.C.

“THE TWO KLAN GROUPS HAD ANOTHER MEETING, AND IT WAS DISCUSSED THAT THE PROBLEM HAD BEEN SOLVED.”

his two-month foray with the Klan, he appeared to be little more than a nominal member. But for some reason, Brewer suspected that Pettit “knew too much” about threats the grand dragon had made against local law enforcement authorities and couldn’t be trusted. A short time later, at a joint meeting of the klaverns that Pettit did not attend, the Klan members voted and, several attendees told the authorities later, the majority ruled: Pettit had to die.

But on the night Pettit was to be killed, Barefoot balked. The pressure was on. Brewer was demanding help and even Barefoot’s wife told him that Ray Larsen, the National Knight’s imperial wizard, “would not like it if Barefoot did not go with Brewer.” But Barefoot had an escape hatch. His uncle had just died, and he was supposed to go to the wake. He told Brewer that he’d send Glen Gautier in his stead, then allegedly promised Gautier that he’d sign Gautier’s name in the guestbook at the funeral home to establish an alibi.

That night, three Klan members met at Barefoot’s home in Benson, according to Barefoot, his wife and Gautier. They were all armed. Brewer had a .32- or .38-caliber revolver. Mark Denning, a member of Brewer’s klavern, carried a pistol. Gautier brought both a .32-caliber revolver and a Maverick 12-gauge, pump-action shotgun. They left in Barefoot’s white van.

“I hope they don’t bring him back,” Renee Barefoot remembers her husband saying.

They didn’t. According to Gautier, they lured Pettit into the van on the premise of going to rob a crack house and then drove him to the hayfield, where Denning killed him. Then all three men allegedly buried the body.

When the men returned to Barefoot’s house, they had been drinking. They “got rid of him,” Brewer allegedly said to Barefoot, tossing him Pettit’s wallet as proof. Barefoot used a blowtorch to incinerate it. By Mule Days, a few weeks later, “the two Klan groups had another meeting, and it was discussed that the problem had been solved,” according to the murder indictment.

Within months, everyone within the Robeson and Sampson county Klan chapters seemed to know all about the murder. Gautier spoke of it openly and often. Once again, Brewer allegedly told Barefoot that he’d take care of the problem. But no one silenced Gautier, and in January 2003 the badly decomposed body of Larry Pettit was dug out of a field and his body identified through dental records. A few weeks later, Gautier, Brewer, Mark Denning, and Sharon Barefoot were arrested and charged with murder.

Charles “Junior” Barefoot was already in prison after pleading guilty to violating the restraining order. On the day he was released in October 2004 after serving

15 months, Barefoot was immediately rearrested and charged in state court with the murder of Lawrence Arthur Pettit. In June 2005, federal authorities also charged Barefoot with illegally possessing explosives and plotting to blow up the Johnston County Courthouse. The following January, seven members of the North Carolina Klan factions were indicted for conspiring to steal and illegally sell firearms. Imperial Wizard Ray Larsen has since disavowed any connection with the two klaverns.

Here Comes the Judge

The intertwined state and federal criminal cases yielded pressure points that investigators used to turn Klan members against each other. Barefoot’s son, wife, and four other members of both Klan factions eventually all pleaded guilty to the federal firearms charges and agreed to testify against Barefoot in exchange for reduced sentences. They provided detailed statements about that case and the murder of Pettit as well.

In a brief phone interview with the *Intelligence Report* from the Sampson County Jail, Barefoot flatly denied having anything to do with Pettit’s murder, claiming he was in Louisiana when it occurred. “I was in New Orleans with a load of cars,” Barefoot said. “I haul cars all over the United States.” Barefoot added that he did not know Pettit and had no idea why he was killed.

Barefoot said that he hasn’t had any contact with his son Daniel since 2002. He said his wife sent him a letter in 2004 which he declined to answer, and that Michael Anthony Brewer also sent him a letter but that he couldn’t remember the contents. Barefoot’s memory improved on the topic of Brewer’s proclivity for violence. “He threatened to put a bullet in me,” Barefoot said. “They [Brewer’s Klavern] was just off the chain with a bunch of shit.”

Meanwhile, the state murder case against Barefoot, his wife Renee, Brewer, Denning and Gautier continues to plod along. The process wasn’t hastened any when a case file containing arrest data, Miranda warning records, and other important evidence disappeared from the Sampson County Sheriff’s Office Criminal Investigation Division.

According to a statement filed by Sampson County Sheriff’s Office Sgt. Julian Carr, “the Cleaning Crew for the Sheriff’s Office were asked about the Case File and after asking one of the cleaning workers about the case, it was discovered that the Case File and Files were thrown into the trash can and dumped. At the time of the loss, the case file was clearly marked ‘Confidential Do Not Open.’”

Barefoot and his attorney are trying to force prosecutors to dump even more records before his cases come to trial, including the transcript of a lengthy and incriminating January

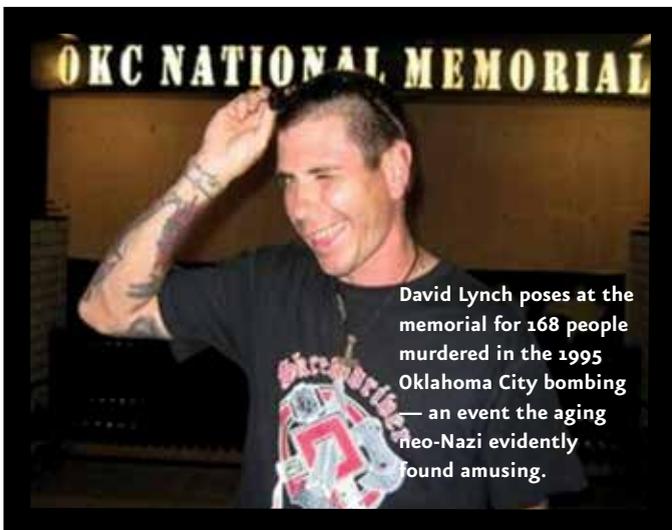
AMERICAN FRONT

THE SEQUEL

AFTER A DECADE OF MAINTAINING A LOW PROFILE, LONG-TIME SKINHEAD LEADER DAVID LYNCH IS RE-EMERGING ON THE NATIONAL SCENE **BY DAVID HOLTHOUSE**

SACRAMENTO, Calif. — Last December, hundreds of racist skinheads across the country received the very same Christmas card. It depicted a half-eaten cookie on a plate next to a bottle of Rebel Yell bourbon, a shot glass etched with a death's head, and stockings hung by the chimney with care. In the fireplace, as if descending from above, were two black combat boots with blood-red laces. ¶ “Wishing You a Very SKINHEAD X-mas,” the card read. It was signed, “The Lynch Family.” ¶ The

card was from David Lynch, a clever and charismatic skinhead organizer whose history of racist activism dates back to the late 1980s, when Lynch became the eastern states coordinator for American Front, a nationwide skinhead coalition modeled after Britain's National Front. After American Front's power waned in the mid-1990s, Lynch lived for a time in Canada, then relocated to Sacramento, where he gradually assumed control of the Sacto Skins, one of the oldest skinhead gangs in the country. ¶ While he maintained a strong presence in the Sacramento white supremacist subculture from the late 1990s through 2005, at one point meeting with then-National Alliance chairman William Pierce when the neo-Nazi leader visited Sacramento, Lynch for the most part limited his activities to that city alone.



David Lynch poses at the memorial for 168 people murdered in the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing — an event the aging neo-Nazi evidently found amusing.

David Lynch was the lead organizer for a “Free the Order” rally in Los Angeles last December. The men Lynch wants freed from prison are the surviving members of a terrorist gang that murdered enemies and suspected informants, robbed \$4.1 million from armored cars, and ran a major counterfeiting operation.



Now, after nearly a decade of keeping a relatively low profile, Lynch, 36, is once again rapidly emerging as a major figure in the nationwide skinhead movement. Law enforcement sources report that Lynch is uniting skinhead crews in northern and southern California, Utah and Florida under the banner of a newly energized American Front. He has also recently established a United States division of Troops of Tomorrow, an international skinhead organization, and helped to launch Prison Skin, a prison outreach campaign to support and glorify incarcerated skinheads.

Lynch in the first era of American Front was a brash self-aggrandizer who boasted that his group was superior. He was also reckless, getting arrested repeatedly in the 1990s for such petty offenses as stealing beer and failing to pay a parking ticket. Twice, he was caught in a car full of weapons, including machetes, pistols and AK-47s, on his way to widely publicized white-power demonstrations.

That was the old Lynch.

The new Lynch is positioning himself as a pan-Aryan peacemaker, dedicated to uniting querulous skinhead crews and promoting the white supremacist movement above his own

celebrity status. He's also avoiding busts for tacky street crimes.

“Lynch basically laid low for a while and got smarter,” said Sacramento County Sheriff's Department Lt. Milo Fitch, who ran his department's gang unit from 1995 to 2002 and specialized in white-power gangs. “He was definitely a player in Sacramento [in the late 1990s], but he wasn't making the same kind of moves he is now. Lynch is a very bright guy. He's very organized and articulate. As he's gotten older, he's more carefully balancing wanting power with his fear of going to prison. His strategy now is to be more of the puppet master and less of the street soldier.”

Bloody Pit Stop

Lynch had a busy month last December. Besides designing his Christmas card, he led a major skinhead rally outside a federal government building in Westwood, Calif., located in Los Angeles County, 400 miles south of his home turf.

Nearly 100 skinheads from crews in Arizona, California, Nevada, Oregon, and Utah answered Lynch's call to join forces in publicly demanding the release from prison of the surviving members of The Order, an iconic 1980s white supremacist terrorist gang that murdered a Jewish talk show host in

Denver and robbed some \$4.1 million from armored cars. The Westwood rally was one of several loosely coordinated “Free The Order” protests held last Dec. 9 by racist skinheads in this country, Europe, and South America. It was also by far the largest.

The night before the L.A. rally, several members of the Berdoo Skins, a San Bernardino, Calif., white-power gang that claims allegiance to American Front, allegedly attacked a black man in the parking lot of a shopping mall in nearby Claremont. According to police, the skinheads stabbed the victim repeatedly, beat him to the ground, and then kicked him in the face.

“They were just stopping here to use the restroom [on their way to the “Free The Order” rally],” said Claremont Police Department Capt. Gary Jenkins. “They pulled off the freeway, and they just happened to be in Claremont. [There] just happened to be a black person that was in the same vicinity they were.”

The victim was airlifted to a trauma center. He survived. Witnesses jotted down the license plate number of the skinheads' vehicle, which University of California, Los Angeles, campus police spotted the next day at the rally gathering point. Police detained about 20

“LYNCH BASICALLY LAID LOW FOR A WHILE AND GOT SMARTER. HIS STRATEGY NOW IS TO BE MORE OF THE PUPPET MASTER AND LESS OF THE STREET SOLDIER.”

skinheads, handcuffing them to a steel rail until a witness to the prior night’s violence could be transported to the scene to identify the assailants. Five members of the Berdoo Skins, ranging in age from 17 to 28, were arrested and charged with attempted murder and assault with a deadly weapon, with hate crime enhancements.

Lynch, who did not respond to five E-mails seeking comment for this report, was quick to capitalize on the propaganda value of the arrests.

“This was the largest White Power Skinhead demonstration ever in the state of California and the backlash is already being felt,” Lynch wrote on the Sacto Skins website the week after the rally. “It is clear that the agents of ZOG [or Zionist Occupation Government, neo-Nazi shorthand for the federal government] are not happy to see all of us beginning to stand together as one. For far too long we have made it easy on our enemies by fighting and feuding among ourselves. No longer can the enemies of our Folk count on this advantage over us!! Over 15 different crews came together to support our Fallen Comrades from The Order. These same crews and organizations have banded together to

support our Kinsmen arrested on their way to the rally. This is a new age.”

Relaunching the Brand

Lynch resides in Citrus Heights, Calif., a Sacramento suburb. He maintains a well-paying job with a local environmental abatement firm that requires him to travel to New Orleans for post-Katrina clean-up contracts. According to law enforcement sources, Lynch makes frequent side trips to Florida to network with skinheads there, including Richie Myers, another former high-ranking official in American Front. Myers was the Florida state leader for American Front until 1991, when he was convicted of attempted

murder and sentenced to 10 years in prison for trying to drown another American Front official, John Daly, after Lynch and Myers learned that Daly was secretly Jewish. Myers is now off parole and free of restrictions prohibiting contact with active white-power gang members.

“Lynch back then had a reputation for being a crazy fighter, somebody who would go at it with anyone, at any time, at any place, with no thought of the repercussions,” Daly told the *Intelligence Report*. Daly said Lynch once ordered him to carve an American Front tattoo off the back of Lynch’s ex-girlfriend’s neck and mail Lynch the chunk of skin. Daly did not carry out the order and was nearly killed soon afterward.

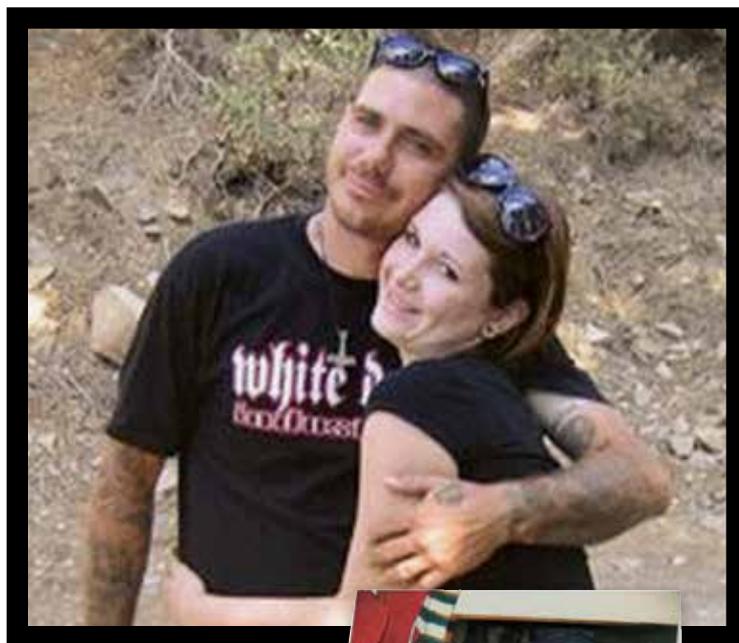
“Obviously, he’s mellowed somewhat, or he’d be in prison,” Daly said. Fatherhood may have played some role in calming Lynch down. He has a young daughter, who lives with him and his wife in Citrus Heights. “Like most skinheads, Lynch came from a broken home, and he always said that no

child of his would grow up without two parents in the house,” Daly said. “Coming from a troubled home gives Lynch an understanding of the average skinhead and potential skinhead mindset. Having been there himself makes it easier for him to twist their minds.”

Daly, who now lectures about his experiences in the skinhead movement, said he views the resurgence of the American Front as Lynch and Myers “relaunching a well-known skinhead brand name.”

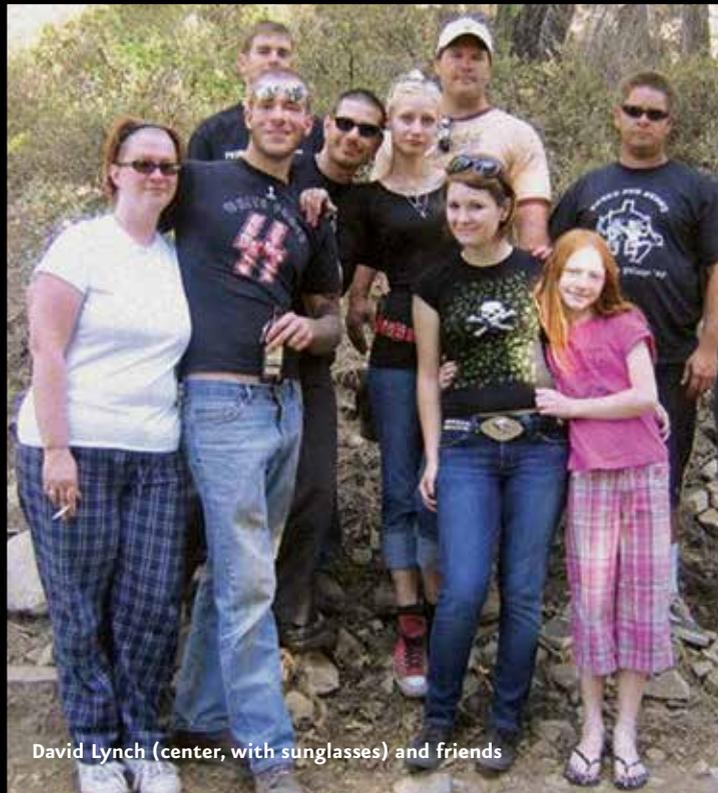
“It concerns me to see these guys back on the prowl, but it’s not surprising, given the xenophobia in America. ... Above all, Lynch and Myers are opportunists. If they sense the timing is right, they’ll try to bring back American Front in a big way.”

The key to their success, Daly



David Lynch (with unidentified woman) sent out hundreds of cards (right) last year wishing recipients “a Very SKINHEAD X-mas.”





David Lynch (center, with sunglasses) and friends

“THEY’RE BEING VERY STRATEGIC ABOUT TAKING ADVANTAGE OF THE IMMIGRATION ISSUE, AND THEY’RE VERY GOOD AT BLENDING INTO SOCIETY.”

said, will be successfully projecting an image to the new generation of skinheads of being the real deal, “and not just old men hanging onto their youth.”

Another key to long-term success for Lynch may be keeping his predilection for methamphetamine under control. According to Daly, Lynch used American Front money to fund a speed habit in the late ’80s, and Lt. Fitch told the *Intelligence Report* that in the late 1990s, Lynch was known to be a heavy meth user.

“We were pretty concerned when we found out he was meeting with [National Alliance leader] Pierce, but it turned out that Pierce distanced himself from Lynch pretty fast because Lynch was such a dope fiend, and Pierce didn’t want anything to do with dope fiends.”

Skinheads in Khaki

Myers isn’t the only member of the old

guard Lynch is hooking back up with. According to police in California, he’s tightly connected to at least two former leaders of the Western Hammerskins who’ve been released from prison since 2002. But it’s clear the new American Front is more than merely a gaggle of aging racists reliving their glory days. The majority of the skinheads at the “Free The Order” rally last December were in their late teens and 20s. The same is true of the skinheads who turned out for the five rallies in Sacramento organized by Lynch since last June, which drew members of the Sacto Skins and the Golden State Skins, another northern California crew tightly allied with American Front.

Not that Lynch discriminates by age. The American Front rallies in Sacramento also drew older neo-Nazis from the Sacramento unit of the now-defunct National Vanguard, many

of whose members have since been absorbed into American Front, according to law enforcement sources.

Like many hate group leaders, Lynch is taking advantage of the rising anti-immigrant sentiment in America by casting his public demonstrations as “anti-illegal immigration rallies,” a cause more widely acceptable than, say, the mass murder of Jews.

Four of the five American Front rallies in Sacramento in the past year were held outside Home Depot stores where Latino day laborers gather. For these rallies, the skinheads carried signs that read, “Stop the Illegal Invasion,” and “Health care for illegal aliens costs Californians \$1.4 billion a year.” And they did not dress like skinheads. Instead they wore street clothes. Lynch even donned khakis and a button-down shirt.

“The only one of the five rallies they’ve had where they actually looked like skinheads to the average person passing by was a rally last year at the state Capitol,” said Sacramento County Sheriff’s Department Sgt. Tim Curran. “They’re being very strategic about taking advantage of the immigration issue, and they’re very good at blending into society. The only time they dress out as skinheads is when they think it serves a specific political motivation. Otherwise, they don’t look the part.”

Between organizing rallies, looking after his daughter, holding down a full-time job, and overseeing several popular skinhead websites, Lynch is somehow finding the time to put the finishing touches on a 400-page “global Aryan” manifesto that he’s been working on for years, according to law enforcement sources. An excerpt recently posted to the Sacto Skins online “Book of Hate” gives an idea of the grandiloquent masterpiece to come: “Our Folk are no longer allowing petty bullshit and drama to keep us from our common goals. We are growing closer than we have ever been and through strong global networking and cooperative action we are establishing a worldwide community with a singular purpose: The survival of our Folk.” ▲

MINUTE MESS

Ousted from the group he founded amidst allegations of financial impropriety, Jim Gilchrist forms a new Minuteman organization

BY DAVID HOLTHOUSE

The Minuteman Project, one of the country's largest, richest and most influential nativist extremist groups, is in a state of crisis.

Its founder, Jim Gilchrist, was fired in February by members of the group's board of directors amidst swirling allegations of embezzlement, gross mismanagement and fraud.

Gilchrist initially responded by filing a lawsuit against the board members and waging a public relations battle in which he claimed the Minuteman Project had been "hijacked." Then, in April, he suddenly dropped the lawsuit and incorporated a new competing organization: "Jim Gilchrist's Minuteman Project."

While the so-called hijackers retained the Minuteman Project's membership list, office equipment and stationery, control of funds raised under Gilchrist's leadership remains in dispute.

The power struggle first came to light early this year, when three members of the Minuteman Project's board of directors — Barbara Coe, Deborah Courtney and Marvin Stewart — announced that they had fired Gilchrist and seized control of the organization's bank accounts and website.

Coe (who has since resigned from the Minuteman Project), Courtney and Stewart told the *Los Angeles Times* in early March that as much as \$750,000 is missing from Minuteman Project accounts. Prior to that interview, they publicly accused Gilchrist of embezzling \$13,000 from the Minuteman Project to pay his own legal fees and of illegally diverting another \$400,000 in donations to his failed 2005 Congressional campaign and to promote his book *Minutemen: The Battle to Secure America's Borders*, published last year. Proceeds from sales of the book, they note, went to Gilchrist, not the Minuteman Project.

Gilchrist has flatly denied any wrongdoing. "There's no \$400,000 of hidden money, there's no hidden bank accounts, there's no hidden P.O. boxes," he told The Associated Press. "I've done 1,000 media interviews and I don't have time to cross every 't' and dot every 'i.'" Gilchrist said his opponents are motivated by "a greed for power and a false perception of an endless stream of money."

The Minuteman Project has 24 chapters in 20 states and roughly 200,000 dues-paying members, according to its fundraising materials. It's unclear at this point how many of those members will jump ship to Gilchrist's new organization.

"You can't create a new Minuteman Project," Stewart told the *Los Angeles Times* in April. "There is already one, and I'm the president."

Stewart, who Gilchrist calls a "delusional whiner," may be overestimating the importance of his title. Gilchrist is a much bigger celebrity in the citizens border patrol movement, and many of his followers are faithfully rallying to his defense.

Two weeks into the controversy, on March 5, Barbara Coe abruptly resigned from the Minuteman Project under intense pressure from pro-Gilchrist members of her California Coalition for Immigration Reform (CCIR), the major anti-immigrant hate group that Coe founded in 1994 and still leads.

Three days before she announced her resignation, Coe posted a message to the CCIR website praising Gilchrist as a "courageous patriot and a man of honor and integrity," and seeming to suggest that Gilchrist was not personally responsible for the allegedly missing and misspent funds. "Documented data indicates that certain business transactions were made without Jim being advised of the legalities involved and without knowledge or approval of the MMP board members," Coe wrote. "I consider Jim a victim of those who have actually betrayed his trust."

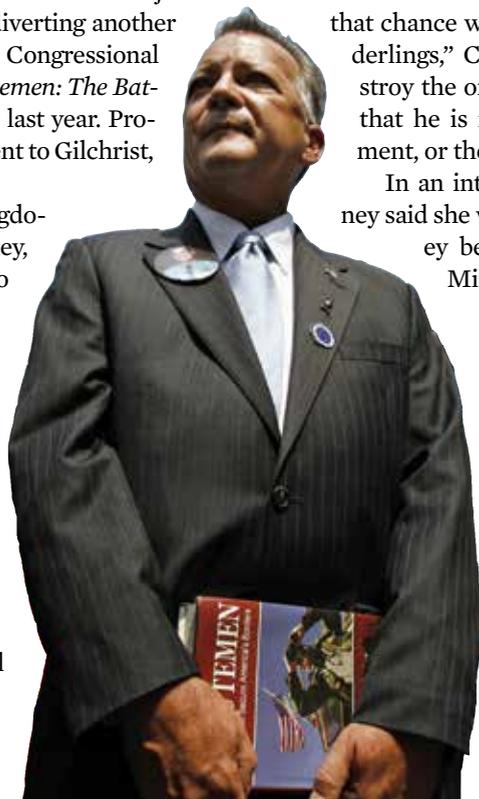
Courtney and Stewart continue to stand their ground and point accusatory fingers at Gilchrist. "We had the opportunity to unite the forces fighting the invasion of illegal aliens, but that chance was squandered by Jim Gilchrist and his underlings," Courtney said. "Now, they are trying to destroy the organization, because Jim Gilchrist believes that he is more important than the issue, the movement, or the members that placed their trust in him."

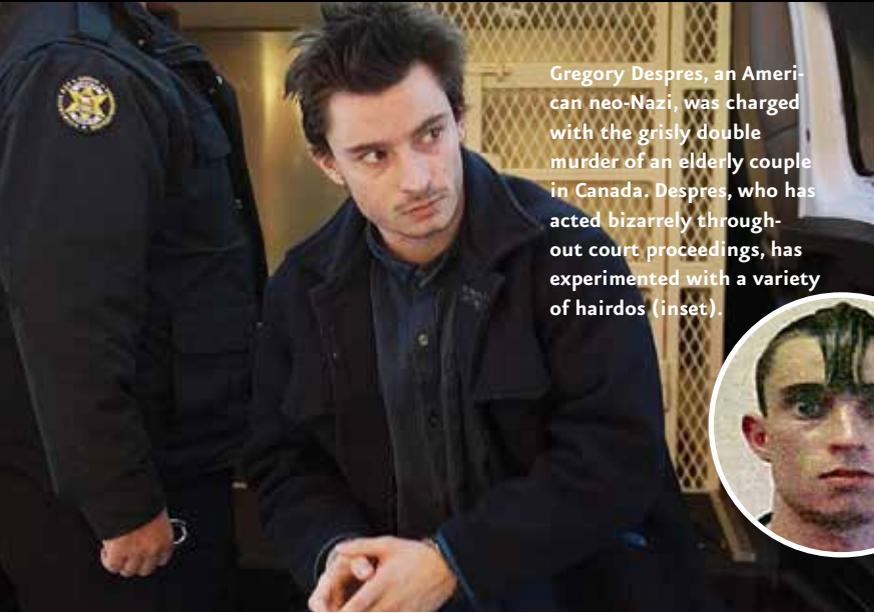
In an interview with the *Intelligence Report*, Courtney said she was especially angry about the missing money because she had personally bankrolled the Minuteman Project to the tune of \$40,000.

"I funded Gilchrist," she said. "They owe me a lot of money."

Stewart, meanwhile, continues to accuse Gilchrist of "spinning lies."

"We know this is hard for many of you to understand, given that Jim is still not coming clean or being truthful in the media," Stewart wrote in a recent letter to Minuteman Project members. "But we are confident that the truth is on our side, the facts will prove us right, and with God's help, in the end we will prevail, even if Jim does manage to bring down the whole move-





Gregory Despres, an American neo-Nazi, was charged with the grisly double murder of an elderly couple in Canada. Despres, who has acted bizarrely throughout court proceedings, has experimented with a variety of hairdos (inset).

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

especially to form an International Office of White Diaspora,” Cobb, 55, wrote neo-Nazi webmaster Bill White late last year. He added that he wanted to work to bring U.S. and British whites to white-dominated European countries like Estonia and Russia.

Cobb, active for years in the World Church of the Creator, White Revolution and other U.S. neo-Nazi groups, also said that America was beyond help.

“I believe that the Democrat[ic] and Republican criminal syndicates that run the U.S. with international jewry’s [sic] criminal syndicate cannot now be stopped,” he wrote. “Media barrages too much control the minds of White Americans.”

Last November, the Estonian newspaper *Eesti Ekspress* interviewed Cobb and reported that he had bought a house and piece of land some 30 miles outside the capital city of Tallinn. The paper said Cobb was working to find like-minded people and quoted him identifying Raigo Solg as the leader of Estonian neo-Nazis. Solg is a former Ministry of Justice official who now hosts radical radio programs.

Cobb has been associated with many of America’s leading extremist groups. In recent years, he worked with members of the neo-Nazi National Alliance, living near the group’s West Virginia headquarters in

CANADA

Swastika-Bearing American Faces Double Murder Charge

The trial of an American who showed up at the U.S. border two years ago with what appeared to be a bloody chainsaw and several other weapons was delayed this March for a government psychiatric evaluation. Gregory Despres, a U.S. citizen with a large swastika tattooed on his back, faces charges in a double murder.

U.S. border agents detained Despres as he sought in 2005 to return to Maine from New Brunswick, Canada, fingerprinting him, checking for warrants, and confiscating the chainsaw, a sword marked with a swastika, a hatchet, a knife and brass knuckles. But they could not legally stop him from re-entering.

The next day, after a couple who had been Despres’ neighbors while he was in Canada were found dead, Despres was arrested in Maine. His alleged victims were an elderly couple. The woman was stabbed to death and the man decapitated.

Police don’t know if Despres has an extremist background beyond his Nazi symbols. U.S. officials told a Canadian hearing this spring that he acted bizarrely at the border, describing himself as a military assassin. Despres’ trial, being held in Fredericton, the capital of New Brunswick, was halted a first time in February, when he went into a rant about “space patrols,” Saddam Hussein and Al Qaeda.

ESTONIA

U.S. Neo-Nazi Working to Create European Movement

American neo-Nazi Craig Cobb, the first person to prominently post the home address of a federal judge whose husband and mother were later murdered there, has moved to Estonia to help build a European white supremacist movement.

“I hope to use my large house in Estonia to do White media, to network with White Nationalists throughout Europe and the United States, and



Craig Cobb acquired some notoriety in white supremacist circles when he posted the home address of a federal judge he didn’t like to a website. Two years later, the judge’s husband and mother were found murdered at that address.

2003. He distributed issues of *The Aryan Alternative*, a racist tabloid published in Missouri. He handed out copies of a racist CD music sampler as part of “Operation Schoolyard.” And in 2005, he worked with Todd Vanbiber, a former Alliance member who served time after the bomb he was building to attack the approaches to Disney World in 1997 blew up in his face.

Perhaps most infamously, Cobb publicized the home address of U.S. District Court Judge Joan Lefkow in Chicago. Lefkow had ruled against the World Church of the Creator in a civil lawsuit, and Cobb was infuriated. In 2003, Cobb took the address from a minor neo-Nazi site and reposted it to Stormfront, a huge racist forum. Lefkow’s husband and mother were murdered at that address in February 2005, but the killer was later found to be unconnected to racist groups.

EUROPE

New Group in Euro-Parliament Reflects Extremist Advances

Capping their largest series of local, regional and national electoral successes since World War II, far-right extremists in Europe have managed for the first time to create an ultranationalist bloc within the European Parliament. The formation of the “Identity, Tradition and Sovereignty” (ITS) group in January entitles its members to more speaking time, more committee posts and about \$1.34 million a year.

Three days after the new group became official, its leader, Bruno Gollnisch of France’s Front National, was convicted of Holocaust denial. A French court handed him a suspended three-month sentence and fined him more than \$6,000.

The creation of a far-right bloc in the European Parliament had long been sought by parties with xenophobic, anti-Semitic and racist views, but only became possible after Jan. 1, when Romania and Bulgaria joined the European Union. Six far-right deputies from the two new countries brought the total of extremist Euro-deputies to 21, just over the threshold for eligibility for government funds.

ITS, which describes itself as standing up for traditional European culture and the sovereignty of each EU member state, claims to represent 23 million voters.

The new caucus includes six members of racist Romanian parties; one member of the Austrian Freedom Party; independent British member Ashley Mote; two members of extreme-right Italian parties (including the granddaughter of

A new extreme-right group was formed within the European Parliament last January. Three days later, its leader, Bruno Gollnisch of France, was convicted of Holocaust denial.



World War II dictator Benito Mussolini); seven members of France’s Front National; three members of an extremist Belgian party; and one from a racist Bulgarian party.

The creation of ITS follows several years of local electoral successes by extremists in countries like Austria, Belgium, Britain and France. But it marks a major new milestone in the radical right’s reach for continental power.

GERMANY

Two Prominent Holocaust Deniers Sentenced to Prison

Ending a complicated international saga that began when he was deported from the United States in 2003, notorious neo-Nazi Ernst Zundel was sentenced to five years in a German prison last February for denying the Holocaust.



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO



Zundel, 67, was one of a rash of Holocaust deniers who have run into trouble recently with European laws, which frequently outlaw such “revisionism” about World War II. A month after Zundel’s sentencing, another German court sentenced Germar Rudolf to two-and-a-half years for similar acts of Holocaust denial.

Zundel, like Rudolf, was born in Germany. But he emigrated to Canada as a young man and spent some 40 years there as a legal resident, publishing neo-Nazi propaganda such as the books *The Hitler We Loved and Why* and *Did Six Million Really Die?* Ultimately, after failing to gain Canadian citizenship, Zundel moved to the United States and married Tennessee neo-Nazi Ingrid Rimland.

But in 2003, the United States deported Zundel back to Canada over an immigration violation. The Canadians detained him for the next two years for legal proceedings that culminated in his deportation to Germany in March 2005.

Rudolf, too, sought to avoid prison by coming to the United States, moving there in 2000 to avoid an *in absentia* German conviction and 14-month sentence. He applied for political asylum but was rejected and deported back to Germany in 2005 to serve his sentence. German authorities charged him again in early 2006 with “systematically” denying the Nazi genocide. Rudolf, 42, had used the Internet to spread his views.

The Germans went one step further. In January, after assuming the revolving presidency of the European Union (EU), Germany proposed outlawing Holocaust denial, public display of Nazi symbols, and certain racist speech throughout the EU. Currently, some EU members, like Sweden, retain strong free speech protections.

The same month, the United Nations, outraged over a revisionist conference sponsored by Iran late last year, approved a resolution drafted by the United States and co-spon-

Imagining Immigrants

A hard-line nativist pens a paranoid vision of a Mexican invasion plot. Luckily, bubble baths and big guns keep the action hot

DOMESTIC ENEMIES: THE RECONQUISTA

By Matthew Bracken

San Diego, Calif.: Steelcutter Publishing, 2006
\$19.95 (softback)

In 1973, a Frenchman named Jean Raspail wrote a bitter and paranoid novel about the “invasion” of his native land by starving Third World refugees. The book was a racist vision of the consequences of non-white immigration, aided and abetted, in the author’s view, by the weak-minded liberals who failed to resist it. For almost 35 years, *The Camp of the Saints* has been a Bible to the radical right.

Now, courtesy of former Navy SEAL Matthew Bracken, comes the American version — a portrait of the apocalypse Bracken fears will overtake America thanks to undocumented immigration from the south. The book is a fictionalized version of the Aztlan conspiracy theory (see story, p. 34) — the idea that Mexico is secretly planning a “reconquista” (reconquering) of the seven states of the Southwest — that now animates large swaths of the anti-immigration movement. It’s being plugged on extremist websites, in gun magazines and similar electronic venues, and on immigrant-bashing radio shows like Peter Boyles’ program on KHOW-AM in Denver.

This isn’t the first angry, self-published novel from Bracken. His new book, *Domestic Enemies: The Reconquista*, is the second in a series that began with another paranoid fantasy about gun control and evil agents of the U.S. Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, a favorite *bête noire* of the extreme right. His latest book,

marked by an enthusiastic interest in busty women, is a xenophobe’s racy vision of hell.

Domestic Enemies opens in a secret Oklahoma prison camp (D-camp) full of women detained by the federal government for acts of terrorism. Here, Bracken’s curvaceous 27-year-old heroine, Ranya Bardiwell, tends the fields under the supervision of gun-toting “Internal Security Agency” guards, monitored all the while by a Radio Frequency Identification Device implanted in her shoulder.

Through flashbacks, we learn that Bardiwell gave birth to a son five years ago in federal prison. He was taken from her just minutes out of the womb.

The action begins as Bardiwell is summoned to the office of a female warden who attempts to seduce her. They take a bubble bath together, during which the warden reveals that Bardiwell’s son is living in Albuquerque, N.M., and has been adopted by FBI agent Alex Garabanda and his IRS agent wife.

Enraged at the thought of her child being raised by federal agents, Bardiwell straddles the naked warden and chokes her to death in the tub. She escapes, intent on recovering her son, but finds herself in a brave new post-amnesty world.

Gas is at \$29 a gallon, gold at \$7,000

an ounce. A lethal epidemic of “Monkey Pox” has swept through the south-east. Crime and out-of-control interest rates have citizens abandoning their homes by the thousands for tent camps in the “free states” of Wyoming, Montana and Idaho.

Preoccupied by ethnic violence in major cities and economic turmoil, the federal government has let southwestern states sink into bedlam. Armed gangs besiege Arizona and Phoenix has lost electrical power. Los Angeles is under martial law as neighborhoods burn.

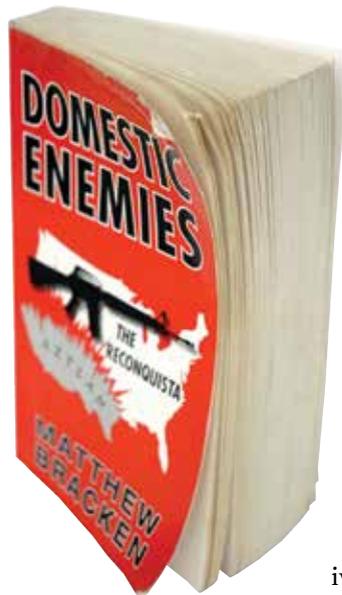
And New Mexico, where Bardiwell heads to retrieve her boy, has become a haven for communist revolutionaries. Now it’s “Nuevo Mexico.” The state has passed Spanish-only laws and razed businesses with English signs. Ranches once owned by Anglos

are seized and given to former undocumented immigrants. The brutal, M-16-toting Milicia de Nuevo Mexico aims to get rid of all Anglos.

Bardiwell is captured by the militia in Albuquerque. But, entranced by her curves and her marksmanship — demonstrated when she shoots a hippie — the dashing Comandante Basilo Ramos orders Bardiwell to conduct weapons training for his troops and makes her his mistress, holding her captive in his mansion.

In a bizarre scene, Bardiwell drugs Ramos, photographs him sodomizing a communist professor whom he strangles during sex, then escapes out

(continued on p. 64)



Discretion and the D.A.

How much latitude do prosecutors have in choosing which cases to pursue? And do those who disagree have any recourse? **BY RHONDA BROWNSTEIN**

In Cochise County, Ariz., anti-immigrant militant Roger Barnett has threatened Latinos at gunpoint, yet has never been prosecuted for his actions. In Tucson, armed nativist Roy Warden was caught on videotape threatening to blow a child's brains out, but the prosecutor, to the amazement of the sentencing judge, did not request that Warden serve any jail time. And in Maricopa County, Patrick Haab, a veteran with mental problems, was charged with aggravated assault by sheriff's deputies who found him at an Arizona rest stop holding seven undocumented immigrants at gunpoint. The prosecutor later dropped all the charges.

Why do prosecutors have so much power and authority to determine which cases are prosecuted and whether a person will face a harsh penalty or get away with a slap on the wrist? The answer is simple: "prosecutorial discretion." Under American law, government prosecuting attorneys have nearly absolute and unreviewable power to choose whether or not to bring criminal charges and what charges to bring.

There is no doubt that prosecutorial discretion is a necessary and important part of our system of justice — it allocates sparse prosecutorial resources, provides the basis for plea-bargaining and allows for leniency and mercy in a criminal justice system that is frequently harsh and impersonal. But it also places prosecutors in one of the most powerful positions in our criminal justice system. They literally have unchecked power to decide who will

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



In the political atmosphere of 1963 Alabama, prosecutors declined to bring charges against the Klansmen who murdered four young girls in a Birmingham church, even though the FBI rapidly identified the perpetrators. One of them, Bobby Cherry, was only prosecuted in 2002, when public opinion had changed dramatically. Today, many prosecutors in southern Arizona are similarly declining to bring unpopular cases against anti-Latino vigilantes.

stand trial for crimes. Though most prosecutors use their discretion wisely and ethically, that discretion can also be misused to bring criminal charges — or to refuse to bring them — based on a prosecutor's own personal political beliefs.

During the civil rights era, for example, white prosecutors in Southern towns notoriously refused to bring charges against whites for racially based hate crimes against African Americans — even when the evidence in favor of prosecution was overwhelming. Since 1989, federal authorities have re-examined 22 deaths from the civil rights era and made 25 arrests, leading to 16 convictions, two acquittals and one mistrial. Many of those cases could have been brought to trial many years or even decades ago if the local prose-

cutor had been willing to do so.

Even today, prosecutorial discretion is often exercised in a racially suspect manner. The *San Jose Mercury News* reviewed almost 700,000 criminal cases from California between 1981 and 1990 and uncovered statistically significant racial disparities in the prosecution of crimes. Among the study's findings was that 6% of whites, as compared to only 4% of minorities, won "interest of justice" dismissals, in which prosecutors dropped a criminal case entirely. The same study revealed that a white felony defendant with no criminal record stood a 33% chance of having a charge reduced to a misdemeanor or regulatory infraction, compared to 25% for a similarly situated African American or Latino.

(continued on p. 64)

FOR THE RECORD

incidents of apparent hate crimes and hate group activities listed in *For The Record* are drawn primarily from media sources. These incidents include only a fraction of the approximately 6,000-10,000 hate crimes reported to the FBI each year and an even smaller proportion of the 191,000 reported and unreported hate crimes that a 2005 government report estimated occur annually. This listing carries a selection of incidents from the first quarter of 2007 (any additional listings may be found on the Intelligence Project's website at www.intelligenceproject.org.)

ARIZONA

Eloy • Jan. 27, 2007

Four men wearing military-style berets and camouflage pants attacked 12 undocumented immigrants, killing a man and shooting a teenager.

Lake Havasu City • Jan. 29, 2007

A sticker calling for the support of "Operation Wetback" appeared on a media rack outside a restaurant. More stickers were reported at other locations.

CALIFORNIA

Bakersfield • Jan. 26, 2007

A swastika was burned into a lawn.

Elk Creek • Jan. 27, 2007

Christopher Wayne Fisher, 22, was charged with battery with serious injury and threatening with intent to terrorize for allegedly punching Gaurav Kumar Sharma and yelling racial slurs when Sharma's father began to speak in his native language, Punjabi.

Elk Grove • March 4, 2007

Five white men allegedly attacked a 19-year-old black man while yelling a racial epithet.

Fullerton • Feb. 16, 2007

Patrick John Dizon Solis, 22, and Michael Douglas Rama, 24, were charged with committing hate crimes as well as civil rights violations for allegedly beating disabled men who were in their care.

Harbor Gateway • March 9, 2007

Jonathan Fajardo, 18, and Ernesto Alcaez, 20, both suspected members of the 204th Street gang, pleaded not guilty to capital murder in connection with the December shooting death of a black eighth-grade girl that may have been racially motivated.

Huntington Beach • Jan. 22, 2007

Ronald Lee Bray, 25, was sentenced to two years and eight months in prison after pleading guilty to committing a hate crime and making a criminal threat for spitting on a black man in a wheelchair and pushing him into a light pole.

Palo Alto • March 2, 2007

Swastikas and a racial slur were written on three campus buildings.

Rancho Cucamonga • March 31, 2007

About 10 members of the Ku Klux Klan crashed a rally organized by the anti-illegal immigration group the Minuteman Project.

Redding • March 29, 2007

Swastikas were spray-painted on a garage, a mailbox and a street. Racial epithets were also spray-painted on the mailbox. A 14-year-old girl was charged with suspicion of vandalism and committing a hate crime.

Redlands • Feb. 21, 2007

A homeless man was beaten by a group of people. A 15-year-old boy was arrested on suspicion of assault with a deadly weapon.

Redondo Beach • March 9, 2007

A teenage boy was stabbed and beaten with a baseball bat, allegedly by two men who made disparaging remarks about his perceived sexuality. Brandon Blaxland, 19, and a 17-year-old boy were both charged with suspicion of a hate crime, attempted murder and assault with a deadly weapon.

Sacramento • March 23, 2007

Kevin William Ridenour, 21, and Nicholas Edward Craig, 18, were charged with conspiracy against

civil rights, interference with housing rights because of a person's race, and use of fire to commit a felony, for allegedly burning a cross in front of an African priest's residence.

San Diego • Jan. 26, 2007

A man was punched and part of his ear bitten off, allegedly by a black man who made anti-gay remarks.

San Francisco • Jan. 22, 2007

The letters "KKK" were scrawled on the front door of a business.

San Mateo • March 4, 2007

Tiffany Adler, 20, was charged with suspicion of two counts of misdemeanor hate crime and two counts of misdemeanor battery for allegedly throwing apples and asparagus while yelling a racial slur at a gay couple.

Santa Rosa • March 10, 2007

Swastikas and racist messages were scrawled on several churches throughout the city.

Ventura • Feb. 13, 2007

A 19-year-old man and his 15-year-old brother were arrested for allegedly starting a fight that is being labeled a hate crime because the 15-year-old used a racial slur.

Yuba City • Jan. 23, 2007

Aaron Scott Miller, 20, was arrested and charged with assault with a deadly weapon and making criminal threats after he allegedly used racial epithets and attacked an East Indian man with a box cutter.

COLORADO

Boulder • March 11, 2007

Two men allegedly attacked a 23-year-old man while yelling

comments about his sexuality.

Denver • Jan. 5, 2007

A 16-year-old boy and a 14-year-old boy were arrested on suspicion of spray-painting graffiti, including a swastika, on a Jewish private school.

Fort Collins • Jan. 12, 2007

The neo-Nazi Nationalist Coalition distributed fliers.

Lafayette • Feb. 13, 2007

The Nationalist Coalition distributed fliers with a picture of a blond woman and the words "Love Your Race."

Montrose • Jan. 30, 2007

Jason Fiske, 26, was sentenced to 12 years in prison plus an additional 10 years on charges related to attacking a gay man in 2005.

FLORIDA

Bonita • Feb. 27, 2007

A swastika was spray-painted on an anti-abortion sign.

Delray Beach • Jan. 28, 2007

A racial epithet was spray-painted on a sign at a church that has a black pastor and a predominantly black congregation.

Fort Myers • Jan. 29, 2007

Roger Joseph Ruel, 25, was charged with three counts of hate crimes after allegedly attacking a Hispanic man riding a bicycle.

Jensen Beach • Feb. 16, 2007

A swastika was drawn on the door of a residence.

Lake Clarke Shores • March 4, 2007

A swastika and anti-Semitic slurs were spray-painted on a Jewish man's truck.

Lehigh Acres • March 31, 2007

A suspicious fire destroyed the apartment of a gay couple.

Port Charlotte • Jan. 30, 2007

A swastika and the numbers “44” were scratched into the hood of a man’s car. The convertible top and all four tires were slashed.

Tampa • March 14, 2007

Three white students allegedly attacked a 16-year-old black boy while yelling a racial epithet.

Tarpon Springs • Feb. 6, 2007

Robert J. Mueller, 24, was charged with battery, shooting into an occupied dwelling and attempted murder. Mueller allegedly shot a black man in the shoulder while using racial epithets and then directed similar slurs to a police officer after his arrest.

Wahnetta • March 14, 2007

William David Brown Jr., 20, and Joseph Bearden, 21, were charged with first-degree murder in the stabbing death of Ryan Keith Skipper, a gay man.

IOWA

Des Moines

Feb. 6, 2007

Jassimen Dobbins and Angela Wade, both 19, were charged with first-degree burglary and third-degree arson for allegedly beating a gay teenager in December with a bottle, stabbing him with a fork, and stealing \$5, his ATM card and his driver’s license before setting his bag on fire.

Ottumwa • Feb. 6, 2007

Matthew A. Lanman, 17, was charged with fourth-degree criminal mischief as a hate crime for allegedly hanging a dead opossum and a note insulting blacks and Hispanics in a school bathroom.

Postville • Feb. 3, 2007

Anti-Semitic graffiti was spray-painted on a facility that specializes in kosher meat products.

KANSAS

Cambridge • Feb. 17, 2007

Four members of the anti-gay

hate group Westboro Baptist Church of Topeka, Kan., conducted a 45-minute protest near Cambridge-South Dorchester High School.

KENTUCKY

Louisville • Feb. 22, 2007

Jarred Hensley and Andrew Watkins pleaded guilty to charges of second-degree assault under extreme emotional disturbance and were sentenced to three years in prison for beating a boy they thought was Latino at a carnival last summer.

LOUISIANA



NEW JERSEY

Sussex • Feb. 17, 2007

Eric Hunt, 22, was arrested on several charges, including committing a hate crime, for attacking Holocaust survivor and author Elie Wiesel.

Grambling • Jan. 21, 2007

John Dooley Jr., 24, was arrested for simple battery and hate crimes after allegedly attacking three males of Indian descent while calling them terrorists.

New Roads • March 4, 2007

Jeremy C. Barrett was charged with being a felon in possession of a firearm, aggravated assault and possession of illegal weapons after allegedly yelling racial slurs at a family while firing a shotgun.

MARYLAND

Baltimore • March 16, 2007

Former Hagerstown police officer Jeffrey Shifler, 42, was sentenced to 51 months in prison for sending

a series of anonymous racist threats to members of a minority community.

Hagerstown • Feb. 8, 2007

Gordon Young, former leader of The World Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, was charged with forcing a 15-year-old girl to perform a sex act.

Waldorf • March 28, 2007

Racist graffiti was written on a wall at a school.

MASSACHUSETTS

Franklin • Jan. 9, 2007

John Wallace, 50, was charged with a hate crime after allegedly painting a swastika and the word “jail” on his neighbor’s door.

Greenfield • March 28, 2007

Nazi symbols were spray-painted on a tower.

MISSISSIPPI

Southaven •

Feb. 1, 2007

Two teens confessed to writing “KKK” on five mailboxes and a truck in a subdivision and pouring honey, mustard and peanut butter on mail.

They also smeared ketchup on one resident’s front door.

MISSOURI

Columbia • March 10, 2007

About 20 members of the National Socialist Movement held a rally.

NEBRASKA

Lincoln • Jan. 27, 2007

A piece of paper resembling a KKK hood was placed near a Martin Luther King Jr. Week display.

NEW JERSEY

Jersey City • March 24, 2007

Swastikas and racist graffiti were scrawled over a Little League field.

Keansburg • Feb. 7, 2007

James Schmidtberg was convicted of second-degree bias intimidation, third-degree aggravated assault and possession of a weapon for an unlawful purpose for allegedly chasing and assaulting two Latino men bicycling to

their jobs.

NEW YORK

Chelsea • Jan. 6, 2007

Two men were assaulted after leaving a gay bar.

Hawlett • Jan. 7, 2007

Anti-Semitic graffiti and racial epithets were scrawled on two parked vehicles.

Islip • March 5, 2007

Racist graffiti was spray-painted on a high school wall.

Long Island • Feb. 6, 2007

A black former New York City corrections captain witnessed someone shouting a racial epithet just before his mailbox blew up.

New York City • Jan. 11, 2007

A racial slur and a sketch of a lynched person were drawn on a chalkboard in a locker room used by black athletes.

New York City • Feb. 7, 2007

An apartment building employee was attacked by a tenant who made an anti-Semitic remark after the victim asked him to turn down his stereo.

New York City • March 16, 2007

A Catholic high school student was brutally punched, kicked and teased for looking “Chinese” by a gang of youths while riding a city bus home from school.

Staten Island • Jan. 3, 2007

David Eisler, 19, was charged with a hate crime, aggravated harassment and attempted assault for unleashing a tirade of homophobic slurs toward a fast-food worker.

Yonkers • Feb. 13, 2007

The numbers “666” and lewd remarks were written on a Catholic elementary school.

Yonkers • March 28, 2007

A swastika was painted on a church.

NORTH CAROLINA

Chapel Hill • Feb. 3, 2007

Two men allegedly assaulted a lesbian couple who were kissing.

Charlotte • Jan. 13, 2007

A swastika was spray-painted on a car.

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

Durham • Jan. 20, 2007

Michael Bates and Michael Robert Six, both 20, and Christopher Barnette, 19, were charged with assault and battery and ethnic intimidation for allegedly assaulting three Palestinian students while yelling ethnic slurs.

Greenville • Feb. 3, 2007

Tiffany Dawn O'Neal Maxwell, 36; Wallace Eugene Woodard III, 25; Dustin Grey Frick, 18; and a 16-year-old boy, all alleged members of a white supremacist group, were arrested for kidnapping, assault, inflicting serious injury and conspiracy to commit murder. Woodard was also charged with communicating threats. The group was accused of kidnapping a man, shaving his head and then kicking him in the head with steel-toed boots.

OREGON

Medford • Jan. 23, 2007

A large rock with a threatening letter attached to it by a rubber band was thrown through the window of an African-American couple's residence.

Portland • Jan. 11, 2007

Four black girls — Chelsea Rivers, 14; Rinita Low and Brianna Streetter, both 13; and Mary Michelle Blackshear, 16 — were charged with robbery, intimidation and assault for allegedly attacking and robbing a 16-year-old white girl because of her race.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Rock Hill • Feb. 4, 2007

John William Dunkle Jr. was charged with damage to property after he allegedly wrote racial slurs in red ink on a restroom wall at his high school.

TENNESSEE

Nashville • March 23, 2007

Newsletters from the Northern and Southern Knights of the Ku Klux Klan were left in driveways in a neighborhood.

TEXAS

Stephenville • March 17, 2007

About two dozen members of the Traditional Christian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan rallied.

WASHINGTON

Lacey • Jan. 26, 2007

Army Rangers Samuel Crino, 21, Paul Pace, 21, and David Pace, 20, who are white, were charged with malicious harassment for allegedly assaulting an African-American man while using a racial slur outside a bar.

Seattle • Feb. 20, 2007

Charges were filed against Brian D. Lappin, 35, and Nichol A. Kirk, 25, who are both white, for malicious harassment under the state's hate-crime law. The two allegedly harassed two delicatessen employees with racial slurs and called them "terrorists" and "un-American."

WYOMING

Cheyenne • Jan. 16, 2007

Racial slurs were spray-painted on a church. ▲

BOOKS ON THE RIGHT (continued from p. 60)

a second-story window, climbing down a rope made from the comandante's silk ties.

Bardiwell then hooks up with her child's disillusioned adoptive father, Alex Garabanda, who is suicidal after losing custody of the boy to his ex-wife the IRS agent and her lesbian lover.

Bardiwell and Garabanda set out to rescue the boy from his "two mommies," but first stop to conduct surveillance at a secret meeting of traitorous politicians and "billionaire globalists" drafting a new Constitution to turn America socialist.

Discovered while photographing the meeting, Bardiwell shoots down a Blackhawk helicopter and she and Garabanda escape to San Diego. In hot pursuit is Comandante Ramos, who vows to take Bardiwell to a Mexican whorehouse, inject her with heroin and force her to work as a prostitute, and IRS storm troopers, led by the steroid-enhanced girlfriend of Garabanda's ex-wife.

Ultimately, the pair recover the child, and the book closes with them cheek to cheek in a small plane flying north, the boy sleeping next to them.

Domestic Enemies plods along between the over-the-top action sequences. Bracken oversexualizes his gun-loving heroine, devoting as much prose to her breasts as he does her weapons — which is a lot — and many minor players come off as one-dimensional caricatures. But a sexy heroine shooting guns of varying calibers at liberal, communist, open-borders villains in a world destroyed by immigration and multiculturalism is an irresistible fantasy for the audience this genre of fiction attracts — no matter the novel's numerous flaws.

Of course, this fictionalization is hardly necessary, even for those given to this kind of thing. All one need do is listen to real-life zealots like Glenn Spencer, head of the hate group American Border Patrol, who puts it like this: "Our country is being invaded by Mexico with hostile intentions. When it blows up, they can't say we didn't tell them, when the blood starts flowing on the border and in L.A. We're [talking] about *la reconquista*." ▲

— Susy Buchanan

LEGAL BRIEF (continued from p. 61)

So what is the recourse if a prosecutor refuses to bring charges that are obviously meritorious, such as in the Arizona cases involving anti-immigrant militants, because of his or her own political beliefs?

Unfortunately, the same factor that insulated southern whites who terrorized and murdered African Americans during the civil rights era

is now protecting the Roger Barnetts, Roy Wardens and Patrick Haabs of the world — populist anger at a particular group of people, in this case Latinos perceived to be undocumented immigrants. Prosecutors concerned about their jobs (local district attorneys are typically elected, and U.S. attorneys are appointed by the president and confirmed by the U.S. Senate) may

find it easier not to bring unpopular cases.

At the end of the day, there are only two solutions in such situations. Either the prosecutor is ethical and follows the law without regard to the political consequences, or public sentiment changes, as it did in the Deep South in recent decades, making it politically palatable to pursue the cases. ▲

Little Shop of Horrors

A septuagenarian white supremacist and local celebrity offers up racist wares in a dusty store in northern Georgia **BY SUSY BUCHANAN**

KENNESAW, Ga. —With his long, scruffy beard, chunky silver rings and bandanna headband, the owner and proprietor of Wildman’s Civil War Surplus and Herb Shop looks from a distance like a typical aging hippie.

But if the twin .45s strapped to Dent Myers’ belt aren’t indication enough that he’s no New Age apothecary, a stroll through Wildman’s store offers other clues.

To get to the packets of more than 200 herbal remedies the 76-year-old says he prepares himself, you have to walk by a dingy display case full of KKK daggers and Civil War bullets and past the rack of white-power novels and Johnny Rebel CDs, featuring classics such as “Nigger Hatin’ Me,” “Nigger Nigger, Who Likes a Nigger,” “Move them Niggers North” and “Some Niggers Never Die, They Just Smell That Way.” Crossing into a chained-off museum area of the store, posted “No Dogs, No Negroes, No Mexicans” (although the sign has been amended to read “Dogs OK”), you walk down a narrow dusty corridor lined with Confederate soldier uniforms, Satan-shaped candles and T-shirts from the racist band Skrewdriver until you reach a mannequin dressed in moldering Klan robes and holding a noose.

The Klansman stands right in front of the herb rack.

With Yosemite Sam’s swagger and Foghorn Leghorn’s smooth Southern drawl, “Wildman” Myers describes his inventory as “a potpourri of the history of anything from white-power books to War Between the States memorabilia, a treasure trove piled floor to ceiling with dust and intermittent relics.”

He’s not kidding about the dust. A layer of filth coats his entire inventory, floorboards are uneven, and he asks

visitors to kindly refrain from leaning on a support post in the back room, lest the roof cave in.

Myers’ dubious treasures include a small box of “niglet repellent” — cotton balls, he explains. “It’s supposed



STEVE THACKSTON

Dent “Wildman” Myers’ store may be filthy and crammed with racist memorabilia, but the town of Kennesaw, Ga., seems to have embraced him wholeheartedly.

to be a joke,” Myers says. “Somebody told me they won’t pick cotton because they’ve gone upper-class now.” There are stacks of Confederate battlefield maps, a Ralph Lauren perfume bottle, a scrap of steel wool, what looks like a desiccated ear, and piles of newspaper clippings featuring Myers, who has become a kind of unofficial spokesman for the town, a cantankerous former Confederate stronghold. Since 1982, when Kennesaw passed an ordinance requiring all citizens to own a gun and ammunition (exceptions were later added) in a hot-blooded response to

Morton Grove, Ill.’s passage of a handgun ban, Myers has posed with his guns for countless outsiders and journalists.

And the town seems to have wholeheartedly embraced him, despite the racist and Confederate flags that have plastered his two-story storefront since he opened for business in 1971. In 1993, the Kennesaw Historical Society awarded him its first Historic Preservation Award, a fact noted on the society’s website (although there’s nothing there about his racism). In 2002, Myers appeared as Clara’s uncle in a performance of “The Nutcracker, Kennesaw Style.”

In Kennesaw, Ga., Dent Myers is a celebrity.

“I’ve had visitors from every country in the world,” boasts Myers, who claims to have shared a psychic with Doris Day and says he is the reincarnation of Confederate Gen. Thomas “Stonewall” Jackson. “I had King Hassan [of Morocco] here about three or four years ago... Johnny Cash shot a movie here. Kenny Rogers shot a movie here.”

Myers also has a photo of himself with Randy Weaver — the white supremacist whose wife and son were shot in a 1992 confrontation with federal agents. It’s tacked up on his wall just to the right of a large collage of snapshots of unfortunate African Americans who have wandered into his store over the years and found themselves ambushed by Myers’ camera.

Myers won’t admit to membership in the Klan, or any organized group — “I’m not much of a joiner,” he explains slyly — but he’s clearly not bothered by the idea.

“I’ve been called a racist, redneck, honky bigot — that’s my full name,” Myers told the *Intelligence Report*. “I just let it slop off me like a proverbial duck, ’cept my feathers don’t get ruffled.” ▲

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