BLACK SUPREMACIST GROUP ON THE RISE AGAIN



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PREACHER
FROM BALTIC
NATION
LEADS
WEST COAST
ANTI-GAY
MOVEMENT



PLUS

TONY ALAMO MINISTRIES Inside an Anti-Catholic Cult

THE PIED PIPER Alabama Skinhead Recruiter Faces Ex-Followers' Accusations

### Margins to the Mainstream

BY MARK POTOK, EDITOR

SEVENTEEN YEARS AGO THIS MONTH, A grotesque exercise in political pandering and refusal to see the obvious reached its nadir as then-Miami Mayor Xavier Suarez, urged on by other leaders, declared Oct. 7, 1990, "Yahweh ben Yahweh Day."

It didn't matter that followers of the man whose original name was



Hulon Mitchell Jr. had already been linked to the firebombing of a street of houses and the terroristic takeover of a South Florida housing complex. No account was taken of a major criminal investigation publicly known to have been opened a year earlier. Reports filtering out of Mitchell's group of black supremacist ideology, incredible violence, and the molestation of girls as young as 10, had no effect either.

But within weeks, Suarez and the black and white leaders who also pushed to honor Mitchell's Nation of Yahweh group — politicians thrilled that the self-described "prince of peace" seemed to be bringing order to their racially troubled city — were severely embarrassed. Mitchell and 15 of his followers were arrested on federal racketeering charges tied to the murders of 14 people. Many of the victims were whites whose ears had been hacked off and brought to Mitchell as war trophies.

The story of Yahweh ben Yahweh and his short love affair with the political establishment of South Florida might have served as a cautionary tale, a warning to those in the political mainstream to be careful about legitimizing extremism.

But the sad fact is that it didn't.

Scattered throughout this issue of the *Intelligence Report* are numerous reminders of how radical-right ideas and personalities continue to make their way from the political margins to the mainstream. Too often, they are aided by self-interested politicians and pundits who ignore well-known evidence of the extremism of those they embrace. Consider just a few examples:

- James Edwards' Tennessee radio show, called "The Political Cesspool," has become the nation's most important promoter of neo-Nazis, Klan associates, Holocaust deniers and other white nationalists. But that didn't stop Memphis City Councilman E.C. Jones from presenting Edwards with a certificate that honored his "outstanding contributions to the community," just as it didn't give then-CNN host Paula Zahn second thoughts about putting him on her show three times this spring with barely any reference to his politics.
- Keith Rush, a longtime rightwing radio talk show host, has for decades supported neo-Nazi and former Klan leader David Duke. In June, Rush was elected to the Louisiana Republican State Central Committee, governing body of the state GOP. Rush's close ties to Duke were ignored by the political class, only coming to public light in liberal political blogs after the vote.
- Since early this year, neo-Nazi groups have circulated claims that a young couple murdered in Knoxville, Tenn., were sexually mutilated and the victims of a blackon-white hate crime that, they insist, the media has conspired to cover up. In fact, as police have repeatedly stated, there was no racial aspect to the crime and no mutilation

occurred. But country singer Charlie Daniels publicly claimed that one victim was castrated and the other had her breasts cut off while still alive. Syndicated columnist Michelle Malkin joined in in May, when, guesthosting the Fox News Channel's "The O'Reilly Factor," she suggested that the crime was motivated by race hate, spoke of "unconfirmed reports" of mutilation, and claimed that the female victim's body was found in five separate bags — all utter falsehoods promoted by hate groups.

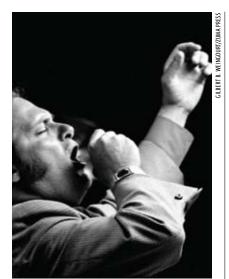
None of these cases approaches the severity of the Nation of Yahweh (which, as a story in this issue reports, is again on the march following the recent death of its founder). But the injection of racist ideology into the political mainstream that they represent matters greatly. As prominent white nationalist Bob Whitaker wrote of James Edwards and his radio show: "The Political Cesspool is one of the first major steps toward making our perfectly legitimate and generally felt concerns — the ones that are presently denounced as heresy, racism and hate — the mainstream."

Information is the key to fighting back. When Keith Rush runs for a key state post in the Republican leadership, his links to David Duke - and Duke's outright neo-Nazism - need to be pointed out. When Michelle Malkin aids and abets a false narrative — that the politically correct establishment is downplaying blackon-white hate crime — she needs to be called out. When Mayor Suarez was about to honor the frightening criminal who wound up going to prison for more than 11 years, someone needed to let the Miami leader and his advisers know what was going on.

The alternative is a national political dialogue based not on our common interests and goals as a nation, but one infected by racism, hatred and conflict.



COVER PHOTO: AP IMAGES



### 20 The Ravening Wolf

Tony Alamo, the founder of a notorious anti-Catholic and anti-gay cult, has re-emerged publicly after serving years in prison for tax evasion. Townsfolk in Fouke, Ark., where Tony Alamo Christian Ministries is now based, are organizing against the cult while former members gather to document stories of horrific abuse.

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Russian-speaking Christian fundamentalists, most of them immigrants from parts of the former Soviet Union, are at the heart of a ferocious anti-gay movement that has sprung up in the Western United States, especially in Seattle and Sacramento, Calif. A recent murder has drawn attention to the movement that is led, in large part, by a Latvian megachurch preacher who once breakfasted with President Bush.



### 28 Rebirth of a Nation

Yahweh ben Yahweh, the founder of the black supremacist Nation of Yahweh who was imprisoned for 11 years in connection with the murders of 14 people, has died. But the group he started is showing strong signs of new life, with wealthy followers in Florida, Canada and Texas predicting the imminent end of white "dominion."



### 37 Memphis Sewage

Broadcast out of a Tennessee studio, "The Political Cesspool" has become the primary nexus of radio hate in America, featuring a "Who's Who" of the radical right. Now, smoothtalking host James Edwards is being hailed by other white supremacists as the next potential David Duke of the U.S. political scene.

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For most people, the name of Nazi Germany's führer evokes images of death camps and emaciated corpses. Not so the "Adolf the Great" website.

### <u>INTELLIGENCE BRIEFS</u>



ANTI-SEMITISM

### Amid Talk of 'Black Savages,' a Remarkable Exception

The vicious talk at the white supremacist "Rally Against Black Gang Terrorism" in Kalamazoo, Mich., last Aug. 4 didn't come as much of a surprise to anyone. After all, the speakers included some of the most hard-line racists in America, men who characterized black people from a podium behind a line of riot police as "savage black criminals," "gang hoodlums" and "niggers."

And then came James Wickstrom.

Wickstrom is no racial softie. He is a leading exponent of the theology of Christian

Identity, which says that black men and women are soulless "mud people," animals created outside the Garden of Eden along with the "beasts of the field." He has spoken of topping fence-posts with the heads of his enemies and worse.

But in Kalamazoo, Wickstrom was positively solicitous. "I know that not all blacks belong to black terrorist gangs," he told the crowd. "I know there are blacks in this community who are very honorable and very truthful, and I guarantee you that I know they are sick and tired of the violence that is happening."

Wickstrom sounded almost like a social worker at times, referring to how "wonderful" it was that black women were working to reduce violence, and adding, in remarks that must have amazed his comrades, "Blacks and whites should work together."

Then he got to the real point.

"It is time," he told the crowd, "for black America and white America to understand that it is the Jew who has

pitted us against each other. It is the communist Jew who has disintegrated our society, our educational base, outsourc[ed] our jobs, destroyed our farms, deindustrializ[ed] our nation, so there are no jobs left in America... . You have got to learn who your *real* enemy is."

It was Jews, Wickstrom added, who brought

Africans to America in chains, throwing "two thirds over to the sharks" on the way. And then, he said, there is the brown peril: "Did you know that the 30 million illegal Mexican crim-

inal immigrants have stolen 62% of the jobs of black peo-

ple? Are you aware of that?"

Wickstrom was not the first white supremacist to reach out to blacks. George Lincoln Rockwell, the late founder of the American Nazi Party, was one of several who unsuccessfully sought allegiances with separatist black nationalists. (Some black nationalist groups, like the Nation of Islam, are strongly anti-Semitic.) But Wickstrom



CHUCK HEIN

### INTELLIGENCE BRIEFS

may have been the first to suggest that blacks and whites work together.

Soon enough, though, it was back to business as usual.

Closing out the speeches, rally organizer Hal Turner bellowed about "black criminal hoodlums." "It is very rare in America today," he said, "that a white man will stand in public and talk about lynching blacks, but I did that here today and if you think I'm kidding ... I want you to bear in mind that the reason the city put up these fences and called in all these cops was not to protect us from you.

"It was to protect you from us."

And with that, the rally was over. On the police-provided buses back to their cars, the rally participants did not engage in further sweet talk about alliances with African Americans. On the contrary, one organizer gave a pep talk advocating being systematically rude to black people in order to heighten racial tensions.

James Wickstrom, friend of the black man, remained silent.

NEO-NAZIS

## Wife Accuses Pistol-Packing Judge of Neo-Nazism

Around Muscogee County, Ga., H. Haywood Turner III is known as the county magistrate who, during a driving altercation, brandished a pistol at a U.S. Army sergeant. Both that crime — he pleaded guilty to reckless driving in 2007 — and Turner's attempts to keep it under wraps made a splash in the local news.

Now Judge Turner stands accused of having an even bigger secret. In a February 2006 filing in a contentious divorce proceeding, lawyers for Alis Elizabeth Van-Dorn Turner contended that Turner had been a "lifetime" member of the neo-Nazi National Alliance for more than 30 years. "During the marriage," the filing claimed, "the husband constantly forced the wife to listen to the propaganda of hatred advanced by the National Alliance. … [Turner] would frequently attempt to

force her to read those articles published by the National Alliance."

Turner's wife could not be reached to elaborate, and the judge did not reply to letters and E-mails from the *Intelligence Report* requesting comment.

Alis Turner also claimed that her husband had a collection of Nazi war relics including "the bowl used by Adolph Hitler to eat from." She accused him of beating her, locking her in their home, and cutting off their electricity for months.

Turner has expressed some surprising attitudes, if his wife's claims are true. A registered Democrat, the judge once spoke sympathetically about peace activists arrested at Fort Benning, Ga., and said he had personally witnessed human rights violations in Latin America. In a jacket blurb for India Unveiled, a photojournalism book about the subcontinent. Turner was effusive. "The entire work," he wrote, "has the clear aura of genius and the karma of a soul so profound and yet so gentle."

But Judge Turner is also well known

for his crude and controversial statements. In October 2001, he told a defendant in open court that bombing a city facility in Columbus, Ga., might be the only way to get attention from a City Council that Turner claimed was stingy with pay raises. "I said, to get their attention, you'd have to do something, I think I mentioned

a bomb on the government center," he told WTVM-TV in Columbus. "That's rather bad in light of Sept. 11."



JUDGE TURNER

## Nativist Video Depicts Apparent Border Shooting

The *Intelligence Report* has obtained a chilling video that Robert Crooks, the leader of the nativist extremist group Mountain Minutemen. E-mailed this

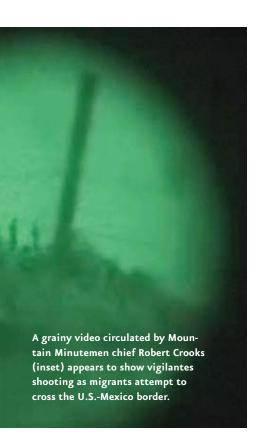
"Sorry, folks, it's kind of hard to shoot a shotgun and a video at the same time."

summer to several other prominent nativist leaders, including Jim Gilchrist, co-founder of the original Minuteman Project. In the E-mail, Crooks suggests that Gilchrist is a weakling who can "Talk the Talk" but not "Walk the Walk."

"This video shows how to keep a 'Home Depot' parking lot empty," Crooks wrote in his sneering July 26 E-mail, titled "Homeland Defence." Gilchrist, whose organization had earlier provided Crooks' group with supplies, responded by banning members of his organization from any contact with Crooks.

Filmed through a night-vision scope, the grainy four-minute video shows two or three men standing on a hill that appears to be on the Mexican side of the border, beyond a barbed-wire fence. "All right, come on across, motherfuckers," a man says off camera in a whisper. "Yeah, go that way. I dare you to go that way. That's my fucking trail, bitch!"

Then, after muttering about the distant figures being "cockroaches," the man shouts out loud, "Hey *putos* ["faggots"], one, two, three! Get the fuck out



of here!" Next comes the distinct sound of a shotgun shell being chambered, followed by a sudden flash of light and the sound of a shotgun blast.

The direction of the gunfire is unclear. In an E-mail responding to a request for comment from the *Report*, Crooks said only that he did not film the video, did not post it on a video-sharing site, and is not the narrator. He did not confirm or deny forwarding it to Gilchrist.

Crooks' group, the Mountain Minutemen, is one of several armed Minuteman spinoffs now active on the U.S.-Mexico border in the rugged desert between Campo and Jacumba, Calif. Crooks has a reputation as a particularly hard-line nativist. His group is believed to be tiny.

In the video, when the camera pans back to the hilltop, the men are gone. "And that's how you get rid of Mexicans," the narrator says with a mocking laugh, before concluding with an apology for the shaky camera work. "Sorry, folks, it's kind of hard to shoot a shotgun and a video at the same time."

### "OVERHEARD"

"We must stop it before they send your grandma, your pastor, or you to jail for sharing your faith."

 Faith2Action President JANET FOLGER in an April 18 press release opposing a proposed federal hate crimes bill that she falsely claimed would jail non-violent critics of homosexuality

"[T]he Jewish [George] Soros is a fake Holocaust survivor, who — instead of surviving the Holocaust — helped the Nazis perpetrate it."

 Commentator DEBBIE SCHLUSSEL in an April 18 blog item falsely accusing the liberal financier, who was 13 when the Nazis invaded his native Hungary, of being a "war criminal"

"[W]e unmasked them as knuckle-dragging savages from the 10th century."

Fox News Radio host JOHN GIBSON, who also hosts Fox News Channel's "The Big Story
 With John Gibson," describing the Iraqi people on his April 23 radio show

"[Undocumented immigrants] hate American people ... [and] are determined to destroy this country, and there is nothing they won't do."

 DON LARSEN, chairman of Legislative District 65 for the Utah County, Utah, Republican Party, after submitting a resolution April 28 that equated such immigrants with Satan's minions

"I want every Muslim immigrant to America ... to be required by law to wear a GPS tracking bracelet at all times."

- "Gunny"  ${\tt BOB\ NEWMAN}$  on the May 8 broadcast of "The Gunny Bob Show" on Denver's Newsradio 850 KOA

"A bill in Congress makes it a crime for pastors and churches to speak out against homosexuality."

> American Family Association Chairman DON WILDMON, falsely characterizing a proposed federal hate crimes law in a June 14 "action alert" E-mailed to supporters

"Give 'em all a little nuclear waste and let 'em take it on down to Mexico. ... Tell 'em it's a tortilla warmer."

- Host  ${\tt NEAL\ BOORTZ},$  on the June 21 edition of Cox Radio Syndication's "The Neal Boortz Show," describing what he'd like to do with undocumented Mexican workers

"I compare them to people like Gandhi."

— U.S. Rep. RON PAUL (R-Texas) in a televised June 22 interview with a tax-protest website discussing the case of two armed tax evaders, sentenced to five years in prison, who have threatened violence against law enforcement authorities during a continuing standoff

"[W]hen I see a woman walking around in a burqa, I see a Nazi ... a hateful Nazi who would like to cut your throat and kill your children."

- MICHAEL SAVAGE, on the July 2 edition of Talk Radio Network's "The Savage Nation"

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

### ANTI-ABORTION VIOLENCE

## Would-Be Clinic Bomber Handed 40-Year Sentence

Once again, it appears that *The Turner Diaries*, neo-Nazi William Pierce's fictional 1978 saga of racist terrorism, is

influencing violent right-wing extremists. This time, however, it was not a racist killer who was inspired, but a tattoo shop worker opposed to abortion.

In a plea agreement between prosecutors and Paul Ross Evans, who tried but failed to blow up an Austin, Texas, abortion clinic, it emerged

that the novel, which inspired Timothy McVeigh's deadly 1995 Oklahoma City bombing, was found during a search of his apartment. Evans, 27, was sentenced to 40 years in prison for attempting to use a weapon of mass destruction in Austin last April 25.

According to the FBI, Evans packed a cooler with a propane cylinder, a footlong copper pipe, a mechanical timer, potassium nitrate, a model rocket detonator and two pounds of nails and left it outside the Austin Women's Health Center. The clinic's business manager noticed the package in the parking lot at 2:15 p.m. After ordering the clinic evacuated, authorities used a robot to detonate the bomb.

Evans was arrested after the Texas

Joint Terrorism Task Force traced materials in the bomb to a nearby Wal-Mart, where Evans purchased the cooler and other bomb materials with a credit card a day before his attack. Found on his person were addresses of a stem cell researcher, a pornography company, and an Austin attorney who argued the 1973

Roe v. Wade case that decriminalized abortion.

It wasn't Evans' first brush with the law. He was paroled in 2005 after a burglary and robbery conviction that resulted from a 2002 crime spree in which he stole a pickup near his hometown of Lufkin, Texas. During that spree, Evans robbed a convenience store and held up a Whataburger restaurant with a pellet gun.

Evans' planned attack was the first abortion-related attempted bombing of 2007, according to the National Abortion Federation (NAF). Since 1977, the NAF reports a total of 5,622 incidents of abortion-related violence — including seven murders, 17 attempted murders, 41 bombings, 173 arsons, 378 attempted bomb or arson attacks, and four kidnappings. The NAF data also show that the most serious kinds of violence — murder, attempted murder and bombings — tailed off in the late 1990s, after years of increasingly negative publicity about such crimes.

In a related matter, convicted assassin James Kopp, who murdered Dr. Barnett Slepian in 1998, was sentenced to life in prison a second time in June for violating the federal Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act. He was earlier convicted of state murder charges. At the same time, Canadian authorities said they were hoping to interview Kopp, who is suspected of sniper shootings that wounded physicians who provide abortions in the cities of Vancouver, Winnipeg and Hamilton.

Both Evans and Kopp were lauded, meanwhile, on the "Army of God" website run by Donald Spitz of Alabama, who offered no whitewashes. "I would have preferred that babykilling abortion mill, the Austin Women's Health Center, would have been blown off the face of the earth," Spitz wrote on his site, "and that the babykilling abortionist would have been inside when it happened."



'14 Words,' Dies in Prison

David Lane, a revered figure among white nationalists, died May 28 at the age of 68 in a Terre Haute, Ind., federal prison. Lane was serving a 190-year sentence for racketeering, conspiracy and violating the civil rights of Denver talk radio host Alan Berg, who was assasinated in 1984 by Lane and other members of the Bruders Schweigen, or Silent Brotherhood, a terrorist group

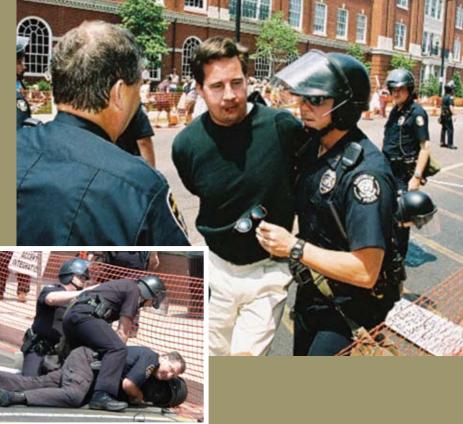




### MAY 26, 2007 · KNOXVILLE, TENN.

Police tackled and arrested longtime neo-Nazi Alex Linder after he crossed police lines at a demonstration and fought with officers. Linder, a vicious ideologue and the proprietor of the Vanguard News Network website (motto: "No Jews. Just right"), had organized a "rally against genocide" that focused on the carjacking and brutal murders of Channon Christian and Christopher Newsom in Knoxville last January. Linder and other white supremacists have used the case to claim black-on-white hate murders are not sufficiently covered by the media (see related story, p. 15), though Knoxville police say

the killings, while horrific, contained no element of race hate. The victims' parents also have deplored the racist rhetoric. Linder was arrested just before the rally began as he walked down Main Street — set aside for use by police and emergency workers only — with a sign reading, "Murdered By Muds, Covered Up By Jews." Linder was charged with disorderly conduct, resisting arrest, assault on a police officer and vandalism. He posted a \$4,500 bond later the same day.



also known as The Order.

Lane's death touched off paeans from racists around the country and abroad. June 30 was designated a "Global Day of Remembrance," with demonstrations held in at least five U.S. cities as well as England, Germany, Russia and the Ukraine. Neo-Nazi activist April Gaede

(see also related story, p. 60), a Kalispell, Mont., resident who corresponded frequently with Lane, announced with great fanfare that she and "the gals from WAU [Women For Aryan Unity]" had established a David Lane Memorial Fund to cover the expenses of interring Lane's remains.

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According to Gaede, Lane told her that he wanted to be cremated and have his ashes placed in the capstone of a pyramid monument. However, Gaede wrote on the racist online forum Stormfront, "Since we are not in a situation to build a monument in a White homeland," Gaede was arranging to instead distribute Lane's ashes

among 14 smaller, portable pyramids, which would then be enshrined in the homes of 14 white nationalist women. (The number of pyramids is a direct reference to "the 14 words," the white nationalist catchphrase authored by Lane: "We must secure the existence of our people and a future for white children.") Lane's body reportedly was cremated in early June after a private ceremony near Kalispell.

The Portland, Ore.-based



One of many rallies commemorating the late David Lane took place in Kiev, the capital of the Ukraine, where some 100 people marched to the U.S. embassy carrying candles and pictures honoring the American far-right terrorist. The marchers were organized by two neo-Nazi groups, Blood & Honour Ukraine and the Ukrainian National Labor Party.

### INTELLIGENCE BRIEFS

skinhead gang Volksfront claimed online to have donated \$1,000 to the memorial fund, and dozens of registered users on Stormfront and other racist online forums such as Vanguard News Network posted emotional tributes to Lane along with reports of mailing Gaede their own, smaller donations.

Tom Metzger, a well-known neo-Nazi ideologue, accused the government of "murdering" Lane by transferring him to the federal penitentiary shortly before his death. "They knew how bad his heart was but they did it anyway," Metzger wrote on Stormfront. "We probably will never know what they did to him at Terre Haute. I assume it was pretty rough treatment. Never Forgive. Never Forget."

Others remembered Lane differently — as the driver of the getaway car for the Silent Brotherhood gang that machinegunned Berg to death in the driveway of his home. Berg had irked white nationalists with his radio commentary.

### ANTI-IMMIGRATION GROUPS

## Second Minuteman Group Splits Amid Accusations

For the second time this year, a major American nativist group has splintered amidst a welter of accusations of financial improprieties and mismanagement.

Dissatisfied rumblings from officials in the Minuteman Civil Defense Corps (MCDC) turned to a roar this May, when MCDC President Chris Simcox responded to questions about his financial accountability and "micromanagement" of MCDC with a purge. Calling their request for a May 19 meeting an attempted "palace coup," Simcox, well known for his authoritarian leadership style, peremptorily fired three national officers, one regional leader, and 14 of MCDC's 27 state leaders.

The ousted leaders responded with a public no-confidence letter to Simcox and by forming their own civilian border patrol group, the Patriots' Border Alliance. Former MCDC official Bob Wright, chairman of the new group, then wrote an open letter to Simcox accusing him of "call-

ing names like some wet pants mamma's boy on a kindergarten playground" rather than dealing with the allegations.

The MCDC rift closely paralleled the crack-up of the Minuteman Project, a nativist group led by Jim Gilchrist until

February, when he was fired by that group's board of

inations. Taking many members with him, Simcox created MCDC. Gilchrist retained control of the older group.

The angry feuding over MCDC's finances heated up further in June, when a *Washington Times* story reported that MCDC's Political Action Committee had spent fully 97% of some \$300,000 raised from donors on "operating expenses."









Free radicals: The colliding egos of four extremist nativists — Bob Wright (clockwise from lower left), Jim Gilchrist, Glenn Spencer and Chris Simcox — have led to a series of splits in what was once a relatively unified Minuteman movement.

directors amid allegations of gross mismanagement, embezzlement and fraud. (Gilchrist has denied any financial wrongdoing.) After first suing the board, Gilchrist changed course in April, dropping the lawsuit and incorporating a new eponymous competing group, Jim Gilchrist's Minuteman Project.

Ironically, Gilchrist and Simcox were once friends and partners on the original Minuteman Project, which took off in April 2005 during a civilian border patrol operation in Arizona. In the wake of that effort, the two men, both endowed with outsize egos, split amid mutual recrim-

The PAC was formed to help fund campaigns of nativist political candidates.

The fired MCDC leaders now involved in Patriots' Border Alliance aren't the only ones questioning Simcox's finances. Glenn Spencer, head of the nativist hate group American Border Patrol, is deriding as a scam Simcox's public plea for \$55 million in donations to build an Israeli military-style fence along the U.S.-Mexican border. "Collecting money to build it while knowing full well you are not going to be able to, well, that's deception," Spencer told the *Bisbee* [Arizona] *Daily Review* in July. Simcox

### THE BLOTTER

### **UPDATES ON EXTREMISM AND THE LAW**

#### **APRIL 19**

**Tipp City, Ohio**, police arrested two members of the neo-Nazi **American National Socialist Workers Party** after they allegedly disrupted a speech by President Bush by unfurling a party flag and shouting anti-Mexican slogans at the president. Justin Boyer and Kenny Fields were charged with criminal trespassing.

#### MAY 7

Charges for allegedly severely beating a black man in **India-napolis** that had been lodged against Eric Fairburn, a founder of the racist skinhead umbrella group **Vinlanders Social Club**, were upgraded during a court hearing. Prosecutors refiled misdemeanor citations against the notoriously violent Fairburn and two other Vinlanders, Josh Kern and Timothy Dumas, as felony assault charges.

### **MAY 14**

Two members of **Public Enemy Number One** (PENI) — a neo-Nazi skinhead group targeted heavily by law enforcement since **California** authorities arrested 67 members and found a hit list naming police officers and a prosecutor last year — went on trial in **Santa Ana** for the murder of PENI co-founder Scott "Scottish" Miller. Jacob Rump and Michael Lamb are also accused of attempting to murder a police officer during a car chase three days after the 2002 killing of Miller.

### **MAY 19**

Jason Kenneth Hamilton began a two-day rampage in **Moscow**, **Idaho**, that left his wife, a sheriff's deputy, a church sexton and himself dead, along with another three people injured. The [Spokane, Wash.] Spokesman-Review reported Hamilton was a longtime member of the neo-Nazi **Aryan Nations** with a history of violence. He had been held involuntarily after a February suicide attempt but was quickly released.

### **MAY 20**

Yavapai County, Ariz., Sheriff's Deputy Justin Dwyer was arrested on drug charges including possession, use of cocaine, possession of a firearm during a drug offense, and involving a minor in a drug crime (he allegedly used his 16-year-old son to buy cocaine for his personal use). Dwyer, 39, is the former Washington state leader of the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations, a fact that Yavapai County memos indicate former sheriff George "Buck" Buchanan knew when he hired Dwyer in 1999.

#### **MAY 30**

An anti-Semitic extremist charged with murdering the assistant director of the Jewish Federation of Greater Seattle and the attempted murder of five other women there entered a plea of not guilty by reason of insanity. Naveed Afzal Haq, 31, a Pakistani-American who has a lengthy history of mental problems, told his victims just before he shot them on July 28, 2006, that he was "angry at Israel."

### **IUNE 12**

The last of 12 members of the white supremacist **Nazi Low Riders** named in a wide-ranging 2002 indictment pleaded guilty to racketeering charges in a **Los Angeles** federal court. Jeffrey Langenhorst and Joseph Hayes face sentencing in the fall. The indictment charged gang members with orchestrating crimes including murder, robbery, drug trafficking, extortion and retaliation against witnesses.

### JUNE 20

An **Omaha**, **Neb**., federal appeals court rejected Rudy "Butch" Stanko's appeal of a conviction and six-year sentence for being a felon in possession of firearms. Stanko, briefly chosen to lead the neo-Nazi **Church of the Creator** in 1990, served time in the 1980s for selling millions of pounds of tainted meat to public schools.

### **JUNE 25**

An arrest warrant was issued for "journalist" Christopher Bollyn, a long-time writer for **anti-Semitic** publications, after he failed to appear for sentencing on charges of misdemeanor aggravated assault and resisting arrest. Bollyn tangled with police officers — his lawyer claimed he was bothered by their "militaristic appearance" — at his **Hoffman Estates**, **III**., home. Bollyn wrote a June 29 letter calling his arrest "payback from the Zionists for what I have written about Israel and 9-11."

### **JUNE 28**

Nineteen members or associates of the **Aryan Brotherhood** (AB) were indicted on racketeering charges by a federal grand jury that said they used murder, kidnapping and other violence to build up the white supremacist gang in **New Mexico**. Twelve of the defendants are accused of recruiting an unnamed undercover police officer to murder **Otero County** Sheriff's Deputy Billy Anders, who served a year in jail for the 2004 killing of an AB leader who had just murdered Anders' partner.

### INTELLIGENCE BRIEFS

retorted that Spencer was merely jealous of his success.

One donor, however, did not view it that way. Jim Campbell, who contributed materials and \$100,000 in cash for the fence, sued Simcox in May. Campbell said that despite assuring him the money would be spent on the fence, Simcox used it for other things. Campbell is seeking his money back, plus \$1,220,845 in damages.

### EXTREMISM IN THE MAINSTREAM

## Duke Supporter Elected to Louisiana GOP Central Committee

David Duke — a former KKK imperial wizard, notorious neo-Nazi, and convicted tax cheat — isn't spending much time in Louisiana these days. He's busy instead spewing anti-Semitic and white supremacist vitriol from his new preferred base of operations in the Ukraine. But his old cronies — Duke was elected to the Louisiana House as a Republican in 1989, and lost a close gubernatorial

race on the same party's ticket in 1991 — are still active in the state's politics.

In early June, one of those cronies, longtime Louisiana right-wing radio talk show host Keith Rush, 75, was elected to the Louisiana Republican State Central Committee, the governing body of the Louisiana state GOP. He was nominated for

the post by veteran state GOP activist Vincent Bruno, Duke's former "spiritual adviser" and a member of Duke's inner circle in the late 1980s and 1990s.

Although Rush's election was duly noted in the Louisiana press, it was two blogs — Right Hand Thief and Flaming Liberal — that unearthed and publicized the tight links between Rush and Duke, the former imperial wizard of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan who was once photographed wearing a swastika armband.



Campaigning for governor of Louisiana in 1991, David Duke said he had left his Klan past behind. That didn't stop a Duke bodyguard, worried as his boss' motorcade approached a black neighborhood in Morgan City, from grabbing a gun from the back seat of Duke's car. In the end, Duke narrowly lost the election, but he did win a majority of white votes.

When Duke ran for governor in 1991 (winning, shockingly, nearly 700,000 votes), he backed Rush's candidacy for

the Jefferson Parish Council,

telling his supporters that Rush "thinks like we do."

In one of Rush's own campaign fliers, entitled "Who Is This Racist?" Rush answered his own question: "This racist believes that 'real' racism thrives on affirmative action programs." Rush also was a fea-

tured guest speaker at "Duke Fest," held July 4, 1991, in New Orleans.

**KEITH RUSH** 

Duke, who in a failed senatorial race in 1990 had garnered 60% of Louisiana's white vote, lost the 1991 governor's election to Edwin Edwards, who had been widely accused of corruption (he was finally convicted of racketeering in 2001 and sentenced to 10 years). Edwards' victory, thought impossible by pundits just months before the vote, came partly on the strength of two legendary bumper stickers: "Vote for the Crook. It's Important" and "Better a Lizard Than a Wizard."

### NEO-NAZI CRIMES

### Former National Alliance Chieftain Guilty in Assault

While his white-power peers celebrated Hitler's birthday with sieg heils and swastika lightings, Shaun Walker, until his 2006 arrest the chairman of the neo-Nazi National Alliance, spent April 20 waiting as a Utah jury deliberated his fate.

The news wasn't good for the man who was supposed to pull the Alliance back from the precipitous decline that began when Alliance founder William Pierce died in 2002. Walker, 39, along with fellow Alliance members Travis Massey, 30, and Eric Egbert, 22, was found guilty of federal hate crime and civil rights charges in the beating of a Latino man in 2002 and an American Indian the next year.

On Aug. 13, Walker was sentenced to more than seven years and Egbert to three and a half. Massey's sentencing was delayed because he has a new lawyer.

On New Year's Eve, 2002, a group

of Alliance members were drinking and passing out propaganda at O'Shucks, a Salt Lake City pub where James Ballesteros, who is of Hispanic descent, was manager. When a woman at the bar offered a toast to her Polish Jewish heritage, Walker and his party began taunting her with racial slurs. Ballesteros intervened and was pulled outside and badly beaten.

Three months later, a similar attack occurred at another Salt Lake City bar, the Port O' Call, where Massey and Cotter helped beat their victim unconscious.

The three men were charged with conspiracy to violate the civil rights of non-whites by making them afraid to use public facilities. Keith Cotter, a former Alliance member who participated in the attacks but agreed to testify in exchange for a plea bargain, told the court the men hoped their attacks would become the first skirmishes in a race war and also would serve to attract new members to the Alliance.

"Rahowa," Cotter testified, referring to neo-Nazi shorthand for "Racial Holy War," "is the ultimate goal, the holy grail of the white power movement, to throw non-whites out of this country and overthrow the government."

The convictions represent the latest blow suffered by the National Alliance, which has virtually imploded since Pierce's death. The group, which once had more than 1,400 members and was taking in almost \$1 million a year, is down to fewer than 150 members, many of whom no longer pay dues. Many of the group's troubles had been attributed to poor management by Erich Gliebe, who succeeded Pierce but was replaced by Walker after repeated staff and membership rebellions. But now Gliebe has been returned to power and is expected to remain as chairman.

### **EXTREMISTS IN THE MILITARY**

## Navy Extremist Disciplined — But Not for Extremism

The Navy has declared a "finding of misconduct" and issued a formal letter of reprimand to Lt. Comdr. John Sharpe Jr., according to his parents. But Sharpe reportedly was disciplined only for criticizing President Bush and the war in Iraq — not for his extensive anti-Semitic activities.

Jim Brantley, a spokesman for the U.S. Fleet Forces Command, would not confirm the report in a letter from Sharpe's parents that was published on the site of the left-wing journal *Counterpunch*. He said that the Navy "normally doesn't discuss non-judicial punishment," but added that Sharpe would be reassigned. Non-judicial punishment is administrative, and does not equate to a criminal conviction.

Sharpe was suspended from his job as spokesman for the aircraft carrier USS Carl Vinson last spring, following an exposé by the *Intelligence Report* detailing his anti-Semitic activities. Sharpe blames Jews for the 9/11 attacks, for instance, writing that a "conspiracy" organized by the "Zionist New World Order ... plan[ned] to push the entire world into World War III for the glory of Israel." He has attended a white supremacist conference, been on the board of a neofascist British group, and still runs two groups listed as hate groups by the Southern Poverty Law Center.

According to the letter from his parents, the Navy chose not to charge Sharpe under Navy Regulation 1167, which bans supremacist activity and requires a court martial. Officials also declined to use Uniform Code of Military Justice provisions that ban "conduct unbecoming." Instead, he was charged under UCMJ Article 88, ban-

ning "contemptuous words" against the president and other high officials, based on comments in two books Sharpe edited for his IHS Press that were critical of the Iraq war and suggested that Bush was responsible for the murder of Iraqis.

Sharpe also has connections to Arab extremists that were ignored. On his website, for example, is an interview with Ibrahim Ebeid, a Baathist and supporter of Saddam Hussein. Ebeid says in the interview that "neo-cons and Zionists" are responsible for a "vicious criminal war" against Iraq and Palestine.

Another case of extremists in the military came to light in June, when two privates attached to the 82d Airborne Division at Fort Bragg, N.C., were arrested and charged with selling narcotics and equipment stolen from the Army to an undercover FBI agent posing as a white supremacist. Joffre J. "Trey" Cross III and Jason Scott Niewoit also allegedly offered to procure military weapons. Cross had a myspace.com web page that listed various Nazi officers as his heroes.









The late National Alliance founder William Pierce (far left) mentored Shaun Walker (near left), but would have disapproved of his thuggish bar assaults. Now, Walker, Eric Egbert (left inset) and Travis Massey are all headed for prison.

## THE OH-REALLY FACTOR

Fox News' Bill O'Reilly offers up an 'expert' to claim that pink pistol-packing lesbian gangs are terrorizing the nation

BY SUSY BUCHANAN & DAVID HOLTHOUSE

"national underground network" of pink pistol-packing lesbians is terrorizing America. "All across the country," they are raping young girls, attacking heterosexual males at random, and forcibly indoctrinating children as young as 10 into the homosexual lifestyle, according to a shocking June 21 segment on the popular Fox News Channel program, "The O'Reilly Factor."

Titled "Violent Lesbian Gangs a Growing Problem," the segment began with host Bill O'Reilly briefly referencing for his roughly 3 million viewers the case of Wayne Buckle, a DVD bootlegger who was attacked by seven lesbians in New York City last August. Deploying swift, broad strokes, O'Reilly painted a graphic picture of lesbian gangs running amok. "In Tennessee, authorities say a lesbian gang called GTO, Gays Taking Over, are involved in raping young girls," he reported. "And in Philadelphia, a lesbian gang called DTO, Dykes Taking Over, are allegedly terrorizing people as well."

After this introduction, O'Reilly went to a split-screen live interview with "Fox News crime analyst" Rod Wheeler.

"Tell me what's going on," O'Reilly said.

Wheeler, a Washington, D.C., Metropolitan Police Department officerturned-paid Fox News commentator, launched right in: "Well, you know, there is this national underground network, if you will, Bill, of women that's lesbians and also some men groups that's actually recruiting kids

**EDITOR'S NOTE** The day after this story was posted on the Southern Poverty Law Center's website in July, Rod Wheeler issued a "clarification and apology," in which he claimed that he had only "inadvertently stated" that lesbian gangs carry pink-painted pistols, that he hadn't meant to say that there were 150 lesbian gangs in the Washington, D.C., area (he said he meant to say there were 150 gangs of all kinds in the area), that he hadn't meant to say that there was a "national epidemic" of lesbian gangs, and that he hadn't meant to defame the Pink Pistols group. A day later, Bill O'Reilly offered his own weak clarification, saying his report featuring Wheeler's false assertions had been "overstated," but insisting it contained a core of truth.



as young as 10 years old in a lot of the schools in the communities all across the country," he reported. "And they actually carry a number of weapons. And they commit a number of crimes."

Wheeler asserted that "we've actually counted, just in the Washington, D.C., area alone, that's Washington D.C., Maryland, and Virginia, well over 150 of these crews. ... And they — like I said, they recruit these kids to be members of these gangs."

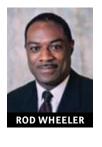
O'Reilly asked, "Now, when they recruit the kids, are they indoctrinating them into homosexuality?"

"Yes," Wheeler answered. "As a matter of fact, some of the kids have actually reported that they were forced into, you know, performing sex acts and doing sex acts with some of these people."

Flabbergasted by the sheer depravity of it all, O'Reilly nevertheless forged ahead. "I never thought of this," said the host of the "no-spin zone." "It makes sense that, if you had lawless gay people, they would do this kind of thing. You associate homosexuality more with a social movement, not a criminal movement. But you're saying this is all over the country, detective?"

"It's all over the country," Wheeler replied. "I mean, you go from New York to California to wherever you want to name, you can see these organizations."







Cable television host Bill O'Reilly put "Fox News crime analyst" Rod Wheeler on his show to claim that lesbian gangs armed with pink pistols are terrorizing the nation by "raping young girls" and attacking others. O'Reilly said Wheeler's report "makes sense."

Next came the pink guns. "Now, the other thing, too, that our viewers are going to find very, very interesting, is the fact that they actually carry—some of these groups carry pink pistols," Wheeler said. "They call themselves the pink-pistol-packing group. And these are lesbians that actually carry pistols. That's 9-millimeter Glocks. They use these. They commit crimes, and they cause a lot of hurt to a lot of people."

### The Authorities Disagree

Nine-millimeter Glocks painted pink? Dykes taking over? More than 150 lesbian gangs in the Washington, D.C., area alone? These claims are, as Wheeler suggested, "very, very interesting." They're also very, very flimsy.

Gaithersburg, Md., Detective Patrick Word, president of the

Mid-Atlantic Regional Gang Investigators Network, an intelligence-sharing organization of 400 criminal justice professionals in Maryland, Washington, D.C., and Virginia, said there is no evidence whatsoever of a lesbian gang epidemic in his region.

"Our membership reports only one lesbian gang," Word told the *Intelligence Report*.

Sgt. Brett Parson, a member and former commander of the D.C. Metropolitan Police Department's Gay and Lesbian Liaison Unit, also questioned Wheeler's numbers. "We have 150 to 175 *total* gangs in the D.C. area, and out of those only nine where the predominance of members are female," he said. "You simply can't make the jump that they are lesbians. I think it is fair to talk about violence and female gangs. But to sensationalize or marginalize a community by making a statement like that seems irresponsible."

Confronted by the *Intelligence Report*, Wheeler was unable, in several phone and E-mail exchanges over a two-day period, to specify a single law enforcement agency or officer, police report, media account or any other source he relied upon for his D.C. area lesbian gangs claim. But he insisted that his report was accurate and that any law enforcement officer who disagrees is "out of touch."

"For some reason or other, these organizations don't lay it on the line because they don't know what is going on on the streets," said Wheeler. "This is a serious crisis and the

so-called experts are missing it."

According to Wheeler's personal website — www.rod007.com — he is a member of Jericho City of Praise, a conservative Christian megachurch in Landover, Md., whose leadership publicly advocates against equal rights for gays and lesbians. The website details Wheeler's 500-plus appearances on MSNBC, Court TV and Fox News Channel shows including "The O'Reilly Factor," "On the Record With Greta Van Sustern," and "Hannity & Colmes."

Fox News officials and Bill O'Reilly did not return E-mails seeking comment for this story. O'Reilly is quoted on Wheeler's website heralding Wheeler as "America's most recognized and trusted authority on crime analysis and law enforcement."

Another ringing celebrity endorsement on the site is attributed to White House Press Secretary Tony Snow: "We turn to Rod Wheeler to help us better understand and solve some of these terrible crimes in America."

Wheeler told the *Report* that he spent seven years in professional law enforcement before going to work as a corporate security officer for McDonald's Corp., a job he has since left. These days, Wheeler is a "food defense specialist" for the American Institute of Baking. Just this spring, he publicly warned that the Big Mac is vulnerable to bioterrorist attacks at "250 points" during production.

Viewers left wondering what, exactly, Wheeler was smoking before he went on "The O'Reilly Factor" might find a 1994 *Washington Times* article intriguing. The paper

reported that Wheeler was suspended from the Metro D.C. police force after testing positive for marijuana in a random drug test. Wheeler told the *Report* that samples were mixed up and that he was eventually "exonerated."

### **Facts and Fiction**

The only specific instance of actual violent lesbian gang activity that Wheeler cited on "The O'Reilly Factor" was a May 19 attack on a 15-year-old boy who was stabbed near affiliate in Memphis, Tenn. Featuring dramatic "reenactments" of high school bathroom rape scenes shot in grainy black-and-white footage, the lengthy segment's vaguely salacious claims about local high school girls being raped and "sodomized" with "sex toys bought on the Internet" was based almost entirely on the lurid musings of a single Shelby County gang officer.

Titled "Violent Femmes," the sweepsweek segment was so thinly sourced and grotesquely sensationalized that it's dif-

"The sad truth is that sensationalized, undocumented, fear-driven reports about [gays and lesbians] preying on children are proven to be a ratings winner ... they don't have to be as concerned about backing up their sensationalism with actual facts and figures."

a transit station in Prince George's County, Md. "And the police found out that it was a group of six women who identified themselves as being members of a lesbian gang that actually attacked this young man," Wheeler told O'Reilly.

According to a June 15 article in *The Washington Post*, however, two of the three individuals arrested in that assault were teenage males, though the article did note that, "Metro officials said the fight was between two gay and lesbian gangs that operate in Maryland."

An extensive Internet search seeking to verify O'Reilly's assertion in the introduction to Wheeler's interview that a lesbian gang called Dykes Taking Over is "terrorizing people" in Philadelphia turned up only one possible source. WCAU-TV, a local NBC affiliate in that city, reported in 2004 that a small group of 8th-grade girls at a West Philadelphia middle school were allegedly "bullying, groping and harassing" other girls in gym class with "gay remarks." The report made no mention of the 8th-graders using pink pistols or other weapons.

Similarly, O'Reilly's introductory mention of a Tennessee lesbian gang called Gays Taking Over that is "involved in raping young girls" appears to have been based solely on a highly dubious Feb. 28 television report from WPTY-TV, an ABC

ficult to believe that any professional journalist found it to be credible. And it wasn't. Under intense pressure from local gay and lesbian activists, the affiliate's station manager finally admitted that WPTY-TV's reporters had neither independently verified the gang officer's overheated claims nor obtained any documentary evidence such as arrest records or written police reports to substantiate their tale. As the station grudgingly conceded, "Our investigation did not turn up widespread violence in schools due to this."

Rashad Robinson, the senior director of media programs for Gays and Lesbians Against Defamation (GLAAD), said that while he wasn't pleased to see the inflammatory "Violent Femmes" segment used as a source for a national television "report" on Fox News, "I wasn't startled."

"The sad truth is that sensationalized, undocumented, fear-driven reports about [gays and lesbians] preying on children are proven to be a ratings winner, and the station managers and news producers know that because they're reporting about gays and lesbians they don't have to be as concerned about backing up their sensationalism with actual facts and figures," Robinson told the *Report*.

"The O'Reilly segment essentially reported a national epidemic of lesbian gangs preying on young girls without offering up one solid figure or one credible source. This type of reporting creates a climate of homophobia and fear and perpetuates dangerous stereotypes of gay people and definitely helps feed into a climate of anti-gay discrimination and violence, which is a true national epidemic, but not one you're likely to see reported with such zeal by Bill O'Reilly."

The third case O'Reilly referenced, the assault on 29-year-old Wayne Buckle in New York City last August, did actually occur. Buckle was whipped with belts and stabbed by women who identified themselves as lesbians. But there is no evidence the women are members of a criminal gang, and O'Reilly failed to report that the attack was prompted, according to the *New York Daily News*, by Buckle spitting, cursing, and flicking a cigarette at the women after one of them rebuffed his sidewalk sexual advances.

And then there are the pink Glocks.

There have been no media reports at all of lesbian gangs committing violence while armed with pink-painted 9-millimeter pistols or calling themselves, as Wheeler colorfully described it, "the pink pistol-packing group." Several law enforcement officers contacted by the *Report* found the idea laughable.

There is, however, a well-known national organization of gay and lesbian firearms owners called the Pink Pistols. This group has never been implicated in any gang activity. Asked by the *Intelligence Report* if he'd perhaps confused the Pink Pistols with a criminal organization, Wheeler denied it. "I wasn't referring to *their* pink pistols," Wheeler said. "These [lesbian] crews, these gangs, they buy a Glock 9-millimeter and you can paint them pink."

Pink Pistols spokesperson Gwen Patton said the pistols the group's members carry are, by and large, not actually colored pink. The Pink Pistols are now demanding an on-air apology from Wheeler, O'Reilly and Fox News.

"A lot of people are confusing these imaginary, lesbian, gun-carrying gangs with our organization," said Patton. "We would appreciate it if Mr. O'Reilly would invite Mr. Wheeler back onto his show to clear up this nonsense in the same arena it started — on national TV."

### THE BIG LIE

## White supremacists are increasingly using black-on-white crimes like one recent Tennessee case to protest 'political correctness'

BY CASEY SANCHEZ

he crime was horrific by any measure. On the night of Jan. 6, Knoxville, Tenn., couple Christopher Newsom, 23, and Channon Christian. 21. drove to a friend's house to watch a movie after a dinner date. When they reached the friend's apartment complex, they were carjacked at gunpoint by three men and a woman who forced them to drive to an abandoned house where the assailants raped and murdered the young couple. The next day, police discovered Newsom's body shot and burned along city train tracks. Three days after that, officers discovered the body of Christian in an unoccupied house. She had been strangled and crammed into a garbage can.

Knoxville-area television stations and newspapers have covered the story heavily since the bodies were found. On the national media level, The Associated Press and MSNBC reported on the murders shortly after they occurred. But starting in April, a loud and growing throng of white supremacists began protesting what they call a conspiratorial media blackout, owing, they claim, to the fact that Newsom and Christian were white and their alleged killers black.

"We as White Nationalists cannot allow the Jewish media bosses to simply slip this story down the media hole," read one April 27 post on the racist online forum Stormfront. "Individuals of the White Race are being sacrificed on the altar of Political Correctness," added "Pastor Eli James" on another racist website.

Attempting to capitalize on the propaganda value of a gruesome crime, white supremacists have flooded the Internet and radio waves with false details concerning the purported sexual mutilation of the victims and held a rally in Knoxville to protest "black crime." Their lies — that the murders were a race-based attack and that the victims were horribly mutilated —are gaining traction. Without acknowledging the source, some mainstream conservative commentators in recent months have been parroting the key white supremacist talking point, characterizing the Christian-Newsom murders as a black-on-white "hate crime."

This is hardly the first time that white supremacists have







Murder victim Channon Christian (above) was the focus of a rally by white supremacists like Randy Gray in Knoxville, Tenn., last June. Others came to protest the neo-Nazis' exploitation of the case.

attempted to twist a horrible crime story into proof that the "politically correct" media intentionally downplays or suppresses news of black-on-white hate crimes. In 2000, two black brothers in Wichita, Kan., attacked and sexually abused five white men and women, killing four of them. *American Renaissance*, a white supremacist journal, published a lurid account of the crime — "The Wichita Massacre" — that concluded that the lack of national press coverage reflected "a refusal to think about race," despite authorities' insistence that race played no part in the attack. It wasn't long before David Horowitz's FrontPage online magazine, ostensibly a mainstream conservative publication, republished the *American Renaissance* 

screed. Other cases, including the murder this June of a pregnant white woman in Ohio, allegedly by her black police officer boyfriend, were similarly played up by the racist right.

### Neo-Nazis Against 'Genocide'

Led by neo-Nazi webmaster Alex Linder, a group of about 30 neo-Nazis gathered in Knoxville May 26 for a "Rally Against Genocide" organized in the names of Christian and Newsom. At least one of the demonstrators wore a swastika T-shirt. They held signs reading "Diversity = White Death" and "Murdered By Muds, Covered Up By Jews." A group of counter-protesters, the Coup Cluts Clowns, showed up in white makeup and wedding dresses to shout down the racists. Police arrested Linder, head of the Vanguard News Network, for breaching protest boundaries and tussling with police officers. He was charged with disorderly conduct, resisting arrest, vandalism and assault on a police officer.

The parents of the victims wanted nothing to do with the rally and expressed anger at the out-of-town protesters for using the case to stoke racial tensions. "I think any kind of crime like that's a hate crime," said Gary Christian, Channon's father. But he added: "Was it racial? No, I don't think so."

Knoxville authorities have repeatedly stated that the murders were not racially motivated. "We have no evidence to support the notion that this was a race-based crime. We see this as a cold-blooded murder," Sterling Owen, Knoxville police chief, told reporters.

"There is absolutely no proof of a hate crime," added John Gill, special counsel to Knox County District Attorney Randy Nichols. "It was a terrible crime, a horrendous crime, but race was not a motive. We know from our investigation that the people charged in this case were friends with white people, socialized with white people, dated white people. So not only is there no evidence of any racial animus, there's evidence to the contrary."

Hal Turner, a racist Internet talk radio host who has relentlessly hyped the case on his weekly show and also attended the rally, seemed to blame the victims' parents, at least partly, for the murders. "If these families had educated their children to be more race conscious, maybe they'd still be alive," he told reporters at the rally.

"The goal of this rally is twofold," said Turner. "We want to tell the liberal media we are tired of them spiking stories about black-on-white crime. Our second goal is to tell the black community they have to restrain their black hoodlums."

### Polluting the Mainstream

Roughly three months before the Rally Against Genocide, white supremacists began circulating rumors online and on radio shows like Turner's that Christian and Newsom were sexually mutilated — specifically, that Channon's breasts were cut off and that Newsom was castrated.

Those details are false, according to Knoxville law enforcement authorities.

"The police and district attorney's office have assured me that there was no parts missing from either body," added Hugh Newsom, Christopher's father. "They have distorted that." (Newsom does, however, believe that race may have played a role. "Would they have done that to a black couple? I don't think so," he said.)

The tall tales of sexual mutilation first entered the mainstream in early May, when country music star Charlie Daniels posted an open letter on his website calling for increased media coverage of the murders and claiming that Newsom was castrated and Channon's "breasts were cut off while she was still alive." The Charlie Daniels letter was quickly republished on Stormfront and the website of the Council of the Conservative Citizens hate group, as well as several right-wing blogs.

Later in May, just a few days before the Knoxville rally, conservative commentator, syndicated columnist and blogger Michelle Malkin was the guest host of "The O'Reilly Factor" on Fox News. Her topic? The Christian-Newsom murders, which Malkin suggested were a hate crime. "An attractive white couple murdered by five black thugs doesn't match any known political narratives," Malkin said. Furthermore, Malkin said, "There are unconfirmed reports that they [Christian and Newsom] were sexually mutilated." Malkin also aired the

claim that Christian's body "was found in five separate garbage bags" — another utterly false detail. (In 2002, Malkin had also taken up the "Wichita Massacre" case and publicized it.)

Even white nationalist Nicholas Stix, who just days earlier had published a lengthy account of the murders in *American Renaissance*, criticized Malkin for spreading falsehoods, writing online that he didn't include the claims of dismemberment in his article "because I could not find a reliable report of it. ... Call me intolerant, call me crazy, but I do not find posts at neo-Nazi message boards to be credible news sources."

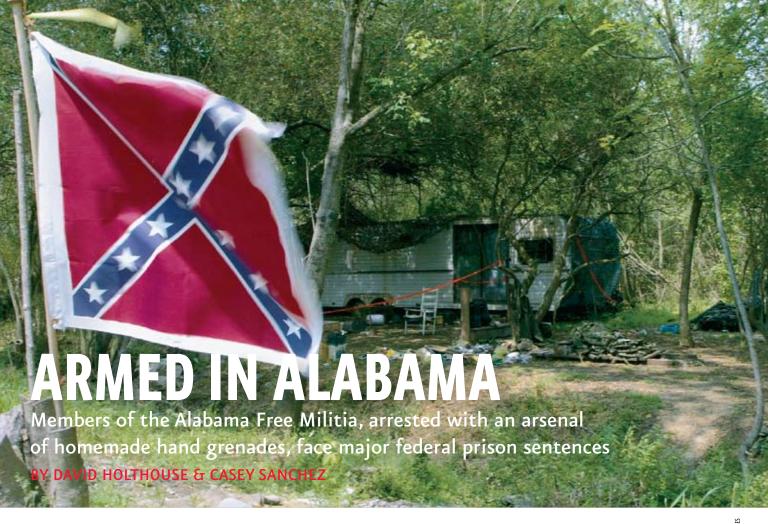
### 'On What Planet?'

In early June, *The Miami Herald* published a nationally syndicated column by Leonard Pitts in which Pitts, an African American, criticized white supremacists and right-wing commentators for dragging the murders into the national spotlight. "Black crime against whites is underreported? On what planet? Study after study and expert after expert tell a completely different story," Pitts wrote.

Neo-Nazi webmaster Bill White, leader of the American National Socialist Workers Party, responded by calling Pitts a "nigger" and publishing the columnist's home address and phone number on White's personal website, Overthrow.com. Pitts received death threats. When the *Herald*'s managing editor asked White to take down the data on Pitts, White replied by E-mail: "We have no intention of removing Mr. Pitts' personal information. Frankly, if some loony took the info and killed him, I wouldn't shed a tear. That also goes for your whole newsroom."

All four of the alleged killers in the Knoxville murders were swiftly arrested and are scheduled to stand trial in May 2008. Prosecutors have indicated they will seek the death penalty. The fact that justice is being served will likely do nothing to prevent white supremacists from continuing to further their cause by exploiting the tragedy, much to the dismay of the victims' families.

As Gary Christian said to those who are twisting his daughter's death to fit their own ends: "It ain't about you."  $\triangle$ 



OLLINSVILLE, Ala. — Residents of this small town in the piney woods of DeKalb County knew Jeff Osborne as a wooly-bearded Vietnam veteran who dressed in a dirty Confederate army replica uniform and carried an old Army-issue 9 mm pistol in a shoulder holster. He scraped out a living selling surplus military gear from a used camper shell he purchased for \$400 and occupied in a squatters' camp. Though he occasionally muttered about the looming collapse of the American economy, terrorist attacks and Mexicans taking over the country, for the most part Osborne seemed like a harmless local eccentric.

Then, in the pre-dawn hours of April 26, federal and state law enforcement officers raided his camper shell along with several other residences in the Collinsville area. They rooted out 130 homemade hand grenades, an improvised grenade launcher, a Sten Mark submachine gun, a silencer, 2,500 rounds of ammunition and nearly 100 spindly marijuana plants. Five men were arrested on illegal weapons and explosives charges, including the man known to his neighbors as Jeff Osborne. Federal agents said his real name was Raymond Dillard.

Dillard, 46, was a fugitive from justice. He failed to report to his probation officer after doing jail time for burglary in Mobile, Ala., in the mid-1990s. He is also a petty liar. Although Dillard did serve in the U.S. Marine Reserve for two years in the early 1980s, he's too young to have fought in Vietnam, as he told several of his neighbors.

But the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives (ATF) didn't come to Collinsville to bust Dillard for skipping out on his probation or spinning fairy tales about his military service. According to the feds, Dillard was the founder and self-appointed commander of the Alabama Free Militia, a heavily armed band of paranoid extremists with a taste for doomsday fantasies, homemade explosives and illegal firearms.

"We got the core group, the core leadership and most or all of their significant ordnance," announced Jim Cavanaugh, the ATF's southeastern United States regional director. "They had enough to outfit a small army."

### Making the Case

At a May 1 bail hearing, ATF agent Adam Nesmith seemed to testify that the government had evidence of the five militia members plotting a machine-gun attack on Mexican immigrants in the nearby town of Remlap. Nesmith described a reconnaissance mission the militia allegedly conducted in Remlap and told the judge, "There was a plan to attack a group of Mexicans in the Remlap area with their machine guns." The judge denied bail, and the alleged backwoods militia machine-gun plot made news across the country. One typical headline the day after the bail hearing read, "Alabamians planned to machine gun Mexicans."

But there is no mention of any specific plan to kill Mexicans in the search warrant affidavits or any other court document related to the Alabama Free Militia defendants, and the ATF says Nesmith's testimony was misconstrued.

Cavanaugh told the *Intelligence Report* that Nesmith did not mean to suggest that the defendants plotted to machine-gun Mexicans. What Nesmith meant to convey, Cavanaugh said, is that the militia members were planning to steal machine guns from Mexicans in Remlap — not to shoot the Mexicans with machine guns. "The purpose of the [reconnaissance] trip described

by the agent in the testimony was to go to those Latinos and take their machine guns, which the militia believed them to possess," Cavanaugh said.

All five defendants have court-appointed attorneys. They portray their clients as bumbling survivalist wannabes who are being tried in the media as dangerous extremists and railroaded by overzealous prosecutors. "These were a bunch of country boys who liked to blow things up," one of the lawyers said.

The attorneys point out that the widely reported machine-gun plot did not actually exist and insist that the government has not presented any evidence that the militia members ever actually detonated a single grenade, harmed anyone or even specifically planned to do harm.

"You ever hear the phrase, 'Making a federal case out of it?" said court-appointed attorney Scott Boudreaux, whose Birmingham, Ala., law firm is representing three of the defendants. "This is it."

### Race War

According to investigators, Dillard began recruiting and designating ranks for the members of his militia sometime last year. He made himself a "major" and initially took up the name Alabama Naval Militia, a curious choice considering that Collinsville is 330 miles northeast of Mobile Bay,



Federal authorities arrested (from left) accused ringleader Raymond Dillard, James McElroy, Bonnell Hughes, Adam Lynn Cunningham and Randall Garrett Cole, describing them as the "core group" of a dangerous militia with enough weaponry "to outfit a small army." Defense attorneys described the case as much ado about nothing.









the nearest salt water. The militia was headquartered in Dillard's camper shell, which he painted to blend with the surrounding trees and shielded from overhead view under a canopy of camouflage netting. Fellow squatter and militia member James McElroy, a 20-year-old Iraq War veteran, lived in a makeshift tent nearby. Dillard assigned McElroy the rank of "private."

The other alleged Alabama Free Militia members arrested in April were "Captain" Bonnell "Buster" Hughes, 57, "Lieutenant" Adam Lynn Cunningham, 41, and "Private" Randall Garrett Cole, 22. Like McElroy, Cole recently returned from serving in the Iraq War.

The owner of the land where Dillard and McElroy squatted, Joanne Gunnin, said that in late 2006 Dillard showed up at her house unannounced and bearing medical manuals and a military uniform. Gunnin, 72, told *The Huntsville Times* that Dillard pressured her to become the nurse of a hazily described covert paramilitary outfit.

"I tried to get him to tell me the name of his organization," Gunnin said. "He said, 'We're just a group that will be here after the government falls apart." Gunnin turned down the offer.

A couple of months later, Gunnin gave a group of Guatemalan immigrants permission to play soccer on her property in a vacant field across from the squatter's

camp. According to several of Gunnin's neighbors, McElroy became enraged when he saw the Guatemalans tending the field and yanked one of them away from a lawn mower. The man fled, according to Wayne Dunn, who lives nearby. Dunn's 16-year-old nephew called the police after witnessing McElroy's outburst.

Dunn told *The Huntsville Times* that Dillard gave his nephew a warning shortly after that: "He needed to make up his mind whose side he wanted be on, the Mexicans' or Americans'," Dunn said. "The main thing [Dillard] always told me was there was going to a war between the Mexicans and whites."

### **Aryan Nations Connection?**

One of Dillard's regular military surplus customers was 30-year-old William Bryant "Red" Watson, a member of a tiny northern Alabama-

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based remnant of Aryan Nations, a violent neo-Nazi group formerly based in Idaho. In February, Watson was arrested for possessing bomb-making equipment and distributing crystal methamphetamine. Law enforcement authorities said his purchases from Dillard, however, were innocuous.

"Dillard sold him camo backpacks, other camo stuff," said DeKalb County Sheriff's Department investigator Jimmy Jones. "That was the only connection."

Even so, Watson was under surveillance and his repeated visits to Dillard's camper did not go unnoticed by law enforcement agents who were hearing rumors of a newly active militia group in the area.

Dillard also hawked his wares at Collinsville Trade Day, a sprawling flea market that attracts as many as 30,000 visitors every Saturday. Merchants in corrugated tin stalls that rent for six dollars a week sell livestock, produce, artwork, pesticides and, on at least some occasions, illegal firearms. (Last year, federal agents charged 11 men with selling unregistered guns at Trade Day. In 2001, four Trade Day dealers were arrested for selling guns to minors.)

Early this year, Dillard met a man at Trade Day he recruited to join the militia. This man, who Dillard made a sergeant, turned out to be a paid federal informant. In court, ATF agent Nesmith testified that the informant called Nesmith's office last March 20 to report seeing a pile of grenades at Cunningham's



house during a militia meeting. ATF agents directed the sergeant to start wearing a wire and continued paying him to attend militia meetings.

During the May 1 detention hearing, Nesmith detailed the role the informant played in a shopping trip for grenade-making materials with Cunningham and Dillard last April 20, the same day as the alleged "recon mission" to Remlap. Under cross-examination by court-appointed defense attorney Harold Dodd, who represented McElroy, agent Nesmith said that the informant drove that day because the other militia members did not own a car and that the informant himself paid for black powder at a pawn shop, put the powder in the trunk of his car, dropped off Cunningham and Dillard, and delivered the evidence to Nesmith's office.

"The only person who has done a lot in this is the informant," Boudreaux complained. "And there's no telling what they promised him."

The informant told the ATF that Dillard repeatedly ordered militia members to open fire on federal agents if ever confronted by them. But no shots were fired during the April raids. In fact, Dillard cooperated, even pointing out booby trap tripwires to bomb squad agents. "It did surprise me that it went peacefully," DeKalb County investigator Jones told the *Report*.

### Federal Time

All five of the alleged Alabama Free Militia members arrested in April pleaded guilty to federal criminal charges in June. The first to do so was Hughes, who faced the most serious charges. Hughes pleaded guilty June 25 to conspiracy to make destructive devices, conspiracy to make a silencer, making destructive devices, illegal possession of a machine gun, illegal possession of destructive devices, possession of destructive devices and illegal possession of a silencer. He faces up to 70 years in prison.

"Hughes was engaging in activities that were extremely dangerous for our citizens," said DeKalb County Sheriff Jimmy Harris. "I am glad that a guilty plea has been entered and that he will no longer have an opportunity to put our people at risk."

The other four alleged militia members, including Dillard, pleaded guilty the following day to criminal conspiracy as well as illegally making and possessing destructive devices. They face prison sentences ranging from 10 to 50 years. (Dillard also pleaded guilty to being a felon in possession of a firearm.)

"I tried to get him to tell me the name of his organization. He said, 'We're just a group that will be here after the government falls apart."

At their plea hearing, the men all denied being members of a militia. They said they stockpiled weapons out of fear of terrorists, economic collapse and martial law. "We were scared that some things might deteriorate into some bad things over here, that there could be some more foreign terrorist attacks, and we were just getting ready to defend ourselves," said Dillard.

McElroy told the presiding federal judge that he just "got together with some boys to make some grenades."

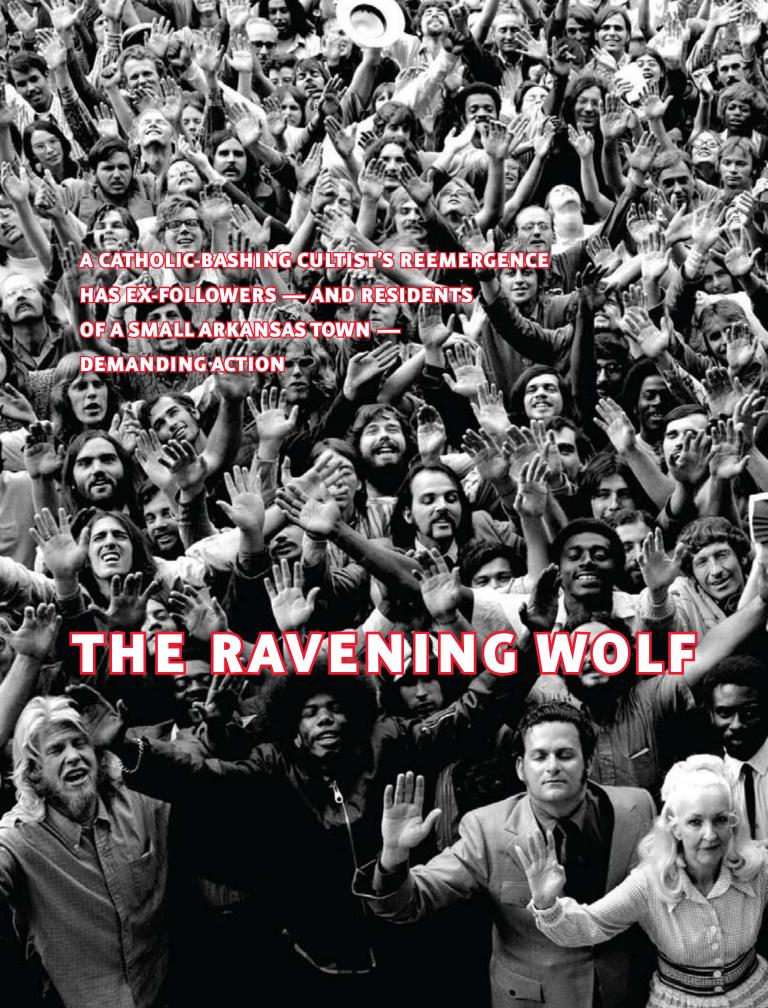
"We were just building them to protect ours and our own," McElroy said.

"You were afraid of terrorists coming to DeKalb County?" the judge asked.

"To the United States, your honor," McElroy replied.

On June 28, federal agents arrested a sixth man in connection with the Alabama Free Militia case. William James Hudson, 56, was charged with illegally possessing a machine gun that was recovered when federal agents searched his Birmingham home. According to the ATF, Hudson was a self-appointed "colonel" in the militia.

"The arrest of Hudson was the result of our ongoing investigation into the Alabama Free Militia, a case involving a great deal of illegal explosive devices and other weapons," stated Cavanaugh.





### BY SUSY BUCHANAN



OS ANGELES, Calif. — Clad in matching T-shirts with bejeweled cross logos, members of Tony Alamo Christian Ministries are once again saving souls on Hollywood Boulevard. Since the late 1960s, followers of notorious cult leader Tony Alamo have recruited and distributed litera-

ture on this star-studded sidewalk.

On this sunny summer afternoon, they're handing out heavily footnoted, paranoid screeds proclaiming the end of the world is nigh and branding the U.S. government an enemy agent of the "satanic" Catholic Church. Followers of Alamo (pronounced "ah-LAH-moe") tuck these same tracts - which Alamo claims have a circulation higher than "USA Today, The New York Times, L.A. Times and many other national publications combined" - under windshield wipers in parking lots around the country. Claiming "homosexuality is caused by demon possession" and "the Vatican, the one-world government and church are spiritually powered by that old serpent called the Devil," this white-hot propaganda comes straight from the mouth of a self-fashioned prophet and convicted tax cheat. Since his release from prison in 1998, Alamo has secluded himself within a guarded compound in a small town near Texarkana, Ark., as opposition from residents and ex-followers mounts.

Scattered former acolytes have long accused Alamo of mind control, con artistry, and mental and physical abuse of his followers. Now, momentum to hold accountable the man known as "Papa Tony" is on the rise. In the last two years, former followers have come together on the Internet, establishing online forums where they offer mutual support and document a litany of personal horror stories. Even more importantly, a number of ex-cult members and family members of several of those still inside have reported to law

GILBERT B. WEINGOURT/ZUMA



At their Saugus, Calif., church (right) in the 1970s, the Alamos preached that anyone who quit the cult would be killed, driven mad, or changed into a homosexual.

ILBERT B. WEINGOURT/ZUMA PRESS

enforcement allegations of serious crimes including physical abuse, statutory rape and polygamy. At the same time, neighboring townsfolk in Arkansas are organizing against the cult.

Yet despite the controversy once again roiling about their pastor, Tony Alamo's army of followers remain nonplussed, continuing to recruit new members with beatific smiles and energetic cries of "Praise the Lord!"

### Salvation With Your Salad

By 6:30 p.m., Alamo's salvation squad has convinced a dozen people to climb into a van for the 45-minute ride north from Los Angeles to Saugus, Calif., to attend religious services and eat a free meal. "Thank you, Lord!" the van driver exclaims as he jumps behind the wheel and cranks up the gospel tunes.

The odor in the van is cloying — sweat, mold and unwashed feet. The setting sun streams through the windows as the driver describes Armageddon with the anticipatory glee of a child on Christmas Eve. "I

EDITOR'S NOTE Based on evidence compiled recently by the Intelligence Report, the Southern Poverty Law Center is adding Tony Alamo Christian Ministries to its list of hate groups. Future listings will include active chapters of the group.

can't wait to see God destroy the earth," he chortles. "The earthquakes, the floods! Man, that's gonna be so cool to watch!"

The van pulls up to the Saugus church, a converted roadside restaurant, and the passengers spill out. Once inside, they head straight for the coffee maker. Most have been here before and know the drill.

"They're full of conspiracy theories about Waco and Jim Jones and stuff, and they hate, I mean hate, the Catholic Church," offers one man, a diabetic on an irregular income. "They can be a little pushy about the whole saving-your-soul thing. But they do have a really nice salad bar."

It's a strange place. The cafeteria walls are plastered with 1970s glamour shots of Alamo and his long-dead wife, and a bookshelf near the door contains stacks upon stacks of Alamo's doomsday tracts.

Next to the cafeteria are a dozen or so pews, an altar and several musicians tuning their instruments for the night's service. Near the back of the church — where all females must sit, per Alamo's orders — are several "sisters" who move in on a visitor and begin witnessing with intensity. "The Lord called you here," says Mary Jane Scheff, a grandmother in a sweatshirt and heavy makeup. "He wants to give you half his kingdom and bathe your heart in the blood of Jesus."

The service is more infomercial than sermon. Scheff and her daughter sing gos-

pel songs and a man named Ivan testifies that since he joined Alamo Ministries, he no longer hears voices and doesn't need to be hospitalized for mental illness. Afterward, Scheff hands out piles of tracts, a free Bible, and a plate of meatloaf. She implores the visitors from Hollywood to stay the night. "If you leave, the devil will start talking to you and tell you not to come back," she warns. "The first night I came here, I got saved and moved right in. And that was 37 years ago."

### **Heart of Darkness**

As cheery and devoted as his Hollywood followers may seem, over the years their pastor's ideology has taken a frightening turn, drifting from Bible-based teachings into the murky depths of Alamo's growing paranoia.

In the early years of Alamo's ministry, his long-time wife Susan did most of the preaching, delivering end-times fire-and-brimstone sermons on their weekly TV show while Tony crooned off-key gospel tunes in the background.

But ex-members say his wife's 1982 death from cancer changed Alamo. "She was some kind of restraint on him," says Susan Groulx, who for years edited and copied Alamo's messages from prison to followers. "After her death, it was like he could do anything and get away with it. He became intoxicated with his own power."

Alamo — who declined several requests to be interviewed for this story



 also became convinced of a deeply rooted Catholic conspiracy to persecute his church and grew increasingly paranoid. "Once he started talking about the anti-Catholic stuff, that seemed to be all he talked about," recalls Groulx.

"The Vatican is posing as Snow White, but the Bible says that she is a prostitute," reads an Alamo tract entitled "The Pope's Secrets" that has been circulating since 1984. "The more power and control she gets in government, the more she will fade away into the background in her 'Snow White' disguise so that government will be used and blamed for all her evil deeds."

Alamo blames the Catholic Church for every evil imaginable, including communism, Nazism, the two world wars and even the Jonestown Massacre.

"I can't wait to see God destroy the earth. The earthquakes, the floods!

Man, that's gonna be so cool to watch!"

"Narcotics, prostitution, pornography, booze and black market – every filthy thing – can be traced right back to the Vatican," the cult leader has written.

Hatred of Catholics isn't Alamo's only unorthodox belief. In 1993, he published a tract called "The Polygamists" which argued, "the Holy Scriptures proclaim polygamy to be righteous." Fourteen years later, he still pushes that message, producing daily radio broadcasts that are beamed around the country and the world and proclaim a holy man's right to take multiple wives.

"They're condemning polygamy where it's never condemned. God never says, 'No polygamist shall enter the Kingdom of Heaven," Alamo declared angrily in one recent broadcast. "But these bastards, these homosexual Vaticanites, they condone homosexuals and they condemn marriage and a man that would take care of his.... [T]hey ... say, 'You're a polygamist,' that I married too many wives. Well, find out! Prove it! And even if I was, there's no law in the Bible [against] it."

### Handcuffing God

It doesn't stop there. Alamo, who has three children by three different, current "wives," also has been justifying sex with underage girls over the radio waves in recent years. It's hard not to be

> reminded of similar attitudes among other cult leaders, from Warren Jeffs, the jailed leader of the polygamist Fundamentalist

Latter-Day Saints, to David Koresh, the late apocalyptic chief of the Branch Davidian sect in Waco, Texas, and a man Alamo says was "like a brother to me." Both Jeffs and Koresh have been accused of having sex with children.

Alamo argues that girls should marry once they start menstruating — even if they are as young as 10. In one September 2006 broadcast, he put it like this: "God impregnated Mary when she was about 11 years old. So the government idiots, the people that don't know the Bible, what you're going to have to

Wearing matching T-shirts, recruiters for Tony Alamo Christian Ministries today regularly work the crowds at the Hollywood Walk of Fame in Los Angeles.

do is get a hold of God now, you're going to have to get up there and 'cuff him and send him to prison for statutory rape."

It's a theme that Alamo keeps coming back to. In a radio show just this Feb. 24, the preacher cited the alleged promiscuity of

first-graders as grounds for marrying them before the legal age of consent. "I've found out from people's parents that their daughter started having sex when she was 6 years old and had sex every day of her life," he said at one point. "So right there, by the time she's 15 years old, she's had sex thousands of times. I mean, this is just reality."

It's these kinds of statements from the purported prophet of God that have helped drive mounting concerns among ex-followers and others familiar with Tony Alamo, even as his churches — in Saugus, Calif., Elizabeth, N.J., and Ft. Smith and Fouke, both in Arkansas — continue to grow. Some with long memories recall the end of Alamo's first reign, when a 1991 government raid on a mountain ridge in Arkansas left his headquarters compound abandoned and in disrepair, and wonder whether the same thing is coming again soon.

Alamo's Georgia Ridge compound was built at the peak of his cult's power in the 1980s. Today, a visit to this Edenic spot shows the decay of 16 untended years — and, for many ex-followers, suggests where Alamo is heading once again.

Although the views from the ridge are still postcard-ready panoramas of the misty greenery below, the holy empire Alamo ruled over is crumbling. The walls of his abandoned 16,500-square-foot mansion are streaked with mold. Next to the driveway is a large pool built for the exclusive use of Tony and Susan Alamo. Today, its heart-shaped concrete border is deeply fissured, the heart's interior choked with rotting leaves lying listless in the stagnant, black water.

### **The Construction of 'Papa Tony'**But the story of Tony Alamo began long before Georgia Ridge.

Born Bernie LaZar Hoffman, Alamo claims he worked as a rock 'n' roll promoter in the '60s. He writes of how The Beatles and The Rolling Stones begged him to manage them, and claims he traveled in limousines with a huge entourage and police escort: "The bodyguard would open the door, throw down a big velvet pillow; we would step into the velvet pillow. The barber would comb our hair, the nurse take our pulse. One of the fellows would spray us with cologne, another strew flowers in our path, and the cops would stand at attention."

But the high roller became a holy roller in 1964, when he says God dropped in on a business meeting he was conducting, temporarily struck him deaf and issued an ultimatum: Tell everyone that Jesus is coming back to earth, or die.

"I think it was a scam all along," says Susan Groulx, the ex-follower. "I don't think he had a vision from God. Tony's a megalomaniac, a con."

In 1966, Alamo married Edith Opal Horn, a gruff platinum blonde and failed actress who quickly reinvented herself as an evangelist and changed her name to Susan. In 1969, the couple started the Tony and Susan Alamo Christian Foundation, which would later be renamed Tony Alamo Christian Ministries. They informed their first handful of converts — and the thousands who came later — that anyone who left the church would burn in hell. Without the holy protection of the Alamos, the devil would kill them, turn them into homosexuals or make them insane.

The following year, the Alamos purchased the property in Saugus and built sex-segregated dormitories for their California followers, who today number in the hundreds. Members collected spoiled food from supermarkets and Dumpsters to prepare communal meals. Living conditions were squalid. Punishment for stepping out of line ranged from fasting to beatings to being kicked out of the group and losing your spouse and chil-





Allies in a cause: Although Nikki Farr (left) and Sherry Potts don't know one another, they both vehemently oppose the Tony Alamo cult. Farr says she fled the group at 15, after enduring three years of groping and lewd talk. Potts is the most vocal of the Arkansans who see the group as "perverted" and are organizing against it.

dren, many ex-members say.

Alamo obligated male members, or "brothers," to rotate two-hour watch shifts patrolling the compound every night, they say. He encouraged followers to file grievances against one other, husband against wife, child against parent.

"We were taught, and we taught our kids, that this is Papa Tony, he's a prophet of God," recalled Sue Balsley, a member from 1971 through 1989. "You were taught to shut off what you felt and believe what they said."

In the early days, cult members worked in small businesses opened and owned by the Alamos, including a gas station. Others toiled as field hands on farms in nearby Bakersfield, turning their entire paychecks over to their cult leaders. The Alamos directed their followers to build them a large, lavish home on a nearby hilltop and drove a fleet of black Cadillac sedans (today, Tony Alamo favors a black Escalade). Ex-members report that Susan Alamo spent thousands of dollars on fur coats, fake eyelashes, plastic surgery and wigs. Tony wore turtle-leather platform boots, diamond pinky rings and a bearskin coat with bear claw epaulettes.

The ministry was booming. IRS records show that contributions to the Alamo foundation soared from \$46,000 in 1970 to \$1.3 million in 1976.

### 'Roy Orbison on Speed'

In 1975, the Alamos transferred their headquarters to Alma, Ark., where Susan, who had recently been diagnosed with cancer, said she had been cured of tuberculosis as a child through the power of prayer. The couple moved into a stately Victorian home and built dormitories for their followers. They began opening up businesses and eventually owned 30 in the town of 3,000, including a hog farm, a clothing store, a supermarket, and a large restaurant and banquet room popular with country singers. (In his autobiography *My Life*, Bill Clinton recalls a trip he made to the Alamo restaurant to see country legend Dolly Parton perform. Clinton describes Tony Alamo as "Roy Orbison on speed.")

But trouble was around the corner. In 1976, the Alamos were accused of violating the Fair Labor Standards Act for failing to pay cult members working in Alamo-owned businesses. Still, while their lawyers battled the case in court—it would only be concluded in 1985, when they finally lost on appeal—the Alamos continued expanding their mini-empire, purchasing property in an idyllic nearby spot known as Georgia Ridge. It was there that Tony Alamo lived high above Alma—and the law—for more than a decade.

Susan Alamo's cancer worsened in the early '80s and, despite Alamo's orders for intense prayer, she died in a Tulsa hospital on April 8, 1982. Alamo was devastated by her death and, ex-members say, blamed the church members. He believed he and Susan to be the two witnesses of the Book of Revelation — immortal prophets — and was convinced Susan would rise from the dead.

So instead of burying her, he took her embalmed body back to his dining room and ordered followers to stand around her casket and pray, which they did in twohour shifts, 24 hours a day, for months before finally interring Susan's casket in a



Trouble with the law — including accusations of child abuse and tax evasion — culminated in a 1991 raid on Tony Alamo's compound near Alma, Ark. Alamo fled before the raid and never returned. Today, the heart-shaped swimming pool he built for his wife and himself is overgrown and choked with leaves.

heart-shaped mausoleum in 1983.

Alamo's grief did little to dampen his entrepreneurial spirit. As the '80s drew to a close, the clothing design business he'd started earlier took off, with celebrities snatching up the Alamo of Nashville label. Alamo had his followers sew denim jackets, which were then airbrushed, embroidered with elaborate cityscapes, and coated in rhinestones and Swarovski crystals. The jackets sold for anywhere from \$600 to \$5,000 and became favorites among celebrities including Sonny Bono, Hulk Hogan, and Brooke Shields. Ex-members, including a former teacher in the cult, say Alamo dealt with increasing demand by bringing the compound's children (there were around 100 at this time) to set rhinestones in the sewing room, where they worked alongside their parents until 10 at night.

### The Law Closes In

Alamo didn't spoil the children of his cult and he didn't spare the rod. Stories of brutal beatings are commonplace, according to ex-cultists' online accounts and interviews with the *Intelligence Report*.

At the Saugus, Calif., compound in January 1988, for instance, 11-year-old Justin Miller wore a leather scarf without permission and asked a science question during history class — two infractions promptly reported to Alamo. The punish-

ment Alamo dictated via speakerphone was 140 blows with the heavy perforated paddle that Alamo had designed and named "the board of education," while his classmates looked on.

"He said I was a goat among sheep and he was going to have to beat the devil out of me," Justin testified later. The boy was held down by four men and walloped until his buttocks bled. For several days after, Justin bled through his pants and had to be sent home from school to change, a teacher of his recalls. His father, who had recently left the cult, got wind them \$1.46 million. "No feeling person could fail to be moved by the testimony in this case or be revolted by the cold-blooded and calculated manner in which the punishment was carried out," U.S. District Judge Morris Arnold said then.

At around the same time, the IRS revoked the Alamo Foundation's tax-exempt status, levied a massive lien against its assets for back taxes and began seizing

Alamo-owned businesses and property around the country. Federal authorities also charged Alamo with tax evasion — he had filed a false tax return in 1985 and none at all in the next three years. These legal actions culminated in a raid on Alamo's Georgia Ridge headquarters compound in February 1991.

Anticipating the raid, Alamo ordered his mansion gutted. Followers removed antique furnishings, carpeting and fixtures. Among the items abandoned at the compound were 82 pews, 28 mir-

"God impregnated Mary when she was about 11 years old. So the government idiots, the people that don't know the Bible, what you're going to have to do is get a hold of God now, you're going to have to get up there and 'cuff him and send him to prison for statutory rape."

of the beating and notified California authorities. Justin was removed from the compound in late March and reunited with his father, and felony child abuse charges were filed against Alamo in April 1989. Alamo wasted no time, going into hiding almost immediately.

Ultimately, in 1995, the child abuse charges would be dropped. But Miller's family sued Alamo and, in April 1990, a federal court in Fort Smith, Ark., awarded rors, photos of Alamo with actor Larry Hagman, a back massager, Bibles, toys, purses, cash and 1,500 Alamo jackets.

Missing, however, was Susan Alamo's body. After U.S. marshals seized the property, ex-members say, Alamo ordered his followers to break into her marble tomb and remove her casket, which he then kept hidden — possibly in a storage unit — for seven years. (Susan's daughter, Chris, later successfully sued Alamo.

He returned the body in 1995 and was ordered to pay \$100,000 in damages.)

Alamo himself was not easy to find. A FBI "Wanted" Poster at the time listed 10 aliases for him and warned: "Alamo is always accompanied by bodyguards who have access to numerous weapons to include M-14 rifles. He is known to be hostile to law enforcement and is considered armed and dangerous."

In 1994, after finally being arrested in Florida where he had been living under an assumed name, Alamo was convicted on the tax charges. The court also found that his "church" had raked in more than \$9 million during the four years he'd cheated on his taxes. He was sentenced to six years in prison, of which he ultimately served four.

At his sentencing hearing that year, former church members, including ex"wife" Jodie Fryer, testified that Alamo had recently begun practicing polygamy and had taken multiple wives, several of them barely into their teens. When questioned in court, Alamo — who had nine wives at the time and publicly preached that polygamists are "blessed by God" — refused to answer.

### **Child Brides**

One of those nine wives was known as Tami Hunt while she was a member of the cult. Today, at 31, she prefers to be called Jael — she was born into the cult with that name and has reclaimed it in the years since she escaped. It seems to suit the articulate, determined mother of six, whose parents named her for the biblical figure Yael, who killed Sisera to save Israel, beguiling him with a dish of milk, then pounding a tent peg through his skull while he slept.

Jael is one of at least a dozen ex-followers — and several alleged child brides — who say they have contacted criminal investigators with the Arkansas State Police since 2003 to report what they endured and witnessed inside Alamo's cult. Jael lived as Alamo's wife for more than two years as, by her account, she witnessed him slide deeper and deeper into polygamy and a taste for young girls.

"I've forgiven him for what he did to me, but I don't forgive him for what he's still doing to those girls," she told the *Report*. In 1993, Jael says she had just given birth to a daughter when Alamo kicked her husband out of the cult. Desperate to reunite her family, Jael went to visit her pastor on Oct. 15 "to beseech him to let my husband back in," she says.

Alamo heard Jael's pleas to bring her husband back into his good graces, she says,

and told her that although her husband was cast out, there was, in fact, a way for her and her baby to get right with God.

She would have to "marry" him.

Alamo's five wives played with her young daughter in another room as she pondered her fate.

"It's like having a loaded gun to your head," she says now. Refusing Alamo meant "not only you might get beat half to death, but you'll go to hell on top of it," she recalls.

Finally, she agreed. Alamo, she says, told her the Lord wanted the marriage consummated right away and led her into his bedroom.

Her memories of that night are detailed — the sound of the air conditioner, the texture of the purple velvet curtains, the red numbers on the clock, the ornateness of a bedside lamp, the way Alamo licked his teeth as he paused over her body before shouting, "The blood of the Lord Jesus Christ is against you, Satan! Thus saith the Lord: 'She is mine!'"

"I wrestled over [the question] was I raped or did I want this?" she says now. "I don't think it matters. I was 17. He was 60. I feel raped."

Alamo took several more "wives" while he was "married" to Jael, she says, including a 9- and a 10-year-old girl.

Alamo was calculated and adept when he began to groom young girls, Jael says. "Every little girl starting to develop wants to feel beautiful, and he was very good at making them feel that way," she recalled. "He preyed on the fact that we were alienated from our parents ... [T]hey worked and worked, and some of us hadn't seen our parents in a very long time."

Although he was incarcerated during most of their "marriage," Alamo kept in touch through regular prison vis-

its where Jael and other wives present at the time allege that he would fondle the younger girls as older wives blocked the view of the prison security cameras. He allegedly spoke to the girls in graphic terms about group sex and whips, says Jael, who became terrified of him.

At the time, Jael says, she was still in

"I would have killed for him. I would have killed my child or anyone for him, even though I hated him. I'd become his little demon, finding sick joy in telling people horrible things on orders from Tony."

awe of Alamo. She worked 18-hour days transcribing the tapes Alamo would record for his followers, she says, editing out his curse words. "I would have killed for him. I would have killed my child or anyone for him, even though I hated him," Jael says now. "I'd become his little demon, finding sick joy in telling people horrible things on orders from Tony."

Finally, in 1998, Alamo walked out of prison a free man. This time, the cult leader decided to set up shop in the little town of Fouke, Ark.

### Stranger in a Strange Land

Residents of Fouke, where Alamo has built a small empire over the last nine years, were unaware of Alamo's history until recently. In February 2006, the town even presented Tony Alamo Christian Ministries with an official certificate of appreciation "for all the deeds that you and your church have done to aid those in need within our community, for your Christian love and kindness."

But Alamo's relationship with the residents of his new base of operations began to sour later in 2006, when he posted armed guards along the public street leading to his compound. Judy Frazier, who runs Fouke's general store, told the *Report* that in the spring of 2006 she drove past the compound to admire flowers that Alamo's followers planted. "As I was turning around, a guy got out of a pickup truck with a gun, a rifle, and wanted to know what I was doing," she



recalls. "I was livid and came back and told my husband, [and] he told a [town] councilman. It was pretty much ignored, but a few months later it happened to other people, a lady and her niece out looking for a lost dog."

Frazier began looking into Alamo Ministries online. There, she found a shocking litany of accusations and detailed accounts of serious physical abuse.

In addition to Jael's account, a former schoolteacher at the compound told the *Report* that Alamo ordered her epileptic daughter beaten, claiming that the girl's seizures were the devil's doing.

Ex-follower Sue Balsley told the *Report* that her teenage son was suspended in the air by four men as he was allegedly given 140 blows on Alamo's orders for sending a love letter to a female classmate.

Cyndi Jo Angulo wrote she was 15 and already married to someone else when she was summoned to Alamo's house to become his "wife" in 1995, only to discover that her 11-year-old sister had already been taken as his "bride." She also says she was one of the girls Alamo allegedly fondled during prison visits.

Nikki Farr told the *Report* of fleeing Alamo's house in 1999 when she was 15 years old, after enduring what she described as three years of lewd talk during prison visits. Determined not to marry her then-65-year-old pastor, she says she escaped from the cult by crawling through ditches and over barbed wire after Alamo caught her making an

unauthorized phone call and knocked her unconscious.

It's a pattern of abuse that many suspect continues to this day. The thought that this might be going on in their hometown is both frightening and heart wrenching to Fouke residents, including Frazier.

And then there are the mattresses.

This February, Alamo was linked to 3,000 apparently stolen mattresses stored in an Arkansas warehouse owned by two of his current "wives." The mattresses, it turns out, were part of a lot of 8,000 donated to Katrina victims by the Tempur-Pedic mattress company through a New Jersey company called Waste to Charity. Tempur-Pedic filed suit in federal court seeking to recover the \$15 million it said the inventory it donated was worth. The complaint alleges that one of the defendants, Alamo right-hand man Thomas Scarcello, sold 4,000 of the mattresses to a buyer for \$500,000. The lawsuit is scheduled to be tried next January.

"Now that I know what is going on, I feel an obligation to help," Frazier says. "His people are as much victims as the little girls are. They are brainwashed [to believe] that he is the anointed of God and if they leave they face hellfire."

### Shining a Light

As Frazier and others spread the word around town about Alamo, more and more Fouke residents became alarmed. One of the small town's eight City Council members is a member of Alamo's cult and anti-Alamo residents

claim that four other council members also are beholden to the cult leader. Alamo has become a hot button issue in Fouke. Attendance at recent monthly City Council meetings has been so high that residents bring their own chairs and wait patiently in a long line outside City Hall for the doors to open.

"I'm so sick of having his literature plastered on our cars while we're at church," said Sherry Potts, the most vocal member of a growing group of residents opposed to Alamo. "It made me angry so I went home and called the number listed on the back. I told them, 'I don't want any more of your filth. The Bible is the word of God. Yours is the word of a pervert."

Alamo now counterattacks his detractors in Fouke regularly on his radio broadcasts, suggesting that God will exterminate his "Vaticanite" detractors.

"Now God said he's going to destroy those people, all of them," Alamo said in one rambling diatribe this summer. "God is going to get them. They're going to get cut down one of these days."

Cult expert and deprogrammer Steve Hassan, the author of *Combating Cult Mind Control*, has followed the activities of the Alamo cult since Alamo's release from prison in 1998. Like many others, he is surprised Alamo is still free.

"Tony Alamo is power-hungry, deluded, paranoid and exploitative, certainly as far as what he's doing with young girls," says Hassan. "I don't know if law enforcement is either corrupt or [too] nervous to pursue him."

Officials with the Arkansas State Police, where ex-followers have made a series of complaints against Alamo in recent years, would not say if the cult leader is under investigation. "As a matter of policy, the Arkansas State Police does not address questions or publicly discuss elements of any investigation that may be open," said spokesman Bill Sadler.

So, for now, Fouke residents and ex-Alamo followers plan to continue turning up the heat in hopes of bringing increased scrutiny to Tony Alamo Christian Ministries and its leader. "I'd like to see him arrested immediately," Susan Groulx says. "There's no reason why he should be free and no reason why this should drag on any longer."



A black supremacist cult, predicting the imminent end of white 'dominion,' is back. It was frightening enough the first time around

# REBIRTH OF A NATION

BY BRENTIN MOCK ILLUSTRATION BY PJ LOUGHRAN

EMBROKE PINES, Fla. — The funeral of Yahweh ben Yahweh was a black and white affair. Nearly 500 white-clad members of the Nation of Yahweh, a notorious black supremacist religious sect that under Yahweh's guidance embraced violent racial separatism, gathered in the parking lot of the Floridian Ballroom, an upscale event center here. It was May 13, six days after Yahweh died of prostate cancer. Just prior to his "ascension," Yahweh was released from parole after serving 11 years of an 18-year sentence on federal conspiracy charges related to 14 murders committed in Miami in the 1980s.

Black men in white robes and white suits pulled into the parking lot driving shiny white Lincoln and Lexus luxury cars. They boasted abundant gold and diamond jewelry and seemed to be speaking into the air as they talked business over Bluetooth ear devices. Their women were wrapped in white dresses and crowned with what they called "diadems," or white turbans. White-draped toddlers repeatedly exclaimed, "Praise Yahweh!"

At the height of its power in the late 1980s, the Miami-based Nation of Yahweh had satellite temples around the country and a lucrative business empire of apartment complexes, hotels, stores and fleets of Greyhound buses and Rolls Royce cars, all painted stark white. Yahweh himself once estimated the sect's holdings at \$100 mil-

lion. And while the Nation's wealth and strength dwindled following the imprisonment of its founder, it was apparent from the conspicuously affluent turnout at his funeral that current Nation members are neither penniless nor scarce. Indeed, in recent years the Nation has put on several lavish conferences in Canada. It has expanded anew in both

Canada and Texas, and followers are appearing regularly in South Florida, too. And it has grown increasingly apocalyptic in tone as it predicts the end of white dominion, a development that has observers worried, given the Nation's violent past.

The mood inside the ballroom this May was joyful. The corpse of Yahweh ben Yahweh (translation: "God, son of God") lay out in the open as his disciples stood elbow to elbow. The occasion marked the first legal contact between Yahweh and his followers in some 15 years, since the terms of his parole strictly prohibited him from reconnecting with his congregation in any way.

But anger was also in the air. Funeral orators unleashed vengeful polemics against an unspecified enemy.

"This year marks the year of your doom," said one of them. "Yahweh ben Yahweh told you over 16 years ago, Satan, that if you keep on messing with him that you will lie down!"

"Praise Yahweh!" the assembly members shouted in unison amidst sustained applause.

YAHWEH BEN YAHWEH WAS RELEASED FROM PAROLE AFTER SERVING 11 YEARS OF AN 18-YEAR SENTENCE ON FEDERAL CONSPIRACY CHARGES RELATED TO 14 MURDERS COMMITTED IN MIAMI IN THE 1980s.

Nation of Yahweh members believe that the death of Yahweh ben Yahweh was foretold in Holy Scriptures and is a sign that the time is upon the Earth when the godly remnants of the black race will displace the accursed white race—along with blacks "infected" with white blood—and rule the earth.

As one funeral speaker put it: "The wicked powers and principalities sitting in high places knew that the power of Yahweh ben Yahweh is the beginning of the end of their 6,000-year rule of wicked dominion!"

### Ending 'The Devil's Rulership'

Although Nation of Yahweh members no longer openly condemn "white devils," there's little confusion among Nation members concerning the identity of those "wicked powers" or what the "end of their 6,000-year rule" means. As Nation of Yahweh elder Job Israel, who went to prison with Yahweh ben Yahweh, explained in the parking lot outside the funeral: "God is black. The opposite of God is evil. The opposite of black is white. So what do you think white is?"

Later, in a telephone interview with the *Intelligence Report*, Israel expanded on his point: "God created the white man to punish us for being disobedient to God. The original devil was black. But when Cain killed Abel, [God] cursed him to be white. Yahweh [God] gave him [the white man] a hedge of protection and gave him 6,000 years to rule. … This is the year 6007. The devil's rulership is up."

Nation of Yahweh theology borrows liberally from the Nation of Islam (NOI), a much better known black separatist group of which Yahweh was briefly a member in the 1960s. The "6,000 year rule" by "white devils" destined to be overturned by "God's chosen people" is lifted straight out of early NOI leader Elijah Muhammad's writings in *Message to the Black Man in America* and *The Supreme Wisdom*. Copying another lesson verbatim from Muhammad, Yahweh also taught his followers that an English pirate named John Hawkins delivered the very first enslaved Africans to the New World in 1555 on a ship named Jesus.

Though wildly inaccurate, this lesson continues to set the agenda for Nation of Yahweh members. "Our slavery under them [white people] is 400 years, but their slavery under ours is forever and ever," explains Job Israel. "They know they gotta leave here [America], because they don't wanna serve no niggers."

AT THE HEIGHT OF ITS POWER IN THE LATE 1980s, THE MIAMI-BASED NATION OF YAHWEH HAD SATELLITE TEMPLES AROUND THE COUNTRY AND A LUCRATIVE BUSINESS EMPIRE OF APARTMENT COMPLEXES, HOTELS, STORES AND FLEETS OF GREYHOUND BUSES AND ROLLS ROYCE CARS, ALL PAINTED STARK WHITE.

The Nation of Yahweh's ideology is also heavily derived from the Hebrew Israelite belief system, strains of which have existed in America since the 1800s. Hebrew Israelites believe that God is black, and that they are the authentic descendants of the Old Testament Hebrews who escaped Egyptian bondage — the "true Jews." (Bizarrely, the white



supremacist theology of Christian Identity makes strikingly similar claims, except that whites are depicted as the "true Hebrews" of the Bible.) Nation of Yahweh members refer to themselves as the "tribe of Judah" (not to be confused with the Nation of Islam's "lost tribe of Shabazz").

One key difference between Hebrew Israelites, who are often referred to as Black Hebrew Israelites, and Nation of Yahweh members is that while the Hebrew Israelite worldview is based mainly in the Old Testament, the Nation of Yahweh also subscribes to the New Testament — except, of course, they believe their messiah to be Yahweh ben Yahweh instead of Jesus Christ. They interpret the gospels of Christ's persecution and crucifixion as a foretelling of Yahweh's federal court trial and recent death.

While Yahweh ben Yahweh claimed the Hebrew Israelite religion, true Hebrew Israelites don't claim him. "In most Hebrew Israelite circles, the Nation of Yahweh is the laughingstock," says former Nation of Yahweh member Khalil Amani (formerly known as Yehudah Israel), who testified against Yahweh and others in the Nation during their 1992 federal trial.

"The things that happened with Yahweh ben Yahweh in

Florida don't sound anything close to the Hebrew Israelite community," adds Ahvee Tsoor Y'Israel of the African Hebrew Israelites of Jerusalem, a prominent group of Hebrew Israelites from America who have established permanent residency in Dimona, Israel.

Y'Israel characterized the Nation of Yahweh as a "misguided group following a misguided leader."

### **Playing God**

The son of a Pentecostal preacher, Yahweh ben Yahweh was born Hulon Mitchell Jr. in Oklahoma in 1935. After serving in the military and attending law school, Mitchell moved to Atlanta in the mid-1960s and joined the Nation of

Islam, becoming Hulon X. He then left the Nation of Islam in the late '60s after being accused of embezzlement and pedophilia, only to resurface as a tithe-hustling faith healer and prosperity preacher named Father Michel, a character he cut from the cloth of Father Divine and Samuel "Father Jehovia" Morris, gaudy African-American ministers of the early 20th century who identified themselves as God.

The man who would become Yahweh ben Yahweh left Atlanta after his business partner was murdered and his "Modern Christian Church" congregants sued him for fraud. He arrived in Miami in 1978 at a time when the city was seething with racial tensions and black rage. Once there, he gathered recruits from the city's loosely knit Hebrew Israelite movement, declared himself a black messiah, and started up the Nation of Yahweh.

Along with building a multimillion-dollar business empire, the Nation of Yahweh earned public acclaim for its community revitalization projects in poor African-American neighborhoods throughout what is now called Miami-Dade County. In 1987, Miami Urban League head T. Willard Fair bestowed the Whitney M. Young humanitarian award upon Yahweh. Three years later, Miami Mayor Xavier Suarez gave Yahweh his own official holiday: "Yahweh ben Yahweh Day."

As the Nation of Yahweh thrived, however, its dark side played out in apocalyptic preaching against "white devils," a firebombing, the hostile takeover of a South Florida housing complex, the beheading of a temple dissident with a dull machete and the murders of white Floridians whose ears were hacked off as trophies.

After Yahweh and six members of his "Circle of Ten" security force "death angels" were imprisoned in 1992, many of Yahweh's followers left the Nation's Temple of Love head-quarters, or abandoned the Miami area altogether. Shocking disclosures from the trial about Yahweh's involvement in killings and sexual relationships with underage girls caused many followers to renounce him. Most of the Nation's many properties were foreclosed and seized.

For a while, the Nation of Yahweh all but disappeared. But public signs of the Nation's rebirth began to appear around 1999, when a family of followers spent \$22,000 on billboards in Miami that proclaimed the cult's presence as well as its peaceful intentions. In 2001, the same year Yahweh ben Yahweh was paroled, the Nation held two lavish conferences in Montreal, Canada. Followers also created a website — www.yahwehbenyahweh.com — that carried Yahweh's lessons and bitter diatribes against the media and government. New posts to the site continue to this day.

"They're still distributing all their original tracts, so I don't know how they're going to get away from the hate message," says Dawn Hutchinson, an instructor at Christopher Newport University in Virginia who studies the Nation of Yahweh and other fringe religious groups. "It's interesting that they lasted this long with him in prison. The only reason I can think of is because of his messiah complex."

In their teachings, Nation followers defend claims that Yahweh ben Yahweh is the one true messiah by referencing the dictionary even more than the Bible. Citing *Random House Webster's Unabridged Dictionary* to the page number, the Nation of Yahweh website provides definitions of "father," "Christ," "Messiah," "Jew," and "Israelite" before concluding: "From these facts, Yahweh ben Yahweh, the son of Yahweh, is the Christ, the Messiah, who is the expected or awaited King and Deliverer of the tribe of Judah, the Hebrew Israelites, descendants of the patriarch Jacob."

## "GOD IS BLACK. THE OPPOSITE OF GOD IS EVIL. THE OPPOSITE OF BLACK IS WHITE. SO WHAT DO YOU THINK WHITE IS?"

### Word War

The Nation of Yahweh currently has a publishing branch, the P.E.E.S.S. ("Politically, Economically, Educationally, Socially, Spiritually") Foundation, with offices in Montreal and Seguin, Texas. Its legal arm, the Miami-based Abraham Foundation, provides legal representation to "innocent, indigent Hebrew Israelites." Nation attorney Wendellyn Rush, who represented Yahweh ben Yahweh in his trial and parole hearings, also reserved the Floridian Ballroom for Yahweh's funeral. (Rush, who in 2000 threatened to sue the Southern Poverty Law Center for \$12 trillion over a story about an unrelated Hebrew Israelite group, was contacted by the *Report* but would not comment for this story).

"She asked for us to supply four or five officers to cover them because they'd be bringing 400 to 500 of their members out for the service," says Patrick Lynn, chief deputy for the Pembroke Pines Police Department.

No police signed up for the overtime duty, in large part because the funeral fell on Mother's Day. Instead, the Nation hired a private security firm. One of the guards on the premises identified himself to the *Report* only as "Jerry," a licensed private investigator who'd been working for the Nation of Yahweh for several years.

"They're a very strict, private people," said Jerry. "As a condition of our contract with them, we can't reveal any info about their meetings or where they take place."

What he could reveal was that "these people pay me very well. In fact, they pay extra for me to be loyal to them. Believe me, those people have a lot of money."

Which is what makes their missives about overthrowing wicked governments disconcerting. Many current posts on the Nation of Yahweh website demonstrate that members continue to believe that the FBI, CIA and other government agencies are plotting against them. (According to their conspiracy theories, this plot began with reports on the radical right written by the Anti-Defamation League [ADL] and the Southern Poverty Law Center [SPLC], which was the basis of the lawsuit that Rush threatened.)

In their "Rising of the Beast Out of the Sea" lesson, Nation of Yahweh leaders decry their enemies: "They refuse to cooperate or submit to the power of [Yahweh]. ... [W]e shall forever stand to testify to the world that ... the kingdoms of this world shall become the Kingdom of Yahweh."

"Operation Word War," another website article, details the Nation of Yahweh's attack on "Project Megiddo" —in reality, an FBI document warning of some radical groups' millennial activities as the year 2000 approached, but what the article sees as part of a government/SPLC/ADL conspiracy to exterminate the Nation of Yahweh. The "Word War" article drips with anti-Semitism, arguing that "mainstream Jews" — that is, Jews of European descent — exert "control over the publishing and entertainment industries, the educational and judicial systems, and all other businesses and professions of this world." It goes on to quote Revelation 2:9: "I know the blasphemy of them which say they are Jews, and are not, but are the synagogue of Satan."

### Coming Soon: 'The Roundup'

One of the more infamous figures of the Nation of Yahweh, Job Israel was convicted in 1991 along with Yahweh and five followers for his role in at least 14 murders, including that of would-be Yahweh follower Leonard Dupree, whose head Job Israel bashed in with a car jack. Job was the Nation's master barber. According to Khalil Amani, the former member who testified against his former comrades, Israel also was the most charismatic and fanatical member of the Nation.

"When I met him in the Nation he had a big car and wore fur coats in the summer. He was blinged out before it was popular," says Amani. "But he was crazy out of his mind. He was so righteous you couldn't talk to him about anything worldly. And he was a killer."

ACCORDING TO JOB ISRAEL, HIS COMRADES WILL TAKE OVER SLOWLY, BECAUSE "IF THEY [WHITE PEOPLE] WOKE UP AND SUDDENLY FOUND OUT THEY WAS GONNA BE SERVING BLACK FOLKS, THEY'D KILL US ALL. THEY PLAN TO DO THAT ANYWAY."

While imprisoned for nine years with his leader (an arrangement he begged the judge for), Job taught barbering and cosmetology to inmates. Upon his release, he built his own hair and beauty products business called Judah's Gold.

At Yahweh's funeral, Job wore a custom-fitted white military uniform with black embroidery. Gold and diamond jewelry graced his pinky finger, neck, jacket epaulettes and turban. Inscribed in each pendant and ring were the Hebrew letters for Yahweh. He covered the symbols to keep them from an outsider's gaze, saying, "The name of God must not be published or spoken by anyone but God."

Interviewed later by the *Report*, Israel talked proudly of the Nation's glory years, describing the opening of hotels



and restaurants, teaching hair and skin maintenance, the Bible and entrepreneurship.

And the killings? "I don't know nothing about it."

Israel says he's been mostly out of touch with other

Israel says he's been mostly out of touch with other Nation members for 15 years. But he hasn't forgotten the teachings or his allegiance. Asked who would lead the Nation now, he responded, "Yahweh ben Yahweh. He is God."

According to Job Israel, the 6,000-year rule of the devil was up a decade ago. Black people just haven't realized this yet, because they are "sleeping" or are "dead." He goes on to say that his comrades will take over slowly, because "if they [white people] woke up and suddenly found out they was gonna be serving black folks, they'd kill us all. They plan to

do that anyway."

Black people who have not accepted Yahweh's teachings, Israel predicted, will be captured in "the roundup" along with whites. President George Bush, whose last maneuver will institute the "New World Order," will usher this "roundup" in.

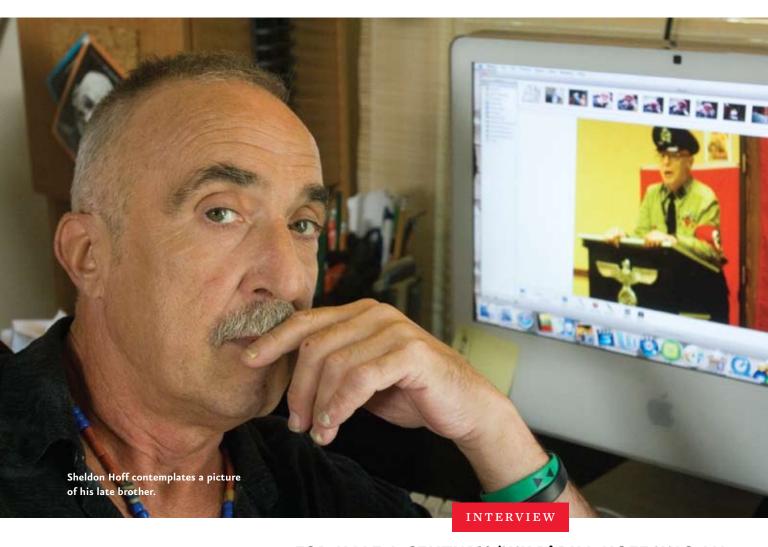
Will the Nation of Yahweh be rounded up as well? "Those who don't know will get rounded up." And those who do?

"It will be like the Passover, when God told them to put blood on the door. Some people didn't believe, so the death angels came in and killed them. The ones who believed, Yahweh put a hedge of protection around them."

Today, 15 years after the collapse of Yahweh ben Yahweh's bloody empire, the master is dead but, Israel says ominously, he "cloned himself" in the form of hundreds of devout followers.

And that may not be good for the rest of us. Says Israel: "Now you gonna see how dangerous he was." ▲

## THE SECRET



## FOR HALF A CENTURY, 'WILD' BILL HOFF WAS AN ANGRY ICON OF THE NEO-NAZI MOVEMENT. BUT THERE WAS ONE THING HE COULD NEVER ADMIT

N DEC. 8, 2006, William Hoff Jr. — the man known to his friends in the violent world of white supremacy as "Wild Bill" — died outside Enoree, S.C., after turning accidentally into the path of a tractor-trailer. To his comrades, Hoff, 71, was an elder icon, so revered that he had just been named the vice presidential candidate of the National Socialist Movement,

one of the country's largest neo-Nazi groups. To most of the rest of the world, Hoff was a uniformed Hitler worshipper, a man known for his membership in many of the leading radical-right groups of the last 50 years and for his participation in anti-minority violence, including a 1969 plot to murder a roomful of civil rights activists. But to his family, Bill Hoff was "Billy" — a highly intelligent and sweet but wildly misdirected child,

an alcoholic who grew up playing with black and Jewish kids but went into a racial fury when he'd had a few drinks, a man who routinely told tall tales to friends in the white supremacist movement. And there was something more. When Hoff's siblings began to look into the family's past, they uncovered a bombshell — a secret that could have destroyed "Wild" Bill Hoff in the eyes of his pals. In an interview, one of Hoff's

brothers, 64-year-old Sheldon Hoff, discussed his sibling and the long, strange trip of his life as a racist.

### INTELLIGENCE REPORT Sheldon, could you start by describing your brother's child-hood in New York City?

SHELDON HOFF: Billy was born in Brooklyn in 1934. Among six siblings, there were four brothers - Donald, Billy, Barry and myself — and he always was our protector. We grew up in a very tough neighborhood; we didn't know it was the ghetto until we moved out years later. It was down near the waterfront. and there were blacks, Hispanics, whatever, living there. We spoke a little bit of Italian here, a little Yiddish there. We grew up smelling other peoples' foods, their cultures, and appreciating it all. We had black and Hispanic friends at our house playing basketball. One of Billy's high school friends was Floyd Patterson, the boxer [a black man who famously captured the world heavyweight championship in 1956 and again in 1960].

### How do you think your brother first became an open racist?

HOFF: Billy didn't finish high school. He wanted to join the Navy, so he quit. The military was very important to him because it was a way he could show my father that he was a man — I remember him talking about that.

He was there for a year or so, a couple of years, but he got into a fight with a black

man and was charged with assault and the black man wasn't. I don't know the whole story, but he was sent to the brig and then discharged. He thought it was very unfair. And our family feels this is when he got this attitude against black people. He came home from the Navy with this attitude, although as long as my father was alive — he died in 1958 — Billy didn't do or say anything.

One time after my father's death, when I was 14 or 15, he woke me up one time and put a rifle in my hand and told

me we were going out to "kill some niggers." When he was drunk, he was out of his mind. It drove him mad — violently mad. Later, I used to go out and see him in bars. He was just a powder keg, all the time.

### When did he first get involved with organized white supremacy?

SHELDON: After my father died, the National States Rights Party started. [Editor's note: The white supremacist NSRP was formed in 1958 by J.B. Stoner, who was later convicted of a bomb attack, and Ed Fields, editor of its Thunderbolt newspaper. The group, based in the South, ultimately fell apart in the late 1980s.] Billy became the director of it in New York City.

He was just busy at the typewriter after that, going full blast. He went to a lot of demonstrations. He was known. He did a lot of speaking and he did a lot of writing. He was a great organizer — too bad he wasn't using what he had in a positive way. He could have done great things. He was very intelligent; he learned to speak German from tapes, and he spoke it fluently. He had such a mind.

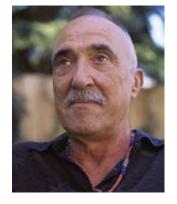
off their jackets, my mother told my brother, "These people have to leave."

When I was 14 or 15, Billy actually talked me into putting on a uniform one time. I had always admired my brother growing up, and we talked about my joining the NSRP. One day, he took me and a friend — the only two people in his "youth group" — to Manhattan, to Union Square, where Jewish people were having a gathering. We got into the middle of the crowd and took our jackets off. Billy put up a hand in the air to do a sieg heil. And right then, we were grabbed and dragged off by the FBI. The FBI took our names and told us to get lost.

I went home and the next day my friend and I took those uniforms back to him and told him, "This isn't for us." That was the extent of it for me. But Billy kept on going. It just kept on building.

### Did your brother engage in violence during this period?

**HOFF** In the '60s, I remember waking up one night with a brightness coming from across the street into my window. Here was a burning cross, on someone's lawn



## "We were asking, 'Who are we?' And we found all this rich background. We put two and two together."

Later, the American Nazi Party came in, and the Ku Klux Klan soon followed. [Editor's note: The American Nazi Party, led by former naval commander George Lincoln Rockwell, was active

from 1959 until 1967, when Rockwell was assassinated by John Patler, a disgruntled follower, in Arlington, Va.]

I remember one time, when he was still with the National States Rights Party, he told me to go down to the train station. Out of the subway came three or four storm troopers in full uniform. One was Rockwell. Another was John Patler. And Roy Frankhouser [a long-time activist in the Klan and related groups] was there. I knew them all. I met them all. When they came to our house and took

in Brooklyn! Then, another time, there were some people down the street who were anti-Vietnam War advocates. They told me they were afraid of Billy because of the things he was saying. They said that one day, some sort of substance came in through their air conditioning unit that was burning their eyes; they thought Billy was putting some kind of tear gas in there. He had all these things going on.

One time, in the middle of the night, the police came to our house saying that someone was firing a gun at a train in the subway system. They started searching the house and they pulled a gun out of our kitchen closet; it looked like a .32 or a .38. One of them asked whose it was and we said, "We don't know" — we never had guns in our house. And he said, "Take this and get rid of it before the FBI comes." He had me take the gun



and bury it. This was a policeman!

By the time Billy came home, the FBI — or maybe it was the state police — was there. Billy was drunk, and he was just going wild. They took him out in a straitjacket and had an ambulance take him to Bellevue [a New York hospital famous for its psychiatric ward]. He stayed for a couple of days and begged my mom to get him out, and she did.

They never could prove it was him who fired at the train, which was full of night travelers, mostly black people. Even though they never proved it, I'm telling you it was Billy. I know because he told me. He's dead now, and this won't affect him.

### What about you during this period? This was the 1960s.

HOFF I have a brother, Donald, who marched with [Martin Luther] King in the civil rights movement during the '60s. I dropped out — I don't know how else to say it. I wasn't satisfied with how things were going in this country, with how we treat each other. A light went on for me. My hair was growing long, I had the beard, and I had the tie-dyes. My brother had the granny glasses. Billy saw us. He would call us to say that we were taken over by the reds, we were commu-

nists, whatever the words were. We just let that go. We still loved our brother.

### He finally got into serious trouble in the late 1960s.

**HOFF** Billy was arrested in 1969. He was charged with a plot to kill leftist opponents [civil rights activists] on Aug. 12. This was in *The New York Times*!

My brother told me later that it was C-4 [plastic explosive] or something like that they planted. He cooked up nitroglycerine in the basement of my parent's house while we were sleeping. He was down in the basement making bombs!

We recently got information about a state policeman who infiltrated Billy's group. He supposedly talked my brother into planting the bomb. My whole experience with my brother and the authorities is that it seemed like they were reluctant to do anything to him. It's almost like they were backers. The guy who was the undercover agent said later on that he identified with my brother in a way.

Billy served six years in Attica [Correctional Facility in Attica, N.Y.]. He was there for the [1971] Attica riots [in which 39 people died]. He actually received money for that. He told me he was the head of the white power group there.

Billy had a lot of stories about how he

was the head of a lot of people. He lived a life of lies, not even exaggerations. Pure lies. He said on the radio that our father and an uncle brought him into the Klan. That is so far from the truth. He said he was a mercenary in Angola. That never happened. He said our parents were interned like the Japanese, that they were chased out of South Carolina by Jews and Communists. My mother was never even down there. From start to finish, it was science fiction. I think he was trying to build a character. He wasn't happy with himself.

### What happened when he got out of prison?

**HOFF** We thought, "Okay, good, now it's all going to change." He was on parole, so

for a little while things were quiet. But once that was over, he just went back to it again. He calls me into his room, and he's in his dirty sheets [Klan robes]. Those are filthy sheets. And it continued until the day he was dead — until he died last year.

I moved to Berkeley, Calif., in the 1970s and lived there 17 years. I worked for an alternative newspaper, *The Berkeley Barb*, and sort of lost touch with Billy physically. But we always spoke on the phone. I knew he was trying to expand, trying to find new members.

Eventually, he moved down south. He was actually chased out of New York in the early 1980s. The JDL [the Jewish Defense League, an extremely militant anti-Nazi group that has produced a large amount of criminal violence] got on his case, going around to places where he worked and telling the boss that if they didn't fire him, they would picket the place. They went to his home and demanded that the landlord chase him out. That's why he went to South Carolina.

## It was around this time that you began to look into your family history?

**HOFF** We had asked my dad, "Who are we?" because everyone in our

[Brooklyn] community was Jewish or Italian or Irish or German or something. We were Hoffs, but we didn't hear anything about any Germans in our family. He just said, "You're American." And I didn't understand it.

Years after my dad died, we started getting interested in our family history. We used to go down south when we were young, to the area around

Summerville [in southeastern South Carolina], where my father's family is from originally. I remember my dad actually going over to the "colored" water fountain one time in the late '40s or '50s; I didn't think anything about it. There were some other things that were a little different. When we went down there, we went to a church in Monck's Corner where people were darker than us. It was a missionary church for Native Americans, we found out later. We were asking, "Who are we?" And we found all this rich background. We put two and two together.

#### What does that mean?

**HOFF** We found out that my [father's side of the] family were mulattos! In some censuses, like in 1910, our family is listed as black; in others, they were white, but all the families around them were black. My forefather, Emanuel Rodriguez, came to this country in 1640 as a slave. He came to Virginia with an owner from Barbados, Frances Pott, and married a white indentured servant here. People would say, "Hey, 'Driguez, hey, 'Driguez," and soon they were just calling him Driggers. You can see documents where people are swearing that a relative of mine is white - "I swear that so-and-so Driggers is a white person and I know them," and so forth.

That name is a corruption, but it stuck, right up to now. If you go to Monck's Corner today, you'll see stores and everything with the name Driggers. Anyway, he was eventually able to buy freedom for himself and a couple of his children.

Basically, my family was intermarrying along the way. We come from a long

line of Americans, of all types of people. We have in my family a Gypsy. I have cousins who were married to Filipinos way back in 1910, 1920. I'm a member of an Indian tribe, and so are all my children and my brother, Donald. One ancestor, in the 1800s, was the overseer of a plantation owned by a black man who had slaves; my ancestor was a mulatto. That just shows the insanity of slavery.



#### How did Billy take the news?

HOFF It wasn't until about 15 years ago, when we had all our facts together, that we confronted him about the origin of our family and members of our family in the South that were dark, about our mixed background. I remember, he said to us, "I'm not interested in dead bones." That was the way he denied it. We kept sending him information, along with the rest of the family. So he knew what was going on. We didn't attack him. We were just hoping that this was going to change him. But that's not what happened. Billy just continued to do what he did.

### Did his friends in the movement know anything about this?

HOFF John Howard didn't know anything about it. [Editor's note: Howard was owner of the Redneck Shop in Laurens, S.C., a longtime Klan meeting hall, until its recent reported sale to the

neo-Nazi National Socialist Movement, which Bill Hoff belonged to during his final years. Howard and Hoff were close friends.] I informed him recently about our background. We also told [John Taylor] Bowles [Hoff's running mate on the NSM presidential ticket] that my brother was of mixed blood while he was running as the great Aryan hero. He said, "There's probably a little bit of mixed blood in all of us."

They don't want to bring their hero down. This was a guy whose message was hate, and they need the hate to survive. I even wrote Minnesota [the NSM's national headquarters]. None of them want to talk about it.

We just wanted to expose them. I say it straight out now: the fascists aren't my favorite people. So if I get a chance to expose them, I will. I just can't stand back and watch, having a brother who went through that.

The final irony is that after you moved back from California you went on to Jamaica and married a black woman. Your biological children are biracial and your adopted son is black. And Billy never criticized you for any of that.

HOFF My brother knew and he never said anything. When we moved back to New York from Jamaica in 1998, I started calling my brother to tell him about my family. I'm a father, and I'm proud of my children and my wife. I want to show them off. He wrote a letter to my son that was warm and loving and he gave this great advice in it. Billy knew my son was mixed, but all he gave was encouragement and love. He lived in a world that was split. But he was controlled by anger.

I wanted badly to say something public about our background while Billy was still alive, but I couldn't. These people aren't schoolchildren, and they might have hurt him. My family and I have been waiting for 15 years, keeping our mouths shut about this even though it goes against our core values. When he died, the second thought in my mind was, "Now I can tell the story." And now I have.



# MEMPHIS SEWAGE

The host of a Tennessee talk show, America's new nexus of radio hate, is positioning himself to become the next David Duke BY DAVID HOLTHOUSE

hen the white supremacist Council of Conservative Citizens (CCC) held its annual national conference June 1 and 2 at a Holiday Inn in Greenville, S.C., James Edwards was the golden boy of the hate group's proceedings.

Edwards, 27, is the host of "The Political Cesspool," a shamelessly white nationalist radio talk show that's broadcast for two hours every weeknight from a studio near Memphis, Tenn., where Edwards grew up and still lives.

"The Political Cesspool" in the past two years has become the primary radio nexus of hate in America. Its sponsors include the CCC and the Institute for Historical Review, a leading Holocaust denial organization. Its guest roster for



2007 reads like a "Who's Who" of the radical racist right. CCC leader Gordon Lee Baum, Holocaust denier Mark Weber, Canadian white supremacist Paul Fromm, *American Renaissance* editor Jared Taylor, neo-Nazi activist April Gaede, anti-Semitic professor Kevin MacDonald, Stormfront webmaster Jaime Kelso and League of the South president Michael Hill have all been favorably interviewed on the "Political Cesspool" this year, along with former Klan leader

and neo-Nazi David Duke, the show's most frequent celebrity racist guest, who has logged three appearances.

"I have known Dr. Duke for a number of years and have found him to be a Christian man above reproach," Edwards says on the "Cesspool" website. "Time and again, he has gone out of his way to help me, asking for nothing in return."

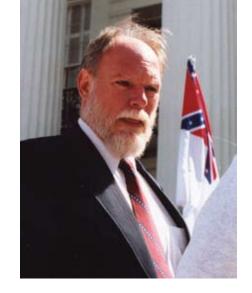
Edwards is quite a bit younger than the majority of CCC members who attended the South Carolina conference. Many of those members' involvement in the white supremacist movement dates back to the White Citizens Councils that were formed to oppose school desegregation and the civil rights movement and were later reincarnated as the CCC. Edwards sat with his wife at a table near the back of the conference hall, engaging in conversation with a nearly constant stream of admirers who looked twice his age or more. They slapped his back and shook his hand and congratulated him not only on the success of "Political Cesspool" – which is tailored for a southern, neo-Confederate, white nationalist audience — but also his recent triumphs in smoothly injecting white nationalist ideology into national mainstream media discussions of race relations and crime in America.

Edwards arrived at the hate group conference just three days after his third primetime appearance on CNN in the previous two months. "Crime and violence follow African-Americans wherever they go," he said in his April 4 CNN debut, a panel debate on "self-segregation" hosted by Paula Zahn. "And if you think that is racist, then spend some time on the mean streets of south Memphis."

Zahn, who initially identified Edwards to CNN viewers as merely a "radio talk show host" from Memphis, invited him back on May 21 for a "Paula Zahn Now" episode titled "The Changing Face of America."

"Why not celebrate the diversity?" Zahn asked him in one exchange.





"My primary interest is to protect and safeguard my family," Edwards replied. "Whites are in for the fight of their lives. America is becoming balkanized. We are being robbed of having a future in the very nation our ancestors carved from the wilderness."

David Duke, who calls Edwards his "favorite radio patriot," gave the "Cesspool" host's CNN appearances a glowing online review: "He delivered a powerful performance, stuck to his guns and didn't back down as he articulated an unapologetically conservative viewpoint regarding race relations."

#### 'Heathen Savages'

Edwards began garnering similar accolades from his elders on the radical right last year as the "Cesspool" gained a larger and larger audience. (Although the show is broadcast only regionally on the airwaves, anyone can listen to it on the Internet.) "James is a bundle of energy and dedication who is deeply concerned about the genocide against European-Americans," white nationalist Bob Whitaker stated online after appearing on the show. "He is also wiser than many of the older members of our movement. ... He sticks with legitimate complaints that gentiles have and our fear of the genocide of immigration and intermarriage that respectable

### IN HIS OWN WORDS

James Edwards has probably done more than any of his contemporaries on the American radical right to publicly promote neo-Nazis, Holocaust deniers, raging anti-Semites and other extremists. At the same time, he has been celebrated by other racist radicals for his ability to avoid incendiary language on mainstream news shows like CNN's "Paula Zahn Now," lending credibility to the movement. But on his own show, the host of WLRM-AM's "The Political Cesspool" has not always been so careful. Here is a brief sampling of the unvarnished Edwards:

#### On the Jews (Feb. 20, 2007):

"A lot of their motivation is that they hate Christianity. They hate what we call the WASP establishment ... and they're using pornography as a subversive tool against us. Jews

are by and large dominant in the porn industry. I don't need to spend time convincing people the sky is blue. You know, connect the dots and look at the names of people controlling our media, and you find out what the common denominator is. ... These Zionist Jews are more interested in subverting the dominant culture, which would be the European culture here in America, than they are in helping us and assimilating into our culture."



Radicals on the radio: Among the guests on "The Political Cesspool" so far this year were (from left) Gordon Lee Baum, leader of the Council of Conservative Citizens, which has described blacks as "a retrograde species of humanity"; League of the South leader Michael Hill, who defends slavery and opposes interracial marriage; and Paul Fromm, a well-known Canadian white supremacist.

conservatives all advocate. The Political Cesspool is one of the first major steps toward making our perfectly legitimate and generally felt concerns — the ones that are presently denounced as heresy, racism and hate — the mainstream."

The "Cesspool" host is a rising star of the white nationalist movement because he's articulate, charming and equally at ease in a television studio, behind a radio microphone and standing in front of a crowd. He was a specially invited guest speaker at the CCC conference. His topic: "Creating Your Own Media." CCC National Field Coordinator Bill Lord told a "Martin Luther Coon" joke in his introduction of Edwards. Lord and other longtime CCC members casually dropped racial epithets at the conference, but Edwards carefully avoided using such crudely derogatory language, as he always does when speaking in public, on the airwaves or to the media. Edwards allies himself with hate group leaders who call black people "niggers," but he doesn't drop the N-bomb himself. Instead he speaks in the more or less polished code of a suit-and-tie racist, calling blacks "heathen

savages," "subhumans," and "black animals," exclusively in the context of discussing violent black-on-white crime.

His audience of about 150 at the CCC conference included Jared Taylor, whose magazine specializes in race "studies," and Don Black, the former Alabama grand dragon of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and founder of Stormfront, the largest racist forum on the Internet.

Edwards began by quoting Mississippi civil rights activist Fanny Lou Hamer, telling the crowd that he is "sick and tired of being sick and tired" when it comes to reverse discrimination against white people. He described "Political Cesspool" as "unabashedly pro-white" and detailed the show's early success in rallying Memphis whites to "defend" the gravesite of Confederate cavalry general Nathan Bedford Forrest, the first national leader of the original KKK. The gravesite was the subject of a protest in August 2005 led by the Rev. Al Sharpton, at which about 200 whites squared off against a few dozen black Sharpton supporters.

"Sharpton denigrated the general's gravesite with that kind of rabble there," Edwards said. He then boasted of the lavish all-expenses-paid treatment afforded him by CNN, including, he said, fine hotels and limousine rides. Edwards finished by announcing that "as a result of listener demand, support from station ownership and a surge of interest from the recent CNN exposure," beginning the following week "Political Cesspool" would expand from one hour per weeknight to two.

He received a standing ovation.

#### **Biased and Controlled**

The radio station that carries "Political Cesspool" — WLRM-AM — is a Christian station (WLRM stands for "We Love Radio Ministries," according to its website). Most of its programming consists of standard nationally syndicated conservative Christian "news and views" content that is often homophobic but generally non-racist, including a two-hour weekday show by the Rev. Jesse Lee Peterson, a well-known anti-gay minister who is African-American.

#### On immigration (May 18, 2007):

"The reason why America was a First World nation was because we had a First World population, and as we continue to be inundated with people from Third World nations we are going to become a Third World nation..... America is on the verge of collapse, as is Europe, as is the rest of the First World. We have to answer the question of whether white Americans and Europeans are going to survive to see another generation. ... Desperate situations call for rash action."

#### On Christianity (May 18, 2007):

"The Christian church used to be the foundation and bedrock of this country, all the way up to the 1950s, and now the Christian church, just like any other institution that we founded, has been infiltrated by Zionist influence and by perverse leftist ideology."

WLRM is not audited by Arbitron, the radio industry's equivalent of the Nielsen Ratings system, so there's no reliable estimate of the number of "Political Cesspool" listeners. Advertising on the show is cheap: \$100 a week for a regular plug. Edwards describes "Cesspool" as primarily "listener-supported," and the show's website claims it has received nearly \$15,000 in donations this year.

The WLRM station manager did not return three phone calls seeking comment for this story. Edwards politely refused to comment as well. "I appreciate your request for an interview as much as I do the SPLC's continued interest in our conservative radio program," he wrote in response to an E-mail from the *Intelligence Report*. "I must, however, respectfully decline your offer."

Proper manners were instilled in Edwards early in life both at home, he writes on his website, and when he attended Briarcrest Christian School, an expensive private school in Memphis — tuition is now \$10,000 a year — where "conservative Christian values and morals are taught and practiced in every aspect of school life," according to the Briarcrest mission statement.

When Edwards reached the ninth grade he transferred into a "Christian nationalist" home schooling program. "It was that decision that ultimately led me down the road of political activism," Edwards says on his site. "I could no longer be aware of the problems that are plaguing this Republic without trying to be part of the solution."

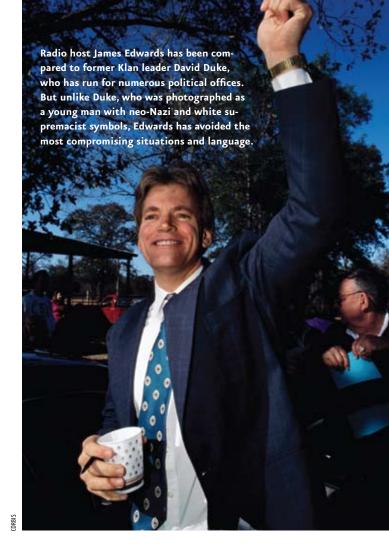
He began reading the works of white nationalist politician and commentator Pat Buchanan, who appeared on "Cesspool" last year. "Buchanan was one of the first commentators that I noticed who really seemed to be speaking my language," Edwards told the *Mid-South Patriot*, a monthly Memphis newspaper, in a February interview. "I felt as though he was articulating a message that resonated within me."

When Buchanan ran for president in 2000, Edwards worked on his campaign. "Politics was in my blood at that point and there was no turning back," he said. Edwards ran for the Tennessee House of Representatives in 2002 on a pro-life, pro-school vouchers platform. His campaign website featured endorsements from his pastor and the fathers of several children on a bowling team that Edwards coached. He lost. But during his campaign, Edwards befriended fellow Memphis-area conservative activist Austin Farley.

The two of them together launched "The Political Cesspool" in October 2004. Farley left the show in 2006 to run for the Tennessee House in District 97, the same district Edwards had targeted four years earlier. Farley also lost.

The "Cesspool" founders won a remarkable token of mainstream political acceptance in 2005, when Memphis City Councilman E.C. Jones, who has been interviewed on "Political Cesspool" several times, presented Edwards and Farley with a certificate "in appreciation of outstanding contributions to the community," and named them honorary city councilmen.

When Jones came under fire from the Memphis media for



honoring the "Cesspool," he told the *The* [Memphis] *Commercial Appeal*, "It pisses me off when people want to make a big damn deal out of nothing. ... Just because they have a different political view, am I supposed to exclude those people?"

When the *Mid-South Patriot* asked Edwards in February about the accusations that he's a racist he replied: "The horrible defamations we must endure are little compared to the physical battles of blood and bone that so many of our ancestors had to endure so that we could be here now." He also said that David Duke, his favorite "Cesspool" guest, is unfairly maligned. "Most of his detractors come to their conclusions about him based upon what they hear parroted from a biased and controlled global media."

#### **Idolizing Duke**

The Feb. 20 "Political Cesspool" broadcast featured a phone interview with David Duke, speaking from the Ukraine. Edwards made it abundantly clear during their conversation that he, like Duke, believes Jews control the media, among many other things. "We have a very small minority that has incredible power in the American media, the American government, in academia, and in the economy," Edwards told the infamous author of *Jewish Supremacism*. "I find it amazing that no movement has been too big or too small that these people have not had their hands in. ... You look at all the destructive movements of the 20th century. We're talking





about women's rights, the civil rights movement, and today the newly protected minority status for homosexuals."

Duke said in response: "Well, the way they have been able to do that, James, and everybody listening, is through organization. They have an agenda. They make a united front. When I was a university student at LSU [Louisiana State University] on campus, the very leftist, liberal anti-Vietnam war movement was absolutely led by radical Jews." Duke failed to mention another aspect of his LSU years: In 1970, while still a student, he was photographed dressed in neo-Nazi regalia, including a swastika armband, to protest the appearance of left-wing Jewish attorney William Kunstler at nearby Tulane University. That photograph, along with hundreds of others of Duke in his Ku Klux Klan robes, have haunted Duke over the decades and hampered his attempts to win mainstream political office.

Edwards idolizes Duke. At the CCC conference, he repeatedly quoted "Dr. Duke" in conversation. But as much as he admires Duke, Edwards has also clearly learned from his mentor's early mistakes. He does not appear at any hate group events where he knows swastikas and other white supremacist symbols will be photographed or filmed.

A frequent topic on "Political Cesspool" all of this year has been the gruesome murders of a young white couple in Knoxville who were allegedly carjacked, raped and murdered by four black men (see story, p. 15). "Hate crime laws were made for one reason and one reason only — to protect these black animals," Edwards said during his May 28 "Cesspool" broadcast. "If these two souls [the victims] had been more aware of the racial realities of our time, perhaps they would still be alive today."

Two days before that broadcast, neo-Nazi leader Alex Linder organized a protest against "black crime" in Knoxville. Edwards was nowhere to be seen. When he appeared on CNN May 29, the network rolled footage of the protest showing demonstrators wearing swastika T-shirts and displaying other white supremacist symbols. CNN host Kiran Chetry asked Edwards, "Why has this [murder] case

become a rallying cry among the white supremacists?"

Edwards disingenuously dodged the question: "Well, I can't necessarily speak for people that I don't have any association with. But I will promise you this: Had the roles been reversed, and had the victims been black and the murderers white, this would have been the biggest news story in America."

The next day on his blog, Edwards posted this message to his fans: "With regards to those who showed up in Knoxville (who were labeled 'Klansmen' and 'Nazis' etc.), conservative activists often get maligned with nefarious descriptions because they dare stand up and speak out. I don't know

the hearts and minds of those who attended the Knoxville rally because I wasn't there. However, with regards to their demonstration, they were doing the right thing by bringing attention to the despicable double standard this case has received. God bless them for that."

It's not exactly a stretch to "label" a man wearing a swastika T-shirt and shouting "Heil Hitler" a Nazi. Edwards knows that, but he's a master of carefully parsing his language so that he walks the razor's edge between conservative commentary and outright neo-Nazi rhetoric. This balancing act allows him to continue building his core audience of white nationalists without doing irrevocable damage to his mainstream political aspirations

As this article went to press, Edwards was scheduled to deliver the keynote address at a Sept. 15 meeting of the Missouri chapter of the League of the South, a racist, neo-secessionist organization based in Alabama. He also had recently announced that he was in negotiations with a Michigan-based media company to start broadcasting "Political Cesspool" nationwide.

His stated mission is "[f]ighting to advance a nationalist agenda based upon the Christian world view" and turning back the clock in America to the pre-civil rights era, "back when America had a strong moral compass," as he put it during his May 17 show. "You had cultural and racial integrity in those days. ...What's been taken away from us, we can take back."

Edwards works hard to maintain a professional appearance and demeanor. He wears suits, not Klan robes. But he's doing more than anyone else in the white nationalist movement at this point to promote the views of neo-Nazis, Klan sympathizers, Holocaust deniers, academic racists and anti-Semites. Helped along by cable news television and the occasional sympathetic elected official, he's beginning to look a lot like the next David Duke — and he'd almost certainly consider that a compliment.

Emily Brown and Janet Smith contributed to this report.



Dangerous liaison: A furious antigay movement in Latvia, marked by huge rallies in the capital city of Riga (above), has spilled over into the United States. The international nature of the movement was seen at the 2006 conference of the so-called Watchmen on the Walls in the alliance between American gay-bashers Kenneth Hutcherson (left inset) and Scott Lively, and Latvian megachurch preacher Alexey Ledyaev (center inset).





#### BY CASEY SANCHEZ

ACRAMENTO, Calif. — On the first day of July, Satender Singh was gay-bashed to death. The 26-year-old Fijian of Indian descent was enjoying a holiday weekend outing at Lake Natoma with three married Indian couples around his age. Singh was delicate and dateless — two facts that did not go unnoticed by a party of Russian-speaking immigrants two picnic tables away.

According to multiple witnesses, the men began loudly harassing Singh and his friends, calling them "7-Eleven workers" and "Sodomites." The Slavic men bragged about

belonging to a Russian evangelical church and told Singh that he should go to a "good church" like theirs. According to Singh's friends, the harassers sent their wives and children home, then used their cell phones to summon several more Slavic men. The members of Singh's party, which included a woman six months pregnant, became afraid and tried to leave. But the Russian-speaking men blocked them with their bodies.

The pregnant woman said she didn't want to fight them.

"We don't want to fight you either," one of them replied in English. "We just want your faggot friend."

One of the Slavic men then sucker-punched Singh in the head. He fell to the ground, unconscious and bleeding. The assailants drove off in a green sedan and red sports car, hurling bottles at Singh's friends to prevent them from jotting down the license plate. Singh suffered a brain hemorrhage. By the next day, hospital tests confirmed that he was clinically brain dead. His family agreed to remove him from artificial life support July 5.

Outside Singh's hospital room, more than 100 people held a vigil. Many were Sacramento gay activists who didn't know Singh personally, but who saw his death as the tragic but inevitable result of what they describe as the growing threat of large numbers of Slavic anti-gay extremists, most of them first- or second-generation immigrants from Russia, the Ukraine and other countries of the former Soviet Union, in their city and others in the western United States. In recent months, as energetic Russian-speaking "Russian Baptists" and Pentecostals in these states have orga-

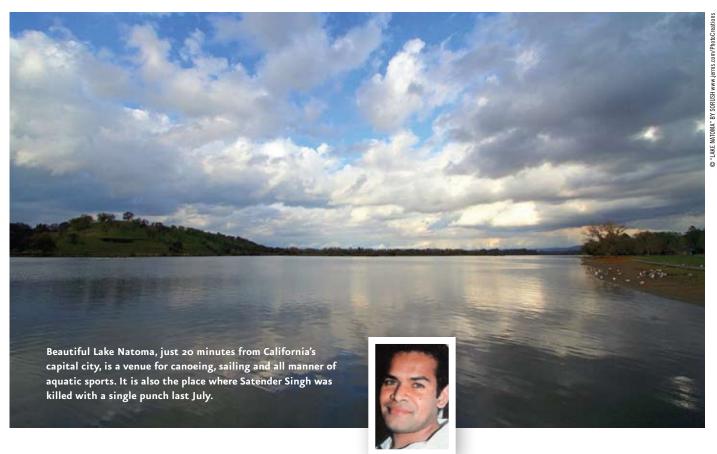
nized to bring thousands to anti-gay protests, gay rights activists in Sacramento have picketed Slavic anti-gay churches, requested more police patrols in gay neighborhoods and distributed information cards warning gays and lesbians about the hostile Slavic evangelicals who they say have roughed up participants at gay pride events. Singh's death was the realization of their worst fears.

"After a couple years of fundamentalist and Slavic Christian virulent anti-gay protests at almost every Sacramento gay event in the region," said local gay rights activist Michael Gorman, "what the gay community has feared for some time has finally happened."

#### The Watchmen

Gay rights activists blame Singh's death on what they call "The West Coast connection" or the "U.S.-Latvia Axis of Hate," a reference to a virulent Latvian megachurch preacher who has become a central figure in the hard-line Slavic anti-gay movement in the West. And indeed, in early August, authorities announced that two Slavic men, one of whom had fled to Russia, were being charged in Singh's death, which they characterized as a hate crime.

A growing and ferocious anti-gay movement in the Sacramento Valley is centered among Russian- and Ukrainian-speaking immigrants. Many of them are members of an international extremist anti-gay movement whose adherents call themselves the Watchmen on the Walls. In Latvia, the Watchmen are popular among Christian fundamentalists and ethnic Russians, and are known for presiding over anti-gay rallies where gays and lesbians are pelted with bags of excrement. In the Western U.S., the



Watchmen have a following among Russian-speaking evangelicals from the former Soviet Union. Members are increasingly active in several cities long known as gay-friendly enclaves, including Sacramento, Seattle and Portland, Ore.

Vlad Kusakin, the host of a Russian-language anti-gay radio show in Sacramento and the publisher of a Russian-language newspaper in Seattle, told *The Seattle Times* in January that God has "made an injection" of high numbers of anti-gay Slavic evangelicals into traditionally liberal West Coast cities. "In those places where the disease is progressing, God made

English, would be a source of nationwide controversy.

told *The Sacramento Bee* he was shocked

by the vitriolic com-

ments shouted by

Dennis Mangers, a gay former California state senator who now lobbies for the cable industry, said that when he met a prominent leader of Sacramento's Slavic community at a 2006 weekend reconciliation retreat, the Slavic leader told him: "You have to understand, we equate homosexuals with thieves, adulterers and murderers. ... You are an abomination."

Current California State Sen. Darrell Steinberg (D-Sacramento), who rode in a dignitary car in Sacramento's 2006 gay pride parade,



"After a couple years of fundamentalist and Slavic Christian virulent anti-gay protests at almost every Sacramento gay event in the region, what the gay community has feared for some time has finally happened."

a divine penicillin," Kusakin said.

The anti-gay tactics of the Slavic evangelicals in the U.S.

branch of the Watchmen movement are just as crude and even more physically abusive than Fred Phelps' infamous Westboro Baptist Church, and they're rooted in gay-bashing theology that's even more hardcore than the late Jerry Falwell's. Slavic anti-gay talk radio hosts and fundamentalist preachers routinely deliver hateful screeds on the airwaves and from the pulpit in their native tongue that, were they delivered in

ommunity has feared lly happened."

Slavic fundamentalist counter-demonstrators. "The words are vile ... and words may give people the implicit

license to take the next step and hurt people."

Last summer, *The Speaker*, a Russian-language newspaper with an English title in Sacramento, urged readers to attend a massive anti-gay rally: "Make a choice. It's your decision. Homosexuality is knocking on your doors and asking: 'Can I make your son gay and your daughter lesbian?'"

At that rally and others at the California Capitol, thousands of Russian-speaking teens crowded the halls of the Capitol building rotunda, wearing "Sodomy is a Sin" T-shirts. Scarf-wrapped babushkas held up signs that read, "Perversion is never safe" and "I am not learning about gay people."

#### 'Masculine Christianity'

Last April in Salem, Ore., more than 700 Russian-speaking teenagers rallied outside the state Capitol against a pair of gay rights bills. It was the largest anti-gay protest to take place in Oregon's sleepy capital city since 1992, when the anti-gay Oregon Citizens Alliance (OCA) pushed a ballot initiative that came within a few percentage points of rewording the state constitution to declare gay people "abnormal, wrong, unnatural and perverse" and requiring the state to fire all openly gay or lesbian public school teachers.

The executive director of the OCA at that time was Scott Lively, a longtime anti-gay activist who is now the chief international envoy for the Watchmen movement. Lively also is the former director of the California chapter of the anti-gay American Family Association and the founder of both Defend the Family Ministries and the Pro-Family Law Center, which claims to be the country's "only legal organization devoted exclusively to opposing the homosexual political agenda."

The Watchmen movement's strategy for combating the "disease" of homosexuality calls for aggressive confrontation. "We church leaders need to stop being such, for lack of a better word, sissies when it comes to social and political issues," Lively argues in a widely-circulated tract called *Masculine Christianity*. "For every motherly, feminine ministry of the church such as a Crisis Pregnancy Center or ex-gay support group we need a battle-hardened, take-it-to-the-enemy masculine ministry like [the anti-abortion group] Operation Rescue."

Lively identifies "the enemy" as not only homosexuals, but also what he terms "homosexualists," a category that includes anyone, regardless of sexual orientation, who "actively promotes homosexuality as morally and socially equivalent to heterosexuality as a basis for social policy."

When he personally confronts the enemy, Lively practices what he preaches when it comes to "battle-hardened" tactics. He recently was ordered by a civil court judge to pay \$20,000 to lesbian photojournalist Catherine Stauffer for dragging her by the hair through the halls of a Portland church in 1991.

#### The Pink Passport

Lively occasionally writes for *Chalcedon Report*, a journal published by the Chalcedon Foundation, the leading Christian Reconstructionist organization in the country. (Reconstructionists typically call for the imposition of Old Testament law, including such draconian punishments as stoning to death active homosexuals and children who curse their parents, on the United States.) But he's most famous as the coauthor of *The Pink Swastika: Homosexuality in the Nazi Party*.

Published in 1995, the book is a breathtaking work of Holocaust revisionism. It asserts that Hitler was gay — a claim no serious historian supports — and that Hitler and other evil gay fascists were central in forming the Nazi Party, operating the Third Reich and orchestrating the Holocaust. (Lively's most recent book, *The Poisoned Stream*, similarly details "a dark and powerful homosexual presence" through "the Spanish Inquisition, the French 'Reign of Terror,' the era of South African apartheid, and the two centuries of American Slavery.")

The Pink Swastika — whose cover has a swastika in place of the "x" in "homosexuality" in the book's subtitle — has been roundly discredited by legitimate historians and was thoroughly debunked in a 2005 Intelligence Report article. Stephen Feinstein, director of the Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies at the University of Minnesota, said the book was "produced by a rightwing Christian cult and is as correct as flat earth theory."

Lively declined to answer several E-mails seeking comment. Nevertheless, *The Pink Swastika* has become Lively's passport to fame among anti-gay church leaders and their followers in Eastern Europe, as well as Russian-speaking anti-gay activists in America. Lively frequently speaks about the book and his broader anti-gay agenda in churches, police academies and

# "Make a choice. It's your decision. Homosexuality is knocking on your doors and asking: 'Can I make your son gay and your daughter lesbian?"

television news studios throughout the former Soviet Union.

Lively credits the popularity of Russian-language translations of *The Pink Swastika* to the support of Pastor Alexey Ledyaev, the head of the New Generation Church, an evangelical Christian megachurch based in Riga, the capital city of Latvia. New Generation has more than 200 satellite churches spread throughout Eastern Europe, Argentina, Israel and the United States.

"One of my supporters gave him [Ledyaev] a copy of *The Pink Swastika*. He was very impressed by it," Lively said in a December 2006 radio show on WTTT-AM, based in Salem, Mass. "The European press was bashing them [Ledyaev and his church] for being Nazis. He was finally thrilled that he had something to counter the media with." Ledyaev did not respond to E-mails seeking comment.

Since then, Lively said, "I've been deluged by media speaking offers all over the former Soviet Union."

In Sacramento, editorials in *The Speaker* urge readers to buy *The Pink Swastika*. Even right-wing legislators in the California Assembly are said to audibly groan when Slavic evangelicals wave a copy of the pink volume during testimony.

#### **Rock Operas and Reconstruction**

The New Generation theology Ledyaev preaches borrows heavily from R.J. Rushdoony, the late founding thinker of Christian Reconstruction. Pastor Ledyaev's 2002 book, *New World Order*, calls for evangelical Christians around the world to influence the wealthy and powerful in their home countries to implement biblical law in order to stave off a supposed alliance of gays and Muslims hell-bent on destroying Christianity. "The first devastating wave of homosexuality makes a way for the second and more dangerous wave of islamization [sic],"

writes Ledyaev.

Born in Kazakhstan, Ledyaev doesn't even speak fluent Latvian. But he's quite proficient in the international language of the anti-gay Christian Right. Ledyaev is close friends with Southern Baptist televangelist Pat Robertson — a man who once predicted God would punish Florida with hurricanes and other disasters because Disney World had allowed a "Gay Days" discount — and was invited to the 2006 National Prayer Breakfast hosted by President George Bush.

At 56, Ledyaev is still youth-oriented enough to promote his vision of global theocracy through elaborate, large-scale Christian rock operas that Ledyaev writes, directs and stars in, and which are replete with lasers, smoke machines, and spandex-clad actors in ghoulish makeup. One of the rock operas, which young Russian-speaking anti-gay activists promote on video-sharing websites, features a hero character wearing a tuxedo battling men in black tights armed with tiki torches. Over heavy-metal guitar riffs, a military-like chorus sings of "victory over the gays."

In addition to Lively and Robertson, Ledyaev has cultivated the support of Rev. Ken Hutcherson, the African-American founder of Antioch Bible Church, a Seattle-area megachurch. "Hutch," as the ex-NFL player is known, played a key role in persuading Microsoft to temporarily withdraw its support for a Washington bill that would have made it illegal to fire an employee for their sexual orientation. In 2004, his "Mayday for Marriage" rally drew 20,000 people to the Seattle Mariner's Safeco Field to oppose legalizing same-sex marriage.

One of Ledyaev's nephews saw Hutcherson speak in Seattle at a March 2006 debate on gay rights and arranged a meeting



Latvian megachurch preacher Alexey Ledyaev promotes his vision of global theocracy with splashy Christian rock operas meant to appeal to the young. The shows call for "victory over the gays," among other things.

with the Latvian pastor. By the end of the year, Hutcherson, Ledyaev and Lively had teamed up with Vlad Kusakin, the editor of *The Speaker*, to form an international alliance to oppose what Hutcherson characterizes as "the homosexual movement saying they're a minority and that they need their equal rights."

#### Walking the Gauntlet

They took the name Watchmen on the Walls from the Old Testament book of Nehemiah, in which the "watchmen" guard the reconstruction of a ruined Jerusalem. The cities they guard over today, say the contemporary Watchmen, are being destroyed by homosexuality.

"Nehemiah stood by the destroyed city of Jerusalem. So

are we standing these days by the ruins of our legislative walls," Ledyaev says on the Watchmen website. "Defending Christianity begins with the restoration of the walls which is where the watchmen should stand up." The group's mission is "to bring the laws of our nations in[to] full compliance with the law of God."

During the past year, the Watchmen have met twice in the United States, first in Sacramento, then in Bellevue, Wash. They gathered to strategize against same-sex marriage and build a political organization to fight "gay-straight alliances" in public schools and push for the boycott of textbooks that mention homosexuality in any context other than total condemnation.

The group has also convened outside America. In the summer of 2006, the Watchmen and their supporters gathered in Riga, Latvia, to "protect the city from a homosexual invasion." Gay rights activists in Europe counter that it's gays who need protection from the Latvian capital, not the other way around. And, indeed,



Allies in intolerance: Sacramento, Calif., editor Vlad Kusakin (from left), also known as Wade Kusak; Vadim Privedenyuk, who runs an anti-gay church in Springfield, Mass.; Kenneth Hutcherson, founder of a Seattle area megachurch; and Alexey Ledyaev of Latvia are working together to battle gays in a part of the country seen as largely sympathetic to homosexuals.

# "Homosexuality is a dangerous and contagious disease. The contagious should be isolated and treated. Otherwise, an epidemic will sweep through the entire community."

the city is a hotbed of violent homophobia. In 2005, for example, a group of 100 gay activists, most of them from Western Europe and Scandinavia, traveled to Riga to hold a gay rights march that was widely viewed as the first real test of Latvia's official commitment to freedom of assembly, a requirement for its tentative admission to the European Union in 2004. Under heavy police escort, the gay rights demonstrators walked a few blocks through a gauntlet of ultranationalists, neo-Nazi skinheads, elderly women and youths wearing "I Love New Generation" T-shirts. They were pelted with eggs, rotten tomatoes and plastic bags full of feces.

The mayor of Riga at the time was Janic Smits, a close friend of Pastor Ledyaev and a prominent member of his New Generation Church. During a parliamentary debate on whether sexual orientation should be covered under a national ban on discrimination, Smits quoted the Old Testament: "If a man also lie with mankind, as he lieth with a woman, both of them have committed an abomination: they shall surely be put to death; their blood shall be upon them."

Last year, Smits was elevated to chair the Latvian Parliament's Human Rights Commission.

#### Representing the White House?

When gay rights activists in Europe announced plans to hold a second Riga Pride march in the summer of 2006, the City Council voted to ban it. The gay rights protesters showed up anyway. Once again, they were pelted with eggs, rotten produce and feces as they attempted to attend services at an Anglican church that welcomed them. Swedish gay rights activists said that a carload of violent anti-gay protesters tried to force their taxi off the road.

Roving black jeeps with dark-tinted windows that carried anti-gay activists were a new element at the 2006 march. Decals on the jeeps bore the logo "No Pride" with a red line slashing through a circled picture of two male stick figures having sex. No Pride is a group organized and funded by New Generation Church member Igors Maslakovs.

A translator wearing a "No Pride" T-shirt bearing the same logo accompanied Lively and Hutcherson during their March 2007 Watchmen tour of Latvia. On that trip, Lively told a crowd of police officers that "the gay movement is the most dangerous political movement on earth" and repeated his claims that Riga is under siege by homosexuals, despite the fact that thousands of anti-gay demonstrators had countered the showing of just a few dozen gay rights marchers the summer before.

High on the Watchmen agenda during their March Latvia visit was expressing their anger over a \$7,179 donation the U.S. embassy in Latvia made to Mozaika, a Latvian gay rights organization. The four-figure sum is pocket lint in terms of U.S. foreign aid. (According to tax records, nonprofit organizations

run by Lively donated a similar amount to anti-gay groups over the last two years.) But the Watchmen didn't just protest the small donation. They did so in the name of the Bush Administration. Hutcherson claimed that the White House had appointed him a "special envoy" for "family values."

"I came to you representing the White House. In my country, people will know how Latvia responded to anti-Christian statements," Hutcherson told the Latvian parliament. "We need to stand for righteousness not only morally, but also physically and financially. It's a great battle for righteousness and no one can stop it. I promise to stand with you."

Hutcherson later said that he was designated a White House envoy during a February 2007 meeting between himself, Ledyaev and Jay Hein, the head of the White House's Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives. Hutcherson claims he has a videotape of this meeting, but so far has refused to release it.

In a written statement, White House spokesperson Alyssa J. McLenning refuted Hutcherson's claim: "The White House Office of Faith-based and Community Initiatives did not give Hutcherson the title, 'Special Envoy for Adoptions, Family Values, Religious Freedom, and Medical Relief.' The White House did not give Hutcherson any other titles and did not coordinate with Hutcherson on his recent trip to Latvia." Impersonating a diplomat is a felony, but the White House apparently is not pursuing the matter.

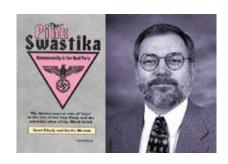
#### A Contagious Disease

Soon after returning from the March trip, Lively visited a Russian-language evangelical church in Salem, Ore., where he screened a video documenting the Watchmen's activities in Latvia. The 45-minute tape repeatedly refers to gays as "terrorists" alongside footage of Ledyaev leading crowds in a chant: "In the name of Jesus Christ, we curse the name of homosexuality!"

In a speech given after Riga's first gay pride parade in 2005, Ledyaev told his international congregation: "Homosexuality is a ... dangerous and contagious disease. The contagious should be isolated and treated. Otherwise, an epidemic will sweep through the entire community."

Lively echoed his Latvian ally's comparison of homosexu-

ality to disease in a 2003 letter to the editor published in *The Washington Times*. "The homosexual movement in a society is analogous to the AIDS virus in the human body," Lively wrote. "It is not benign but destructive; it thrives at the expense of the host, and you're most



Long-time gay-basher Scott Lively's book, The Pink Swastika, accuses homosexuals of orchestrating the Holocaust. No serious historian endorses Lively's claims. likely to get it by saying yes to sodomy."

The Watchmen portray the battle against gay rights as nothing less than a biblical clash of civilizations. "The homosexual sexual ethic" and "family-based society" are at war, Lively proclaimed in his letter to *The Washington Times*. "One must prevail at the expense of the other."

That sort of militant rhetoric is standard among Watchmen followers on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean. Speaking to his American counterparts in a Watchmen video, a Latvian anti-gay activist intones: "Your generation beat the Nazis, and our country beat the Communists. Together we will defeat the homosexuals!"

#### Outnumbered and Fearful

Anti-immigrant sentiments already were rising among Sacramento gays and lesbians prior to Singh's murder. Slavic immigrant chants of "Repent, Sodomites!" at anti-gay demonstrations were frequently countered with shouts of "Go back to Russia!" Since the killing, anger at the local Slavic evangelical community has reached the boiling point. One typical online posting to a Craigslist Web forum was titled, "DEPORT RUSSIANS NOW!!"

"Satender Singh is just the beginning of the [P]andora's box," it read. "They come here [as] religious refugees and turn

# "I saw people were hungry for violence, for blood...I don't want people frommy community killing each other or other people because they are getting aggressive."

their newfound freedom on our citizenry. If they are going to [cite] evangelical religious rhetoric, then I say give some Old [Testament] eye for eye."

The situation heated up further on Aug. 7, when Sacramento authorities charged Andrey Vusik, 29, with involuntary manslaughter as a hate crime in Singh's death, saying that the evidence did not show intent to kill. Vusik, leaving a wife and children in West Sacramento, fled to Russia in July, they said, and is being sought by the FBI. A second suspect, Aleksandr Shevchenko, 21, was arrested at his home and charged with intimidation and interfering with a victim's rights, also as a hate crime. Authorities roundly dismissed the claims of Vusik's wife, who told *The Sacramento Bee* that her husband acted in self-defense after Singh's party became raucous and sexually provocative, shocking her "Christian" family. No independent witnesses or members of Singh's party supported that version, detectives said.

Meanwhile, Ledyaev and Lively have contributed to the tension by refusing to publicly condemn Singh's murder. Vlad Kusakin, editor of *The Speaker*, called the killing "tragic" but criticized *The Sacramento Bee* for publicizing the details of the murder, alleging that the newspaper was engaged in a Nazistyle propaganda campaign against Slavic Christians.

Between 80,000 and 100,000 Slavic immigrants live in the Sacramento region, the highest concentration in the United States, and the city is home to some 70 Russian fundamentalist congregations. A third of the Slavic population considers themselves evangelicals or "Russian Baptists," a doctrine that is unrelated ideologically or organizationally to American Baptist churches. (Ironically, many of them emigrated to the United States beginning in the late 1980s to escape religious persecution in what was then still part of the Soviet Union.) Meanwhile, nearly 10% of the actual city of Sacramento's 450,000 residents openly identify as gay or lesbian — almost 45,000 men and women. Only a small handful of cities, like Seattle and San Francisco, boast higher percentages of openly gay and lesbian residents.

The disparity in numbers has not gone unnoticed. Even though many Slavic immigrants are not homophobic, there's a new and uneasy feeling among Sacramento's gay and lesbian population of being outnumbered by people who hate homosexuals in a city that has long been considered gay-friendly.

Florin Ciuriuc, a former executive director of the Slavic Community Center of Sacramento, told *The Sacramento Bee* earlier this year that he stopped leading anti-gay protests among his countrymen because "I saw that people were hun-

gry for violence, for blood." Ciuric added, "I don't want people from my community killing each other or other people because they are getting aggressive."

Sacramento gay and lesbian rights advocate Wendy Hill, 33, said that when she

came of age as a lesbian in the mid-1990s, Sacramento was a safer place. "As a college student, you pushed the envelope. You walked down the street hand-in-hand with another girl, even if you weren't dating." Now, Hill says, after a group of rowdy Russian-speaking protesters showed up outside her house one morning, "I get afraid of that now, walking hand in hand with my wife."

Hill, who has served on the board of several local gay and lesbian organizations, says that she first became aware of the city's large and increasingly militant anti-gay Slavic population in the spring of 2006 when she attended "Queer Youth Advocacy Day," a lobbying event at which around two dozen young gay rights activists were confronted by 350 anti-gay demonstrators. "I'd say about 90% to 95% were from Slavic churches," she said. "They were blocking sidewalks, physically intimidating. … We realized how complacent we had become. We weren't used to that type of behavior."

Hill and her partner of eight years have two young children, a 3-year-old and a 1-year old. They used to consider Sacramento a safe place for a lesbian couple to raise a family. Now they're not so sure. "It scares me," Hill says, "to think that's something going to happen to my daughter because of who her parents are."

# **DOGFIGHT**

# As membership plummets, a struggle for control of the Sons of Confederate Veterans has broken out between hard-line factions BY HEIDI BEIRICH

nfighting within the Sons of
Confederate Veterans (SCV)
heritage group has reached monumental proportions, as the
"Lunatics," the nickname for the SCV's most extreme political hard-liners, call for the resignation of the group's commander, Chris Sullivan. The power struggle exploded during the SCV's convention in late July, when two Lunatics had their memberships suspended by the SCV's ruling General Executive Council (GEC).

Until this April, Sullivan, although a suit-and-tie type, was widely liked in Lunatic circles, where biker attire and extreme-right views predominate. After all, Sullivan has for years published Southern Partisan, a neo-Confederate magazine that has defended John Wilkes Booth's assassination of President Lincoln as "not only sane, but sensible" and called the Emancipation Proclamation "sinister." Sullivan earned extra credit with the Lunatics for his close relationship to fellow South Carolinian and prior SCV commander Ron Wilson (2002-2004), a Lunatics

darling who once sold anti-Semitic material on his website.

That extra credit has now been spent. During the convention, the Sullivanded GEC suspended the membership of

vention, the Sullivan-led GEC suspended the membership of James "Jim" McManus, who distributed a racist essay on an SCV E-mail list in 2004, and Eddie "Grooch" McRae. Both men are members of the Norwood, N.C., James-Younger SCV "camp" (or chapter), which is essentially a motorcycle gang dressed up as Confederates.

The suspensions may have been the first step in a Sullivan plan to clean up the SCV's image and thereby halt a dizzying membership freefall. According to the group's proposed fiscal year 2007 budget, the SCV is only sure of receiving dues from 18,600 members, a stunning drop from the 30,000-plus members it claimed a year earlier. Thousands of moderate members have left as embarrassing revelations of racism within the group have been made public, principally in the pages of the *Intelligence Report*.

The GEC — presumably because of the financial strains caused by plummeting membership rolls — also voted at the





convention to raise dues by \$10 per year starting in 2008.

The bad blood between the Sullivan and the Lunatic factions broke out in April when Sullivan, with the support of a majority of the GEC, cancelled funds for four members of the James-Younger camp to distribute Confederate flags during a Two faces of the Sons of Confederate Veterans: Commander Chris Sullivan (bottom photo, far left) has sought to bring respectability to the SCV, but his efforts have been undermined by the likes of North Carolina's James-Younger camp (top), which is basically a right-wing biker gang.

May NASCAR race in Darlington, S.C. The SCV has been livid at NASCAR since its CEO, seeking to broaden the stock car racing circuit's popular appeal outside the South, condemned the flag as racist on "60 Minutes" in 2005.

In an April letter, Sullivan explained that the funds were denied because one of the men, Donnie "Porkchop" Hatley, wore a T-shirt depicting the violently white supremacist race war novel, *The Turner Diaries*, at a 2006 race where Hatley and two friends were protesting NASCAR's stand. A

photograph of that protest, depicting Hatley in his T-shirt, along with the now-suspended Eddie McCrae and another man named Steve Poteat, was published in the Summer 2006 issue of the *Intelligence Report*, causing considerable embarrassment among SCV leaders seeking to avoid the "extremist" label. Sullivan, who declined several E-mail requests from the *Report* for comment, wrote that the SCV was "understandably leery of proceeding" to fund "the same ones who had demonstrated such bad judgment last year."

This was quite a change of course for Sullivan. At the SCV's July 2006 convention, Hatley, McRae and Poteat, plus their fellow camp member McManus, were awarded SCV "Heritage Defense" medals for protesting NASCAR.

Once Sullivan deemed the James-Younger members unacceptable representatives of the SCV, all hell broke loose as the bikers and their allies went on the attack. Overnight, Sullivan went from being a respected hard-liner to a useless "Granny" — as SCV moderates opposed to the Lunatics are known — who was mocked for his fancy garb and derided for thinking, according to Louisiana member Mark Brandon, that he is "Emperor of the SCV."

Calls for Sullivan's ouster came fast and furious from SCV members who ironically had earlier worked with Sullivan, and Wilson before him, to expel some 400 anti-racists from the North Carolina division. McManus, one of the main supporters of the North Carolina purge, wrote in a recent E-mail that Sullivan should quit. After hearing of his suspension in July, McManus raged, "[W]e are determined to kick the Seersuckerd [sic] High Priests and there [sic] minions out of office & out of our back pockets!!!"

North Carolina SCV leader Bruce Tyson hit the roof. Tyson said he'd already disciplined Hatley and that it was "only ONE T-shirt, worn by ONE man." Tyson mocked Chief of Heritage Defense Darryl Starnes, a Sullivan acolyte, for complaining that "biker attire" worn by McRae and Hatley was "not proper." Tyson ridiculed Starnes' concerns that the "extreme leftist Southern Poverty Law Center ... would find out about the protest and create trouble for the SCV." And Hatley's fellow protester, McCrae, wrote of Starnes and Sullivan: "I would not want to be in their shoes when they meet their Confederate ancestors at the Gates."

Since the events of April, Sullivan has found himself under constant attack from his right flank. Remarkably, he was tagged as an NAACP lackey for a June SCV press release that actually mocked the NAACP as a "fringe group" following a "flawed program" of attacking Confederate symbols. Though obviously belittling of the NAACP, the press release's clearly sarcastic statement that the SCV is ready "to meet with [the NAACP] and discuss meaningful and responsible ideas" was seen as a sign of weakness by the Lunatics. Ed James, for instance, wrote on the Southern-Herald E-mail list that Sullivan's release was "nothing short of kissing their ass."

Sullivan now is also under attack for the GEC's vote against an amendment put forward during the convention

by Alabama SCV Commander Leonard "Flagpole" Wilson. An arch-segregationist and member of the white supremacist Council of Conservative Citizens, Wilson asked the membership to uphold a measure that would have condemned any state legislature that voted to apologize for slavery (so far, Alabama, Maryland, North Carolina and Virginia have done so). After a voice vote that Lunatics sympathizer Mark Brandon swore was won by the "yeas," Brandon wrote in an E-mail: "SullyCo [a derisive term referring to Sullivan and his administration] then overrode the opinion of the delegates from the chair ... to reject and overrule the will of the body assembled by stating, 'In the opinion of the chair, the 'nays' have it."

The fallout from this conflict is still spreading.

The most surprising person to come under harsh criticism is white supremacist lawyer Kirk Lyons, who was married on the grounds of the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations compound and had for years been seen as a hero by the Lunatics for orchestrating the infiltration of the SCV by racists. Lyons, who suggested in a 2003 E-mail that Klan members should be allowed in the SCV, is now seen as a Sullivan lackey. Lyons complained in his law firm's July E-mail update about former allies angered by the positions Lyons had taken on "internal SCV political matters" and who "have since mounted a campaign to discredit anything related to the SLRC" — that is, Lyons' nonprofit law firm, the Southern Legal Resource Center.

The reason for the anti-Lyons jihad, according to Lunatic Jim Pierce, is that while the SCV gives Lyons' SLRC "tens of thousands of dollars" to defend children suspended for wearing Confederate flag T-shirts to school, Lyons has done nothing to defend the T-shirt his fellow North Carolinian, Hatley, wore at NASCAR. One Lunatic even suggested Lyons, formerly a Lunatics hero, could be a spy.

McManus and McRae, meanwhile, are blaming two other prominent former Lunatics for their suspensions. They claim that Charles "Chuck" McMichael and Ron Casteel forwarded some of their more embarrassing E-mails to the GEC. McMichael and Casteel were both at one time members of white supremacist neo-Confederate groups and active on Lunatics E-mail lists. McMichael hotly denied the accusation in an SCV Dispatch E-mail, contending that the Lunatics had their facts wrong. Both McMichael and Casteel refused to comment to the *Report*.

The outrage expressed by SCV hard-liners virtually guarantees that this conflict will likely rage on at least until elections are held for new leadership at next year's SCV convention in Concord, N.C.

"Let us count our cartridges, musket caps, clean and shoulder our muskets and march forward to victory in Concord," wrote Brandon, the Lunatic, on the Southern-Herald E-mail list. "The consequences of losing this fight for control of the SCV will be just as devastating as the consequences our ancestors faced upon defeat by the damned yankee race in 1865. The thoroughly reconstructed 'Granny' party of the SCV must be defeated soundly in 2008." •

# WHITE SPACE

# New Saxon, the latest white supremacist social networking site, is back up after the arrest of its founder. It hasn't been easy BY SUSY BUCHANAN

porting his trademark star-spangled necktie, Jason "J.T." Ready is familiar to Phoenix, Ariz., residents, law enforcement officers and journalists as a City Council gadfly and oft-quoted member of the anti-immigration Minuteman Civil Defense Corps.

Online, though, Ready is better known to the nearly 2,000 registered users of New Saxon, a newly popular white-su-premacist social networking website, as "Viking Son." His self-created New Saxon profile displays photographs of Ready wearing a kilt, donning a bullet-

proof vest, and scouring the desert for "illegals" through a pair of binoculars. Ready lists his "turn-ons" as "a woman who loves our Race, Kultur, Heritage, History and Future," identifies the racist fantasy novel *The Turner Diaries* as his favorite book, and describes himself as a big fan of neo-Nazi teen pop duo Prussian Blue.

Ready's "Viking Son" profile is typical fare on New Saxon. The racist MySpace knock-off has rapidly gained

popularity in white supremacist circles since its inception last year, even as the fledgling online community has weathered power struggles and accusations of embezzlement and treachery.

**Staying Connected** 

New Saxon isn't the first attempt to launch a white supremacist alternative to MySpace, a massive mainstream social networking website that says it strictly prohibits racist content.

In 2005, Dylan Wheeler, the webmaster for the Portland, Ore.-based racist skinhead group Volksfront, created Folkcom.com, short for Folk Community. Folkcom quickly gained around 2,000 members, but was shut down in late 2005 amidst allegations that administrators monitored private messages between members.

Folkcom's fleeting success made clear the demand for a white supremacist social networking website, and in May 2006 New Saxon was registered as a website by 42-year-old Todd Findley, a longtime Florida-based white supremacist and alleged con artist.

"NewSaxon.com realizes the need of white folk to have a place on the net to call our own so we set up an online community," the site informed potential members. Findley offered "the ability to stay connected with family, old friends and meet new people through our online discussion forums, real-time chat rooms, groups, and classifieds section." Slickly packaged with many of the same user-friendly features as MySpace — and none of the content restrictions — New Saxon attracts neo-Nazis and other white supremacists from the United States, Australia, Canada, and several European countries.

One registered user, "Deviltrigger," identifies himself as a 21-year-old white male and writes, "I fight for my race and don't stand down to some fuckiin [sic] jungle bunnies and jews." Another user, "SilverStateSkins" lists his "turn-offs" as



"Niggers, Spics, Gooks, Kikes, Interracial Relationships, Fakes, Backstabbers, SHARPs" (that last refers to the anti-racist Skinheads Against Racial Prejudice). A profile posted by "SiegOderTod" features a New Saxon, the white supremacist answer to MySpace, was started by a Florida racist who allegedly conned tens of thousands of dollars from others in the movement.

photo of a housecat wearing a tiny red swastika armband and raising one paw in a sieg heil salute.

#### **NSM Takes Over**

This April, Findley was arrested in Florida and charged with three counts of grand theft and one count of scheming to defraud. The charges stemmed from Findley's solicitation of funds for what he called the European American Heritage Foundation, which purported to offer white nationalists the opportunity to construct an "all-white" residential community in Florida, starting with \$2,500 down payments. At least 11 families signed contracts with Findley, who was indicted for bilking these investors out of \$27,500.

Shortly after he was arrested, Findley, apparently desperate for cash, put New Saxon up for sale. The National Socialist Movement, a neo-Nazi organization, quickly snatched it up for the reported bargain-basement price of \$5,000.

(continued on p. 64)





# THE PIED PIPER

Fifteen years ago, Bill Riccio was recruiting young boys amidst unsavory rumors. Today, accused anew, he's back at it BY BRENTIN MOCK

IRMINGHAM, Ala.—Ronnie Painter was a 15-year-old alcoholic and painkiller addict on the run from the law in 1992 when he first took refuge at "the compound," also known as the WAR House. Tucked away in a secluded, heavily forested area just outside this central Alabama city, the compound was owned by William E. Davidson, more commonly known by the alias Bill Riccio.

At that time Riccio was a former Klan leader-turned-godfather of the neo-Nazi skinhead movement in the Deep South. The compound was equal parts recruiting station, clubhouse and crash pad. It was a place where underage, disaffected boys could go to drink, play with guns and feel wanted.

Painter today is a 32-year-old inmate at Donaldson Correctional Facility in Bessemer, Ala., where he's been incarcerated for burglary and drug convictions since 1998. He's a frail man whose physical frame is barely larger than a folding chair. He was even tinier as a teen when Riccio urged him to get the "Confederate lady" tattoo on his right leg to demonstrate his allegiance to the Aryan

National Front (ANF), a skinhead gang Riccio created in the early 1990s.

Ronnie Painter came from a home where he and his twin brother Lonnie watched their mother beaten often by her boyfriend, who rained blows on the brothers as well. Ronnie dropped out of school in the eighth grade and headed straight for a life of juvenile crime. It was during this troubling time that he was recruited and groomed by Riccio.

"He [Riccio] would prey on kids with legal problems, emotional problems, and dysfunctional kids," Painter told the *Intelligence Report* in a recent prison interview.

When Ronnie's brother escaped from a juvenile detention center, also in 1992, the first place he went was the WAR House, where Ronnie Painter had already found a home.

"Mostly, it was alcohol out there," Lonnie Painter said in an interview from Draper Correctional Facility in Elmore, Ala., where he's serving 20 years for armed robbery. "Lots of guns, we shot a lot of guns — anything that looked cool to a kid, he [Riccio] done it."

Riccio was at the height of his power in 1992. He was 35 years old and

presiding over a network of at least 70 skinheads in Alabama, Florida and Georgia. He enthralled the boys with motivational speeches that indoctrinated them into Riccio's blend of neo-Confederate ideology and Hitler worship. He instructed them to blame all their problems on non-whites, gays and the Jews who secretly control the U.S. government. He taught his followers that organized racism and violence were their only paths to salvation. Skinheads under his sway committed at least four murders.

"It is [Riccio's] apparent ability to organize and mobilize disenchanted young white males to acts of violence that makes him dangerous," said the judge who sentenced Riccio to 46 months in prison for violating a federal bodyguard statute in 1992. (In the end, Riccio only served 15 months.)

Riccio still lives in the Birmingham area, and is still active in the white supremacist movement as the imperial kludd, or national chaplain, of the North Georgia White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. By his own description, he continues to cruise shopping malls, rock concerts and swimming holes in search of young recruits, who might be

well advised to heed the warnings of the Painter brothers and several other members of the previous generation of Riccio's toy soldiers.

Now grown men, they uniformly describe Riccio as a master manipulator who exploited them emotionally and, in some cases, sexually. "I'd get extremely drunk and ride off in the car with him, then he'd perform oral sex on me," says Ronnie Painter, who says he remembers at least four such sexual encounters with Riccio. Afterwards, "He'd apologize and then call me three or four times a day asking me if I was mad at him," says Ronnie.

Lonnie Painter says that one night during a party at the compound, Riccio plied him with alcohol and gave him a few red pills. He says he woke up with Riccio on top of him, groping between his legs. "I was scared to try and leave right then," says Lonnie. "When he went to work, I packed my shit and got my [grand]momma to come get me. I never slept at his house again."

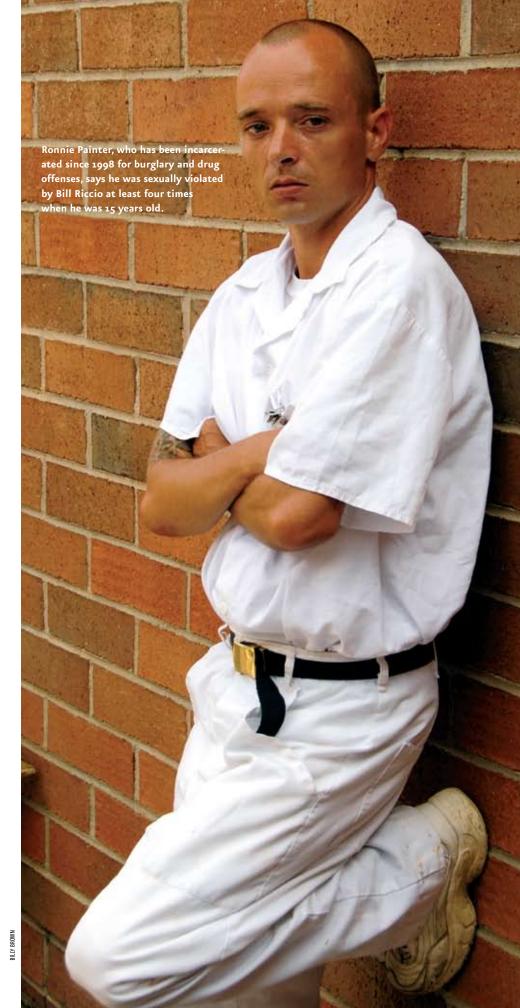
Reached by the *Intelligence Report*, Riccio denied that he had had or tried to have sex with any of the boys who flocked to his home in the 1990s. "That's certainly not true in any sense of the word," Riccio said.

#### **Defying Nature**

Rumors that Riccio engaged in illegal sexual activities with underage boys have circulated in the white supremacist movement for at least two decades. Now, three former Aryan National Front skinheads have come forward to allege that those rumors were true. Other former ANF skins interviewed for this story said that while Riccio did not sexually exploit them, they believe now that he took advantage of their difficult adolescences to instill them with racial hatred and influence them to commit crimes that ultimately landed many of them in prison.

As one of Riccio's former skinheads, Louis Oddo, puts it, "There's no telling how many lives and families this guy has fucked up."

In 1992, Jeff McClure was the tattoo artist for the Confederate



Hammerskins, a violent skinhead faction whose members hung out at the compound along with the Aryan National Front. He was 15 when he first visited there.

"In junior high [school], all these kids that were poor white trash with no family were coming to school saying they were ANF and that they were with Bill Riccio," recalls McClure. "The whole thing seemed strange to me."

Kenny Loggins, a former Riccio skin who's currently serving life without parole at Donaldson Correctional Facility for the killing of a hitchhiker when he was 17, is one of those who allege that Riccio made sexual advances to him.

"We went off alone to a trail in the woods," Loggins said in a telephone interview from Donaldson. "We were talking and drinking. His exact words were, 'Have you ever wanted to defy nature?' I said, 'What are you talking about?' He said, 'Have you ever wanted to make love to another man?'"

According to his story, Riccio tried to reach between his legs. Loggins says he then knocked Riccio back and ran away. He was 15 at the time.

"The guy's a child molester and I know it without a doubt," says Loggins. "Back then, I tried to tell people about it but everyone was like, 'Not Bill.' As time went on, they would come to me and say, 'You were right about Bill."

#### **Riccio Responds**

In his interview with the *Report*, Riccio blamed the accusations of sexual misconduct on disenchanted former friends trying to discredit him. "People say a whole lot of things when they are really reaching for something to assassinate your character," he said.







Riccio, who was contacted by phone at his workplace at Tire Tech, a tire dealership in Birmingham, was nonchalant about the allegations. He said he's been called many things by many people — a snitch, a con-artist, a traitor

— by former associates feeling a "little resentment" over their past relationships with him. He said that he still adheres to the "88 precepts," a sort of neo-Nazi code of honor, which strictly prohibits homosexual behavior. "It's not a healthy lifestyle," Riccio said of homosexuality. "You put yourself at risk for diseases. It's not conducive to the family, and it hurts the white birth rate."

Riccio, who still attends and gives speeches at white supremacist rallies in Alabama and Georgia, confirmed to the *Report* that he continues to recruit young people into the white supremacist movement. He said he goes looking for them at shopping malls, concerts and "the swimming hole."

"I have people over to shoot pool," Riccio says. "Sometimes they're 18 or 19. I don't like to hang out with someone below 17 or 18, I like to keep it 18, 19, 20. They can do what they wanna do."

#### 'Young Ones'

Michael "Shane" Moon was 15 vears old when he met Riccio in 1992. He lived at the compound off and on for several months before he was eventually kicked out of Aryan National Front for using cocaine. (Riccio enforced a strict policy against hard drugs.) Moon went on to start the Aryan Mafia, an Alabama prison-based white supremacist gang. Heavily tattooed with Odinist and Nazi symbols, he is currently serving time at Ventress Correctional Facility for first-degree assault.

Moon told the *Report* that Riccio never made any sexual moves on him, and initially said that he didn't care to even think about such accusations. "I've learned not to pry into stuff that people don't offer. Sometimes you don't wanna know, and there's a

reason for that." Later in a 45-minute interview, however, Moon started to express doubts, remembering that Riccio was close friends with Roger Handley, a former grand dragon with the Invisible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan who was convicted in May 1995 of sodomy and sexual abuse of a teenager.

"Roger [Handley] and Bill were in the Klan together. Roger had these same charges against him [sodomy] and they were friends," says Moon. "I'm just pointing out some of the evidence that looks, y'know..."

Contacted by the *Report*, Handley, who is now 77, said that Riccio in the 1990s bragged about recruiting the "next generation" of Klansmen. "He

# "There were lots of young ones. A hell of a lot of young ones."

got with that Aryan National Front, and two or three of [the boys] would come by my house to just talk, but I was never really around them to converse with them, and surely not in private."

In November 1991, Handley and Riccio co-hosted a huge skinhead and Klan gathering on Handley's farm. The following June, the two men organized a white power march through downtown Birmingham by 150 skinheads and Klansmen. "There were lots of young ones," Handley recalls. "A hell of a lot of young ones."

#### Bashing With a Buzz On

According to former skinheads interviewed for this story, a typical night at the compound found the skinheads drinking Evan Williams bourbon, Jägermeister and Heineken beer provided by Riccio, while the godfather ranted about clearing Jews, blacks and gays out of Alabama, a state he said he planned to claim as a "haven for whites." Then, with a good buzz going, the skinheads would go out into the night, looking for non-whites, Jews and gays to "bash."

"Bill was more the type that would make you feel like you wanted to do it," says Moon. "He would never *tell* you to do anything."

Another thing Moon remembers: "You'd see Bill with a beer all night, but if you actually watch him, it's the same beer. It's just to show the deceptive part of him. He puts up an image he wants you to see."

The night of April 18, 1992, after a party at Riccio's for Adolf Hitler's birthday, a group of ANF and Hammerskin members went to a viaduct in downtown Birmingham, where they beat and stomped to death a black homeless man named Benny Rembert. "Bill is the one that told them to go bashing that night," says Lonnie Painter, who says he attended the party that night. "Anytime we was having a party getting drunk, he said, 'We gonna go do some bashing tonight.' He made that speech at every party."

Skinheads Edward Earl Simmons Hardeman, and Malcolm Samuel Driskill were convicted of Rembert's murder. Mark Lane was convicted of manslaughter.

Later that year, Tom and Ken Collins, Cecil Bradley, Adam Galleon, Jonathan Miller and Louis Oddo were arrested with Riccio after a raid on the compound and charged with a medley of crimes including assault and weapons violations. In addition, in 1994, Oddo and Galleon were sentenced to 35 and 25 years, respectively, for murdering two homeless black men.

Now 33 years old, Lane is 14 years into a 20-year sentence for his part in the murder of Rembert. Today, he says that joining Riccio's gang was the biggest mistake of his life. He recently covered up a swastika tattoo on his arm with a Native American tribal symbol. Another swastika remains tattooed inside his lower lip.

Lane is up for parole soon and he says he aims to get out and help steer kids away from the lure of racist gangs while finally enjoying a life on the outside with his wife and daughter. He says Riccio wrote him a letter once a

few years back. His letter back was short and to the point: "Don't write me again. You are a stain on my past."

#### Still Bill

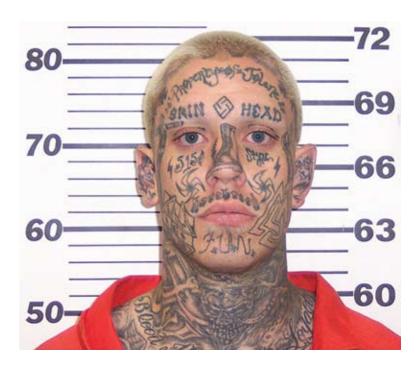
Riccio says the murder of Rembert was "random" and "unauthorized." He says it "set the whole movement back 20 years." "If they didn't do what they did and brought the whole compound down, we'd still be out there educating the people," Riccio says.

He denies manipulating or brainwashing his young followers. "Not one person in jail was manipulated by me in any way. If they'd listened to me, not one of them would have went to jail. So, the kids blame me. But if they listened to what I said, I said, 'Now is not the time."

Not long ago, Riccio says he found out he has a son who's now 19 years old. Riccio said the boy's mother won't allow her son to associate with his biological father, which seems to bother Riccio about as much as being accused of pedophilia and ruining young lives, which is not a lot. "He's a good ol' redneck," Riccio says of his son. "He didn't want to be part of any movement and I respect that. Just as long as he marries someone white, he's alright."

The mother of Riccio's son isn't the only concerned parent in Alabama who's determined to keep their son away from Riccio. "Riccio is a nothing, a nobody," says Jean Startley, whose 31-year-old son Richard Startley was recently released from prison after a three-year sentence for a forgery charge. Richard Startley was a longtime associate of Riccio's who earlier this year renounced neo-Nazi ideology and is seeking to remove a swastika tattoo from his face. "He got all these little soldiers making him think he's a somebody," he says. "Riccio is pretty radical and how he stays out of prison is beyond me."

Riccio says he isn't terribly concerned about parents who object to his spending time with their sons. "That's cool," he says. "But if you turn 18 and you still don't feel [the same way as your parents], then come see me."



# **PUBLIC ENEMY**

CAPPING A LIFE OF CRIME, A UTAH WHITE SUPREMACIST IS CHARGED WITH MURDERING A CORRECTIONS OFFICER DURING AN ESCAPE ATTEMPT BY LAURIE WOOD

the start.

A year ago, the Salt Lake City area's Metro Gang Unit had already unofficially designated Allgier as "Public Enemy No. 1." That was based on his alleged threats to kill a law enforcement officer in retaliation for the fatal shooting by police of a fellow white supremacist, a lengthy criminal record, and what one officer described as Allgier's "nasty, intimidating" demeanor.

acist skinhead Curtis Allgier was bad news from

The tattooed words "Skin Head" and "Hatebreed" and images of Adolf Hitler and swastikas covering his face and body probably didn't hurt either.

So it wasn't a total surprise when the violence that law enforcement officials were worried about materialized on June 25. That day, Allgier, 27, allegedly shot to death a corrections officer who was transporting him to a local hospital for tests and then escaped before being recaptured in a local restaurant. Allgier's brief taste of freedom — starting with the murder of 60-year-old officer Stephen Anderson, a 22-year law enforcement veteran, and ending at the fast-food restau-

rant where he allegedly pistol-whipped an employee — lasted around 50 minutes.

That morning, Anderson had taken Allgier to the University of Utah Orthopedic Center for an MRI for back pain. As Anderson was exchanging Allgier's metal handcuffs, which can't be put through the MRI machine, for plastic FlexiCuffs, Allgier got hold of Anderson's gun. Anderson was shot twice, in the head and the chest, as he tried to prevent Allgier from escaping.

Officials say Allgier then carjacked a sport utility vehicle near the scene. During a high-speed chase, officers spiked the tires of Allgier's vehicle, forcing him to stop at an Arby's restaurant. Once inside, Allgier pointed his gun at the head of one of the restaurant employees but the gun misfired; he then pistol-whipped the employee, police and witnesses say. A restaurant customer who happened to be a former Army paratrooper struggled with Allgier, knocking away his gun. Allgier then retreated to hide in the manager's office, where police finally arrested him.

Allgier was charged with one count of capital murder,

three counts of attempted aggravated murder, aggravated escape, disarming a peace officer, aggravated robbery, and the use of a firearm by a restricted person.

#### Was It Retaliation?

Allgier's alleged threats of retaliation against law enforcement stemmed from the May 27, 2006, shooting of white supremacist William "Billy" Maw by two Ogden City, Utah, police officers. Maw and his girlfriend were pulled over by a Utah state trooper for a traffic violation. As Maw exited the vehicle and began to run, officials say he reached under his shirt into his waistband and pulled out a gun. Maw was then shot and killed by the two Ogden City officers.

Maw was a member of the white supremacist Silent Aryan Warriors (SAW), according to Ogden City Police Lt. Loring Draper, an expert on Utah white supremacists. Formed in the 1990s in the Central Utah Correctional Facility, SAW is primarily a prison-based gang, with a governing council and other designated leaders, Draper said. Members are recruited and are active while in prison; SAW is not as organized on the outside. SAW members are known for their many violent acts while behind bars, especially those targeting non-white inmates. (The SAW emblem, or patch, is made up of an Iron Cross with a stylized swastika and lightning bolts in the middle and four death's heads in the corners; the slogan "Forever White Forever Proud," in German, encircles it all.)

Draper said that Allgier denied threatening to kill law enforcement officers to avenge Maw and claimed that he was not close to Maw and not a SAW member. He seemed to be an independent white supremacist with no affiliations, Draper said.

The events of June 25 were only the latest in a series of confrontations between Allgier and law enforcement. Just last November, he was a fugitive on a parole violation for two days before a Salt Lake City SWAT team arrested him at a local hotel. An armed Allgier barricaded himself for a time inside a room but was captured after he fell through the hotel's ceiling, where he had tried to hide.

#### Prison and Valknuts

Allgier's adult criminal record begins much earlier, with convictions for theft and reckless driving in his home state of South Dakota in 1998, when he was 19. In October 2000, he was charged with felony burglary, forgery and theft in Utah after he burglarized a neighbor's apartment and made out a stolen check to himself for \$300. Later that month, he was charged in another county with carrying a concealed handgun and sentenced to 180 days and probation. He pleaded guilty to forgery and burglary in the earlier case and was sentenced to one year and probation.

Allgier fled the state in August 2001 after leaving a work release detail, which led to a one-to-15-year sentence. He was paroled in May 2003 but then was arrested and sent back to prison in July 2004 for leaving the state without authorization again, this time to California, and possess-

ing two knives. After serving another 27 months in prison, he was paroled in October 2006. One month later, he had his encounter with Salt Lake City SWAT. On June 14 of this year, he was sentenced to 104 months in prison for being a convicted felon in possession of a firearm.

It was during his time in prison that Allgier, despite rules to the contrary, gradually acquired the tattoos that eventually covered his face and and body. Many of those tattoos are easily decipherable, like the numerals 14 and 88, both well-known white supremacist codes, or the images of Adolf Hitler. But there are others whose meaning is far more obscure, but just as telling to those in the know.

Prominently displayed along Allgier's right jaw are three intersecting triangles known as a valknut, or volknut. The valknut is seen by non-racist pagans as a symbol of Odin, the chief among the old Norse gods, and a sign of the afterlife and a binding of the soul to Odin. Among white supremacists, especially racist Odinists, the valknut signifies that the wearer is willing to give his life to Odin in battle. A commentator on the racist Stormfront Web forum explains: "The Valknut or 'Knot of the Slain' is the sign of Woden [Odin] symbolizing his power of binding and loosening, which is especially shown in the field of battle. The Valknut is worn only by those who choose to give themselves to Woden... [and signifies] that one is ready to be taken into the ranks of his chosen warriors at any time he chooses. It is a powerful symbol and one of which



The other victims: Shawn Anderson mourns with his mother Mildred after the family was presented with a flag from atop the casket of murdered officer Stephen Anderson.

you should be fully aware of before you wear it."

The number 5105 is also displayed under Allgier's right eye. Mark Pitcavage, fact-finding director for the Anti-Defamation League, said that could be a reference to the section of the California Penal Code allowing people who are deemed to be a danger to themselves or others to be involuntarily committed to a hospital.

### INTERNATIONAL BRIEFS

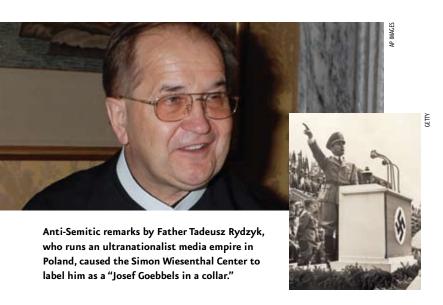
**POLAND** 

### Neo-Nazi Arrested With Plans Targeting Jews and Others

Police arrested a municipal employee in central Poland after a raid turned up neo-Nazi materials that included anti-Semitic propaganda and detailed instructions for terrorist bomb and arson attacks on refugees, homosexuals and Jews.

Authorities would identify the arrested man only as Adam P., who they described as a city worker in Bialobrzegi in his thirties, according to Agence France-Presse. But they said the man was linked to the racist group Blood and Honour and added that they found "instructions for neo-Nazi groups in Poland." These included detailed methods of intimidation and a listing of targets for bombs and arson.

Last year, Blood and Honour, an international skinhead group, called



on its members to supply information on anti-racists and others considered enemies. It then posted this information on a website called "Redwatch," resulting, authorities said, in the stabbing of a man in Warsaw. The site, which was based on a computer server in Arizona, was blocked by the FBI in July 2006 after a joint investigation with the Polish police. Three Poles linked to the website were arrested in Poland.

About a month after the June arrest of the neo-Nazi Bialobrzegi worker, a national furor erupted over the anti-Semitic remarks of a Catholic priest who has built a nationalist media empire in Poland. Father Tadeusz Rydzyk, speaking in a private lecture to the journalism college he started, attacked right-wing premier Lech Kaczynski, saying he was a "swindler" who had succumbed to Jewish pressure to compensate Holocaust victims who lost their property during World War II.

"You know that it's about giving \$65 billion" to the Jews, he said, according to a tape recording obtained by the weekly magazine *Wprost*. "They will come to you and say, 'Give me your coat. Take off your pants. Give me your shoes."

Poland had the largest population of Jews in the world before the war, more than 3 million people. Most were murdered or starved to death by the Nazis, with just an estimated 250,000 to 300,000 surviving. Jews were not welcomed back to Poland after the war, and today the Polish Jewish community is infinitesimal.

Father Rydzyk, who also runs a television station, a newspaper and a major radio station called Radio Maryja, went on to call the premier's wife a "witch" who should kill herself because she has supported limited abortion rights. But Kaczynski declined to counterattack Rydzyk, who had been a major political supporter.

More than 600 Polish Catholic intellectuals, journalists and others signed a letter protesting Rydzyk's "scornful and anti-Semitic remarks." In the U.S., the Simon Wiesenthal Center condemned the priest as a "Josef Goebbels in a collar."

#### **UNITED KINGDOM**

# Animal Rights Activists Arrested in Major British Sweep

After a two-year investigation that involved close collaboration between European authorities and the FBI, 32 animal rights activists were arrested in the United Kingdom last May for alleged burglaries and conspiracy to blackmail.

Many of those detained in the unprecedented sweep were associated with Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty (SHAC), including leader Greg Avery. SHAC has led an eight-year campaign to shut down Huntingdon Life Sciences, an animal testing firm that moved to the United States from England after years of attacks including fire-bombings of vehicles and vandalism of Huntingdon employees' homes.

The raids took place across England, Scotland, Wales, Belgium and the Netherlands, although all the arrests were made in the United Kingdom. Cash, cell

Activists with Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty, which has become increasingly violent, were among those arrested in the United Kingdom.



phones, computer equipment and documents were seized in the searches.

England long has been the epicenter of violent animal rights activism, although the activities of SHAC and other militant organizations have spread to the United States in recent years. Several notorious cases created a political storm in Britain in recent years, with public opinion increasingly turning against the activists. In 2005, Britain passed a tough new law targeting SHAC and similar groups.

Militants associated with SHAC and similar organizations increasingly have engaged in "secondary" and "tertiary" targeting, meaning they have moved from targeting Huntingdon employees and their families to singling out officials and their families at companies that work with or even merely insure Huntingdon. Some of these protests, many of which occurred at officials' homes, have been violent.

"In recent years, animal rights extremists have conducted sustained campaigns of harassment and intimidation against the animal research industry, seeking to achieve their object by creating a climate of fear," said Adrian Leppard, an English police official. "Although the vast majority of animal rights protesters campaign lawfully, a small minority seeks to force change through criminal action."

#### RUSSIA

# Apparent Neo-Nazis Attack Environmental, Gay Rights Activists

A new round of attacks, one of them apparently tolerated by police, has highlighted one more time the rise of deadly right-wing extremism in Russia.

This July, one environmental activist was murdered and nine others badly injured when a gang of about 15 apparent neo-Nazi skinheads in Siberia attacked a group of protesters with baseball bats and iron rods. The nonviolent protesters were camped near a nuclear processing plant in the town of Angarsk that they claim will be used to process spent foreign nuclear fuel. Officials have denied that.

Police said later that they had detained eight of the attackers. The Interior Ministry said they were not members of any extremist group, but many of the victims insisted their masked attackers shouted neo-Nazi and nationalist slogans.

About two months earlier, in late May, Moscow



A photographer caught a Russian thug as he punched British gay rights compaigner Peter Tatchell in the face. Moscow riot police did nothing to halt the attack on Tatchell and some 30 members of the European Parliament, watching impassively before stepping in to arrest Tatchell and several other victims.

riot police allowed neo-Nazi skinheads and other nationalist thugs to attack a group of gay rights activists that included 30 members of the European Parliament, according to *The Guardian*, a British newspaper. Toward the end of the attack, which left activists injured by fists and rocks, the police moved in and arrested several of the Euro-deputies.

The police refused to arrest any of the skinhead attackers, who chanted "death to homosexuals" and beat their victims brutally as the officers stood by.

The activists were attempting to present a petition signed by 50 members of the European Parliament to Moscow Mayor Yuri Luzhkov, asking him to lift a ban on a Gay Pride parade. The mayor has called such gay rallies "satanic."

"It was absolutely shocking," gay rights campaigner Peter Tatchell told *The Guardian*. "The police stood there while people knocked me to the ground and kicked me. Four or five neo-Nazis attacked me. The police watched. At a certain point, the police then arrested me and let my neo-Nazi attackers walk free."

#### EUROPE

### **European Union Criminalizes Incitement to Race Hate**

Concluding six years of talks, the European Union (EU) has decided to make incitement to racism a crime in all 27 member states. But it rejected an attempt to also make Holocaust denial and Nazi symbols illegal throughout Europe.

The agreement, which criminalizes incitement of hatred or violence against a group or person based on color, race, national or ethnic origin, was a disappointment to anti-racist groups. The European Network Against Racism said that most states already had similar incitement laws and predicted that little would change. The new law also allows states to limit prosecution to cases likely to disturb public order.

Some EU members will have to submit the agreement to their (continued on p. 64)

## **Twin Trouble**

Lynx and Lamb Gaede are growing up. But is April Gaede, white power's most notorious stage mom, losing her grip?

#### "NAZI POP TWINS"

By James Quinn
Tiger Aspect Productions, 2007, 53 minutes

he same week that Lynx and Lamb Gaede took their neo-Nazi pop singing act Prussian Blue to Sweden and Germany this July, a revealing new documentary on the girls and their white nationalist stage mom debuted on British TV.

"Nazi Pop Twins," made by James Quinn for Channel 4 in England, contains several profoundly creepy scenes. Chief among them is a speakerphone conversation set up by April Gaede between her daughters and white supremacist terrorist David Lane, who was in prison serving a 190-year sentence for his part in the 1984 machine-gun murder of a Jewish radio talk show host in Denver. (Lane died in prison this May, shortly after filming was completed.)

"When the girls were little they were like daughters or something," says Lane, 69, who later in the conversation calls twins Lynx and Lamb — they were 14 at the time — his "fantasy sweethearts." "Now that they are grown women, and being a natural male, it's... well, you know what I'm trying to say."

Filmed over the span of a year, "Nazi Pop Twins" takes a critical look at neo-Nazi stage mom April, who comes across as a manipulative, domineering — and often hysterical — "momager." Although April insists, "I'm not living through my kids," the documentary suggests precisely the opposite. Once her unwitting puppets, the maturing singers seem fatigued by their mother's political agenda and the direction she is pushing their musical career.

In one scene, April, a longtime activist who broadcasts a white-power radio show from her basement in Kalispell,

Mont., implores Lynx to autograph merchandise for their fans. When Lynx complains, April scolds her and orders her to put on a happy face for the cameras. "Then you can act like as much of a cunt as you like for the rest of the night!" she snaps at her daughter.

In another vignette, April, Lynx and Lamb are at a diner discussing the storyline for an upcoming Prussian Blue music video. When the



David Lane, late icon of white supremacy, on the Gaede twins: "You know what I'm trying to say."

girls question their mother's vision for the shoot she erupts, tries to unplug their microphones, then gives up and stomps out the door to pout on the sidewalk outside.

The twins calmly continue the interview without her. "We have other dreams and other goals than this," one of them tells the camera while their mother broods in the background. April remains outside until finally one of the girls goes to get her, urging April to come eat her breakfast before it gets cold. Their mother reluctantly sits down, but is

unwilling to let her temper tantrum pass. She makes a point of sliding her stool down the counter away from her daughters and refuses to talk to or look at them.

The film also makes it clear that April's already prepping her youngest daughter, 3-year-old Dresden, to take up her fight. She's had the blonde toddler's photo printed on mouse pads to go along with the Prussian Blue merchandise she sells, and is savvy enough to recognize — and exploit — a good photo op. April and Dresden pose in a meadow of tall grass, going over white power ABCs for the film crew. "A is for Aryan ... a noble white person," April coos to her baby. "B is for blood, can you say blood?"

Other lowlights include interviews with April's father Bill Gaede, a California rancher who brands his cattle and horses with a swastika. While the cameras roll, Bill negotiates the purchase of an M-16, claims Mexicans rape horses, and boasts that he's personally shot six Mexicans in the past four years.

But Bill's wife — April's mother
Dianne — appears to be at least as weary
of white power as her granddaughters.
"This goddamned Nazi shit ... it's fucking ruined my life," she sputters. "Even
though we've lived here 30 years, I don't
have a single friend. You know why? ...
Because he's so hateful. I've seen my
kids just torn apart by it," she says. "Not
April. She really loves it."

April, infuriated that the filmmakers interviewed her mother against her wishes, ultimately has a falling out with the "Nazi Pop Twins" director. "It strikes me that you're very manipulative!" she spits in a feigned English accent.

"I can't believe, April, that *you* would say that to *me*," filmmaker James Quinn retorts calmly as April storms off with her blue-eved twins in tow.

- Susy Buchanan

## Threats and the Law

Are threats protected speech under the First Amendment?
What about publishing enemies' home addresses? It depends BY RHONDA BROWNSTEIN

hen a radio talk show host calls for the death of all illegal immigrants, can he be held liable in court for making a threat? What if the radio host (or Internet blogger) specifically singles someone out for his hateful threats, such as: "John Smith should be hung from the nearest lamppost" and provides John Smith's address? The answer is, it depends.

The First Amendment to the Constitution declares that "Congress shall make no law ... abridging the freedom of speech." But not all speech is protected by the Constitution. Exceptions exist for speech that is obscene, that presents a clear and present danger, for "fighting words," or for speech intended to incite "imminent lawless action."

Another kind of speech that is not protected is a "true threat" — something that a reasonable listener would understand as an actual threat of violence.

In *Watts v. U.S* (1969), the Supreme Court ruled that a man protesting the draft hadn't issued a true threat when he said that he would shoot President Lyndon Johnson as soon as he was issued a rifle. According to the high court, the context of the man's speech made it clear that he wouldn't actually shoot the president and was simply engaging in political hyperbole.

A similar case is *NAACP v. Claiborne Hardware* (1982), involving a 1966 boycott by black protesters in Mississippi. Civil rights leader Charles Evers gave a speech promising that "if we catch any of you going in any of them racist stores, we're gonna break

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



Virginia neo-Nazi Bill White, seen here in a recent screaming match with an anti-racist protester, regularly posts the home addresses of his enemies along with suggestions that they would be better off dead.

your damn neck." The Supreme Court unanimously held that Evers' speech was constitutionally protected. It was not followed by violence, and there was no evidence Evers had personally authorized or threatened actual violence. According to the Court, this was strong rhetoric but not a "true threat."

Virginia v. Black (2003) is perhaps the most relevant Supreme Court case to address the question of whether a targeted threat made over the Internet or radio is protected speech. Black held that a statement is not a criminally punishable threat unless it was made "with the intent of placing the victim in fear of bodily harm or death." The Court's focus was not on the possibility that the threat would actually be carried out, but on whether the target of the threat would be reasonably put in fear of attack.

A case from the Ninth Circuit makes it clear that there are limits to the constitutional protection of Internet-based speech that calls for others to commit acts of violence. *Planned Parenthood of Columbia/Willamette, Inc. v. American Coalition of Life Activists* (2002)

involved two types of threats by a radical antiabortion group. First, the defendants had distributed "Wanted"-style posters with abortion doctors' names on them (there has been a pattern of such posters being distributed before the murder of several abortion providers). Second, the defendants

created a "Nuremberg Files" website, which collected personal information about abortion providers, made that information publicly available, grayed the names of providers who had been injured, and struck out the names of providers who had been killed. The website did not explicitly threaten the doctors, but clearly encouraged and celebrated their deaths.

In a 6-to-5 decision by the entire ("en banc") Court of Appeals that was denied review by the Supreme Court, the court found that the "wanted posters," along with the personal information about clinic workers that was posted to the website, were "true threats" that were not protected by the First Amendment. The threatening nature of the posters "was reinforced by the scorecard in The Nuremberg Files." The effect of the *Planned Parenthood* ruling was to prohibit the publication of personal information about particular persons "with the specific intent to threaten them."

In the end, each case will turn on its own facts. But one thing is clear: Racist talk show hosts and Internet bloggers who make specific threats against individuals or call on others to do so and who intend to put their targets in fear of being attacked may indeed be held both criminally and civilly liable. •

## 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 191,000 reported and unreported hate crimes that a 2005 government report estimated occur annually. This listing carries a selection of incidents from the second quarter of 2007 (any additional listings may be found on the Intelligence Project's website at www.intelligenceproject.org.)

#### **ALABAMA**

#### Auburn • April 23, 2007

An Asian student at Auburn University was attacked by three white men.

#### Bay Minette • May 8, 2007

Christopher Gaines, 22, was sentenced to life in prison without parole for the 2004 robbery and murder of his gay roommate.

Gaines strangled Scotty Joe

Wheeler with a rope and then set his body afire in a remote area.

#### Tuscumbia • May 26, 2007

Members of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and the American White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan held an anti-immigration rally.

#### **ARKANSAS**

#### Harrison • June 14, 2007

The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan distributed literature.

#### **CALIFORNIA**

#### Berkeley • April 9, 2007

Copies of the neo-Nazi White Aryan Resistance's tabloid were left on sidewalks.

#### Costa Mesa • April 18, 2007

Anthony Tabarsi, 41, was charged with assault with a deadly weap-on with a hate crime enhancement after he allegedly taunted with ethnic remarks three men who were speaking Arabic at a coffeehouse and pulled a knife on one of them.

#### Kelseyville • April 1, 2007

Fliers from the neo-Nazi National Alliance were posted on bulletin boards throughout the town.

#### Pacifica • April 23, 2007

Swastikas, racist and anti-gay epithets, and white supremacist slogans were painted on a high school and a fire was set in the school's weight room. Three former students, Julian Adler, 19, and Robert Polk Jr. and Daniel Walsh, both 20. were arrested.

#### Palm Desert • May 8, 2007

Swastikas and other graffiti were spray-painted on a residence and two cars. Chaz Shapiro, 20, was charged in the incident.

#### Palm Springs • April 5, 2007

A black man and a black woman were allegedly stabbed behind a coffeehouse by a self-proclaimed member of a white supremacist group. Mandie Kearns, 28, was charged with suspicion of assault with a deadly weapon and a hate crime

#### Riverside • April 10, 2007

A black man was allegedly beaten with baseball bats by six to eight Latino men who yelled racial slurs.

#### Scotts Valley • April 30, 2007

A swastika, racist graffiti and apparent references to the SVA, or the Scotts Valley Aryans, were painted in a high school gym. The school was also the target of a false bomb scare.

#### Stockton • May 29, 2007

Racial slurs, a swastika and other graffiti were spray-painted on a residence.

#### Temple City • May 25, 2007

A black man was allegedly beaten and stabbed by three white youths at a fast-food restaurant. Christopher Mitcheltree, 18, and two teens, ages 16 and 17, were charged with suspicion of assault with a deadly weapon.

#### Westwood • April 24, 2007

Kevin William Ridenour, 21, and Nicholas Edward Craig, 18, pleaded guilty to felony interference with the housing rights of a black priest. Ridenour and Craig admitted to burning a large wooden cross on March 23 on the street in front of a rectory attached to a Catholic church.

#### **COLORADO**

#### Grand Junction • April 27, 2007

Michael John Taylor was arrested on suspicion of third-degree assault and ethnic intimidation for allegedly assaulting a man and yelling racial slurs at a bar.

#### CONNECTICUT

#### East Haven • April 17, 2007 A swastika was spray-painted on

the entrance to a Jewish cemetery and 30 gravestones were toppled. **Southington • April 28, 2007** Three teens, a 14-year-old and a 15-year-old boy and a 14-year-old girl, were charged with first-degree breach of peace, second-

degree breach of peace, seconddegree criminal mischief and second-degree harassment after they allegedly left suspicious packages spray-painted with hate messages at six houses.

#### Vernon • April 2, 2007

Scott W. Schindler, 24, was convicted of third-degree assault, second-degree intimidation based on bigotry or bias, failure to appear in court and violation of probation. In a separate case he was convicted of operating under the influence of alcohol in connection with an incident where he yelled racial epithets at one black man and assaulted another with his car.

#### **FLORIDA**

#### Lynn Haven • May 22, 2007

Thomas E. Plaisted was charged with battery evidencing bias after

he allegedly spit on a Muslim child and shoved another at a fast-food restaurant.

#### Palm Harbor • May 1, 2007

Colin Morrison, 19, and David Fishman, 18, were charged with felony criminal mischief for allegedly spray-painting racial and ethnic slurs on nine portable classrooms at a high school.

#### Tampa • April 12, 2007

A building next to a mosque and educational center was set afire.

#### HILINOIS

#### Crystal Lake • May 11, 2007

Two 16-year-old female high school students were arrested after they allegedly distributed anti-gay fliers directed at a fellow student. They face charges of hate crime, obstruction of justice and disorderly conduct, and one of the teens faces an additional charge of resisting a police officer.

#### Peoria • June 16, 2007

A Bradley University professor received a threatening phone call, allegedly from Bill White, leader of the American National Socialist Workers Party, and fliers from the group were distributed in the professor's neighborhood. The professor had posted comments on his blog and elsewhere condemning White's verbal attacks on black columnist Leonard Pitts.

#### **LOUISIANA**

#### Lafayette • April 5, 2007

A 16-year-old white high school student was arrested after he allegedly wrote racial slurs in the notebook of a student from another school.

#### **MASSACHUSETTS**

#### Chelmsford • April 5, 2007

A high school student was charged with three counts each of defacing property and defacing property based on religion after he allegedly drew swastikas and scrawled obscenities in the boys' bathroom of his school in March.

#### Marblehead • April 16, 2007

A swastika and anti-Semitic phrases were painted on a rock outside a Jewish woman's residence.

#### Newburyport • May 4, 2007

Christopher Farnell, 39, was charged with property damage to intimidate, malicious destruction of property, breaking and entering a building for a felony, disorderly conduct, possession of a class D substance as a subsequent offense and perpetrating a hate crime after he allegedly shouted anti-immigrant remarks and smashed a Brazilian family's window with a fire hydrant marker.

#### **MICHIGAN**

#### Warren • April 11, 2007

Cory Main and Jonathan
Prince, both 21, were charged
with ethnic intimidation and
malicious destruction of property
for allegedly spray-painting racist
messages on a church.

#### **MINNESOTA**

Montevideo • June 17, 2007 A cross was burned on an inter-

racial couple's lawn.

Moorhead • April 26, 2007

A man was attacked by four men yelling anti-gay slurs.

St. Cloud • June 26, 2007

Phillip Joseph Massa, 33, was charged with obstructing legal process and fourth-degree gross misdemeanor assault motivated by bias after he allegedly assaulted a man of Muslim descent.

#### MISSISSIPPI

Philadelphia • June 20, 2007 Racist fliers were distributed in a neighborhood.

Poplarville • April 14, 2007

About 16 members of the Mississippi White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan gathered at the county courthouse to distribute pamphlets with names, addresses and photos of local registered sex offenders and fliers about illegal immigration.

#### **MISSOURI**

#### St. Charles • April 6, 2007

Joseph R. Buehrle, 53, was charged with third-degree felony assault by discrimination for allegedly shouting obscenities and threatening his Latino neighbor.

SOUTH CAROLINA
Columbia • April 21, 2007
About 80 members of the neo-Nazi
National Socialist Movement rallie at
the State Capitol.

#### **NEW HAMPSHIRE**

#### Dover • April 28, 2007

A swastika and hate graffiti were scrawled on buildings at a Little League field. A 14-year-old and a 13-year-old were charged with trespassing and the 14-year-old also was charged with criminal mischief.

#### **NEW JERSEY**

#### Jackson • June 17, 2007

Christopher Clauder Jr., Christopher Balasone, Andre Ferreira and Edward Fischer, all 18, were

charged with assault and bias intimidation for allegedly throwing eggs and shouting racist epithets at people in a neighborhood. Three 17-year-olds were also charged with juvenile delinquency.

Little Falls • May 12, 2007

David Liscio, 32, was charged with harassment, making terroristic threats and bias intimidation after he allegedly shouted racial slurs at a Latino Muslim woman.

#### Nutley • June 29, 2007

Kerri A. Livesay, 34, was charged with simple assault and a bias crime after allegedly screaming curses and assaulting a teen wearing traditional Muslim garb at a store.

#### Plainfield • April 24, 2007

A leaflet that used an anti-gay slur against a former city employee was distributed at City Hall.

#### Wanaque • June 5, 2007

Three teenage girls were charged with criminal mischief, harassment and bias intimidation for allegedly vandalizing the home of an Asian man with ketchup, white rice, dishwashing detergent, and an epithet directed at Chinese people.

#### **NEW YORK**

#### Elmhurst • May 25, 2007

Umair Ahmed, 17, was charged with second-degree unlawful imprisonment as a hate crime, second-degree menacing as a hate crime, second-degree aggravated harassment, second-degree harassment and fourth-degree criminal possession of a weapon after he allegedly forced a Sikh student to remove his turban and cut his hair.

#### New York • April 13, 2007

Akino George pleaded guilty to firstdegree gang assault and was sentenced to eight years in prison and five years' parole supervision in connection with a 2006 attack on a gay entertainer. Jarell Sears, 21, Gregory Archie, 19, and Gerard Johnson, 17, are still awaiting sentencing.

#### Troy • May 1, 2007

Anti-gay slurs were spray-painted on a lesbian's car.

#### **NORTH CAROLINA**

#### Clayton • April 9, 2007

Michael Andrew Lee, 19, was charged with felony breaking and entering, injury to real property, causing a public disturbance, resisting a police officer, and being intoxicated and disruptive and possessing alcohol while underage. Lee allegedly broke into a church, smashed windows and used racial and anti-gay slurs.

#### Greensboro • May 1, 2007

Ku Klux Klan literature was inserted into newspapers and thrown onto driveways in a neighborhood.

#### **OREGON**

#### Eugene • April 3, 2007

White supremacist Jacob A. Laskey, 26, was sentenced to 11 years and three months in prison for his role in a series of hate crimes including an attack on a synagogue in October 2002.

#### Molalla • May 24, 2007

Two Latino men were allegedly attacked by a group of 20 to 30 white teenagers who taunted and threw stones at the men. An 18-year-old man was charged with multiple counts of assault and criminal mischief.

#### **PENNSYLVANIA**

#### Clifton Heights • April 2, 2007

Richard Smith, 42, and Stephen Murr, 40, face charges of ethnic intimidation, conspiracy and harassment after they allegedly yelled racial slurs and threw a beer bottle at a passing motorist. Murr was also arraigned on charges of reckless endangerment, throwing an object at an occupied vehicle and terroristic threats, and Smith was charged with drunken driving and drug possession.

#### Washington • May 1, 2007

Donald L. Phillips was charged with bias intimidation after al-

legedly using a racial epithet and striking a black man while stealing a six-pack of beer from him.

### Wilson Borough • June 4, 2007

Daniel L. Breidinger, a 20-yearold white man, was charged with criminal attempt to commit homicide, possession of a prohibited offensive weapon, two counts of aggravated assault, ethnic intimidation, simple assault and two counts of reckless endangerment after allegedly shouting racial slurs and stabbing two men and a juvenile. Two of the victims were black.

#### **TEXAS**

#### Garland • May 25, 2007

Swastikas and anti-Semitic slurs were spray-painted on a pastor's residence.

#### Haskell • April 6, 2007

A 15-year-old black youth who had allegedly been taunted by three white students found a noose hanging in his locker.

#### Wichita Falls • June 3, 2007

Vera Fay Labs, 37, was charged with assault-bias/prejudice after she allegedly used racial slurs and assaulted her cellmate because the woman was black.

#### UTAH

#### Provo • April 23, 2007

James Anthony McGillis, 18, was charged with potential felony aggravated assault as a hate crime after he and another man allegedly beat a man with a baseball bat because the man is a member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

#### VIRGINIA

### Charlottesville • June 3, 2007

Publications from the United Northern and Southern Knights of the Ku Klux Klan were distributed in two area neighborhoods.

#### WASHINGTON

#### Olympia • April 11, 2007

A 15-year-old boy was charged with malicious mischief after he allegedly spray-painted racist messages and swastikas on cars and mailboxes in a neighborhood.

#### Orcas Island • May 29, 2007

Dozens of small American flags that decorated veterans' graves for Memorial Day at a cemetery were burned and many were replaced with hand-drawn swastikas.

#### Seattle • June 20, 2007

Brian Kenneth Bell, 21, and Benjamin Thomas-Winfred Davis,

#### **INTERNATIONAL BRIEFS** (continued from p. 59)

national parliaments for approval before it becomes final, and every member state will have two years to bring its laws into compliance with the new European statute.

Violators of the new law would face at least a year in prison. Germany had sought to convince fellow EU members to adopt a Europe-wide law banning the use of Nazi symbols and Holocaust denial, but eventually had to drop those proposals in the face of opposition from countries concerned about the right to free speech. Officials said the new law had been carefully drafted to avoid infringing artistic expression in movies or plays concerned with genocide.

The debate over Germany's proposals came in the context of rising anti-Semitism in Europe and elsewhere. In April, Israel's Tel Aviv University reported that the worldwide number of attacks on Jews had doubled since 2005. The following month, the Anti-Defamation League released a survey that found negative stereotypes about Jews had risen in France, Germany, Italy, Poland and Spain.

22, were charged with malicious harassment for allegedly threatening three men because of their perceived sexual orientation.

#### WISCONSIN

#### Monroe • April 16, 2007

Newsletters from the United Northern and Southern Knights of the Ku Klux Klan were distributed throughout a neighborhood. ▲

WHITE SPACE (continued from p. 51)

NSM leaders then placed New Saxon under the care of NSM webmaster Eric Adams. The former imperial wizard of the Southern White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Adams also oversaw other NSM-controlled sites such as nukeisrael.com.

Adams' tenure running New Saxon proved to be short-lived. On May 30, he blocked access to the site and posted this cryptic message: "Unless the HQ contacts me, He knows who he is, and if he wishes to continue he will contact me to regain access to New Saxon."

According to allegations subsequently posted online by NSM leaders, Adams hijacked New Saxon after the NSM leaders discovered he was allegedly embezzling funds from credit card and PayPal accounts used by NSM members and supporters, including customers of NSM88 Records, the neo-Nazi group's hate-rock music company.

"Unfortunately we can not blame this problem on the jews, I wish it were so, our natural enemies are usually the culprits, but not this time," wrote NSM Commander Jeff Schoep. "The truth of the matter is, an ex-NSM member, who was part of our webteam, was caught in some very dishonorable dealings."

Somehow, NSM wrested control of New Saxon back from Adams and by mid-June the site was functioning normally again, with new features such as a "White Power Trivia Quiz." (One of its 10 questions reads, "Hitler's famous book was?" The multiple-choice answers are: *Of Mice and Men, Mein Kampf, Grapes of Wrath* and *Die Jew Die.*)

New Saxon also contains an extensive photo gallery of white supremacist tattoos, sieg-heiling children and skinheads posing in front of swastika flags. There's a music section where Johnny Rebel's "Nigger Hating Me" is the most requested song, and weekly user polls posing questions such as: "Someone says 'Adolf Hitler was a jew.' You do what?" The options include: "Show them a Doc Marten dental plan" (a reference to the brand of boots skinheads often use to kick enemies' faces) and, "Say 'Fuck Off' and flip the finger."

The New Saxon online community is subdivided into social groups devoted to various interests. For example, members of the "Noble Maidens & Mummy" group discuss parenting tips and arts and crafts to instill in their children "a moral code that will bring forth the new dawn for white pride."

With a founder indicted on grand theft charges and his successor ousted for alleged embezzlement, New Saxon's claim to the moral high ground seems as dubious as its long-term prospects. For now, though, it's the new hot spot in the virtual village of online hate.

'A Cheery Heil'
Saying there are other sources for information on Hitler's horrors, a revisionist website insists the führer had a lighter side

#### BY SUSY BUCHANAN AND DAVID HOLTHOUSE

Did you know that when Adolf Hitler was a teenager, he once got so drunk that he used his high school diploma as toilet paper before passing out on the side of a road?

If not, then you obviously haven't been spending enough of your free time perusing AdolftheGreat.com, a revisionist website that portrays the man responsible for the deaths of 72 million people in World War II as a misunderstood genius, poet, painter, inventor, animal lover, lady's man and life of the party.

The Nazi party, that is.

Just when it seemed that the limits of grotesque and appalling stupidity had been reached, along came Adolf the Great to remind us that bug-eating TV game show contestants and the breathlessly reported travails of drugaddicted starlets are actually relatively civilized fare. True mindless tastelessness finds a home in Adolf the Great categories like "Adolf & Recreation," "Adolf & the Volkswagen," "Adolf Fights Breast Cancer" and "Adolf the Unknown Artist."

Fittingly, the site launched in 2006 on April 20 - Hitler's birthday. Sadly, it had logged almost 39,000 visitors by early August of this year.

Along with the mediocre watercolor landscapes reproduced in the "Unknown Artist" section, Hitler's art is also displayed in "Adolf, Friend to Animals." The section features a pencil sketch of Hitler's "best friend," a German Shepherd named Blondi, and praises the dictator's devotion to "protecting our furry friends."

The "Adolf. Friend to Animals" section also boasts that Hitler outlawed vivisection and flaunts a propaganda poster labeled "Vivisection Verboten"

that depicts a crowd of cartoon lab animals - rabbits, dogs, pigeons, frogs and what appear to be beavers — gratefully sieg-heiling Reichsmarschall Goering.



'Adolf, Friend to Animals'

Had enough yet? Under "Adolf the Child," the website reveals that when Hitler was but a wee lad. "He loved to sing the German national anthem 'Deutschland Über Alles' and would greet his friends with a cheery 'Heil.' But whenever there was action or mischief, Adolf was the ringleader."

According to "Adolf and Women," Hitler was "extremely shy with girls when he was young." But in later years, "He was considered 'gallant' by ladies, who found him to have a charming and friendly manner; always polite and respectful toward the fairer sex. He was never rude nor used foul language before a lady."

No mention is made of the apparent suicides of two of Hitler's mistresses

(some historians believe that Hitler had either or both women murdered) or the fact that Hitler's most famous female companion, Eva Braun, attempted suicide twice after becoming the object of his gallantry. The site identifies Braun as "Eva Hitler." a reference to their short-lived marriage. The ceremony took place on April 29, 1945, in Hitler's underground Führerbunker in Berlin as Russian troops closed in on the city. The bride and groom both killed themselves the next day.

Adolf the Great glosses over these morbid details in a section titled "Adolf and Eva Hitler, a True Love Story," that's decorated with a photo of Eva in a dirndl picking wildflowers. "Eva loved Adolf. Adolf loved Eva," the text begins. "And for years destiny kept them apart as Adolf's work took him away for long periods of time."

The long hours of starting a world war, enslaving nations and presiding over the murder of millions would put a strain on any relationship. But Adolf the Great's "true love" story has a happy ending, sort of: "In the Berlin bunker, facing Russian soldiers and a fate worse than death if she stayed, Eva remained with her husband despite him ordering her to leave. She was loyal even unto death."

The Adolf the Great site addresses the Holocaust – the industrialized murder of almost 6 million men, women and children who were Jewish - only in passing. "There are many other sites on the Internet that serve the needs of people who wish to study these facts and some are recommended via links," it explains. The recommended links include the website of the neo-Nazi National Alliance and that of leading Holocaust denier Ernst Zundel.

### THE INTELLIGENCE PROJECT

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