

Bad Blood: The Life and Near-Death of Amanda Crow



Intelligence Report

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I WAS
STABBED
BY AN
ILLEGAL
MEXICAN

Immigration Backlash

As Rage Against 'Invaders' Mounts,
A Wave of Violence Engulfs Latinos

Behind the Noose

BY MARK POTOK, EDITOR

BEFORE THE FIRST ANTI-RACISM demonstrator had set foot in Jena, La., this fall, white supremacists already were burning up the Internet with furious denunciations, bloody predictions, promises of apocalyptic violence, and calls for lynching.

“The best crowd control for such a situation would be a squad of men armed with full automatics and prefer-



ably a machine gun as well,” is how one person put it on the Web forum hosted by the neo-Nazi National Vanguard Network. Added another hopeful VNN poster: “I’m not really angry at the nogs [a recent variation on an old racial slur] — they are just soldiers in an undeclared race war. But any white that’s in that support rally I would like to ... have them machine-gunned.”

As the Sept. 20 rally began to unfold, it became clear that it was attracting huge numbers of people, perhaps 20,000 or more. They came to protest the case of the “Jena 6,” black students who were charged with serious crimes for an attack on a white classmate during a period of racial tension that had been ignited when three white students hung nooses from a schoolyard tree. (White youths involved in criminal conduct during the same period were given a slap on the wrist.) White supremacists around the country reacted with a mix of white-hot

racial hatred and grudging admiration for the rally’s organizers.

But the dominant response was fury. “I think a group of White men armed with AK rifles loaded with high capacity magazines should close in on the troop of howler monkeys from all sides ... and then White men in the buildings on both sides of the shitskinned hominids [should] throw Molotov cocktails from above to cleanse the nigs by fire,” another VNN poster wrote. Yet another fantasized about a terrorist attack on the ralliers: “Wouldn’t that be sweet? Gosh darn, wouldn’t that be sweet? Good LORD wouldn’t THAT be SWeeeeET? Boom, Boom, no more Coon!”

Before the day was out, neo-Nazi leader Bill White had posted to his own website one of the most savage remarks of the day. “Lynch the Jena 6!” his headline screamed, followed by the home addresses and phone numbers of five of the six black youths. White, head of the American National Socialist Workers Party, then suggested that his readers “get in touch and let them know justice is coming.”

The reaction of the American radical right, sadly, was not unexpected. Far more shocking was how many other white Americans responded to what antiracist activists had hoped was the start of a new civil rights movement.

That evening in Alexandria, La., less than an hour’s drive from Jena, police arrested two white youths who drove by a black crowd with a hangman’s noose dangling from their truck and charged the driver with inciting to riot. Much to the nation’s surprise, that incident was just the first in a series of noose hangings around the country — shameful reminders of the 1,999 lynchings of the 20th century.

In the next weeks, nooses appeared in places as diverse as a Columbia

University professor’s door, in police stations and high schools, workplaces and any number of other venues. It wasn’t long before close to 50 incidents had been logged around the country — a huge number, given that the Southern Poverty Law Center normally hears about fewer than about a dozen such cases every year.

Doubtless, some of these incidents were the work of obnoxious teenagers determined merely to make a big splash in the media. But it seemed indisputable that overall, the noose epidemic reflected a wave of white resentment, a backlash against the way that Jena was portrayed in the national media. The best evidence of this was found in thousands of comments posted on mainstream news media websites.

To many whites, the beating of a white student by six black students in Jena was the whole story. They dismissed the earlier white-on-black incidents in the town as not relevant to that attack and suggested that the “politically correct” media had been snookered as badly as it was in the recent Duke University rape case (in which a black woman falsely accused white lacrosse players of raping her at a party).

Race relations are not doing well in America. Residentially and especially educationally, we are resegregating. Incidents of racial harassment in the workplace have been climbing. The number of hate groups has shot up 40% in six years.

The events in Jena and their aftermath should serve as a reminder that racial demons still haunt us as a nation. As much as we might like to think that the dark days of the past are over, the racial wounds that have long afflicted our country are still open. If we ignore them, they will fester and may even grow worse. ▲



ON THE COVER

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A Cuban-born man slain at an improvised roadblock. A young Latino sodomized with a patio umbrella pole. A cross burned in a Salvadoran man's yard. Hate crimes against those perceived to be undocumented immigrants — and Latinos in general — are on the rise, and some of the attacks are truly chilling. A sampling of the more egregious crimes of recent years mirrors the rising verbal violence of the immigration debate.



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Amanda Crow was a victim of skinhead violence, but she was also a skinhead — a fact that did nothing to prevent her comrades from literally stabbing her in the back. The case of Amanda Crow, which heads to trial next spring for two of her alleged tormenters, throws light on the brutal underworld of racist skinheads.



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The Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) is the go-to restrictionist group for reporters, garnering some 500 media mentions in just the first 10 months of this year. But FAIR also is marked by its anti-Latino and anti-Catholic bigotry, surprising ties to hate groups, and promotion of racist conspiracy theories.



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Across the country, the Christian “ex-gay” movement, which claims to “cure” homosexuals of their sexual orientation, is booming. Although some practitioners are well-intentioned, the movement has become increasingly concerned with battling gay rights even as it leaves a trail of shattered lives in its wake.

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Blamed for the recent murders of two police officers, the Aryan Circle has officials in several states worried.



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LAW ENFORCEMENT INQUIRIES WELCOMED

The Intelligence Project of the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) welcomes law enforcement inquiries regarding right-wing extremists and hate groups. Please direct questions during normal business hours to Joseph Roy Sr. via the SPLC's general number, (334) 956-8200.



Former militia leader Ed Brown and his wife, Elaine, repeatedly threatened law enforcement officers in the months leading up to their arrests. When they were finally seized, officials discovered a gigantic arsenal in their heavily fortified home.

TAX PROTESTERS

Armed to the Teeth, NH Pair Are Arrested Without a Shot

Concluding a tense standoff that began five months earlier when they were convicted of tax evasion, federal marshals in Plainfield, N.H., managed to seize two tax protesters who had threatened law enforcement officials with death.

Ed and Elaine Brown were arrested without a shot being fired.

The arrest of the couple, who were each sentenced last April to more than five years in prison, was the work of U.S. Marshal Stephen Monier, who had said repeatedly that he would end the standoff without violence. On Oct. 4, federal agents posing as radical supporters of the Browns made the arrests on the porch of the Brown's isolated home, a fortified house with a gun turret and concrete-reinforced walls. Court papers filed later showed officials also seized a huge arsenal of explosives, rifles, hand-

guns, and homemade bombs packed with nails.

Ed and Elaine Brown, 65 and 67, were convicted of evading \$1.9 million in taxes, much of it due on Elaine Brown's dentistry practice, between 1996 and 2003. Like other tax protesters, they claimed the federal income tax is not legal.

The Browns' threats of violence during the standoff were persistent, and seemed to grow more extreme as time passed. According to the *Concord* (N.H.) *Monitor*, Ed Brown, speaking on a supportive radio show earlier on the day of the arrests, "endorsed the idea of recruiting assassination squads to target key government enemies." The newspaper said he had also mentioned on several earlier occasions a list of more than 50 names distributed to supporters in case of his arrest. Brown, a former

militia leader, had also publicly vowed not to be taken alive.

Brown had widespread support on the radical right, and dozens of sympathizers (including white supremacist icon Randy Weaver, who survived a famous 1993 standoff in Idaho in which his wife and son, along with a U.S. marshal, were killed) visited the home; some apparently supplied not only food but also weapons and explosives. The arrest in September of four of those supporters on accessory and weapons charges seemed to end the trickle of visitors to their home.

Now, the Browns, who were transported to federal prisons immediately after their arrests, face an array of other serious charges. "By their continuing actions," Monier told the *Monitor*, "allegedly, to obstruct justice, to encourage others to assist them to obstruct justice, by making threats toward law enforcement and other government officials, they have turned this into more than a tax case."

"OVERHEARD"

"[T]he Talmud is full of moral filth. ... [Evangelical leaders are] carefully concealing the Jewish identity of those who corrupt Christian culture."

— Rev. **TED PIKE**, director of the National Prayer Network, in a **June 21** essay that attacks Jews, the Jewish holy book, and alleged Jewish dominance of pornography, Hollywood and the media

"[L]et them fast until they starve to death... . Go make a bomb where you came from."

— Host **MICHAEL SAVAGE**, on the **July 5** edition of his Talk Radio Network show, on "illegal alien" students on hunger strike to back a bill allowing some immigrants to become citizens

"This is a dry run against free speech in America by the Islamists and the illegal aliens. ... Lady Liberty ... is being raped by the illegal aliens."

— Host **MICHAEL SAVAGE**, on the **Aug. 14** edition of his show, attacking a resolution by the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, which finally passed unanimously on Oct. 2, that condemned his July 5 comments as "hate speech" that is "defamatory ... against immigrants"

"Muslims don't eat during the day during Ramadan. They fast during the day and eat at night. Sort of like cockroaches."

— Host **NEAL BOORTZ**, on the **Aug. 14** edition of Cox Radio Syndication's "The Neal Boortz Show," discussing dietary restrictions during Islamic holy days

"[T]he NAACP [i]s a sad joke that should be shut down."

— MSNBC host **TUCKER CARLSON**, on the **Aug. 24** edition of "Tucker," attacking the anti-racist organization as "a faithful arm" of the Democratic Party

"Barney Frank ... had a fellow running basically a full-service whorehouse in his basement."

— MSNBC commentator **PAT BUCHANAN**, on the **Aug. 29** edition of "MSNBC Live With Dan Abrams," repeating allegations about the openly gay Democratic congressman from Massachusetts that were specifically disproved in a 1989 House Ethics Committee investigation

"Would I exclude foreign Muslims from settlement in the U.S.A.? Yes, I would."

— National Review Online columnist **JOHN DERBYSHIRE** in a **Sept. 20** column

"They wanna fight the white devil. ... Black devils stalking their streets every night ... can't go fight that. That would be snitching."

— Fox News Radio host **JOHN GIBSON**, on the **Sept. 21** edition of his show, criticizing black anti-racism protesters in Jena, La.

"Media Matters is a gay, fascist website. ... They're utter vermin."

— Host **MICHAEL SAVAGE**, on the **Sept. 26** edition of Talk Radio Network's "Savage Nation," discussing a website that publishes transcripts of his controversial remarks

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.



RIGHT-WING SURVIVALISTS

Only in Idaho: 'Survivalist Home' Goes on Sale

"Survivalist Home for Sale," read the identical classified advertisements placed in several Idaho newspapers last July. "Appraised at \$227,000, moving overseas, make me an offer." The ads detailed an impressive array of custom features. These included a commercial propane generator, "freezers with vacuum pack meat," and a 3,000-gallon water tank supplied by a year-round stream. The 2.5-acre property, according to the ads, is completely surrounded by "750 linear feet of 6 ft. high chain link" topped with barbed wire and razor wire.

The Survivalist Home's centerpiece, though, is without a doubt its "bunker," constructed of 8-inch-thick "concrete walls and ceiling, all reinforced with rebar" and "vented to allow air in through filtering system." The bunker's outfitted with a "Halon fire system" and "emergency escape hatch," and fully stocked with a "3 yr. supply of new clothing, food, paper products, cases of canning jars, wheat grinders, Geiger counters, potassium iodine pills, gas masks, chemical suits."

Interested parties were directed to contact "Big Mike" in Kamiah, Idaho.

Big Mike is Leonard Michael Molesworth, a tax protester who was convicted in 2005 of filing false IRS forms and obstructing tax laws. Molesworth stopped paying taxes altogether in 1999, then filed

HARRISON/FASTWOOD/GETTY IMAGES

a so-called “sovereign citizen” deed — also known as an “allodial title” — on his own property, basically declaring it a tax-free zone. He also filed unjustified tax liens against local officials, a harassment tactic common among followers of the extreme-right sovereign citizen movement.

Molesworth told the *Lewiston Tribune* that he was leaving the country because he didn’t like being prohibited from owning firearms as a convicted felon, and because his elderly mother, who used to live with him, had moved into a nursing home. He refused to say where he was headed.

“I’ve just been sitting here waiting to die, waiting for the bomb to hit,” Molesworth said. Now, “I’m going to start doing something.”

RADICAL RELIGION

Carto May Have Converted to Christian Identity



“Radical traditionalist Catholic” E. Michael Jones, a rabid anti-Semite, visited the Washington, D.C., offices of veteran Holocaust denier Willis Carto last

March. While there, he found out something surprising: Carto has apparently become an adherent of Christian Identity, a theology that contends whites, not Jews, are the true Israelites of the Bible and that Jews are biologically descended from Satan.

Jones was in Carto’s office being interviewed for *The American Free Press*, a Carto tabloid. The topic of the day was Jones’ “thesis of the revolutionary Jew,” which he has been expounding on in article after article in his magazine, *Culture Wars*. Recent installments have included “The Revolutionary Jew and His Impact on World History” and “Judaizing: Then and Now.”

Jones wrote later that Carto had asked him during his visit, “So you don’t hold much to the racial explanation of

Christian [I]dentity?” A self-described Catholic, though of an excommunicated and anti-Semitic strain, Jones says he replied: “No, the New Israel is the Catholic Church. It has no racial identity.” Jones also wrote that Carto had previously promoted Christian Identity “in a pamphlet he sent to me.”

Willis Carto has been a major figure on the American radical right since the 1950s, when he set up his anti-Semitic Liberty Lobby in Washington. Although at one time he had access to leading politicians in the capital, he eventually became infamous for his pro-Nazi and rabidly anti-Jewish views and lost those connections. In 1978, he founded the first major American Holocaust denial outfit, the Institute for Historical Review. Throughout his career, Carto has been known for his anti-Semitic and anti-black radicalism, but he has previously shown little interest in religion, even radical religion.

Further evidence for Carto’s dabbling in Identity, which sees in Jews the eternal and biological enemy of whites, is found in his Holocaust denial journal, *The Barnes Review*. The July/August issue advertises “The Early Israelites,” a Christian Identity tome.

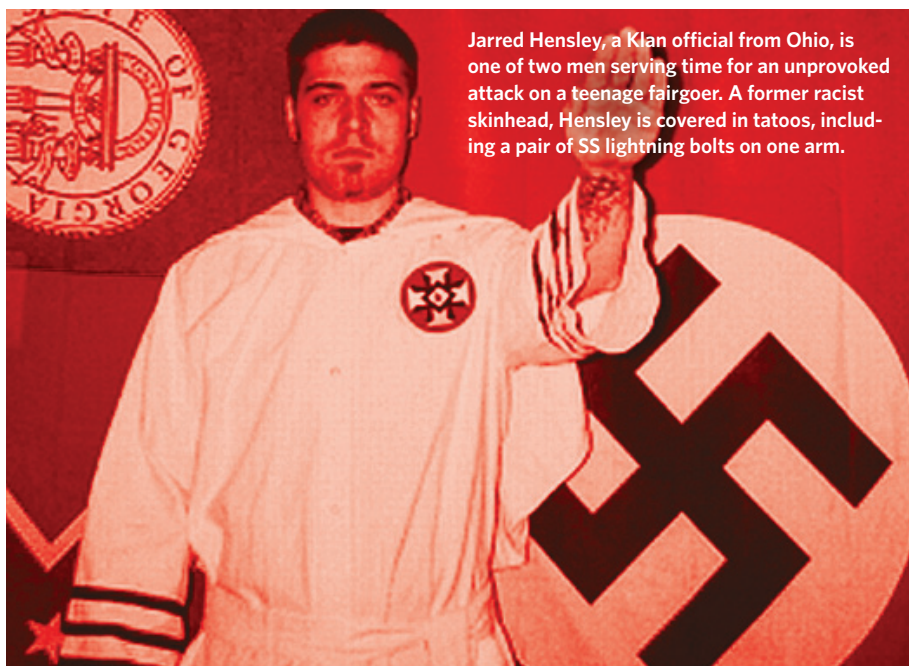
KU KLUX KLAN

Center Expands Lawsuit to Include Imperial Klans

The Southern Poverty Law Center in July refiled an earlier lawsuit against two Klansmen to add the nation’s second-largest Klan organization, its national leader and two other individuals as defendants. The suit claims that as part of an official recruiting drive for the Imperial Klans of America (IKA), several hulking IKA members savagely beat a small teenage boy at a county fair in Kentucky.

The unprovoked attack came in July 2006 at the Meade County Fairgrounds in Brandenburg, Ky. IKA members — including Jarred Hensley, 24, and Andrew Watkins, 26 — began harassing the 16-year-old boy of Panamanian descent, calling him a “spic,” according to the lawsuit. The boy, who stood 5 feet 3 inches and weighed just 150 pounds, was then beaten to the ground and kicked by the Klansmen, one of whom is 6 feet 5 inches tall and 300 pounds. The beating left the victim with two cracked ribs, a broken left forearm, multiple cuts and bruises, and extensive jaw injuries.

Hensley and Watkins are each serving three-year prison terms for the beating, after pleading guilty to second-degree



Jarred Hensley, a Klan official from Ohio, is one of two men serving time for an unprovoked attack on a teenage fairgoer. A former racist skinhead, Hensley is covered in tatoos, including a pair of SS lightning bolts on one arm.

assault. Hensley was an Ohio grand titan, meaning he oversaw IKA activities in a part of that state. Watkins served as the IKA's webmaster and also was a guitarist in an IKA-affiliated band called the Totenkopf Saints ("totenkopf" is German for "death's head"). One of the band's songs is "No Mercy" and advocates the murder of "spics" and others.

The Center had earlier sued Hensley and Watkins for their actions, but the July 25 filing added the IKA and three other individuals as defendants. It named Ron Edwards, the IKA's founder and highest-ranking member; the local Meade County leader who uses the alias "J. Edward" and as an exalted cyclops had "authority over and responsibility for the operations and activities of the IKA in Kentucky"; and another member participating in the recruiting drive.

"The defendants are members and high-ranking officials of one of the most notorious white supremacist groups in America," said Center President Richard Cohen. "They promote violence and intimidation and call for the death of racial and ethnic minorities, homosexuals and so-called 'race traitors.' They targeted and viciously beat our client solely because he has brown skin."

The lawsuit says the boy has endured physical and mental pain and suffering from the attack. It seeks compensatory and punitive damages.

The IKA's compound in Dawson Springs, Ky., is situated on 28 acres owned by Edwards. It is the site of Nordic Fest, a music festival that brings together Klansmen, racist skinheads and members of other hate groups each May.

RACIST CULTS

FLDS Leader Convicted in Rape of 14-Year-Old

Polygamous prophet Warren Jeffs has been convicted on two counts of rape as an accomplice and faces up to life in prison when he is sentenced late this year. This is Jeffs' first criminal conviction, although the cult leader faces civil lawsuits in several other cases filed by

former followers.

Jeffs, who finally was brought to trial after nearly two years on the run, is the leader of the Fundamentalist Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (FLDS), which splintered off from the Mormon Church in 1890 and has compounds in southern Utah, northern Arizona, Texas, Colorado, South Dakota, Canada and Mexico.

In addition to his controversial teachings on the marriageability of young girls, the rail-thin prophet preaches to his more than 10,000 followers that "the

priesthood children."

Wall said she was terrified and knew nothing about sex. Steed made repeated sexual advances, which Wall tried to rebuff, begging him to leave her alone. Steed eventually forced himself on her. "I didn't understand why he had done what he had just done," Wall testified. She attempted suicide that night.

Wall said she appealed to Jeffs to release her from her marriage. He instead told her to give herself to Steed "mind, body and soul, and obey him without question."



Cult leader Warren Jeffs was convicted in September of charges that could land him in prison for life. Eight months earlier, as he awaited trial, Jeffs tried to commit suicide in jail and told a follower that he was "covered with immorality with a sister and a daughter when I was younger."

black race is the people through which the devil has always been able to bring evil unto the earth." He says that homosexual intimacy "is the worst evil act you can do, next to murder." And he believes that members of the government and the Mormon Church, plus all those outside the cult, are "wicked" people who God will strike from the earth.

Jeffs showed no emotion as the jury's Sept. 25 verdict was read. He is to be sentenced in the late fall, and faces a term of five years to life in prison on each count.

The conviction stems from Jeff's role in arranging the marriage of an unwilling 14-year-old girl, Elissa Wall, to her 19-year old cousin, Allen Steed, in 2001.

In riveting testimony, Wall told the jury that Jeffs performed the wedding ceremony, ordering her to "go forth and replenish the Earth and raise good

The day after the verdict against Jeffs was read out in court, Steed was charged with first-degree felony rape.

"I hope that all FLDS girls and women will understand that no matter what anyone may say, you are created equal," Wall told reporters.

Law enforcement officials are optimistic that the conviction will encourage more victims to come forward. But Jeffs' incarceration has had no visible effect on his followers, and he is likely to retain his control over the sect from prison.

"The most devout FLDS followers will see Jeffs' conviction as a persecution," Ken Driggs, an attorney and FLDS scholar, told *The Salt Lake Tribune*. "Those followers would have seen an acquittal as proof God is protecting Jeffs. To some extent, he wins with either outcome."



RACIST SKINHEADS

Rival Skinhead Clans Declare Truce

Hammerskin Nation and the Vinlander Social Club — America's two largest coalitions of racist skinhead gangs — have negotiated a truce ending a three-year feud, according to a remarkable declaration published in September by Vinlanders co-founder and Hoosier State Skinheads leader Brien James.

"I salute the people on both sides who had the courage to initiate this peace, and the people who had the maturity to look past our egos and our grudges," James stated on the Vinlanders' website. "We will die fighting together for self-determination and self-respect in a world that has turned its back on natural law and common sense."

James and Eric "The Butcher" Fairburn formed the Vinlander Social Club in 2004 as a direct challenge to the authority of Hammerskin Nation (HSN), a nationwide racist skinhead syndicate that has asserted dominion over racist U.S. skins since 1988. HSN's power has waned in recent years as growing numbers of local skinhead "crews" have declared allegiance to the Vinlanders.

James offered no detailed explanation for the abruptly announced ceasefire. "Vinlanders and the Hammerskin Nation have been conducting meetings and parties on both sides have decided to declare peace," he wrote. "Nothing official has been written up and signed, and we all understand that there may be individuals that will feel they still have grievances they can't let go. These people may choose

to handle these problems as individuals, but as far as the 'crew war' or 'gang war' that has brought our enemies so much pleasure all these years, it is over."

ANTI-IMMIGRATION MOVEMENT

Minuteman Appointment Sparks Kansas City Firestorm

The appointment of a member of the Minuteman Civil Defense Corps (MCDC) to the Board of Parks & Recreation of Kansas City, Mo., has created a political firestorm for Mayor Mark Funkhouser. Elected to office just last May, Funkhouser, considered a liberal on social issues, now appears to have alienated many of those who supported the former city auditor's run for office.

The brouhaha began in June, when Funkhouser appointed Frances Semler, a 73-year-old grandmother who was until then a political unknown, to the parks board. Not long after the appointment, news emerged of Semler's membership in MCDC, listed by the Southern Poverty Law Center as a "nativist extremist" group.

In the coming weeks, numerous critics assailed Funkhouser over Semler's appointment. Nine of 12 City Council members voted for a resolution asking him to oust Semler. And Semler offered to resign. But Funkhouser hunkered down, refusing to drop Semler even as he told The Associated Press that he was a member of the NAACP and "a longtime

supporter of civil rights and diversity."

The MCDC is led by Chris Simcox, a man who in a 2003 speech to the California Coalition for Immigration Reform hate group warned that "the Mexican army is driving American vehicles — but carrying Chinese weapons. I have personally seen what I can only believe to be Chinese troops."

That same year, in an interview with the *Intelligence Report*, Simcox said undocumented immigrants "don't come here to work. They come here to rob and deal drugs." He said he left Los Angeles because Latino immigrants were wrecking the city. "Oh, Jesus, it is unbelievable," he said. "I mean, we need the National Guard to clean out all our cities

and round them up. They are hard-core criminals. They have no problem slitting your throat and taking your money or selling drugs to your kids or raping your daughters and they are evil people."

Semler, who didn't tell the mayor about her MCDC membership before the appointment, says she joined the group "because our government seemed to be consciously neglecting the enforcement of immigration laws." Semler gave



Mark Funkhouser won election as mayor of Kansas City, Mo., last May. One month later, he was embroiled in a controversy about immigration and racism that alienated many of his liberal supporters.

two speeches to a Kansas MCDC affiliate formed in 2006. In them, she urged newcomers to read *State of Emergency: The Third World Invasion and Conquest of America*, a book written by white nationalist Pat Buchanan.

As the controversy heated up over the summer, a Latino civil rights group, the National Council of La Raza, threatened to move its 2009 annual con-

ference from Kansas City — spurring Simcox to declare that he would move his February 2008 MCDC conference to the city. In late October, La Raza carried out its threat, voting to move its convention, and the NAACP was considering following suit. The two conventions had been expected to bring some \$14 million into the city.

NATIVIST EXTREMISM

In Nativist Propaganda, Convicted Shooters Become Heroes

Border Patrol agents Ignacio “Nacho” Ramos and José Alonso Compean attacked an unarmed border-crosser who was trying to surrender, shot at him 15

times and wounded him as he fled, then tampered with the crime scene and failed to report the shooting as required to their supervisors. For their crimes, a federal court in Texas sentenced the men last year to terms of 11 and 12 years in prison.

Now, courtesy of the nativist movement, they are heroes.

Lou Dobbs, the CNN anchor obsessed with undocumented immigration, has featured their case at least 131 times, including a one-hour special, according to the September issue of *Texas Monthly*. They’ve been glorified by anti-immigration websites and lion-



Simcox



Gilchrist

ized by politicians like U.S. Rep. Tom Tancredo (R-Colo.). Even the American Freedom Riders, a nativist biker gang, calls them “persecuted.”

Why are so many associated with the law-and-order right singing the praises of these two felons? Because the man who was shot turned out later to have been part of a marijuana-smuggling operation. Ramos and Compean didn’t know that at the time — the man was on foot and tried to surrender, and the agents only found the drugs in a van after he managed to flee on foot back to Mexico, badly wounded. Dobbs describes the officers as “these

OCT. 6, 2007 • PORTLAND, ORE.

At least 100 members of Hammerskin Nation, a racist skinhead group with chapters around the country, tried to attend the latest annual Hammerfest concert (below, right), this one marking the 20th anniversary of the group’s formation. Most of them made it to the secret venue, the Sherwood Elks Lodge in Portland, but lodge officials kicked them all out, ending the concert almost before it began, after local anti-racists alerted them to the true nature of the Hammerskins. (The Hammerskins had told lodge officials that they were merely a group putting on a rock band reunion party.) Frustrated Hammerskins and their hosts, members of the neo-Nazi Volksfront group based in Portland, attended a party (above, right) after the concert fell apart. With the group, which was mainly composed of unhappy Volksfront members, was Mike Lawrence, who was decked out in a suit and tie. Lawrence is a former Confederate Hammerskin and currently the leader of The Christian Guard, a racist group based in Kathleen, Fla.



Updates on Extremism and The Law

JULY 4 **Burleson, Texas**, police arrested two men who allegedly tried to set off a firebomb at Victory Family Church but failed. Dayton Calaway, 19, and Michael Plaisted Jr., 18, along with a suspect arrested a day later, Jered Ragon, 18, were charged with attempted arson and organized criminal activity and face up to 99 years in prison. Officials said the men, who they say confessed to the crime, were part of a group of 10-15 “**radical Christian activists**” that opposes government and organized religion.



Broussard

JULY 12 A jury acquitted 41-year-old Gordon Creal Young, a **National Socialist Movement** member and former imperial wizard of the **World Knights of the Ku Klux Klan**, of charges that he twice forced his 15-year-old adoptive sister to perform oral sex on him. The **Hagerstown, Md.**, jury’s decision followed testimony from the girl’s biological mother that she would sometimes “elaborate” on the truth.

JULY 23 Police in **Manning, S.C.**, arrested former **Christian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan** member Timothy Adron Welch in the July 4 shooting murder of 40-year-old David Michael Dennis. Welch, 35, had emerged from federal prison in 2006 after serving almost 10 years for burning two black churches. Welch testified in a 1998 civil case brought by the Southern Poverty Center that ended in a \$37.8 million verdict against the Christian Knights, its leader and several members for one of the arsons.

AUG. 2 **Oakland (Calif.)** Post editor Chauncey Bailey, working at the time on an article about **Your Muslim Bakery**, was killed with a shotgun by bakery handyman Devaughndre Broussard, who later confessed to the murder. In the following weeks, others associated with the bakery were arrested, including boss Yusuf Bey IV, who was charged with kidnapping and torturing a woman.

Bakery staffers, who are **militant black Muslims**, have been accused of widespread violence.

AUG. 10 **Bastrop, La.**, detectives John Smith and Charles Wilson were shot to death as they tried to question alleged **Aryan Circle** member Donald Brendle in a stolen property case. Police say one of the killers was another member of the prison-based gang, Dennis Clem, who died during the shootout at a local hotel. Officials later charged three other group members, including Brendle, with helping Clem’s girlfriend, Tonya Smith, to flee. Smith was later captured and charged with murder.

AUG. 15 Police snipers killed a violent, 24-year-old **white supremacist** with a rap sheet going back to when he was 12 after he shot a black **Hillsborough County, Fla.**, sheriff’s deputy to death. Officers cornered Michael Allen Phillips in the home he shared with his mother just two hours after he murdered Sgt. Ron Harrison. During a brief standoff, Phillips referred to the numbers 14 and 88, well-known neo-Nazi codes. Police also later found “extremely” racist writings in his bedroom.

AUG. 27 The son of former **American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan** chief Jeff Berry was sentenced to a year on work release for the savage 2006 beating of his father. Anthony Berry, a violent Klan enthusiast with three prior battery convictions, was also ordered to pay \$15,000 toward his father’s medical bills. The attack came at a barbecue in **Spencerville, Ind.**, and left Jeff Berry’s vision badly impaired.

SEPT. 1 John Rocissano, a 20-year-old member of the neo-Nazi **National Alliance**, was arrested with a teenage accomplice for allegedly scrawling swastikas and anti-Jewish slurs on a **Plandome, N.Y.**, synagogue and elsewhere.

SEPT. 5 A federal judge in **Ocala, Fla.**, dismissed movie star Wesley Snipes’ claim that he had been selectively charged with tax evasion because he was black, ruling that prosecutors frequently choose well-known defendants to better deter others. Snipes is accused of following the advice of a radical **tax protest** group that claims Americans don’t have to pay income taxes. He could face up to five years in prison.

SEPT. 24 A **Denver** jury convicted Benjamin Davis, the leader of the white supremacist **211 Crew**, of operating a criminal enterprise from prison that sold drugs and ordered beatings of its enemies. Davis, who faces life in prison, was indicted in 2004 with 24 other members of his gang, and another eight were charged later. All the defendants but three have now pleaded guilty or been convicted in connection with the case.



U.S. Rep. Dana Rohrabacher (R-Calif.) has joined the right-wing chorus singing the praises of two Border Patrol agents convicted of shooting a border crosser. Rohrabacher complains that the pair is enduring prison conditions “far worse” than those at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba.



two outstanding Border Patrol agents.”

Dobbs, along with many others, thinks they should go free.

Rival Minutemen leaders Chris Simcox and Jim Gilchrist were both at a Sept. 8 fundraiser for Ramos’ family that was hosted by the American Freedom Riders. More than \$38,000 was contributed and over 400 people attended to show their “absolute disdain for [President] Bush’s ‘dear friend’ Johnny Satan” — a reference to prosecutor Johnny Sutton, the highly conservative U.S. attorney who had worked for Bush in Texas and Washington. Others, like Dobbs, have also savaged Sutton.

Republican congressmen Dana Rohrabacher (Calif.) and John Culberson (Texas) have even claimed that the agents are suffering prison conditions “far worse than those of suspected terrorists being held” at Guantánamo Bay in Cuba.

What no one has offered is any proof that the two are innocent.

Now, the nativist fervor is expanding to others similarly situated — in particular, Border Patrol agent Nicholas Corbett, who last January shot dead Mexican construction worker Francisco Javier Dominguez-Rivera a few yards north of the border. Corbett claimed he shot in self-defense after being threatened with a rock, but forensic and video evidence, along with accounts of several witnesses detained with Dominguez-Rivera, contradicted him, suggesting instead that the worker was shot without provocation after he was forced to kneel directly in front of Corbett. Corbett faces trial on second-degree murder charges in February.

Anti-immigration activists claim Corbett is being railroaded due to pressure from Mexico. In October, the American Freedom Riders rallied to support him, describing him as “another agent charged with murder for doing his job.”

WHITE NATIONALISM

Aryan Encyclopedia Takes Off (But Desperately Needs Editor)

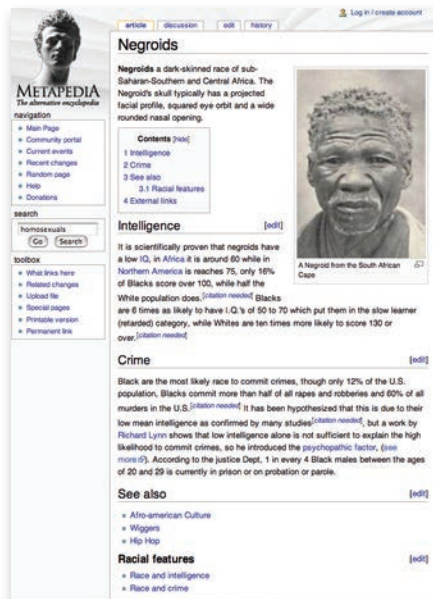
White nationalists already have their own websites for social networking and video sharing. Now they’ve built Metapedia, a knockoff of the online, reader-edited encyclopedia Wikipedia that they call “an alternative encyclopedia dedicated to the pro-European cultural struggle.”

On Metapedia, the subjects sound familiar but their definitions don’t. A Native American is “a White Anglo-Saxon Protestant born in the United States of America.” David Duke is described as having built the Klan “into an organization to promote the social and cultural interests of white Native Americans.”

The entry on “Holocaust Investigation” remains blank. Would-be editors are warned to “make sure that you won’t be prosecuted for what you write in your country, before editing this page.” (Many European countries outlaw denial of the World War II Holocaust.) Registered in Sweden, the site has more than 1,300 English-language entries and versions in nine European languages. (Wikipedia, by comparison, has more than 2 million English-language entries and smaller counterparts in more than 40 other languages.)

It’s apparent that some of the entries could use a little professional editing. Under “Negroids,” for instance, the reader finds, “Black race are [sic] the most likely to commit crimes. It has been hypnotized [sic] that this is due to their low mean intelligence as confirmed by many studies.” Presumably, the writer meant that this is what has been *hypothesized*, not hypnotized. It’s not known what the mean intelligence of the Aryan geniuses who make such mistakes is.

And so it goes. The one-line entry on homosexuals says they “are protected by special laws in many ZOG countries” — a hyperlink explains that ZOG stands for “Zionist Occupied Government.”



The words may be familiar, but their definitions aren't. Metapedia's entry on "negroids" is little more than an extended exercise in racist slander.

There are entries on European history, ancient European languages, Scandinavian folklore and Odinism, along with dozens on hate rock bands, concerts and record labels. There's even a little dig at racist skinheads, who apparently have "little in common with the White Nationalists."

The creators of Metapedia says they merely offering "a more balanced and fair image of the pro-European struggle for the general public as well as for academics, who until now have been dependent on strongly biased and hostile 'researchers' like Searchlight, Anti-Defamation League, Southern Poverty Law Center, Simon Wiesenthal Centre, and such."

NEO-NAZIS

Two Charges Tossed, But Neo-Nazi Still Accused of Child Porn

A federal judge this October dismissed charges of sexual enticement of a 10-year-old girl and witness intimidation against neo-Nazi leader Kevin Alfred Strom, but only after two days of lurid and extremely compromising testimony.

U.S. District Judge Norman Moon, while noting there was "overwhelming evidence that he was sexually drawn to this child," ruled that although Strom had followed and anonymously sent many gifts to the girl, he had not actually tried to have sex with her. Similarly, although Strom filed various legal complaints against his wife Elisha, Moon found that that did not amount to intimidation.

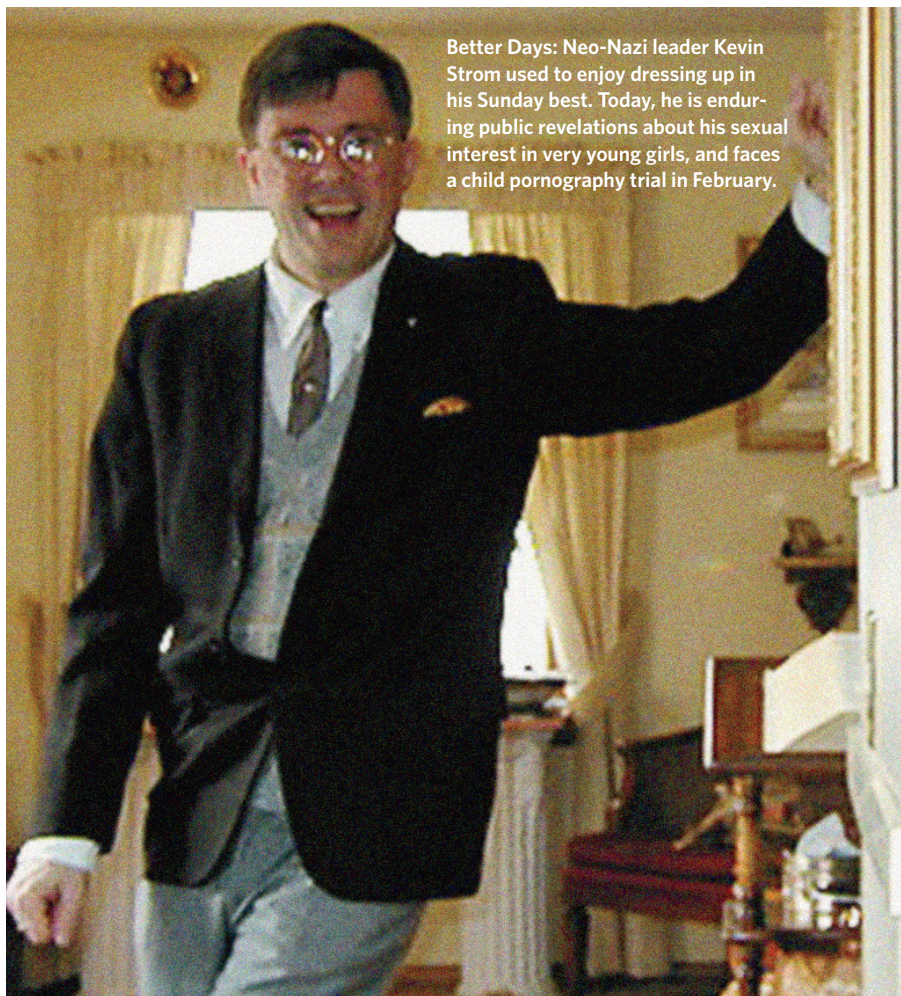
Strom, who was the founder and leader of the neo-Nazi National Vanguard until taking a "leave of absence," remains in custody. He faces another federal trial early next year on charges of possession of hundreds of images of child porn that allegedly include photos of naked girls "in sexually suggestive positions."

Elisha Strom, a neo-Nazi in her own right, testified weepily at the October trial about how she came home one day

to find Strom completely naked, sexually aroused and staring at a computer. When he fled to a bathroom, she found he had been looking at a picture of the girls making up the neo-Nazi Prussian Blue singing duo that he had pasted onto the nude bodies of adult lesbians having sex.

A detective also testified that Strom admitted "masturbating to pictures of young girls." But Moon pointed out that that was "not a crime, so far."

Officials said Strom had written a "sonnet of sorts" to the 10-year-old on his computer. To be sung to the tune of "Here We Come a-Wassailing," Strom wrote that "my love for her is not a sin ... I will be showered with the kisses of [the girl] ... I will marry [the girl] ... my heart ne'er takes a beat without a thought of the beautiful [girl] ... till the days I can embrace you ... this life or the next one." ▲



Better Days: Neo-Nazi leader Kevin Strom used to enjoy dressing up in his Sunday best. Today, he is enduring public revelations about his sexual interest in very young girls, and faces a child pornography trial in February.





A near-deadly desert
attack, headed for trial next
spring, throws light on the
incredibly brutal under-
world of racist skinheads

Bad Blood

BY SUSY BUCHANAN ILLUSTRATION BY FRANK STOCKTON



P

HOENIX, ARIZ.—They left Amanda Crow to die under an ironwood tree. Paralyzed, the 19-year-old lay on her back in a remote wash, studying its thorny branches and teardrop leaves. Blood from her slashed throat and stab wounds pooled around her body in a scarlet aura. A night passed, then a day, then another night. Twice, she watched the Day-Glo bloom of a desert sunrise while flies and ants feasted on her blood.

Delirious, Crow imagined at times that she was home in bed, with a heavy blanket wrapped tight around her, forcing her to lay still. It was mid-morning, almost 40 hours after she'd been beaten, knifed and abandoned, when she heard the crunch of tires. "Help!" she gasped, in the strongest voice she could muster. To the man who found her, it sounded like the cooing of a dove.

Crow was airlifted to a hospital, where doctors put her on a respirator after tweezing the insects from her throat and perforated torso. Her left lung was

collapsed. Her spinal cord was pierced at neck-level.

The ensuing police investigation culminated in the arrest of four neo-Nazi skinheads on charges of attempted murder and kidnapping, and two of them face trial next spring. But already, voluminous police reports, crime scene photos, interrogation transcripts and court documents related to the attack on Crow, along with interviews with investigators, ex-skinheads, and those close to Crow and her accused attackers shed light on the secretive, criminal subculture of rac-

ist skinheads in America's fourth-largest metropolis. The inhabitants of this chaotic and violent underworld boast of virtues like "Aryan pride" and "racial unity." But in reality, they are just as dangerous to their own kind as they are to non-whites and Jews, the declared targets of their hate and rage.

Crow was a victim of skinhead violence. But she was also a skinhead, a fact which did nothing to dissuade her "racial brothers and sisters" from literally stabbing her in the back.

Pride and Prejudice

Three years before her throat was cut, Crow was a rebellious teenager growing up in a lower-middle-class West Phoenix neighborhood where whites were the minority. The student body at her high school was 76% Hispanic. Students were allowed to wave the Mexican flag, but school officials reprimanded her when she pinned a Confederate battle flag to her backpack. She felt persecuted.

At the same time, the skinhead scene in Phoenix was making a very public comeback, as a local group of skins who would eventually call themselves the North American Skinheads (the crew went through a series of name changes) was surging in numbers, violence and public attention.

In October 2002, soon after Crow began her junior year of high school, four racist skinheads stomped a young white man to death outside a pool hall. As news of the murder coursed through the Phoenix media, the brash and brutal leaders of this new crop of Phoenix skins, rather than shying away from scrutiny, courted publicity by granting television and newspaper interviews as they continued to organize skinhead events and actively recruit young people into the movement.

Crow became a skinhead in early March 2003, after she wandered into a Phoenix pool hall and wandered out holding a flier advertising an upcoming "Aryan Barbecue" in a mostly minority neighborhood.

With long dark hair, and at a shapely 5 feet 10 inches, Crow looked quite a

bit older than 16. One of the Aryan barbecue's principal organizers, former Phoenix skinhead leader Sean Gaines, describes Crow back then as sweet, needy and hopelessly unaware of what she was getting herself into.

"She brought this girl who was part Jewish to the barbecue. That shows how naïve and how young they were," Gaines told *Intelligence Report* from his Phoenix jail cell, where he's awaiting trial for capital murder in a separate case. "I tried to tell her to stay out of trouble."

But Crow didn't see trouble, only acceptance. She'd found a world where the sort of thinking that got her in trouble at school was openly celebrated. At the barbecue — which organizers say drew 80 skinheads — swastika flags were draped from the park's ramada, white-power music raged from an overtaxed boom box, and young men in wifebeaters, red suspenders, and steel-toed boots strutted among the picnic tables oozing testosterone.

Skin Tight

Among the "boots" at the park that spring Sunday was Jason Shakofsky, 23, a brooding, 6-foot-tall, 250-pound amateur tattoo artist who repossessed cars for a living.

Shakofsky, whose older brother David was a Florida Aryan Nations recruiter killed in a 1994 car accident, had come

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onto the Phoenix scene a few months earlier.

Usually, new recruits were tested for loyalty before gaining acceptance. Not Shakofsky. There was no need. Shakofsky's violent temper was evident early on, recalls Gaines. His home was draped in Nazi flags and cluttered with weapons, including two handguns, a shotgun, a rifle and a fully automatic assault rifle. Clips and shells were everywhere, and a crossbow and arrows hung from the wall.

Crow and Shakofsky embarked on a whirlwind skinhead romance. She moved out of her parents' house into his a week after they met and began hanging out with skinheads full time, often wearing one of Shakofsky's Skrewdriver T-shirts. She didn't know the significance of the shirt depicting the seminal skinhead band. All she knew was that it was white power, it was Shakofsky's, and now so was she.

On Shakofsky's orders, a fellow skinhead shaved Crow's head into a "Chelsea," with tendrils framing her face. She dyed her remaining hair blonde by dunking her head in a bowl of bleach. Two weeks after her debut on the scene, Crow had completely morphed into a full-blown "skinbyrd."

When skinhead leader Joshua Fiedler invited a newspaper photographer to his home to take photos of his crew that same month, Crow and Shakofsky were there, posing defiantly in front of a Nazi flag with his arm draped around her belly.

Shakofsky was carrying a gun, and Crow was carrying his child that night, although she didn't yet know she was pregnant.

'Hate and Discontent'

Crow had a difficult pregnancy, and the couple fought constantly. The birth of their daughter, Hayley, in December 2003 did little to improve their relationship. "Man, I wish I could get away from that bitch," Shakofsky told fellow skinheads.

They finally split up six months later. Crow took the baby and moved back in with her parents. Shakofsky began dating Jessica Bruner, a divorcée with two children. Bruner was by her own account

Amanda Crow discovered the skin-head movement in a pool hall where she found a flier for an “Aryan barbecue.” Three years later, police say, four of her former comrades nearly killed her.

raised in the neo-Nazi movement and enjoyed spreading “hate and discontent,” according to her online profile.

Although Bruner and Crow clashed horribly at first, they became tenuous friends, a relationship Bruner cultivated in order to wrest control of Hayley away from Crow. Bruner and Shakofsky told Crow they had gotten married and that a court had awarded them full custody of the child. Crow foolishly believed these lies because she trusted Bruner.

Her relationship with her ex-boyfriend and father of her child remained as stormy as ever. Numerous instant messages recovered by police show Crow begging for time with her daughter and Shakofsky accusing her of being a bad mother and a child abuser. “All you were supposed to be was a fuck, Amanda, that is it,” Shakofsky wrote in one exchange. “Shit got out of hand. ... Never my intention to have you in my life forever.” Crow retaliated by reminding Shakofsky that she knew about crimes he’d committed that had gone unpunished. “They don’t get along, they argue,” Bruner later told detectives. “There’s a lot of bad blood there.”

Crow told several friends that Shakofsky repeatedly threatened to find her and slit her throat if she ever took Hayley and disappeared, which is exactly what she was planning to do in early 2006. She confided in Bruner that she was going to get herself and her daughter away from Shakofsky by moving to Texas and starting a new life.

Bruner allegedly told Shakofsky of Crow’s plans, juicing up her account with a tall tale about Crow hiring a member of the Aryan Brotherhood to kill him. Tired of Crow’s bickering, enraged by her plans to run away and her veiled threats to talk to law enforcement about his criminal acts, Shakofsky allegedly told Bruner to “handle the situation” on a certain night



Shakofsky



Bruner



Ware



Harkins

Amanda Crow didn’t see trouble, only acceptance. She’d found a world where the sort of thinking that got her in trouble at school was openly celebrated.

when he made sure he was at work repossessing cars to establish an alibi.

Into the Darkness

Although some of the details of that night are disputed, evidence compiled by police, including Crow’s own account, suggests this is what occurred next.

Bruner enlisted two other skinheads, Kelly Harkins and Edward Ware, to help her “handle” Crow.

Ware, 27, was the son of Baptist ministers who conducted Bible studies in their home. Although one-quarter Japanese, Ware had been a skinhead for 11 years. He had “White” tattooed on one forearm and “Pride” on the other. He had known Crow for several years. She used to babysit for his five children, who at the

time of the assault had been turned over to relatives because Ware had gone off the deep end.

Standing 6 foot 3 inches and weighing in at 260 pounds, the self-described skinhead “enforcer” had been drinking heavily over the past four months and quit taking the medications prescribed to him to curb his anxiety and bipolar tendencies — including daily doses of 2000 milligrams of Depakote, a mood stabilizer, and 600 milligrams of the anti-psychotic Seroquel.

Harkins was a hard-line skinhead whose husband, also a skinhead, was a Marine dispatched to Iraq. She had been married several times before and had three children she abandoned to relatives. Harkins lived in Tucson where she worked as a caregiver in a rest home, and she had a large outline of a swastika on her back that Bruner, also a tattoo artist, worked on filling in over the weekend Crow was assaulted.

Bruner drove 90 miles south of Phoenix to Tucson to bring Harkins up for the occasion that Friday night. “Amanda’s a snitch,” Bruner allegedly told her. “Jason wants us to take care of it.”

The next afternoon, Harkins says she watched Bruner crush up a pill and slip it into a bottle of Smirnoff Ice with the intention of drugging Crow before the attack.

Bruner invited Crow, who was due at work later that night, to attend a bonfire in the desert west of Phoenix. Crow agreed. Bruner drove her extended-cab Ford pickup, and Harkins sat in the middle of the front seat with Ware riding shotgun. Crow sat in the back with her daughter, Bruner’s 5-year-old son and 6-month-old baby girl.

When they hit the freeway Bruner broke out the Smirnoff Ice and offered one to Crow. “Chug it,” Bruner is said to have told her. But Crow sensed something was up. Her bottle had a different colored cap than the others, and it tasted funny. Crow dumped it out on the floorboards and watched the city lights fade

as the truck headed into the desert under a waxing moon.

Bruner asked Crow if she was ready to earn her red laces, symbolic in the skinhead culture of spilling blood for the cause.

Crow was. After nearly three years in the movement it was about time she advanced in rank. Bruner, in her reds herself, had the authority and stature to bring her up.

Ware was a rat, Bruner explained, and Crow would have to beat him down.

Crow looked at Ware in the front seat and when he didn’t react her suspicions

Blood, Boots and Betrayal

“We’re here to kick your ass and you know why,” Ware told Crow as the trio moved in on her, encircling her and yelling angrily. “You fucking narc! You fucking whore! You fat fuck! You smell like a nigger!” Bruner allegedly punched her in the face and spat on her. “Are you a narc?” Harkins shouted as she pummeled Crow. “I’m not a narc!” Crow protested, trying to defend herself. “Jessica is just trying to get my daughter!”

The beating swung into full force. They hit her with closed fists, kicked her with steel-toed boots and pelted her with large rocks, calling her a rat all the while.

Crow was knocked to the ground. Ware stomped on her head with his boots, then grabbed her by the hair and lifted her to a kneeling position. The rocks bouncing off her head had splattered his clothes with her blood.

Ware placed his hand on top of Crow’s head and punched her in the jaw.

“Why do you think they brought me out here?” he asked Crow menacingly. Ware later told detectives that it was at that moment she must have realized what was about to happen. He could see it in her eyes.

Ware tried to break her neck. When after several tries it wouldn’t break, Ware got frustrated and called for a knife — a Smith and Wesson SWAT folding knife with a four-inch blade that Harkins had tucked in her purse. Ware admits he stabbed her once in the chest and walked away. Crow says he stabbed her repeatedly and slashed her throat.

The attack took less than 10 minutes.

“Let’s get out of here, I’m freezing,” Bruner allegedly said. Ware looked at the blood on his hands. “I’m getting sloppy,” he commented.

When they came back to the truck, blood-spattered and disheveled, they told the kids that Crow was a monster and needed to be killed.

On the drive back to Bruner’s home,



turned to dread. Bruner pulled off the pavement onto a crude dirt road south through the desert until they reached a pullout near a small wash. There were no cars. No fellow skinheads. No bonfire. They told Amanda to get out, left the children in the truck and walked her into the darkening desert.

they all agreed that this was a night that officially never happened.

Covering Up

The three stayed over at Bruner's home, where Bruner allegedly gathered their bloody clothes and Crow's purse and cell phone in a plastic garbage bag and boiled the knife. The next morning, Harkins and Bruner allegedly took the truck to a car wash and scrubbed the inside with ammonia and bleach to destroy blood evidence.

When he awoke Monday afternoon, Shakofsky ordered those involved to scatter. Harkins left to visit fellow skinheads Joshua Krueger and Jacob Stevens. Their home in Wittman, Ariz., had a swastika poster and SS flags in the bedrooms, a Skrewdriver banner in the living room, and pistols and swastika knives lying about. Ware and Bruner soon followed, allegedly bringing with them the garbage bag full of evidence and tossing it in a burn barrel in the back yard. The group partied in front of the fire.

The next day, when they learned Crow had been found and was alive, Ware says he and Bruner threw their boots in a Dumpster, but not before Bruner removed her bloody laces and gave them to Ware as a token of her appreciation.

Bruner called Harkins, "Amanda survived," she is said to have warned her friend. "You better get out of town." Harkins bought a long red wig and asked a friend to lie for her should anyone come around asking questions about where she was Sunday night.

But Bruner could barely contain herself, and walked across her driveway to talk with next-door neighbor, Chris Powers.

"Did you hear about Jason's girlfriend? She was found in the desert?" Bruner asked Powers, according to his later account to police.

"What, a car accident?" Powers replied.

"No, she was stabbed and sliced up."

Shakofsky came over and followed Bruner into Powers' kitchen where she had gone to get some ice. "Don't say anything!" Powers heard him yell. Later that

week, Shakofsky brought the couple's computer over and asked Powers to store it at his house.

"I had nothing to do with it," Bruner told Powers' wife. "If I had, I would have made sure she was dead."

Busted Skins

Today, Amanda Crow, who lives with her daughter at her parent's home, has complete and irreversible paralysis on the right side of her body. She gets around in an electric wheelchair, attends exten-



Edward Ware told them how the bloody clothing was burned, the knife boiled, the truck detailed. He told them his former friend tried to fight back in the beginning.

sive physical therapy sessions and needs constant care. Her injuries were so severe that for two weeks she could only communicate with detectives by answering yes or no questions.

On Jan. 24, doctors removed her breathing tube and she described her ordeal to police, naming her attackers from her hospital bed, although she was terrified they would come back and finish the job. (Citing the upcoming trial, Crow declined to comment for this story.)

Police conducted a coordinated early morning sweep three weeks later, on Valentine's Day, taking Bruner, Ware and Harkins into custody. Their loyalty to the skinhead cause evaporated rapidly in the heat of attempted murder charges. Although Harkins and Ware each minimized their own involvement, they were quick to finger the others.

Just a minute into her interview, Harkins became every bit the narc she accused Crow of being on the night they'd almost killed her.

"I know who did it," she told the detective. "Jessica planned the whole thing."

Harkins tried to ingratiate herself. She dropped the names of two police officers she knew in Tucson and mentioned that cops get a discount at her uncle's shoe repair business. She worried aloud about losing her job and getting evicted from her apartment.

"Everyone, you know, thinks I'm a bad person. I was just raised Aryan. And I'm not — I'm not a violent person," she told police.

Shakofsky, for his part, denied any prior knowledge of the assault, which he claimed was all Bruner, Ware and Harkins' doing, a story that sharply contradicted his fiancée's claim that she was home feeding and bathing the children that night. "Supposedly, [Crow] was taken out there and there's a guy named Eddie: he's the one that did it," he said.

"And how do we know this?" the detective asked him.

"Because my wife — my girlfriend — she was there, too."

Shakofsky claimed that Bruner told him about what they had done to Crow a week after she was found. He exhib-

ited little surprise that the mother of his child had been brutally attacked. Crow “talked shit about everything and everybody, man,” Shakofsky offered.

“What happens to people like that?” the detective asked him.

“Probably what happened, man,” Shakofsky responded.

‘Dear Amanda’

Bruner was seething when she was arrested. “I know what this is about. This is about that fucking bitch, Amanda Crow,” she said shortly after she was ‘cuffed.

Bruner told police Crow was falsely accusing her and Shakofsky in order regain custody of her daughter.

“I knew this was coming. We knew it. We knew it was. Why? Because if she can pin what happened to her in any way, shape or form on either both of us or either one of us, she can get Hayley back.”

During one interrogation, Bruner defended her white supremacist views. She talked of her childhood growing up in the Ku Klux Klan in Greenville, Ala. One black family tried to move into her town “and it lasted maybe three weeks. It wasn’t allowed.”

She condemned “Jerry Springer Nazis,” a term she used for “those little punk kids running around here with their boots and laces and braces and, you know, beating people up and what not.” She explained the evolution of the skinhead movement to the detective, its roots in working-class England, the significance of the laces.

“I understand exactly why I’m here, but — we’ll get this resolved really quick ‘cause I had nothing to do with anything that happened to her,” she stated. “For all the bullshit I’ve gone through, I wish I was there.”

As the questions got tougher, Bruner announced she was done and asked for a lawyer.

Then Bruner voiced one last question: “So when this is all over, can I sue her for destroying my life? That stupid bitch.”

Ware was initially reluctant to snitch on his accomplices, citing fear of retaliation and the safety of his children.

“There are some things I would love

He told them his former friend tried to fight back in the beginning, and then he finally admitted to stabbing her in the chest — but not to slitting her throat.

“I got her lung,” he told police. “I hit her once in the chest and I bitched out.”

As the interview drew to a close, the detective asked him if he’d like to write a note to Crow. Ware said he would. He wrote his apology longhand on a piece of paper moments before he was booked.

“Dear Amanda,” he began.

“I can’t begin to imagine the pain that I’ve caused you. I also know that a simple apology wouldn’t begin to make up for what I’ve done. I do want you to know that I’m truly sorry for bringing this pain upon you and your family. I don’t expect you to forgive me and I don’t blame you if you don’t.

“I’m also truly sorry for almost taking you away from your daughter. No child deserves that and neither do you.

I hope that you have a speedy recovery and a happy life ahead of you. I also want you to know that you will receive justice for what was done to you. Again I am truly sorry from the bottom of my heart for hurting you. Sincerely, Eddie.”

Ware later pleaded guilty to conspiracy to commit first-degree murder and was sentenced to 99 years in prison. He and Harkins are expected to testify against Bruner and Shakofsky.

The trial for the attempted murder of Amanda Crow is scheduled to begin in April 2008. ▲



to tell you, but I can't. I can't," he told police.

Ware cautiously circled around the events of that night. He explained the “14 words” to cops, but misquoted them. His version — “We have to secure the existence of our race and a future for our white children” — had 16 words.

Then Ware told them how the bloody clothing was burned, the knife boiled, the truck detailed. He revealed that the attack on Crow had originally been planned for Friday night — Bruner even had a babysitter lined up — but Crow wasn’t feeling well that night and stayed home.



Vicious Circle

Even more radical than the prison gang that spawned it, the Aryan Circle, blamed in a recent cop-killing, has officials worried

BY BRENTIN MOCK

Shawn Hornacek lifts the sleeves of his Alabama Department of Corrections inmate uniform to reveal spider web tattoos on both elbows. The one on the right contains a swastika. Hornacek claims it represents “peace.” But there’s nothing peaceful about the spider web on his left elbow. At its center are two lightning flashes, or “cracker bolts,” orbited by three rings. Hornacek explains that one ring is added to his loosely sketched web every time he attacks a black or gay person.

The tattoos — spider web, rings, cracker bolts — are membership patches, indicating that Hornacek belongs to the fastest growing and lately the deadliest white supremacist prison-based gang in the country.

“Aryan Circle,” Hornacek says. “In it for life.”

Once concentrated solely in Texas, the Aryan Circle currently operates inside and outside prisons in at least 13 other states, according to law enforcement officials as well as Aryan Circle websites and publications. The gang is more ideologically driven by a white nationalist revolutionary agenda than other racist prison gangs — and just as violent, if not more so. In recent months, it has been making a name for itself with a string of murders and other attacks, both inside the nation’s prisons and in its communities, that have officials seriously worried.

Two police officers were killed in August in a shoot-out with Aryan Circle members in Louisiana. In Texas, law enforcement investigators believe the gang is responsible for a string of shootings last year, including at least three murders.

Hornacek, 31, is currently serving a 10-year sentence at Ventress Correctional Facility in Clayton, Ala., for, he says, stealing a trailer of guns. He told the *Intelligence Report* in a recent interview that he joined Aryan Circle in 2003 while incarcerated for possessing a crack pipe in Corpus Christi, Texas.

Circle leaders inside jails and prisons typically screen potential recruits by instigating fights between the prospective member and a “toad,” a black inmate. Hornacek calls this exercise a “heart check.”

“If he don’t fight, that shows he’s a little weak, and we weed him out,” he says.

“Lotta cowards hide behind shit,” Hornacek says in justifying the Circle’s sadistic induction procedures. “They wanna be a part of something in prison to protect themselves, and one of Aryan Circle’s laws is this ain’t a tool for protection.”

BRENTIN MOCK



Circle leaders portray the gang as a nationwide clan of race warriors fighting for a grand cause. “In the beginning, the organization centered on the preservation of the race within a hostile prison environment,” reads a history chapter in *The Official Handbook of the Aryan Circle*. “Today, it has expanded to much more than that.”

Now, according to this official history, the goal of the Circle is to violently promote white nationalism, “both in prison and in the world throughout.”

Smash Hits

The Aryan Circle is often confused with the Aryan Brotherhood, the older, wider spread and vastly more infamous rival. Although the two gangs have similar names and iconography — including swastikas and distinctive but subtle variations of lightning bolt tattoos — there are

substantial differences in their history, organizational structure and ideology.

White inmates at the maximum-security prison in San Quentin, Calif., founded the Aryan Brotherhood in 1964. When the Aryan Brotherhood in Texas attempted to renounce crime and refashion itself as a “church,” inmates started the Aryan Circle in 1985 to preserve radical white supremacist beliefs and remain on the defense against black and Hispanic prison gangs.

The Circle was built, as its history says, “on a prospective confidential basis. At no time will there be a membership rally held. In this way each member knows that the next member in line was a hand picked prospect.”

Gang leaders often recruit white convicts who are serving relatively short sentences, because the sooner a Circle member is released, the sooner he can expand the gang’s network outside prison. A “prospect” or “recruit” who passes the heart check is subject to a 12-month probationary period including a “hit” or “smash” against a gang enemy ordered by Circle leaders in order to “blood in” as a full member. New recruits swear allegiance until death. There’s no quitting the Aryan Circle without going “blood out,” meaning violently.

Circle prospects and members, or “patch holders” (each member has an identifying “patch number”), are ruled by hierarchical structures, which exist in geographical regions carved out both within the Texas state prison system, and also in federal penitentiaries across America. The gang leader who oversees a national region is called a “Leaf.”

“In the beginning, the organization centered on the preservation of the race within a hostile prison environment. Today, it has expanded to much more than that.”

According to Aryan Circle documents obtained by *Intelligence Report*, the Leaf for Region One — which consists of federal and state prisons in Arkansas, Arizona, Colorado, Florida, Indiana, Kansas, Oklahoma and Texas — is 48-year-old Danny “Danny Boy” Lee Bonham, who’s currently serving a life sentence in the Coleman federal prison near Orlando, Fla., for conspiracy to distribute narcotics.

The Leaf for Region Two — which includes prisons in Louisiana, Pennsylvania, South Carolina and West Virginia — is 42-year-old Tracy “Blayze” Kenyon Sexton, who’s serving a 105-month sentence in the Allenwood federal penitentiary in central Pennsylvania for illegally possessing and transporting firearms.

The Circle produces a bimonthly magazine called *The Circular*, which has a post office box in Carnegie, Okla., and a mailing address in Lubbock, Texas. The editor-in-chief of the publication is Aryan Circle founder Mark Cooper Gaspard, also known as Mark Cooper Patterson. According to the Texas Department of Public Safety, Gaspard is currently under parole supervision until 2010. Arrested five times on burglary, armed burglary and drug charges, Gaspard has been in and out of Texas state prisons since 1979. In 1985, the year he started Aryan Circle, Gaspard was serving time in a Huntsville state prison, according to Texas DPS records.

Gaspard is a small man — just 5 foot 7 inches and 132 pounds. What he lacks in physical stature, though, he makes up for in charisma, according to Sigifredo Sanchez, head of the Texas Department of Criminal Justice gang department, and the official who confirmed Gaspard as the Aryan Circle founder. “He could talk people into doing things,” Sanchez said. “He’s a very smart and conniving individual.”

According to Sanchez, Gaspard never wanted the lead role, despite his formulating the group’s precepts, including the ideas that all who oppose the white race are sworn enemies and that all crimes against the white race are punishable by death.

“The people who are the innovators all were white. They generally had the freedom to be inventive without ZOG [Zionist Occupational Government] breathing down their neck,” reads one article in an undated copy of *The Circular*.

“It is clear that for many years these people have been trying to destroy us culturally and genetically. This is the reason the media promotes inter-racial marriage and racial integration.”

When the Aryan Circle attempted to give Gaspard the rank of general, “he tossed it back,” Sanchez said, because the group had grown too radical.

14 Whys

Norman Smith, who identifies himself as a vice president of the Aryan Circle inside the federal prison in Leavenworth, Kan., maintains a website where he castigates white inmates who socialize with black inmates. “To see White boys trying to act like, dress like and talk like ‘Africans’ sickens me. I watch as they turn their backs on their own kind figuring they are going to be part of the dark in here. But in there they are used as bitches, passed around like candy, humiliated, their stuff taken, used as fall guys to keep their ‘brothers’ out of the hole, or beaten.”

“I will HONOR my heritage, my culture, my race,” Smith proclaims. “I AM PROUD TO BE AN ARYAN.”

This ongoing intra-gang reinforcement of a white nationalist belief system, as crudely expressed as it may be, further sets the Aryan Circle apart from the Aryan Brotherhood. The Brotherhood long ago placed illegal commerce above ideology by doing business with the Mexican Mafia, a non-white prison gang. The Brotherhood is still a race-based gang, but as the saying goes among prison gang investigators, the only color that really matters to the Brotherhood these days is green.

The Aryan Circle signed a peace treaty with the Mexican Mafia in 1996, ending a four-year gang war in the “TDC,” or Texas Department of Corrections, that resulted in 13 murders. The Aryan



Circling sharks: Aryan Circle members have developed a reputation for violence that rivals that of their progenitors, the Aryan Brotherhood.

Disciples and the Black Guerilla Family.

“If you got caught talking to a black [inmate], other whites would stay away from you,” Aryan Circle member Johnny Bravo said in a February 2006 interview with *Gorillaconvict*, an authoritative blog run by incarcerated prison gang researcher Seth Ferranti. “We don’t house with them [blacks], period.”

A widely distributed Circle leaflet titled “14 Whys,” a play on the famous “14 Words” white nationalist catchphrase, details the gang’s strict opposition to any form of race-mixing, whether behind prison walls or in the world outside. “WHY does the media repudiate the historically proven fact that racial integration is cultural and biological genocide?” it asks. “WHY do the Christian churches promote adoption of colored children from all over the world by White families, when the result is genocide of the White race? WHY does the U.S. Government advance White genocide through forced busing of our school children?”

Circle and Aryan Brotherhood gangs are also under a peace treaty in Texas. But outside that state, the rivalry between the two “has metastasized into its own beast,” Sanchez said. Reports from the Federal Bureau of Prisons say the Aryan Circle has vastly improved its numbers and is in deadly conflict with the Aryan Brotherhood.

Hornacek told the *Intelligence Report* that the two gangs maintain uneasy truces with Aryan Brotherhood and Mexican Mafia in Texas, mainly due to their shared hatred of black prison gangs such as the Gangster

Family Circle

Aryan Circle’s concern for white children extends to a hard-line stance against drug abuse by its own members. One recent article in *The Circular* reads like an anti-drug public service announcement for white supremacists: “More of our white brothers are being arrested and sent to prison with drug addictions. The outcome is ... a weaker white population, less protection for our white women ... and our lost sense of ‘Family Values.’ Our white sisters are left carrying the load of

a 'household' we helped create. Often she is then forced into low-income housing and welfare lines where she becomes surrounded and overwhelmed by the black community who share these facilities. Then our children, the only hope for the future of our race ... never grow with a sense of moral separateness.

"The choice is clear: Your Race, Your Family, Your Freedom ... or your favorite drug."

Despite such pious admonishments, Circle members frequently engage in large-scale distribution of illegal narcotics, particularly methamphetamine, and many of them can't resist getting high on their own supply. In 2004, 29 Aryan Circle members were arrested in Texas for taking part in a methamphetamine ring that produced and sold more than 30 kilograms of meth in west Texas beginning in January 2000.

Prosecutors argued that Michael Curtis "Bones" Lewis, co-founder of the Odessa chapter of the Circle, was the ringleader. But several witnesses testified over the course of a three-week trial that Lewis was virtually incapacitated by a severe meth habit. Defense attorneys argued that Lewis and his supposed underlings were incapable of masterminding the complex black market operation described by prosecutors because of the Odessa gang's "disorganization, internal rivalries and [their] own drug addictions."

The jury didn't buy it. All 29 defendants were convicted.

After the 2004 methamphetamine bust, the Aryan Circle maintained a relatively low profile beyond prison walls. But that ended last January, when 20-year-old Circle member Ronald David Dickinson, who'd joined the gang while serving time for grand theft auto, was stomped to death by 52-year-old fellow Circle member John Michael Hays, who explained in a videotaped confession that Dickinson had called Hays' daughter a "Mexican whore."

In August, the same month Hays was sentenced to 99 years in prison, another Aryan Circle internal dispute flared into violence in Texas when Bryan "Bone" Aiken and three gang associates allegedly set out to assassinate Danny Covington, a Circle member since the 1980s.

Covington, who lived in upscale North Richland Hills, near Fort Worth, was rumored to be abandoning the gang.

When the four hit men appeared at a drug house where Covington was believed to be, Covington and his friend Bryan Shuler showed up and found themselves in a shootout. Shuler was hit in the hand. Covington escaped in his car, but was chased down and shot in the arm by Aiken, who was only a few weeks out of prison.

At the time of the assassination attempt, Aiken was also a suspect, along with four other Circle members, in the July 18 home invasion robbery, beating and execution-style shooting of Randall Whatley, who survived.

According to prison officials, Aiken left the Aryan Circle after completing a "Gang Renouncement and Disassociation Process" in June 2004. But then he rejoined.

"It's rare that happens," Michelle Lyons of the Texas Department of Criminal Justice told the *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*. "He is one of only two people who completed the program and then went back into a gang."

Louisiana Shootout

Four days before the failed hit on Covington, two teenagers in Victoria, Texas, were killed and a third man was injured in a shootout with Circle member Dennis Leighton Clem, 24, who had just completed a four-year sentence in the TDC for "deadly conduct."

Clem fled the state with his girlfriend, Tanya "Little Feather" Smith, a reported member of the Aryan Circle Women's Branch, a division for female Circle members whose mission statement asserts: "As women of the Aryan Circle we strive to stand behind our men for the support they need against our foes. We will stand beside them when they are backed to the dooryard in battle. And we will fight for them should they become incapacitated by force."

One month later, Clem, Smith and Donald Alex Brendle, a member of the Louisiana chapter of Aryan Circle, were holed up in a Budget Inn motel room in Bastrop, La. Responding to a Crimestoppers tip, Bastrop Police Department detective sergeants John

Smith and Charles Wilson approached the room from the parking lot. Clem immediately opened fire, killing Smith and Wilson. Minutes later, Clem shot and injured two ambulance workers. Clem died in a final exchange of gunfire with police.

Brendle and two other Louisiana Circle members were arrested the next day and charged with accessory to first-degree murder, attempted first-degree murder and obstruction of justice. Smith escaped but was later apprehended in Houston.

Clem will no doubt be hailed as a martyr within the Aryan Circle as the gang continues to cultivate new strongholds, especially in prison systems where the power of the Aryan Brotherhood is waning in the aftermath of federal racketeering indictments. Sanchez says the two are now even in numbers and power, both in Texas and abroad. The Aryan Circle's correspondence with Nazi gangs in Europe has enhanced their network.

"They're dealing with people out of France," says Sanchez. "If you're dealing with any European groups, it's always about the hate."

Hornacek, the Circle member incarcerated in Alabama, disavows any knowledge of the Circle's regions or Leafs. He claims to be "inactive," though he admits to maintaining contact with Circle members in California and Texas. Prison officials suspect he's under orders to establish the Circle within Alabama's state prisons, adding another ring to the gang's expanding web of violence and hatred.

"It's been brought to my attention that they are one gang to be observed and that we should definitely document and monitor them," says Eric Bascomb, the Alabama DOC security threat group coordinator. "They are very methodical and secretive about their process, and they are also more organized and radical than the Aryan Brotherhood."

According to Sanchez, dissension in the ranks of the Aryan Circle could deplete the gang. But he also warns that it could grow stronger. "You never know with these guys," says Sanchez. "All it takes is one guy who has the charisma to pull it all together, and he may be right around the corner." ▲

Dangerous Liaison

A former South African intelligence operative, once accused of pro-apartheid crimes, is shoring up a U.S. neo-Nazi group

BY HEIDI BEIRICH

A notorious South African white supremacist, once accused of participating in planning a major terrorist assassination in his home country, has become a key player in the National Alliance, formerly America's leading neo-Nazi group.

Arthur Kemp, who now lives in Britain but was for years an intelligence operative working for the South African apartheid government, has visited the Alliance's West Virginia headquarters and several of the group's other chapters over the last two years. He also writes for and helps to edit the Alliance's *National Vanguard* magazine, as well as drafting speeches and radio essays for its leader.

It's unclear what Kemp's aims are — he refused repeated requests for an interview — but he is obviously helping to shore up the Alliance, which has largely collapsed since the death of founder William Pierce in 2002. He also may be trying to build stronger alliances between white supremacists in America and Europe, where he is a high-level cadre of the whites-only British National Party (BNP) and has important ties to other European white supremacist organizations.

A Radical in Uniform

Born in 1963, Kemp was raised in white-run Southern Rhodesia by a Dutch mother and a British father. In the early 1980s, he went to school at South Africa's University of Cape Town, where he tried to revive a "conservative" (meaning pro-apartheid) student club, and he has been a diehard ideologue ever since. During the late 1980s and early 1990s, Kemp was a pro-apartheid journalist, and in 1990 he wrote a glowing history of the white supremacist Afrikaner Resistance Movement (Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, or AWB). Founded

in 1970, the AWB was created to establish a new Boer nation that would preserve white rule. In the 1980s and 1990s, the group was implicated in terrorist violence against anti-apartheid activists and, later, supporters of the post-apartheid government. The AWB's leader, Eugène

with a historic agreement to hold free elections in 1994.

Kemp, described by British newspapers at the time as an official of the National Intelligence Service (which denied any link to the Hani assassination), was interrogated by police in the

murder but never charged. He admitted to drawing up a roster of names, headed by Mandela and followed by Communist Party leader Joe Slovo and then Hani, which authorities described as a hit list. Kemp claimed he didn't know it was to be used as a murder guide and offered up shifting explanations of the list, including the claim that it was "to be used merely for research purposes."

Later in 1993, murder charges in the Hani assassination were brought against the assassin (not Kemp) and a couple, Clive Derby-Lewis and his wife, Gaye. Kemp testified against the couple, saying they admitted to involvement during a lunch the three had together two days after Hani's death. (Kemp and Clive Derby-Lewis then both worked for a far-right newspaper, *The Patriot*.) Clive Derby-Lewis and the actual assassin, Janusz Walus, were found guilty and sentenced to death (both death sentences were later commuted to life), while Gaye Derby-Lewis was acquitted.

The fact that Kemp apparently avoided prosecution by cooperating with prosecutors and giving damning testimony against the Derby-Lewises may have made it difficult for him to remain on good terms with the South African radical right. Many activists in the racist movement believe Kemp moved on to Europe and the United States later



Arthur Kemp, a South African intelligence official in the era of apartheid, has been trying to resuscitate the neo-Nazi National Alliance in the United States.

Terre' Blanche, was finally imprisoned for six years for attempted murder.

Kemp ultimately went to work as a sergeant in the South African security forces, which were implicated in assassinations and other violence directed at the African National Congress (ANC) and other militant opponents of apartheid. Then, in 1993, leading ANC activist Chris Hani was assassinated, shot three times in the head at short range as he stepped from his car in Johannesburg. The assassination produced serious rioting and President F.W. de Klerk warned the country was on the brink of a race war. ANC leader Nelson Mandela appealed for calm and, ultimately, the crisis was resolved

because his former comrades came to detest him.

In any case, in 1996, two years after South Africa held free elections, Kemp relocated to Britain (he now resides near Oxford, England). That same year, the British anti-fascist magazine *Searchlight* reported that Kemp had addressed a neo-Nazi meeting in Germany and that one of his speeches was published in the German fascist publication *Nation und Europa*, founded by a former SS officer.

In the late 1990s, South Africa held Truth and Reconciliation Commission hearings that offered amnesty to many of those who carried out violence either for or against the apartheid regime if they publicly confessed to those crimes. During one of those hearings, Gaye Derby-Lewis accused Kemp of aiding the assassination by providing the hit list and knowing what it was for. Kemp denied it.

Back in the USA

In the United States, Kemp is best known for a sarcastic racist essay, “An Apology to the Black Man from the White Race,” that has been widely circulated by white supremacists. In his mocking response to the 1995 decision of the Southern Baptist Convention to apologize for slavery, Kemp “apologizes” to blacks for “teaching you how to read and write” and “for building you thousands of schools which we have repaired after you vandalized them and burned them down.”

Kemp also is the author of *March of the Titans: The History of the White Race*. His massive 2006 book tracks the “white race” from 35,000 B.C. through the 20th century, ascribing nearly all cultural and scientific advances to white people. Kemp warns that multiculturalism and race-mixing are destroying this font of all that is good since “all civilizations rise and fall according to their homogeneity and nothing else.” The book is anti-Semitic, containing chapters on such matters as “The Suppressed Link: Jews and Communism.” Kemp and his book are favorites on the white supremacist forum Stormfront, where he occasionally weighs in on various topics. Stormfront’s moderator, Jamie Kelso, has read sections of the book on the air, and the site carries a copy of Kemp’s glowing history of the AWB.

(The 2006 hardback edition of *March of the Titans* is published by Burlington, Iowa-based Ostara Productions, a previously unknown outfit whose post office box is used by David Otto. Kemp thanks Otto in the hardback edition of the book.)

It was through his research for *March of the Titans* that Kemp first came into contact with the National Alliance. While reading up on “white history,” he ran across the late Alliance founder William Pierce’s series “Who We Are,” which was published in the group’s *Attack* and *National Vanguard* magazines. By 2000, Sam van Rensburg, then the Alliance’s membership coordinator and himself a South African military veteran, was telling Alliance members about his countryman, Kemp. Two years later, Kemp told the neo-Nazi website, Tightrope, that Pierce’s articles were “the best resource I found” and led him to contact the group.

Today, Kemp is working actively to rebuild the Alliance, which has fallen from more than 1,400 active members to a tiny handful (its chairman, Shaun Walker, was recently sentenced to seven years in prison on federal civil rights charges). And the Alliance has tried to repay the favor. In 2005, when Kemp’s byline started appearing in Alliance publications, the group awarded him the “Dr. William Pierce Award for Investigative Journalism,” which brought with it a \$250 prize, for his article in *National Vanguard*, “White South Africa: What Went Wrong?”

Kemp writes for that magazine both under his own name and the pseudonym Richard Preston. He also has been ghostwriting at least some of current Alliance Chairman Erich Gliebe’s speeches and his “American Dissident Voices” shortwave broadcasts and other material — something that has not escaped movement stalwarts who don’t believe the former boxer is capable of articles such as last year’s “Iberian Drama: An Essential History of Spain from Antiquity through the Reconquest.” “Who do they think they’re kidding?” asked one post on a private E-mail list that includes many former Alliance leaders. “Erich couldn’t find Spain on a map.”

Gliebe’s wife, Erika Snyder-Gliebe, has boasted to friends that she and Kemp share the Preston pseudonym and that she sometimes posts comments under that

name to the website of Resistance Records, a music label owned by the Alliance.

Kemp spent part of last two years in the United States, visiting the Alliance headquarters compound near Mill Point, W.V. and also some state chapters. He was slated to speak at the Alliance’s May 2007 “Holocaust Revisionist Conference,” but did not attend (Kemp did speak in 2006 at a Holocaust denial conference hosted by *The Barnes Review*, a denial journal run by veteran anti-Semite Willis Carto that has published Kemp). Kemp has major articles in the latest issue of *National Vanguard* and is believed to have visited the United States as recently as February.

Kemp’s American outreach may be part of an effort to build bridges between white supremacists in Europe and the United States. In Britain, Kemp has worked for the white supremacist BNP since 2004, and he is well respected by the neo-Nazi National Democratic Party of Germany. According to *Searchlight*, Kemp this June was given the BNP’s Excalibur merchandise outlet to run with another BNP activist. The magazine also reported that Kemp was put in charge of the ideological training of the BNP’s “voting members” as part of plan to build a new elite within the party loyal to its leadership, particularly party chairman Nick Griffin (Griffin often travels to the U.S. to attend white supremacist events and solicit funds for his party). *Searchlight* also noted that Kemp isn’t the only radical South African in a key BNP post. Lambertus Nieuwhof, who tried to bomb a mixed-race church school in South Africa in 1992, is also on their payroll and runs BNP Internet operations. Surprising no one, Nieuwhof has said he considers Kemp “a very good friend.”

Kemp is clear about his goals for the white race. As he writes in his book on the AWB, “with new leadership, a new generation could easily once again take on the tradition of struggle handed down to them from previous generations.” It may well be that his networking, along with his attempts to reinvigorate the Alliance that was once widely respected by white supremacists around the globe, is part of a concerted attempt to create “a new leadership” in both Europe and the U.S. ▲



Black Hats on Campus

Supported by state and national GOP activists, a hate group is roiling students and faculty at Michigan State University

BY DAVID HOLTHOUSE



Neo-Nazi Preston Wiginton is just one of the Young Americans for Freedom supporters who favor black cowboy hats.

Wiginton, 43, is not a Michigan State University student. He's not an alumnus or a faculty member, either. But he is chummy with MSU junior Kyle Bristow, the 21-year-old chairman of the Michigan State University chapter of Young Americans for Freedom, or MSU-YAF — the only university student organization in the country listed as a hate group by the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC).

Acting in collusion with elder white supremacists like Wiginton, and with the financial and logistical support of a major conservative foundation, Bristow and a handful of cronies have roiled their campus and the surrounding community by hosting speakers like Griffin, issuing vicious homophobic and racist insults, and staging publicity stunts masked as political demonstrations that seem inspired in equal parts by the movie "Animal House" and the Hitler Youth.

"He's become a divisive force," former MSU-YAF member Kari Lynn Jaksa, an MSU junior who describes herself as a Republican with strong libertarian leanings, says of Bristow. "Frankly, he's embarrassing."

A YAF a Minute

In November 2006, MSU-YAF organized a "Straight Power" demonstration in downtown Lansing to protest a proposed local civil rights ordinance protecting gays, lesbians, and bisexuals from discrimination on the basis of their sexual orientation. YAF members carried signs that read "End Faggotry" and "Go Back in the Closet."

Also last year, Bristow and Wiginton co-administered two racist online groups — "True American Patriot" and "Jobs a White Man Won't Do" — within the Facebook social network. (The pair also share a fondness for black cowboy hats. Bristow wore his while anti-racist protesters outside the MSU building where Griffin spoke on Oct. 26 beat a piñata effigy of Griffin with sticks.)

MSU-YAF has since cosponsored a "Catch an Illegal Immigrant Day" contest, held a "Koran Desecration" competition, jokingly threatened to distribute small-

Preston Wiginton is one busy neo-Nazi.

In October 2005, he won the "Strongest Skinhead" contest at Hammerfest, a racist skinhead festival in Draketown, Ga., where he announced that he was organizing secret paramilitary training in preparation for the coming race war. In the following days, Wiginton posted more than 300 messages to the white nationalist online forum Stormfront, writing in one that "beating down a mud," or non-white, is a "righteous act of collective preservation."

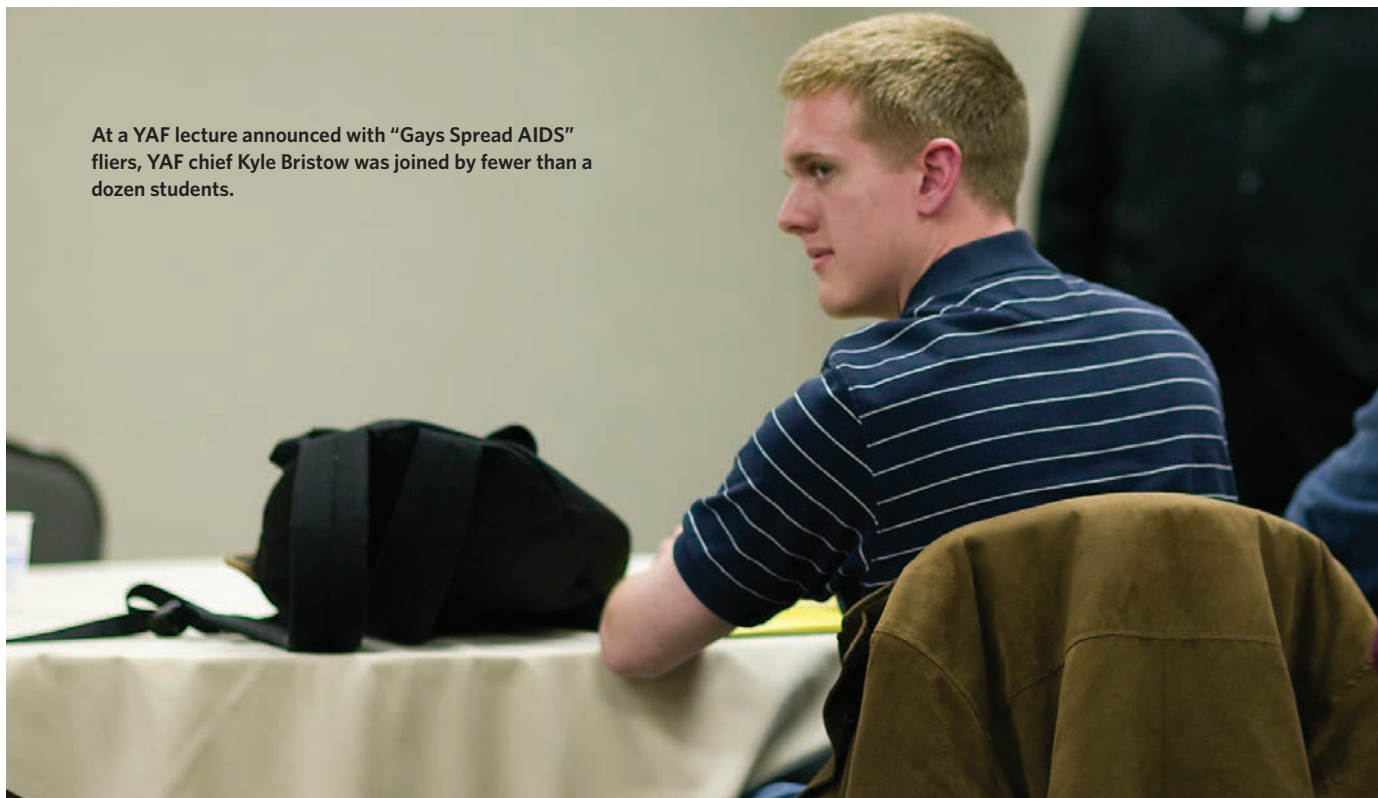
Since then, Wiginton has continued to appear at white supremacist events across the United States — and abroad, too. Just this Nov. 4, Wiginton spoke to a crowd of 5,000 Russian ultranationalists at a Moscow rally against non-white immigration that included calls for Serbian-style ethnic cleansing. Waving his black cowboy hat, the Victoria, Texas, resident said, "I'm taking my hat off as a sign of respect for your strong identity in ethnicity, nation and race." The audience responded with Nazi salutes and chants of "White power!" in English.

But Wiginton, ever the activist, has not neglected smaller venues. A mere 10 days before the Moscow rally, Wiginton served as master of ceremonies at an appearance in East Lansing, Mich., by British Holocaust denier Nick Griffin, the national chairman of the white supremacist British National Party.

This time, Wiginton's venue was not a skinhead keg party, backwoods cross burning or neo-Nazi rally on foreign soil. It was a lecture hall on the campus of Michigan State University.



At a YAF lecture announced with “Gays Spread AIDS” fliers, YAF chief Kyle Bristow was joined by fewer than a dozen students.



pox-infested blankets to Native American students, and posted “Gays Spread AIDS” fliers across campus.

Last spring, when the MSU leftist group Students for Economic Justice hosted a lecture by a Columbian labor organizer detailing allegations of union busting and murder by the owners of Coca-Cola bottling plants in South America, Bristow and his minions jeered, waved American flags and conspicuously guzzled from large bottles of Coke while the speaker tearfully described witnessing his best friend being gunned down by paramilitary thugs.

“YAF’s ridiculous tactics are making all conservatives at MSU look bad,” Jaksa, an international relations major, told the *Intelligence Report*. “It’s gotten to the point where I hate to even say I’m a conservative anymore in class discussions or private conversations, because people automatically assume that I’m with Kyle Bristow. It’s important to me that people know there are sane conservatives on this campus. We’re not all racists and fascists.”

Jaksa said that when she joined MSU-YAF her freshman year, “It was basically just the action wing of the College Republicans.” Now, according to Jaksa and other sources, the College

Republicans at MSU have asked Bristow to stop attending their meetings.

“We protested in favor of fiscal and social conservatism. We held demonstrations against liberal senators who voted a way on a bill that we didn’t agree with. But our agenda was very much what I could categorize as mainstream Republican,” Jaksa said. “That was before Kyle took it over [in spring 2006] and YAF went off the deep end.”



Friends in High Places

Despite its notoriety, MSU-YAF is widely supported by mainstream conservative politicians and power brokers in Michigan. The group was influential enough in rallying support for the Michigan Civil Rights Initiative — the deceptively named affirmative action ban that Michigan voters approved in 2006 — that MCRI Executive Director Jennifer Granz thanked MSU-YAF by name in her election night victory speech.

Last May 2, a few days after the SPLC named MSU-YAF a hate group — a move that received a great deal of public attention in the state — Michigan Republican Party Chairman Saul Anuzis endorsed MSU-YAF and defended Bristow on a talk radio show. “This [Bristow] is exactly the type of young kid we want out there,” Anuzis said. “I’ve known Kyle for years and I can tell you I have never heard him say a racist or bigoted or sexist thing, ever.”

In fact, Bristow and his minions frequently single out and ridicule individual MSU gay, lesbian, and non-white students online, posting their photos and

A YAF a minute: Kyle Bristow displays his sense of humor on a mocked-up Web page.

DAVE WHITE (BRISTOW SEATED)

calling them “freaks,” “scum” and “savages.” Last September, Bristow criticized MSU’s decision to establish a Chicano/Latino Studies doctoral program in a news release headlined, “MSU Offers Doctorate in Savagery.”

And last March 31, roughly one month before Anuzis defended Bristow against accusations of bigotry, Bristow posted this comment on the MSU-YAF website: “If Christopher Columbus didn’t bring civilization to the Americas, the Indians would still be running through forests in

Several MSU students who’ve been in classes with Bristow described him as a classmate who participated infrequently in seminar discussions, rarely asked questions and generally kept his political views to himself.

Jaksa, the former MSU-YAF member, said that she and Bristow hung out together quite a bit during their first year at MSU. “He was just a relaxed, normal kid at the beginning of our freshman year,” Jaksa said. “But then he underwent this odd transition. You know how most

college attended by all international relations majors — on the Associated Students of Michigan State University, or ASMSU, the university’s student government body.

Just before the academic year ended, Bristow posted his 13-point agenda online. It included these goals: “Hunt down illegal immigrants in the Lansing area and have them deported”; “Eliminate funding for all non-heterosexual student organizations”; “Create a Caucasian Caucus and give them representation on the ASMSU”; and “Eliminate representation to ASMSU for all of the following groups: Alliance of LGBT [lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender] Students; the Arab Cultural Society; the Black Council; the International Students Association; the Women’s Council; the North American Indigenous Student Organization,” and practically every other non-white, non-heterosexual, or non-Christian student group at MSU.

“I was outraged when I saw it,” said Madsen. “I told him, ‘Your agenda of hate has got to stop, Kyle.’ He’s used that phrase repeatedly in a mocking fashion since.”

Madsen gave Bristow a choice: “Either resign and apologize to the James Madison community for fouling our name, or be removed from office.”

Bristow did not resign and did not apologize. It took Madsen and his supporters only two days to gather enough signatures on a recall petition to force a vote, which took place in the fall of 2006, at the beginning of Bristow’s sophomore year. Ninety-six percent of the James Madison students who cast ballots voted to recall Bristow. He was forced to relinquish his seat on the ASMSU.

“I don’t regret it [leading the recall effort], although I do realize that his being recalled only further marginalized and radicalized Kyle to the point where he’s become a joke to many people,” said Madsen. “YAF is routinely ridiculed and mocked on campus, but what many people who refuse to take Kyle seriously may not realize is that Kyle believes all press coverage is good coverage, and while 10,000 people who read what he has to say will be disgusted, one or two will be intrigued. He’s using the media coverage to reach those one or two people at a time and that’s what concerns me about



loincloths, scalping each other, shoving bones through their noses, worshipping pagan gods, and spreading syphilis. Thank God Christopher Columbus put an end to this backward culture.”

Bristow politely refused a request to be interviewed for this article, saying that his “legal counsel” had advised him against such an interview because he’s considering legal action against the SPLC, which publishes the *Intelligence Report*, for defamation.

But there are some clues to his personality.

In a recent online dating profile, Bristow wrote that he plans to enroll in law school after he graduates from MSU in the fall of 2008 with a degree in international relations. Among his hobbies are “conservative politics,” “watching the History or Court TV channels,” “shooting my pellet gun” and “looking at my coin collection.”

people, when they get to college, either move to the center or become more liberal in terms of their political beliefs? Well, Kyle did the opposite. It was like he kept moving farther and farther to the right to counterbalance all the people around him he saw moving to the left.”

Ted Madsen, another MSU international relations major who’s now in his junior year, said that he first met Bristow a few days after their freshman year began in the fall of 2005. “He struck me as very driven and very strait-laced,” recalled Madsen. “He was quite vocal about the fact that he was against drinking and smoking but, all in all, he was a fairly likeable guy.”

Bristow in Power

In the spring of 2006, shortly after he assumed control of MSU-YAF, Bristow ran unopposed and was elected to represent James Madison College — the

YAF, because what he's articulating is dangerous."

The University's Role

Whatever its potential harm to society, MSU-YAF's offensive antics have pinned university administrators between the rock of protecting free speech and the hard place of encouraging multiculturalism. For now MSU-YAF remains a registered and officially sanctioned student organization, meaning it's entitled to certain benefits, including the free use of MSU facilities and university accounting services.

MSU also has to pay for security at YAF events, which invariably draw heated protests. Last April, for example, the university shelled out \$3,780 to rent metal detectors for one night to place at every entrance to a YAF-sponsored lecture by nativist extremist leader Chris Simcox, founder of the Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, a border vigilante group.

Simcox was introduced to an unruly crowd by Jason Van Dyke, a neo-Confederate lawyer based in Denton, Texas. Van Dyke once attended MSU but did not graduate. By his own account, he was kicked out in 2000 after being arrested for domestic violence, possession of a banned weapon and firearm safety violations. (Van Dyke said he was merely transporting a rifle across campus on the first day of hunting season.) Also, according to Van Dyke, MSU police found extremist literature, including the race



Kari Lynn Jaksa considers herself a Republican conservative, but quit MSU-YAF because it had gained a reputation as a home for "racists and fascists" under Kyle Bristow. "Frankly," she said, "he's embarrassing."

war fantasy novel *The Turner Diaries* and the anti-Semitic *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, in his on-campus residence.

When he attended MSU, Van Dyke was a hotly controversial columnist for the *State News*, an MSU student newspaper. Now, like a former high school football star haunting his old campus, trying to relive the glory days, Van Dyke posts daily rah-rah messages on the MSU-YAF website and often travels to East Lansing for MSU-YAF happenings. He and Bristow often wear matching black cowboy hats.

When MSU-YAF held its "Koran Desecration" contest last August, Van Dyke offered this entry: "I would catch Osama Bin Laden and then take a power drill and hollow out a section of the Koran as he was forced to watch. After doing this, I would cut Osama Bin Laden's genitals off with a rusty hacksaw, place them in the hollowed-out Koran, wrap it in an American flag infected with smallpox, and send the whole package directly to Mecca."

Van Dyke was equally statesmanlike at the Simcox lecture, which was initially attended by about 40 Simcox supporters and about 100 anti-Simcox protesters, many if not most of them Latino MSU students. Addressing the protesters, Van

Dyke said: "Remember, the First Amendment gives you the right to use four-letter words. So I have two more words for you: 'work' and 'soap.'"

Already tense, the situation in the lecture hall erupted. Protesters banged on seats and shouted angrily, preventing Simcox from speaking. MSU police arrested five demonstrators and cleared the room of anyone they perceived to be anti-Simcox, which included virtually all Latinos. This in turn led to allegations of racial profiling, since the campus police officers allowed white protesters to stay.

One week after the Simcox event, a group of 11 students filed a formal complaint with the MSU Office for Inclusion and Intercultural Initiatives. They accused MSU-YAF of violating the university's anti-discrimination policy, which

prohibits the bias-motivated harassment of any "University community member" but includes this caveat: "These prohibitions are not intended to abridge University community members' rights of free expression or other civil rights."

The complaint filed against MSU-YAF accuses the group of "systematically — as a matter of regular organization practice — targeting groups and individuals for harassment, intimidation and public ridicule."

University officials declined to discuss the complaint with the *Intelligence Report*, citing a pending investigation.

Behind the YAF Brand

Young Americans for Freedom was originally a centralized organization of rabidly anti-communist university student groups created in 1960 by *National Review* founder William F. Buckley. The original incarnation of YAF was also strictly opposed to the civil rights movement and, in 1962, gave its first annual Freedom Award to segregationist South Carolina Sen. Strom Thurmond.

YAF remained active nationwide through the 1980s, but is now essentially moribund. The YAF national headquar-

"I would cut Osama Bin Laden's genitals off with a rusty hacksaw, place them in the hollowed-out Koran, wrap it in an American flag infected with smallpox, and send the whole package directly to Mecca."

ters webpage consists of a notice of sadness at the “recent news” of Ronald Reagan’s death, which occurred in June 2004. Now, “Young Americans for Freedom” is basically just a brand name for radical right-wing student activism, taking form as a loose and decentralized network of campus chapters, each one appearing to act independently.

In fact, the YAF brand is being co-opted and promoted by the Leadership Institute, a hard-line conservative non-profit organization based in Arlington, Va., that is dedicated, according to its mission statement, to “identifying, recruiting, training and placing conservatives within the public policy process in the U.S. and abroad.” Republican National Committee executive committee member Morton Blackwell — who orchestrated a campaign against Anita Hill at Oklahoma University after she came forward with sexual harassment allegations against then-Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas — founded the Leadership Institute in 1979 and is still its president. Major donors include the Coors Foundation and Rich DeVos, founder of the troubled Amway multi-level marketing firm.

Christian Coalition founder Ralph Reed and disgraced lobbyist Jack Abramoff were both trained by the Leadership Institute, as was Jeff Gannon, the fake White House news correspondent who lobbed softball questions for President Bush from 2003 until 2005. That’s when it was revealed that Gannon had been a gay prostitute before attending the Leadership Institute Broadcast School of Journalism, after which he somehow obtained White House press credentials as a reporter for “Talon News,” Gannon’s one-man operation.

Bristow and Van Dyke both interned at the Leadership Institute last summer.

There are currently more than 20 YAF organizations on campuses across the country, most of them started in the past five years by Leadership Institute-trained activists. (The Campus Leadership Program division of the Leadership Institute, according to its website, “fosters permanent, effective, conservative student organizations on college campuses across America.”) MSU-YAF is by far the most radical. Its most recent event, the

lecture by British National Party Chairman Nick Griffin, was promoted by overtly white supremacist organizations including the *American Renaissance* newsletter, the Council of Conservative Citizens, and Stormfront. Attending the Griffin lecture incognito were members of the European-American Unity and Rights Organization, a white nationalist group founded by former Ku Klux Klan leader David Duke, as well as members of the Keystone State Skinheads and the National Alliance, both neo-Nazi organizations that promote violence against non-whites, non-heterosexuals and Jews.

The only violence surrounding the Griffin event, however, was directed at MSU-YAF when a handful of its members were chased by an angry mob of anti-racist activists afterwards. Bristow claimed members of the mob were carrying baseball bats and pieces of lumber. No injuries were reported.

Demeaning MSU?

MSU President Lou Ann Simon has been fairly tight-lipped on the ongoing MSU-YAF controversy. Reacting to the MSU-YAF sponsored “Catch an Illegal Immigrant Day” back in September 2006, Simon chided MSU-YAF for sponsoring an event she described as “demeaning to individuals and to the values of Michigan State University.”

But this Oct. 25, the day before Griffin’s lecture, Simon issued a statement making it clear that putting up with racist propaganda is the price that a university must pay if it is committed to free speech.

“A university should be an open marketplace for the free exchange of ideas,” Simon said. “There are individuals who speak at campus events whose rhetoric and ideas I find reprehensible, and although I may not appreciate their positions, I do respect their right to share their views. The more extreme the view, in either direction, the more it tests us.

“Although we may disagree with one another’s positions, we must respect the rights of individuals to express their positions without fear of intimidation or physical harm. ... Acts intended to prohibit the free speech rights of any individual or group, such as destroying informational materials, preventing access to an event, or shouting down a speaker do not support this philosophy

and undermine our efforts to encourage robust intellectual discourse.”

MSU student Claudia Gonzalez experienced Bristow’s favorite mode of discourse first-hand when she participated in a protest outside an MSU-YAF event featuring anti-immigration hard-liner Tom Tancredo, a Republican congressman from Colorado. “He [Bristow] came up to me and told me,



After Kyle Bristow posted his 13-point agenda online, Ted Madsen led a successful effort to recall him from the student government. Ninety-six percent of students voted against Bristow.

“The one thing I’m most proud of is that my granddaddy stole Aztlan from your granddaddy,” Gonzalez said.

Shortly after that exchange, MSU-YAF named Gonzalez “Leftist Freak of the Year” and posted her photo online. A few days later, the San Bernardino, Calif.-based hate group Save Our State posted her home address, phone number and parents’ home address, along with the message, “Please go and express your views.”

“I don’t feel completely safe on campus or at my home anymore because of YAF,” Gonzalez said. “And neither do a lot of other students of color and GLBT students, because YAF is clearly networking with these other hate groups, and they’re basically issuing an open invitation to skinheads and [anti-immigration] vigilantes and Nazis to come to MSU, who otherwise would never step foot on campus. ... If it weren’t for YAF, MSU wouldn’t be on the hate group radar. But now it is.” ▲



Raging Against the Other

Fueled by harsh rhetoric from nativists, pundits and politicians, hate attacks on those seen as Latino ‘invaders’ are on the rise

BY BRENTIN MOCK

There’s no doubt that the tone of the raging national debate over immigration is growing uglier by the day. Once limited to hard-core white supremacists and a handful of border-state extremists, vicious public denunciations of undocumented brown-skinned immigrants are increasingly common among supposedly mainstream anti-immigration activists, radio hosts and politicians. While their dehumanizing rhetoric typically stops short of openly sanctioning bloodshed, much of it implicitly encourages or even endorses violence by characterizing immigrants from Mexico and Central America as “invaders,” “criminal aliens” and “cockroaches.”

The results are no less tragic for being predictable: Although hate crime statistics are highly unreliable, numbers that are available strongly suggest a marked



upswing in racially motivated violence against all Latinos, regardless of immigration status. According to hate crime statistics published annually by the FBI, anti-Latino hate crimes rose by almost 23% between 2003 and 2005, the latest year for which statistics are available. In California, the state with the largest population of Latinos in the country, anti-Latino hate crimes almost doubled in the same period.

What follows is a representative sampling of some of the more egregious examples of physical and psychological violence waged against Latinos over the past two-and-a-half years. The perpetrators range from racist skinheads to rogue Border Patrol agents to otherwise everyday citizens who took it upon themselves to repel an “invader,” terrorize a “criminal alien,” or exterminate a “cockroach.”

JAN. 9, 2004

DATELAND, ARIZ.

Pedro Corzo, a Cuban-born regional manager for Del Monte Fresh Produce, is gunned down by two Missouri residents — 16-year-old Joshua Aston and his 24-year-old cousin Justin Harrison — who traveled with Aston’s younger brother, 15-year-old Nicholas Aston, to a remote section of southern Arizona

BROOKS KRAFT/CORBIS (GAUDAMAN); SAUL LOEB/EPIC/CORBIS (PROTESTER)

with the specific intent of randomly killing Mexicans. The brothers shaved their heads before embarking on their odyssey. Corzo was ambushed after he stopped at a road-block the group constructed from boulders. Joshua Aston, the ringleader, is later tried as an adult and receives two life sentences for the murder. Harrison also is sentenced to life. Charges are eventually dropped against the younger Aston brother.

DEC. 29, 2004

REDLANDS, CALIF.

Two Latino men and a Latina woman are beaten and kicked in the parking lot of a strip club by a “gang of about 10

skinheads,” as later reported by the *San Bernardino County Sun*. The neo-Nazi skinheads yell racial slurs at their victims, prompting the Redlands police chief to declare that hate crime charges will be pursued if and when the perpetrators are caught.

MAY 7, 2005

MARYVILLE, TENN.

A Mexican grocery store is vandalized by five white men who shatter windows, damage a refrigerator and spray-paint neo-Nazi symbols, causing over \$17,000 in damage. Two men — Thomas Lovett and Jacob Reynolds — eventually plead

guilty and are each sentenced to six months in prison.

JULY 12, 2005

PATCHOGUE, N.Y.

A 61-year-old Ecuadorean immigrant is badly beaten by three white men as he pushes a shopping cart through the streets collecting cans. Before the attack, the man was asked if he had a green card. “Then they started pummeling him,” Suffolk County Hate Crimes Det. Robert Reecks tells reporters. The man, whose name is not made public, suffers a broken eye socket and facial bruises.

JULY 15, 2005

KEANSBURG, N.J.

Octavio Vivanco is riding his bike to his restaurant job when Joshua Ramgoolam and James Schmidtberg chase him down and punch him in the face. About 15 minutes later, Rosalino Novorrete is attacked by the same duo as he rides his bike to work, this time with a plastic baseball bat. According to Monmouth County Prosecutor Luis Valentín, Vivanco and Novorette were attacked “solely because of their Latino ethnicity.” Ramgoolam later pleads guilty to second-degree bias intimidation, third-degree aggravated assault and third-degree weapons possession for unlawful purposes. Schmidtberg is found guilty of the same charges, plus fourth-degree weapons possession. Both are sentenced to five years in state prison.

SEPT. 30, 2005

TIFTON, GA.

Six Mexican immigrants — Mateo Gomez, his son José Luís Tías, Felipe Mauricio Esparza, Guadalupe Sanchez, Armando Perez Martínez and Mauricio Florindo — are murdered, and at least five others are badly injured, when a group of African-American robbers rampage through four trailer parks known for housing immigrant workers. The parks are also known for home invasions; over 20 homes there have been have been invaded in the months prior to the murders.

Three suspects — Jennifer Wilson, Stacy Sims and Jamie Underwood — are



Scene of a shooting: Two Border Patrol agents shot an unarmed man trying to surrender after crossing the border. Now certain politicians and pundits are making heroes out of these convicted felons.

FEB. 17, 2005

FABENS, TEXAS

Osvaldo Aldrete-Dávila, who is unarmed and fleeing apprehension on foot, is shot at 15 times by two U.S. Border Patrol agents, Ignacio Ramos and Jose Compean. One bullet strikes Aldrete-Dávila in the buttocks, severs his urethra and lodges in his groin. Though seriously wounded, he manages to escape into Mexico.

Though the border patrol officers later find that the van driven by Aldrete-Dávila contained a shipment of marijuana, they are unaware of this fact when they open fire. Ramos and Compean attempt to cover up their actions by cleaning up the spent shell casings and failing to report the use of their firearms to their superiors, as required by Border Patrol regulations. The two agents also fail to report the shooting in their incident reports. El Paso Border Patrol Sector Chief Luis Barker later testifies that Compean told Barker that he and Ramos covered up the shooting because they “knew [they] were going to get in trouble.”

After the shooting comes to light a month later, Ramos and Compean are arrested and eventually convicted by a federal jury of felony assault charges, discharging a firearm in a crime of violence, civil rights violations, and obstruction of justice. They’re sentenced to 11 and 12 years in prison, respectively.

Ramos and Compean will eventually be transformed by a major right-wing misinformation campaign into high-profile martyrs of the anti-immigration movement. The agents, for their part, will remain unrepentant. Ramos tells a *Texas Monthly* writer in 2007 that Aldrete-Dávila “got what he deserved.”

arrested and charged with six counts of murder each. Sims and Underwood are also charged with rape and aggravated assault. District Attorney Paul Bowden announces he will seek the death penalty.

The Georgia Bureau of Investigation's Vernon Keenan tells CNN that the victims "are easy targets because they do not speak English. They're undocumented workers. They keep cash on their persons [and] in their homes. And they are reluctant to report crimes to law enforcement."



When Tifton's mayor Paul Johnson decides to display the Mexican flag over City Hall out of respect and sympathy for the victims, callers to a local radio station bristle with anger and resentment.

OCT. 16, 2005

SACRAMENTO, CALIF.

Six people are injured by three white men who crash a private party with the intent of "beating up Mexicans," according to police. One of the assailants uses brass knuckles after shouting racial epithets and "white pride."

MARCH 30, 2006

NORTH BERGEN, N.J.

After a series of pro-immigrant marches and demonstrations bring out hundreds of thousands of immigrants and their supporters in cities across the country, an acerbic neo-Nazi radio host makes an appeal for people to carry out the mass murder of any "illegal aliens" sighted.

"All of you who think there's a peaceful solution to these invaders are wrong.



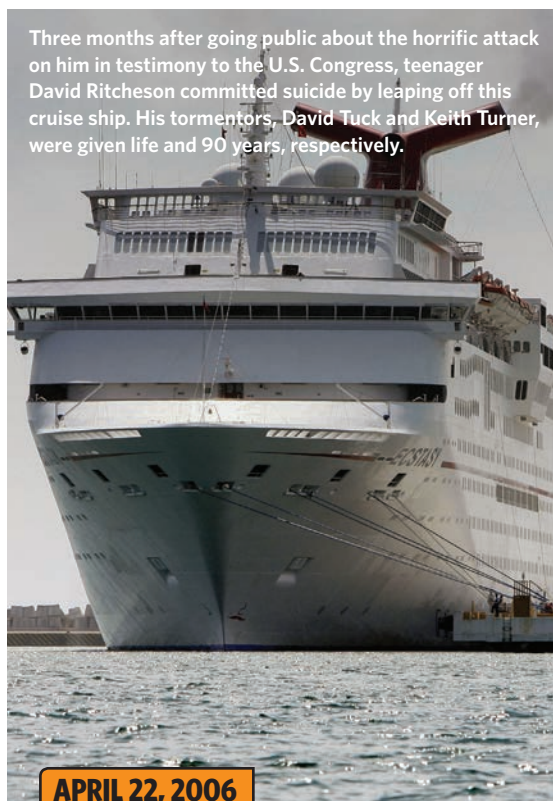
Hal Turner

We're going to have to start killing these people," Hal Turner writes on his web-site. "I advocate using extreme violence against illegal aliens. Clean your guns. Have plenty of ammunition. Find out where the largest gathering of illegal aliens will be near you. Go to the area well in advance, scope out several places to position yourself and then do what has to be done."

APRIL 3, 2006

TUCSON, ARIZ.

One of the founding members of the Minuteman movement, Laine Lawless, exhorts the leadership of the neo-Nazi National Socialist Movement (NSM) to launch a campaign of violence and intimidation against Latino immigrants. "Steal the money from any illegal walking into a bank or check cashing place.



Three months after going public about the horrific attack on him in testimony to the U.S. Congress, teenager David Ritcheson committed suicide by leaping off this cruise ship. His tormentors, David Tuck and Keith Turner, were given life and 90 years, respectively.

APRIL 22, 2006

HOUSTON, TEXAS



David Ritcheson



Tuck



Turner

David Ritcheson, 16, is attacked by racist skinheads at a house party after supposedly trying to kiss a white girl. David Henry Tuck breaks Ritcheson's jaw, knocking him unconscious, while screaming, "White power!" and calling Ritcheson a "spic" and "wetback." Keith Robert Turner joins in, and the two attackers burn Ritcheson with cigarettes, kick him with steel-toed boots, attempt to carve a swastika into his chest, pour bleach on him and finally violently sodomize him with a patio umbrella pole. It takes 30 surgeries before Ritcheson, confined to a wheelchair and wearing a colostomy bag, is able to return to school.

Tuck is later sentenced to life in prison. Turner gets 90 years.

A year after the attack, Ritcheson, who up to that point has not been identified in press accounts by name, goes public and speaks out to the U.S. House of Representative's Judiciary Committee. In wrenching testimony, the boy recalls the horrific experience for lawmakers deliberating over strengthening federal hate crime laws. "With my humiliation and emotional and physical scars came the ambition and strong sense of determination that brought out the natural fighter in me," Ritcheson testifies. "I am glad to tell you today that my best days still lay ahead of me."

Less than three months later, the teenager commits suicide, jumping from a cruise ship into the Gulf of Mexico. Before his death, he assisted the Anti-Defamation League in creating an anti-hate program at his alma mater, Klein Collins High School.

WILL WOODS/GETTY IMAGES (MEXICAN FLAG); JAMES NIELSEN/AP IMAGES; HOUSTON CHRONICLE (CRUISE SHIP); KAREN WARREN/AP IMAGES; HOUSTON COUNTY SHERIFF'S OFFICE (AP IMAGES TUCK AND TURNER); KEITH FERIS/AP IMAGES (HAL TURNER)



Laine Lawless

... Discourage Spanish-speaking children from going to school,” Lawless writes in a private E-mail to Mark Martin, “SS commander” of the NSM’s western Ohio chapter. “Be creative. ... Create an anonymous propaganda campaign warning that any further illegal immigrants will be shot, maimed or seriously messed-up upon crossing the border.”

The goal?

“Make every illegal alien feel the heat of being a person without status.”

APRIL 28, 2006

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH

A West High School student identified only as Felipe is attacked while walking to school by two white men who he says call him a “stupid wetback” and tell him, “Go back to your country, you don’t belong here.” He survives the jumping with a black eye, cut lip and head swelling, reports the *Deseret Morning News*. The boy is not a documented citizen, according to his mother, who tells reporters, “The fact that you’re an immigrant here doesn’t mean they get to do that.”

APRIL 29, 2006

EAST HAMPTON, N.Y.

Three Latino teenagers are lured into a shed by a neo-Nazi skinhead (also a teenager) and then threatened and terrorized with a chainsaw and a machete. The victims are held for 90 minutes while the skinhead and his friends yell racial slurs, including “White power!” and “Heil Hitler!”

“This is how you run across the border,” one of the skinheads shouts as he chases the Latino youths around with the running chainsaw. The skinhead is later charged as a juvenile with reckless endangerment and menacing.

MAY 4, 2006

SOUTHAMPTON VILLAGE, N.Y.

Jonathan Cedillo is having lunch near a 7-Eleven when cab driver Robert Rossetti slaps his sandwich from his hand and then begins calling him derogatory racial names. Rossetti then begins ramming into Cedillo, who has American Indian and Mexican ancestry, with his taxi. Cedillo’s right knee is injured. “He was cursing at me, telling me I’m an immigrant and to get out of this country,” Cedillo tells reporters. Rossetti is later convicted of misdemeanor aggravated harassment.

JUNE 12, 2006

ROCKY POINT, N.Y.

Two Mexican men fishing at a jetty are asked for their green cards, and then beaten and robbed by four teens — William Foley, Nicholas Provenzano, Daniel Sturgis and Jesse Ward — posing as federal agents. The teens rob money from the victims while accusing them of stealing jobs from U.S. citizens. All four are charged with felony robbery and assault as hate crimes. Sturgis eventually pleads guilty to third-degree assault as a hate crime and second-degree robbery and is sentenced to two years in state prison. Provenzano is convicted of charges related to the attack, but his sentencing is deferred. Foley and Ward are charged as juvenile offenders.

JUNE 15, 2006

YONKERS, N.Y.

Miguel Vega, a native of Peru, is walking down the street where he lives when he’s attacked and murdered by five men who also steal his wallet. The killers — Abraham Ghaly, David Bendezu, Alexander Mitchell, Joel Lopez and Rodolfo Ponciano — are charged with murder and robbery. Bendezu, Mitchell, and Lopez have their murder charges upgraded to hate crimes after an investi-

gation finds that they specifically sought a Mexican to rob that night. All five plead guilty and are sentenced to between five and 15 years.

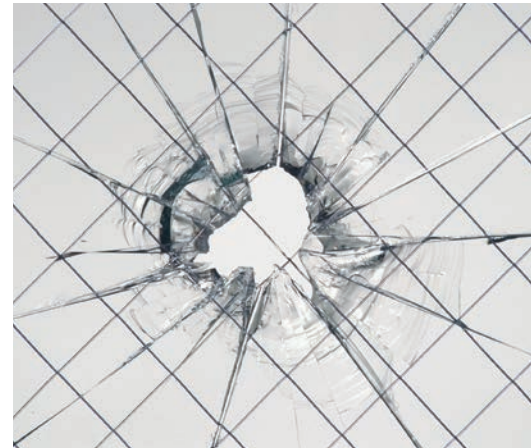
JULY 20, 2006

DAYTON, TENN.

Gilberto Mejía, owner of the Mexican grocery store Carnicería Los Primos, is verbally assaulted by anti-immigration activist June Griffin, who barges into the store and tears down a Mexican flag. Griffin then allegedly harasses Mejía and leaves threatening phone messages, which Mejía saves for police.

“It was an act of war,” says Griffin, who has unsuccessfully run for the U.S. House of Representatives as a Republican. Charged with civil rights intimidation, phone harassment, theft and vandalism, Griffin is released after witnesses fail to turn up at a court hearing.

“I’m not ashamed of anything I did,” Griffin tells *The Herald-News*.



JULY 25, 2006

ALBARTVILLE, ALA.

The windows of six businesses owned by Guatemalans or Mexicans are shot out early in the morning, while white-owned businesses on the same street in this northern Alabama town of 17,000 go untouched. A year later, the crime is still unsolved. Albertville police say the attack wasn’t racially motivated, although many observers, pointing to which businesses were targeted, suspect otherwise. “We have sporadic, random incidences of windows shot out,” says Chief Detective J.T. Cartee.

JULY 30, 2006

BRADENBURG, KY.

Jordan Gruver, a 16-year-old boy of Panamanian descent, is attacked by members of the Imperial Klans of America who are recruiting for the IKA at the Meade County Fairgrounds. Unprovoked, the Klansmen call the far smaller Gruver a “spic,” then beat him severely, leaving



Jordan Gruver

Gruver with two cracked ribs, a broken left forearm and jaw injuries requiring extensive dental repair. Two Klansmen, Jarred R. Hensley, 24, and Andrew R. Watkins, 26, plead guilty to second-degree assault and are each sentenced to three years in prison. The Southern Poverty Law Center files a lawsuit against the attackers that is later amended to add IKA, its national leader Ron Edwards, and another high-ranking IKA official.

AUG. 20, 2006

HAHNVILLE, LA.

Two men, one from El Salvador and the other described by St. Charles Parish sheriff's deputies as “Hispanic,” are shot in the legs by Mark Gautreau as they fish in a floodway near Lake Pontchartrain. Witnesses say Gautreau announced he was going to “shoot some Mexicans”



Nelson Espinoza found a burned cross and a sign apparently suggesting that he was an undocumented immigrant. As it turns out, Espinoza was a completely legal temporary guest worker from El Salvador.

SEPT. 9, 2006

ROCKFIELD, KY.

A cross is burned on the front lawn of Nelson Espinoza's house in this Louisville suburb next to a sign reading, “My country maybe, my neighborhood NO WAY!!!” Espinoza, a native of El Salvador, lives with his wife in the United States as part of a legal temporary worker program. Almost a year later, the investigation remains open. “We suspect it was probably just kids from the neighborhood,” says Warren County Sheriff's Deputy Daniel Alexander.

before breaking into his own truck (he had locked himself out) to pull out a shotgun and fire at the anglers, who are 500 feet away. Gautreau is booked on two counts of first-degree attempted murder as a hate crime. The case is later dismissed when the victims and witnesses fail to appear for court.



SEPT. 10, 2006

HAMPTON BAYS, N.Y.

Carlos Rivera, a construction worker from Honduras, is stabbed multiple times outside a bar by Thomas Nicotra and

Kenneth Porter, who yell racial epithets during the attack. Nicotra and Porter, who witnesses say also yelled racial slurs at other patrons a night earlier, are both charged with felony robbery and assault with hate crime enhancements. Porter is sentenced to one year in Suffolk County Jail for first-degree assault after testifying against Nicotra. Nicotra is sentenced to nine years in state prison after finally pleading guilty to first-degree assault and robbery.

SEPT. 17, 2006

LAGUNA BEACH, CALIF.

A truck driven by two men reportedly hits two Latino workers at a day labor center, and one of the workers is also assaulted. The men in the truck, Artem Soloviev and Dennis Katpilniy, came to the center offering work, but Soloviev ends up in a scuffle with the workers, apparently after they decline his terms.

Although witnesses say Soloviev and Katpilniy shouted racial epithets at the workers during the fight, no charges are filed and Soloviev and Katpilniy are released. “We investigated it top to bottom, having collected third-party and the actual defendants’ statements, but we did not have enough evidence to support the case,” Susan Schroeder, of the Orange County’s District Attorney’s office, says later.

OCT. 23, 2006

ANNAPOLIS, MD.

Hose Aldana and Wilfredo Rodriguez are stabbed and called ethnic slurs by two white men in a pickup truck, according to police. But county police officer Sara Schriver tells local newspapers that since Latinos are technically classified as white, the attack wasn’t racially motivated.

“That’s crazy,” retorts Angela Arboleda, director of criminal justice policy for the National Council of La Raza. “The [victims were] called names and slurs that were derogative to [their] race. That is the most clear-cut evidence that that crime was in fact a hate crime.”

NOV. 18, 2006

SAN DIEGO, CALIF.



Latino workers Estanislao Gonzales and Robert Peña are allegedly assaulted by San Diego Minuteman John Monti at the Rancho Peñasquitos day labor center during a Minuteman surveillance operation. Prosecutors say Monti started the fight after grabbing one of the laborers and chasing him into the street. But jurors later acquit Monti of three counts of battery and one count of filing a false police report.

FEB. 7, 2007

CASPER, WYO.

Richard Serafin, who has identified himself as “commanding officer” of a unit of the “Central Wyoming Militia,” is arrested after illegally selling a short-barreled AR-15 semiautomatic rifle to an

The killing field: A Border Patrol agent was charged with second-degree murder after forensic and witness evidence suggested that he executed a border crosser after forcing the man to kneel directly in front of him.



JAN. 12, 2007

NACO, ARIZ.

Javier Dominguez-Rivera, a construction worker from Mexico, is shot dead at close range while on his knees by Border Patrol agent Nicholas Corbett. Corbett claims he fired in self-defense from the front of his vehicle when Dominguez-Rivera picked up a rock, but surveillance footage shows Corbett confronting Dominguez-Rivera at the rear of his vehicle. In addition, autopsy reports show the bullet was fired from between three inches and 2 1/2 feet away, and that it entered below Dominguez-Rivera’s armpit and traveled down through his heart, stomach and liver into his lower abdomen.

Dominguez-Rivera was crossing the border with his two brothers and sister-and-law when Corbett apprehended them. The group’s eyewitness accounts match the results of the forensic investigation and medical examiner’s conclusions. As a result, Corbett is charged with second-degree murder, manslaughter and negligent homicide. Cochise County Attorney Edward Rheinheimer tells reporters: “The evidence shows that at the time he was shot, Mr. Dominguez-Rivera presented no threat to Agent Corbett.”



undercover ATF agent. Earlier, he told the agent that he planned to travel to the Arizona border to harm immigrants and boasted that “there may be fewer illegal Mexicans” after his trip. Serafin pleads guilty to possessing two illegal firearms — two of the short-barrel AR-15s — and is later convicted in federal court of possessing firearms to further a crime of violence. He faces a minimum of five years in prison and up to \$500,000 in fines.

FEB. 23, 2007

WRIGHT CITY, MO.

A Latino immigrant is attacked and robbed by three men yelling, “Immigration enforcement!” who barge into his mobile home armed with a piece of lumber. The immigrant suffers injuries to his right eye and nose. Ryan Scott Harlan, 18, eventually pleads guilty to first-degree burglary and second-degree assault and is sentenced to 15 years

in prison. Richard Bryant Lindaman, 17, pleads guilty to the same charges and is sentenced to eight years. The third suspect, Christopher Michael Skelton, is still awaiting trial at press time.

APRIL 18, 2007

FLAGSTAFF, ARIZ.

James Wesley Cheek submits a comment to the *Arizona Daily Sun* threatening to attack a Cinco de Mayo event in a manner similar to the Virginia Tech University rampage just a few days earlier that left 32 people dead. FBI agents arrest Cheek for sending a threatening interstate communication and find that Cheek possesses a collection of firearms and has distributed fliers for the Ku Klux Klan. If convicted, Cheek faces a maximum sentence of five years and up to a \$250,000 fine.

MAY 1, 2007

WASHINGTON, D.C.



Froatz Jr.

Tyler Froatz Jr., a member of the Herndon (Va.) Minutemen, is arrested after a physical confrontation with human rights activists at a rally. When apprehended by police, he has several knives, a flare gun and a stun gun, and police find a loaded rifle in his vehicle. Days later, investigators search Froatz's apartment and find an additional 15 guns, a Molotov cocktail, a grenade and large amounts of

ammunition. Initially jailed on weapons and assault charges, Froatz, 24, is released to his parents in New Jersey a month later to await trial.



MAY 4, 2007

GAITHERSBURG, MD.

A long-established day-labor center for Latino immigrant workers is set on fire, causing about \$2,000 in damage. The center is run by Casa de Maryland, an immigrant assistance organization that has been the subject of many protests and threats. Without any evidence or rationale to support his allegation, Brad Botwin, director of an anti-immigration group called Help Save Maryland, tells *The Washington Post* that the laborers may themselves have started the fire.

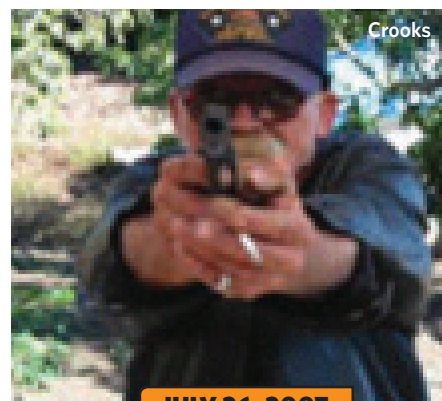
MAY 10, 2007

DUNLAP, TENN.

Frankie Bowman, who in 2005 launched an unsuccessful petition drive to prevent a Mexican nightclub from moving into his neighborhood, is arrested for offering an undercover Tennessee Bureau of Investigation agent \$2,500 to burn down Mexico de Noche. Bowman, 52, allegedly told the agent he didn't care whether the building was empty or occupied when the fire was set. He faces trial on charges of solicitation to commit aggravated arson.



Mountain Minuteman founder Robert Crooks was behind two videos that purported to show vigilantes shooting at undocumented Mexicans. Crooks mocked other nativist groups for knowing how to "Talk the Talk" but not "Walk the Walk."



Crooks

JULY 26, 2007

SAN DIEGO, CALIF.

Mountain Minuteman founder Robert Crooks E-mails a video to several prominent anti-immigration activists that appears to show a Minuteman tracking a group of Mexicans through a gun's night vision scope. In the video, an unidentified man can be heard calling the Mexicans "cockroaches" and then firing off a shotgun. "This video shows how to keep a Home Depot parking lot empty," Crooks writes in his cover E-mail, snidely suggesting that recipients know how to "Talk the Talk" but not "Walk the Walk" of effectively fighting illegal immigration. A few days later, a very similar night-vision video surfaces, this one purporting to show





a Minuteman hitting a lone Mexican with a sniper shot. Crooks, who initially denies making the videos but then admits it, later says the second video was faked. Although state and federal law enforcement officials look into the incident, no victims are found.

AUG. 8, 2007

GARDEN GROVE, CALIF.

Felipe Alvarado, an immigrant working as a janitor at a fast-food restaurant, is taunted with racist threats and then attacked by three men, one of whom is carrying a loaded gun. James Joseph Kelly, Justin Louis Mullins and Cheyne Danica Wilson are arrested and charged with felony assault with hate crime enhancements for allegedly beating Alvarado after yelling, among other things, "Go back to Mexico, you wetback!" Wilson is also charged with illegally possessing a handgun.

AUG. 12, 2007

WEST, TEXAS

A Latino man is struck in the face several times after getting into a hostile exchange of words outside a convenience store with a group of white men

and women who later tell police that they are affiliated with Aryan Nations, a neo-Nazi hate group. The victim, who has not been identified publicly, fled but is attacked a second time later the same night by several assailants who beat, stomp and cut him. The alleged leader of the attacks, Stephen Ray Chapman, is arrested and charged with engaging in organized criminal activity and aggravated assault with a deadly weapon. The police continue to search for five other suspects.

AUG. 23, 2007

MONTGOMERY COUNTY, VA.

Victor Hernandez, a Honduran immigrant dishwasher, is walking home from work when he is kicked into unconsciousness by teenagers who rob him of \$160. The two teens arrested tell police they were "amigo shopping" — seeking vulnerable Hispanic workers to rob. *The Washington Post* reports "alarmingly common" anti-immigrant crimes in the area of Washington, D.C., and its Virginia suburbs. Police from

Montgomery County, Va., and neighboring counties tell the newspaper that the majority of local robbery victims since 2006 have been Latino.

SEPT. 30, 2007

AVON PARK, FLA.

José Gonzales returns home to find his car and garage destroyed by a fire set by an arsonist who also spray-painted "Fuck Puerto Rico" on the garage walls. Gonzales, a U.S. citizen and a mechanic, loses all of his tools in the fire. No arrests are made in the town, which is famous for its passage of harsh anti-immigrant laws.

OCT. 8, 2007

OMAHA, NEB.

Eduardo Garcia wakes up to find his truck and his wife's car set ablaze. Two other cars are also vandalized and have the words "white power" and a swastika spray-painted on them. No one is immediately arrested. ▲

Over and out: Many Americans are calling for an immediate end to undocumented immigration. The tone of some of their rhetoric has contributed to an atmosphere of rising violence and hatred.



FAIR official Dan Stein testified before a House Judiciary subcommittee in 2003, one of 30 FAIR appearances before Congress since 2000. FAIR's opinion is sought despite its well-documented links to extremism.

The Teflon Nativists

Despite its ugly record, the Federation for American Immigration Reform is still taken seriously by officials and the media

BY HEIDI BEIRICH

The forces seeking to sharply reduce the number of immigrants coming to America won a stunning victory last June, when nativist anger at an “amnesty” for the undocumented scuttled a major bipartisan immigration reform package backed by President Bush. Many members of Congress were completely unprepared for the flood of angry E-mails, phone calls and faxes they received — an inundation so massive that the phone system collapsed as more than 400,000 faxes came in.

They should not have been surprised. The furious nativist tide was largely driven by an array of immigration restriction organizations that has been built up over the course of more than 20 years into fixtures in the nation's capital.

The vast majority of these groups were founded or funded by John Tanton, a major architect of the contemporary nativist movement who, 20 years ago, was already warning of a destructive “Latin onslaught” heading to the United States. Most of these organizations used their vast resources in the days leading up to a

vote on the bill to stir up a nativist backlash that ultimately resulted in its death.

At the center of the Tanton web is the nonprofit Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), the most important organization fueling the backlash against immigration. Founded by Tanton in 1979, FAIR has long been marked by anti-Latino and anti-Catholic attitudes. It has mixed this bigotry with a fondness for eugenics, the idea of breeding better humans discredited by its Nazi associations. It has accepted \$1.2

million from an infamous, racist eugenics foundation. It has employed officials in key positions who are also members of white supremacist groups. Recently, it has promoted racist conspiracy theories about Mexico's secret designs on the American Southwest and an alternative theory alleging secret plans to merge the United States, Mexico and Canada. Just last February, FAIR President Dan Stein sought “advice” from the leaders of a racist Belgian political party.

FAIR officials declined repeated requests for comment.

None of this — or any other material evidencing the bigotry and racism that courses through the group — seems to have affected FAIR's media standing. In just the first 10 months of 2007, the group was quoted in mainstream media outlets nearly 500 times with virtually no mention of its more unsavory aspects. Stein was featured on CNN's “Lou Dobbs Tonight” at least 12 times in the same period, along with countless appearances on other television news shows. And, perhaps most remarkably of all, FAIR has been taken seriously by





Congress, which has called upon its officials to testify on immigration more than 30 times since 2000.

“The sad fact is that attempts to reform our immigration system are being sabotaged by organizations fueled by hate,” said Henry Fernandez, a senior fellow and expert on immigration at the Center for American Progress, a “progressive” think tank. “Many anti-immigrant leaders have backgrounds that should disqualify them from even participating in mainstream debate, yet the American press quotes them without ever noting their bizarre and often racist beliefs.”

The Founder: Early Hints

For decades, John Tanton has operated a nativist empire out of his U.S. Inc. foundation’s headquarters in Petoskey, Mich. Even as he simultaneously runs his own hate group — The Social Contract Press, listed for many years by the Southern Poverty Law Center because of its anti-Latino and white supremacist writings — Tanton has remained the house intellectual for FAIR. In fact, U.S. Inc. bankrolls much of FAIR’s lobbying activ-

ity and, at least until 2005, Tanton ran its Research and Publications Committee, the group that fashions and then disseminates FAIR’s position papers. In its 2004 annual report, FAIR highlighted its own main ideologue, singing Tanton’s praises for “visionary qualities that have not waned one bit.”

But what, exactly, is Tanton’s vision?

As long ago as 1988, when a series of internal 1986 documents known as the WITAN memos were leaked to the press, Tanton’s bigoted attitudes have been known. In the memos, written to colleagues on the staff of FAIR, Tanton warned of a coming “Latin onslaught” and worried that high Latino birth rates would lead “the present majority to hand over its political power to a group that is simply more fertile.” Tanton repeatedly demeaned Latinos in the memos, asking whether they would “bring with them the tradition of the *mordida* [bribe], the lack of involvement in public affairs” and also questioning Latinos’ “educability.”

Echoing his 19th-century nativist forebears who feared Catholic immigrants from Italy and Ireland, Tanton has often attacked Catholics in terms not so different from those used by the Klan and the Know-Nothing Party of the 1840s. In the WITAN memos, for instance, he worried that Latino immigrants would endanger the separation of church and state and undermine support for public schooling. Never one to miss a threatening and fecund Catholic, Tanton even reminded his colleagues, “Keep in mind that many of the Vietnamese coming in are also Catholic.”

The leaked memos caused an uproar. Arnold Schwarzenegger and Walter Cronkite quit the board of a group Tanton headed, U.S. English, after the memos became public in 1988. U.S. English Executive Director Linda Chavez — a former Reagan Administration official and, later, a conservative commentator — also left, calling Tanton’s views “anti-Hispanic, anti-Catholic and not excusable.”

Tanton has repeatedly suggested that racial conflict will be the outcome of immigration, saying in the WITAN memos that “an explosion” could be the result of whites’ declining “power and control over their lives.” More than a decade later, in 1998, he made a similar point in an interview with a reporter, suggesting that

whites would inevitably develop a racial consciousness because “most people don’t want to disappear into the dustbin of history.” Tanton added that once whites did become racially conscious, the result would be “the war of each against all.”

The Founder’s Friends

It’s no surprise that Tanton employs people with similar views. His long-time deputy, for example, is Wayne Lutton, who works out of Tanton’s Petoskey offices and edits the journal, *The Social Contract*, published by Tanton’s press.

“Many anti-immigrant leaders have backgrounds that should disqualify them from even participating in mainstream debate, yet the American press quotes them without ever noting their bizarre and often racist beliefs.”

Lutton is not just linked to white supremacist ideas, many of which he publishes in his journal — he has actually held leadership positions in four white nationalist hate groups: the Council of Conservative Citizens, the National Policy Institute, and *The Occidental Quarterly* and *American Renaissance*, both racist publications. Lutton has written for the *Journal of Historical Review*, which specializes in Holocaust denial. Early on, Lutton and Tanton collaborated on *The Immigration Invasion*, a nativist screed that has been seized by Canadian border officials as hateful contraband.

Under Lutton’s editorial leadership, Tanton’s journal has published dozens of articles from prominent white suprema-

cists. One special issue was even devoted to the theme of “Europhobia: The Hostility Toward European-Descended Americans” and featured a lead article from John Vinson, head of the Tanton-backed hate group, the American Immigration Control Foundation. Vinson argued that multiculturalism was replacing “successful Euro-American culture” with “dysfunctional Third World cultures.” Tanton elaborated in his own remarks, decrying the “unwarranted hatred and fear” of whites that he blamed on “multiculturalists” and immigrants.

Presumably, these articles and more are well known to Stein, the president of FAIR — until 2003, he was an editorial adviser to *The Social Contract*. And Stein had lots of company. FAIR board members Sharon Barnes and Diana Hull also have been on the journal’s board of editorial advisers. FAIR’s current media director, Ira Mehlman, was an adviser in 2001 and 2002, and his essay, “Grand Delusions: Open Borders Will Destroy Society,” was published in the journal’s pages. Today, FAIR still advertises *The Social Contract* on its website, saying the journal “offers in-depth studies on immigration, population, language, assimilation, environment, national unity and balance of individual rights and civil responsibilities.”

So where does FAIR stand on the matter of Tanton’s views? The group has never criticized or sought distance from its founder. In 2004, in fact, Stein insisted that Tanton “never asserted the inferiority or superiority of any racial, ethnic or religious group. Never.” The same year, FAIR hosted a gala event honoring Tanton for his 25 years of service. To this day, Tanton remains on FAIR’s board.

The Eugenics Connection

Probably the best-known evidence of FAIR’s extremism is its acceptance of funds from a notorious, New York City-based hate group, the Pioneer Fund. In the mid-1980s, when FAIR’s budgets were still in the hundreds of thousands of dollars, the group reached out to Pioneer Fund, which was established in 1937 to promote the racial stock of the original colonists, finance studies of race and intelligence, and foster policies of “racial betterment.” (Pioneer has concentrated on studies meant to show that blacks are less intelligent than whites,

but it has also backed nativist groups like ProjectUSA, run by former FAIR board member Craig Nelsen.)

The Pioneer Fund liked what it saw and, between 1985 and 1994, disbursed about \$1.2 million to FAIR. In 1997, when the *Phoenix New Times* confronted Tanton about the matter, he “claimed ignorance about the Pioneer Fund’s connection to numerous researchers seemingly intent on proving the inferiority of blacks, as well as its unsavory ties to Nazism.” But he sounded a different tune in 2001, when he insisted that he was “comfortable being in the company of other Pioneer Fund

grantees.” Today, Tanton’s defense is that he is no different than the “open borders crowd” that accepts money from the liberal Ford Foundation, which was founded by Henry Ford, the anti-Semitic auto manufacturer. What he ignores is that the Ford Foundation, unlike the Pioneer Fund, is not promoting racist ideas.

Some have called for FAIR to return the Pioneer money, but that has not happened. In fact, when asked about it in 1993, Stein told a reporter, “My job is to get every dime of Pioneer’s money.” One reason for Stein’s lack of hesitation may be that FAIR has long been interested in

In Their Own Words

Principals of the Federation for American Immigration Reform have criticized immigrants and multiculturalism for 20 years

“The best thing that could happen to this country is for a whole bunch of hospitals to go broke.”

— Richard Lamm, 1985, then FAIR activist, now FAIR board of advisors co-chair, on how it would be better for sick people to die than receive medical treatment

“Gobernar es poblar translates ‘to govern is to populate’... Will the present majority peaceably hand over its political power to a group that is simply more fertile?”

— John Tanton, 1986, FAIR founder and now board of directors member

“The new immigration will not work the same as the old. For some reason, Mexican immigrants are not succeeding as well as other groups.”

— Roger Conner, 1986, then FAIR executive director

“Not everyone thinks that replacing strawberry fields with dim-sum restaurants and noodle houses is necessarily an enhancement in their quality of life.”

— Dan Stein, 1989, then FAIR spokesman, now FAIR president

“Should we be subsidizing people with low IQs to have as many children as possible, and not subsidizing those with high ones?”

— Dan Stein, 1997

the pseudo-science of eugenics.

One of FAIR's long-time leaders, and a personal hero to Tanton, is the late Garrett Hardin, a committed eugenicist and for years a professor of human ecology at the University of California. Hardin, who died in 2003, was himself a Pioneer Fund grantee, using the fund's money to expand his 1968 essay, "The Tragedy of the Commons." In it, Hardin wrote, "Freedom to breed will bring ruin to all."

Race War and the Duty to Die

That was the least of it. In a 1992 interview with *Omni* magazine, Hardin said he sup-

ported infanticide — "A fetus is of so little value, there's no point worrying about it" — as "effective population control." He argued the Third World is filled with "the next generation of breeders" who need to be stopped. He discouraged aid to starving Africans because that would only "encourage population growth."

Hardin wasn't alone. A current FAIR board member, three-time Democratic governor of Colorado Richard Lamm, sounded a similar theme in 1984, while still governor, saying "terminally ill people have a duty to die and get out of the way."

Like Tanton, Lamm seems to fear a

coming race war. In his futuristic 1985 novel, *Megatraumas: America at the Year 2000*, Lamm sketches it out like this: "[O]ur lack of control of our borders allowed 2 million legal and illegal immigrants to settle in the United States every year. That caused unemployment to rise to 15.2 percent by 1990 and 19.1 percent this year. ... [T]he rash of firebombings throughout the Southwest, and the three-month siege of downtown San Diego in 1998 were all led by second-generation Hispanics, the children of immigrants."

As late as 2004, Lamm was sounding similar racial fears, telling a reporter that

"Immigrants don't come all church-loving, freedom-loving, God-fearing. Some of them firmly believe in socialist or redistributist [sic] ideas. Many of them hate America, hate everything the United States stands for. Talk to some of these Central Americans."

— Dan Stein, 1997

"[Millions of immigrants coming to America will be] defecating and creating garbage and looking for jobs."

— John Tanton, 1997

"In the bacteriology lab, we have culture plates. You put a bug in there and it starts growing and gets bigger and bigger and bigger. And it grows until it finally fills the whole plate. And it crashes and dies."

— John Tanton, 1997, comparing immigrants to bacteria

"How many computer whiz kids cancel out one Sirhan Sirhan, a Sheik Omar Abdel-Rahman or ... a Charles Ponzi?"

— John Tanton, 1997, criticizing visas for immigrants with high-tech skills

"[Muslims] are not coming here to become Americans. ... [They are] promoting colonization of their own religion, of their own culture in towns and taking them over."

— Susan Tully, 2004, FAIR national field director

"[J]ust because one believes in white separatism that does not make them a racist."

— Joe Turner, 2005, now FAIR western field representative

"The hierarchy from the Pope down has from time to time acknowledged the right of sovereign states to control their borders. But the numerous conditions the churchmen have invoked would seriously vitiate this right. ... [Catholic bishops apparently] would like to condition this sovereign prerogative of states right out of existence."

— FAIR website, 2006

"Far from being the agenda of a kooky fringe element, the idea of reconquest of the American Southwest and the creation of an Aztlan nation, was prominently displayed by millions of illegal aliens all across the United States as they marched earlier this year to demand amnesty."

— FAIR's website, 2006

“new cultures” in the U.S. “are diluting what we are and who we are.”

For his part, Stein was asked about Hardin’s belief that only “intelligent people” should breed for an editorial by Tucker Carlson in the 1997 *Wall Street Journal*. “Yeah, so what?” Stein replied. “What is your problem with that?”

After Hardin’s death, John Tanton created in honor of his mentor a group called The Garrett Hardin Society, devoted to “the preservation of [Hardin’s] writings and ideas.” On the society’s board are Tanton, Wayne Lutton and U.S. Inc.’s recently appointed chief executive, John Rohe, the author of an adulatory, 2002 biography of Tanton and his wife that reads like the life of a saint.

Hiring the Handicapped

In late 2006, FAIR hired as its western field representative, a key organizing position, a man named Joseph Turner. Turner was likely attractive to FAIR because he wrote what turned out to be a sort of model anti-illegal immigrant ordinance for the city of San Bernardino, Calif. Based on Turner’s work, FAIR wrote a version of the law that is now promoted to many other cities (the law almost certainly violates the Constitution, but that has not stopped many municipalities’ interest).

But there was more to Turner than FAIR let on. In 2005, Turner had created, and then led, a nativist group called Save Our State. The group was remarkable for its failure to disassociate itself from the neo-Nazi skinheads who often joined its rallies — something that virtually all other nativist groups, worried about bad publicity, worked hard to do. Save Our State’s electronic bulletin board, too, was remarkable for the racist vitriol that frequently appeared there.

It was in that forum that Turner made one of his more controversial remarks, amounting to a defense of white separatism. “I can make the argument that just because one believes in white separatism that that does not make them a racist,” Turner wrote in 2005. “I can make the argument that someone who proclaims to be a white nationalist isn’t necessarily a white supremacist. I don’t think that standing up for your ‘kind’ or ‘your race’ makes you a bad person.” The Southern Poverty Law Center has listed Save Our State as a hate group since it appeared in 2005.

Turner’s predecessor in the FAIR organizing post, Rick Oltman, was cut from the same cloth. Oltman has been described as a member of the Council of Conservative Citizens (CCC) in the publications of that hate group, which is directly descended from the segregationist White Citizens Councils and has described blacks as “a retrograde species of humanity.” He has spoken at at least one of the CCC’s conferences and has taken part in one of its rallies. And he wasn’t alone.

According to the CCC newsletter, FAIR’s longtime associate director, Dave Ray, was scheduled to speak at another CCC event. And, in September 2002, FAIR Eastern Regional Coordinator Jim Stadenraus participated in an anti-immigration conference on Long Island, N.Y., with Jared Taylor. Taylor is both a CCC member and the founder of the racist eugenicist publication, *American Renaissance*.

FAIR has also produced programming featuring hate group leaders linked to the CCC. According to the anti-racist Center for New Community, FAIR’s now defunct television production, “Borderline,” featured interviews with Taylor and Sam Francis, who edited the CCC’s newsletter until his death in 2005.

Donald Collins, a member of both FAIR’s board of directors and its board of advisers, has his own ties to white supremacy. Collins posts frequently to a hate website called Vdare.com, which is named after Virginia Dare (said to be the first white child born in the New World) and publishes the work of white supremacists and anti-Semites. Collins also has been published in *The Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies*, a periodical run by longtime academic racist Roger Pearson. (Pearson founded the Eugenics Society in 1963 and worked with at least one former SS officer in England. He is also the recipient of several Pioneer Fund grants.)

Several of Collins’ articles have attacked Catholics and their church for their pro-immigrant stances. In one, he accused Los Angeles Archbishop Roger Mahony of selling out his country “in exchange for more temporal power and glory.” Collins has also accused Catholic bishops of “infiltrating and manipulating the American political process” in order to undermine the separation of church and state.

Past and present FAIR officials (clockwise from lower left) Rick Oltman, Richard Lamm, Joe Guzzardi and Joe Turner have all expressed extremist ideas. The group Turner started initiated many rallies (below, right) where neo-Nazis’ presence was tolerated.

“...Someone who proclaims to be a white nationalist isn’t necessarily a white supremacist. Standing up for your ‘kind’ or ‘your race’ [doesn’t] make you a bad person.”

Collins is not FAIR’s only link to the Vdare.com hate site. Joe Guzzardi, a member of FAIR’s board of advisers, is the editor of Vdare.com. He writes there frequently about how Latin American immigrants come to the United States in order to “reconquer” it — a conspiracy theory pushed by numerous hate groups.

Bad Press

By and large, FAIR has escaped negative publicity, generally being depicted as a mainstream critic of American immigration policy. But there are exceptions.

In 2000, FAIR ran ads opposing the reelection of Sen. Spencer Abraham (R-Mich.), a Lebanese American who defeated Tanton in the primaries, because he had supported issuing more visas for immigrants with high-tech skills. The ads featured side-by-side photos of Abraham and Osama bin Laden and this question: “Why is Senator Abraham trying to make it easier for terrorists like Osama bin Laden to export their war of terror to any city street in America?” The ads also accused the senator of pushing a bill that





would “take American jobs. Our jobs.”

The ads produced an immediate controversy, and a staunch conservative, Sen. Alan Simpson (R-Wyo.), quit FAIR in protest. Under attack, Stein insisted the ads weren’t racist and later claimed that he’d thought Abraham was Jewish.

That same year, FAIR helped fund ads in Iowa that were rejected as “borderline racist” by the general manager of WHO-TV in Des Moines. When the same ads appeared in Nebraska, Sen. Chuck Hagel, a Republican, lost his temper. “The trash that this crowd puts out is just beyond terrible,” Hagel said.

Four years later in Texas, the Coalition for the Future of the American Worker — a FAIR front group designed to look like it represents labor interests — ran ads heavy on images of dark-skinned men loitering on corners and running from police cars. One of the ad’s prime targets, Rep. Martin Frost (D-Texas), condemned the ads as racist. His Republican challenger, Pete Sessions, found them so repugnant that he joined Frost in calling for them to be

yanked off the air in their district.

In 2004, FAIR made an extremely unusual criticism of a fellow nativist, a woman named Virginia Abernethy who had just joined the national advisory board of Protect Arizona Now (PAN). PAN, aided by some \$600,000 from FAIR, had worked to collect signatures for a referendum (which ultimately passed) to require proof of citizenship when registering to vote or signing up for public benefits. But as Election Day neared, newspapers trumpeted the revelation that PAN’s new adviser was a self-declared “white separatist” who had long been active in the CCC.

FAIR reacted instantly with a pious press release denouncing “Abernethy’s repulsive views.” The release left many scratching their heads — FAIR, after all, had CCC members on its payroll, and any number of other ties to the group. Its own officials had in several cases endorsed similar separatist views. And Tanton, FAIR’s founder and chief ideologue, was intimately familiar with Abernethy’s work. After all, he had published her writings frequently in *The Social Contract* and his editor,

Wayne Lutton, had shared the podium with Abernethy at forums of the CCC.

Whither FAIR?

Following the defeat of the bipartisan immigration package this summer, FAIR flew into action one more time. This time, it went after the DREAM Act, a widely supported, bipartisan bill that would have provided a path to citizenship for undocumented immigrant students accepted to college. FAIR was the key advocate for its defeat and, sure enough, the DREAM Act finally died this October.

Is this the future for FAIR? Will journalists, politicians and the general public continue to take the organization and its nativist propaganda seriously?

Dan Stein thinks so.

As he put it at FAIR’s 25th anniversary celebration in 2004, just when the American nativist movement had begun to sense its own strength: “[T]oday,” he said, “as the country moves finally into a serious and realistic debate, the founders have created a mature and knowledgeable organization prepared to lead.” ▲

Hate Without Hassles

A New England neo-Nazi group tries to avoid the squabbles and splits that characterize most of the American radical right

BY SUSY BUCHANAN

When North East White Pride (NEWP) announced it would protest in front of Boston's Afro-American History Museum on Martin Luther King Day 2006, the New England neo-Nazis were hoping to draw a crowd and garner attention for their fledgling organization. And about 200 protesters did show up to confront the haters. But that was about the only part of their plan that came to fruition.

NEWP was more than an hour late showing up to their own event. Their train was delayed, founder Rob O'Donovan explained in a recent interview. Plus they only managed to round up 10 supporters for the demonstration.

The paltry, tardy but very determined group of racists assembled in front of the Massachusetts State House and prepared to march to the museum, unaware of the size of the impatient crowd that had been waiting for them for 90 minutes. Police intervened and tried to convince the NEWP members that walking into a restless and swelling crowd of angry anti-racists might not be in their best interests. "They tried to stall us for awhile, but the protesters got wind of it and walked to where we were," O'Donovan told the *Intelligence Report*. Just before the anti-racists caught sight of their targets, the neo-Nazis were whisked away in police cars.

"The police offered to give us a ride directly to the museum but wound up driving us around town and leaving us on the other side of town," O'Donovan admits sheepishly. "Until that point, we'd always had a lot of respect for the BPD [Boston Police Department], but since then we have agreed that we will no longer be trusting them or accepting their 'assistance.'"

It wasn't the proudest moment for what was then a relatively new white-



pride organization. But in the nearly two years since its embarrassing MLK Day protest, NEWP has had more success in drawing so-called "net Nazis" from the Internet to real-world activism. While it remains primarily a Web-based organization, with 900 active online forum members, NEWP now also promotes concerts, protests, literature distribution drives, white pride picnics and

North East White Pride leader Rob O'Donovan liked the approach to movement unity espoused by neo-Nazi Billy Roper (left), but later quit Roper's group. Once he had his own group, O'Donovan brought in movement stalwarts including Paul Fromm (right), a Canadian Holocaust denier.

other events in Connecticut, Delaware, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York,

PHOTO ILLUSTRATION BY SCOTT PHILLIPS

Pennsylvania, Rhode Island and Vermont. Based in Chelsea, Mass., the group also hosts monthly meetings whose locations rotate among the private homes of inner-circle members.

And NEWP aims for a big-tent approach to Aryan activism, hoping to bring the notoriously divided and squabbling movement together. It is not alone in that effort. In 2003, in fact, Billy Roper,



former deputy membership coordinator for the neo-Nazi National Alliance, founded White Revolution, an organization meant to serve as a nationwide umbrella group for white nationalist factions. That idea of acting as a unifying presence in the movement — the key to Roper's approach — appealed to O'Donovan, now 27, and he joined White Revolution soon after its inception. At around that same time, O'Donovan also

launched the NEWP website as a repository of news items and commentary by and for white nationalists across the northeastern United States.

The website slowly gathered steam, even as O'Donovan's enthusiasm for White Revolution faded. NEWP started organizing events on its own and O'Donovan added an online discussion forum to his website in September 2004. He has devoted his full energies to NEWP since quitting White Revolution in 2006.

"The leadership of White Revolution was feuding with some other white nationalist organizations and expected me to continue that feud locally. Later on, I was told by members in a leadership position that 'movement unity doesn't work' and [that] they were pursuing a strategy closer to that of the [elitist] National Alliance than as an umbrella group," O'Donovan said in the interview. "My leaving was a mutual decision and there are no hard feelings between us. Simply a difference of tactics, I suppose you could say."

O'Donovan added that his organization differs from White Revolution and others in that there are no dues (though the group does accept contributions) and no need to provide group leaders with personal information. White nationalists of any affiliation are welcome as long as they leave behind the "scene drama" and "movement politics" that has been so destructive to other groups, he said.

In effect, NEWP strives to be a white-power melting pot. "Our supporters consist of those with a wide array of beliefs, from neo-Nazis and Klansmen to conservatives and libertarians," O'Donovan claimed.

Meetings started small in 2005, while O'Donovan was still in White Revolution, drawing perhaps a half-dozen supporters. By the time of the split in 2006, though, the NEWP forum had grown to hundreds of members and NEWP began to have a more public presence.

Several newspapers reported on the MLK protest, and NEWP also held anti-immigration protests throughout last summer in New Hampshire.

But some bickering and infighting has occurred despite O'Donovan's best efforts. Earlier this year, questions about finances caused at least one member of the neo-Nazi Volksfront group to

leave NEWP and several others to question O'Donovan's management, putting the usually upbeat O'Donovan on the defensive. "As far as I know, there's around 20 people who are wanting to know where the money is," wrote NEWP forum member using the name "vf/mo" (presumably indicating a Volksfront member from Missouri). "When one person drops out it could be chalked up to BS, but when 20 people do, it's not drama or BS. It's called a deserving protest."

O'Donovan claims those critical of him have instructed members of Volksfront and Women for Aryan Unity — another radical right group — to assault him. He strikes back at critics in the "APB" ("All Points Bulletin") section of the NEWP website, which identifies and exposes "movement traitors." These include Joe Bednarsky, a former NEWP moderator and Klan leader who claims to have left the white supremacist movement after finding religion (Bednarsky now signs his E-mails with the phrase "Where there is grace, there is no race.") Bednarsky, who ran the NEWP forum from 2004 until July 2005, told the *Intelligence Report* that he became alarmed by some of the postings there. "I was afraid the SPLC [Southern Poverty Law Center, the publisher of the *Report*] or someone was going to sue us personally if somebody ended up doing the things they were talking about, like hanging black people."

For the most part, O'Donovan's leadership has helped NEWP avoid the backstabbing and divisive feuding that have caused other organizations to rupture, and O'Donovan says he hopes the momentum NEWP has thus far achieved will cause the group to grow both in size and impact. Creating a virtual community is one thing, but getting people together in real time is another.

One year after the lamentable MLK protest, NEWP brought Canadian Holocaust denier Paul Fromm to Boston to speak at one of its events and attracted 50 people, which O'Donovan calls the group's biggest success to date.

"We hope to get at least one speaker to the area each year," O'Donovan said. "We are most concerned with uniting the Northeast area, and to a lesser extent the U.S. and white nationalists worldwide. Only as one united movement will we be able to move forward." ▲



Straight Like Me

Across the country, the Christian Right ‘ex-gay’ movement is booming. Though often well-intentioned, it has left a trail of shattered lives

BY CASEY SANCHEZ

John Smid has a high school diploma, a minister’s license and five acres of land outside Memphis, Tenn., where he “cures” homosexuals. For most of the past two decades, Smid’s residential “ex-gay” program was known as Love in Action. The majority of the young men who entered the program came from the kind of conservative religious upbringing where being gay is a sin that will cast a person out of church, family and home. To rid themselves of “unwanted same-sex attractions” they paid \$1,000 a month, with some staying at the facility for years.

At LIA, as it was known, staff would lead clients in group sessions to trace out childhood trauma alongside lessons

in throwing footballs, changing motor oil and learning how to cross their legs in a manly fashion. In much of the world of ex-gay ministries, same-sex attractions are thought to result from childhood sexual abuse or parents who failed to instill masculinity in their sons. Since the goal



is to rewire parent-child dynamics, LIA clients were forbidden to call their families. Those who worked in Memphis while living on the LIA compound had to navigate around a “forbidden zone” that covered nearly half the city, keeping them miles away from its handful of adult book stores. They were ordered to drive straight to and from work without speaking to strangers.

“On our way to work, we saw two cars get into an accident. We actually debated over whether we should stop,” said Peterson Toscano, who lived at LIA for

Back in the day: A younger Peterson Toscano with his then-mentor John Smid, who worked to rid Toscano of his “unwanted same-sex attractions.”

JEFF NAWARRO (TOSCANO); COURTESY OF PETERSON TOSCANO (SMID AND TOSCANO)

two years in the early 1990s and now helms an ex-gay survivors' movement. They didn't stop. "Looking back, I see how brainwashed we were. We were sick the whole day. We could have helped the people."

Toscano still has the 374-page LIA handbook that governed every day he spent trying to become heterosexual. Tom Otteson, another former client of Smid's, said he was told that "it would be better if I were to commit suicide than go back into the world and become a homosexual again." In 2005, Smid tried to clarify those comments to a reporter from the pro-gay Memphis magazine *Family & Friends*: "I said [to Otteson], 'It would almost be better if you weren't alive than to return back to the life that you have struggled so much to leave.'"

Unlike his clients, Smid was not isolated from the world. In 2005, when Tennessee officials investigated LIA for dispensing psychotropic medicine and treating minors without a license, it seemed certain the place would be shut down. But Smid kept his operation alive by countersuing the state of Tennessee with the help of senior counsel from the Alliance Defense Fund, the powerhouse legal arm of the Christian Right.

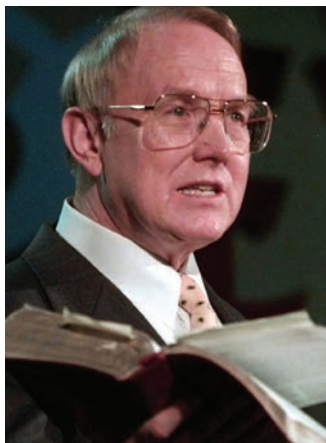
Today, Love in Action is part of a booming phenomenon that is also known as the "sexual reorientation therapy" movement, an effort that is reflected in the hundreds of programs attached to religious organizations across the United States. Although the stated aim of the movement is to turn gays straight and bring them to God, it actually now has as much to do with battling the gay rights movement by trying to prove that sexuality is not an immutable characteristic like race or gender. Ex-gay ministries began as redoubts for men and women trying to reconcile their faith and sexuality. But in the hands of the anti-gay Christian Right, they have become full-fledged propaganda machines depicting gays as sex-addicted, mentally ill, and stunted heterosexuals.

A Flourishing Movement

Love In Action no longer describes itself as therapy but as a "ministry." It ditched its

residential program in favor of a \$2,000, four-day "intensive" encounter for families and teens called Refuge. Focus on the Family, the largest and wealthiest Christian Right organization in the country, now hires Smid to appear several times a year on an ex-gay lecture circuit called Love Won Out, where he speaks on masturbation and "healing homosexuality."

Residential ex-gay treatment centers like LIA was in the 1990s are still rare. There are currently just three in America — one in northern California, one in



studies on ex-gay "conversion therapies," and the late Moral Majority leader Jerry Falwell, who once infamously claimed that gays, lesbians and other agents of liberalism spurred the 9/11 terrorist attacks, was a keynote speaker at a 2006 ex-gay conference. In Lynchburg, Va., both the church and the university Falwell founded have ex-gay ministries.

The American Family Association, another Christian Right group, distributes "It's Not Gay," a video that uses ex-gay testimonies — including that of a man who

Kansas and one in Kentucky. But ex-gay "ministries" like Refuge are numerous. There are at least 200 such programs among the country's churches, religious counseling centers and religious college campuses. Smid serves on the board of Exodus International, an umbrella group representing 150 ex-gay ministries in 17 different countries.

Most of the people who run ex-gay ministries are not hatemongers and see their activities as a labor of love and compassion. "[They're] sincere, well-meaning people who are not in it for the money," says Toscano. But in recent years, the ex-gay movement has been co-opted by virulently anti-gay groups who routinely refer to homosexuality as an evil force that threatens to destroy America. These groups increasingly are hiring ex-gay activists as spokesmen, funding ex-gay research and establishing ex-gay ministries.

Focus on the Family, based in Colorado Springs, Colo., now runs its own traveling ex-gay ministry, Love Won Out, which has drawn crowds of several hundred in more than 50 cities since 2001. Christian Coalition founder Pat Robertson finances

Christian Right leaders James Dobson (from left), leader of Focus on the Family, Christian Coalition founder Pat Robertson, and the late Moral Majority leader Jerry Falwell have all worked to popularize the "ex-gay" movement.

has since admitted to holding gay sex parties — to claim that 95% of gay couples are not monogamous. Separately, the AFA employs anti-gay junk science to claim that gays die very early and are far more likely to molest children than heterosexuals. (These claims, made by propagandist hatemongers like Paul Cameron of the Family Values Institute, are completely false and have been discredited numerous times by legitimate scientists.)

Leaders of Watchmen on the Walls, an international anti-gay group that blames the Nazi Holocaust on homosexuals, tell audiences that "one of the most important things you can do is start an ex-gay movement here." One of the Watchmen's members serves on the board of the Exodus International and was a keynote speaker at its recent conference. The Traditional Values Coalition, a major California-based organization listed by the Southern Poverty Law Center

as a hate group for its virulent anti-gay activities, and Florida-based Coral Ridge Ministries have even created their own ex-gay holiday, National Coming Out of Homosexuality Day, falling one day after National Coming Out Day.

“Indifference or neutrality toward the homosexual rights movement will result in society’s destruction,” the American Family Association declared in a press release. “A national ‘Coming out of homosexuality day’ provides us a means whereby to dispel the lies of the homosexual rights crowd who say they are born that way and cannot change.”

‘New Creations’?

Reparative or sexual reorientation therapy, the pseudo-scientific foundation of the ex-gay movement, has been discredited by virtually all major American medical, psychiatric, psychological and professional counseling organizations. The American Psychological Association, for instance, declared in 2006: “There is simply no sufficiently scientifically sound evidence that sexual orientation can be changed. Our further concern is that the positions espoused by NARTH [the National Association for Research & Therapy of Homosexuality] and Focus on the Family create an environment in which prejudice and discrimination can flourish.” The powerful American Medical Association, for its part, officially “opposes the use of ‘reparative’ or ‘conversion’ therapy that is based on the assumption that homosexuality per se is a mental disorder or based upon the a priori assumption that the patient should change his/her homosexual orientation.”

Nevertheless, over the past three decades, ex-gay ministries have developed a storyline where men and women can become “new creations” in Christ, adopting a heterosexual identity even if they never completely rid themselves of their homosexual attractions.

Jim Burroway, who runs Box Turtle Bulletin, a website that tracks the ex-gay movement, says a key theme in ex-gay ideology is the idea that “there’s no such thing as gay.” Instead, gays and lesbians are described as “sexually broken” or heterosexuals who suffer from “same-sex attractions.”

Sexual brokenness, according to ex-



gay doctrine, usually occurs early in childhood, the result of an overbearing mother, an emotionally distant father, or sexual abuse. Focus on the Family ex-gay lecturers routinely and flatly declare that *all* gays and lesbians are victims of childhood sexual abuse.

About the only time the word “gay” appears in the ex-gay lexicon is in the phrase “gay lifestyle,” which is largely seen as describing a hedonistic mix of one-night stands and sexually transmitted diseases that culminates in early death or abandonment when youthful beauty fades. The ex-gay movement has little language to describe the real world in which lesbians and gays hold elected office, appear on TV shows and raise families. At best, people like U.S. Rep. Barney Frank (D-Mass.)

A proliferation of Web pages like these reflects the remarkable spread of a movement that most scientists say has no basis in biology or human sexuality.

and talk show host Ellen DeGeneres are labeled as “gay-identified.” Exodus President Alan Chambers and other, harsher ex-gay leaders call them “militant gays,” simply because they are not actively working to renounce their same-sex attractions. Churches that accept gays are branded “false churches.”

Still, even many ex-gay proponents admit that total conversion to heterosexuality is at best an elusive goal. Frank Worthen, who runs the ex-gay residential program New Hope out of an apartment complex in San Rafael, Calif., writes in his curriculum workbook *Steps Out*: “Our primary goal is not to make heterosexuals out of homosexual people. God alone determines whether a former homosexual person is to marry and rear a family, or if he (or she) is to remain celibate, serving the Lord with his whole heart.”

‘Ancestor Sin’ and 40-Day Fasts

Exodus, which has a \$1 million budget, and NARTH both provide referrals to ex-gay programs and therapists that offer a bewildering array of techniques and philosophies.

Exodus has over 150 evangelical ministries throughout the U.S. and in Australia, Canada, China, Europe, Japan, Latin America, the Philippines and Singapore. Most of the ministries are locally run but remain under the Exodus umbrella. A few of them target Latinos and African Americans, as well as the deaf. In the U.S., coordinators for 14 different geographic regions make sure that local ministries have Exodus accreditation and trained staff. Despite that, Exodus ministries seem to have as many approaches to ex-gay work as they do regions.

Exodus makes referrals to ministries like Living Waters, a popular neo-Pentecostal ex-gay program that treats homosexuality as a spirit that can be induced by “ancestor sin” and pushed out through exorcism. “We had pretty much a whole day dedicated to going through our entire genealogy and asking for forgiveness for the sins of our

ancestors,” said Eric Leocadio, who went through the 30-week program in his early 20s. He says he was also told to keep “certain boundaries in your friendship, never connecting with someone emotionally because you might fall in love with them.”

During his time with Living Waters, Toscano said a pastor had him fast for a week at a time. “He said it was a matter of breaking through physical appetites related to lust. ... There were others who fasted, sometimes for up to 40 days.”

Secular ex-gay therapies, even if less physically demanding, are no less bizarre. On Ex-Gay Watch, a watchdog website, a woman named Pamela Ferguson describes the reparative therapy her ex-husband underwent as a last-ditch attempt to save their marriage. “I was once told to hold [my ex-husband’s] penis in my hand as we fell asleep. After a week or two of this, [he supposedly] would be suddenly and inexplicably inflamed with desire for me.” The couple declined the suggestion.

At “ex-gay barbecues” held at her house, Ferguson says she met several men who said they were asked to measure their penises and report the results to their group. All of them refused.

The longtime president of NARTH is Joseph Nicolosi, a licensed psychotherapist who teaches that any man who thinks he’s gay simply “has failed to enact his masculinity.” NARTH, based in Encino, Calif., is a referral service for its more than 1,000 members, who are both religious and secular ex-gay counselors (NARTH does not require members to be licensed or accredited). NARTH was founded by Charles Socarides, whose openly gay son later served in the Clinton administration as the first-ever liaison to the gay community.

One of Nicolosi’s own former ex-gay patients, Daniel Gonzales, said most of his therapy sessions took place over the telephone. “Whenever I found myself attracted to a guy, I was supposed to befriend him and demystify him,” said Gonzales. “It never occurred to [Nicolosi] that some of the guys I’m attracted to weren’t straight.” After spending a year in the \$250-an-hour sessions, Gonzales didn’t feel any less gay. He says he quit the therapy after realizing that “I would have to do these mental gymnastics for the rest of my life.”

Wayne Besen, a former researcher for the pro-gay Human Rights Campaign, spent four years looking into ex-gay therapies for his 2003 book *Anything But Straight: Unmasking the Scandals and Lies Behind the Ex-Gay Myth*. At one ministry that he attended undercover, gay men were instructed to keep rubber bands on their wrist and snap them any time they felt themselves “watching someone erotically or engaging in fantasy.” In another ministry, he held hands with other “strugglers” as they read an anti-masturbation prayer: “I build high dikes on the right hand and on the left hand and in Jesus’ name I command that it shall not overflow to the left hand or the right hand, but it shall flow quietly in its normal channel.”

Emphasis on the alleged link between masturbation and homosexuality is wide-

with tennis rackets and screaming. “Mom, Mom, why did you do this to me?” When Cohen appeared on ABC’s “Jimmy Kimmel Live!” one month later seated next to George Foreman, he demonstrated healing touch therapy by putting his arms around the former heavyweight boxing champion and explaining, “You comfort him and love him like he’s your own boy.”

After his disastrous TV appearances, both Exodus and NARTH scrubbed any mention of Cohen from their websites and released statements publicly disavowing healing touch therapy. Yet both organizations continue to promote healing touch through a program called Journey Into Manhood, whose leaders are featured at Exodus conferences and highlighted on NARTH’s website. Journey Into Manhood is a nominally secular program founded by Catholic, Jewish and Mormon coun-



Psychotherapist Richard Cohen, a self-described “ex-gay” himself, demonstrates his “healing touch” therapy on CNN’s “Paula Zahn Now.” The appearance, meant to promote Cohen’s method of “curing” homosexuality, was a public relations disaster.

spread in ex-gay therapy. Exodus board member and family therapist Jayson Graves, for instance, teaches on his call-in radio show that masturbation is a gateway to “same-sex attraction” because “it is a form of sex with yourself.”

When Moms Go Bad

One of the most controversial ex-gay therapy techniques is “healing touch,” which involves men striving to become ex-gay cradling and rocking other men in their arms. Last January, Richard Cohen, a licensed psychotherapist who claims to be personally ex-gay, demonstrated healing touch on CNN’s “Paula Zahn Now” and Comedy Central’s “The Daily Show.” Cohen also demonstrated “bioenergetics,” which involves beating on chairs

with tennis rackets and screaming. “Mom, Mom, why did you do this to me?” When Cohen appeared on ABC’s “Jimmy Kimmel Live!” one month later seated next to George Foreman, he demonstrated healing touch therapy by putting his arms around the former heavyweight boxing champion and explaining, “You comfort him and love him like he’s your own boy.”

Alex Liberato went through 10 weeks of the Journey Into Manhood curriculum after he was outed as a gay man while a student at highly conservative Brigham Young University in Utah. Much of the curriculum centered on recovering early child-parent memories. But men were also required to hold one another. “It just seemed like it allowed guys to touch each other without there being sex,” said Liberato. The thought of spending a concluding weekend in the Utah wilderness, having to uncomfortably touch and be

touched by male strangers repulsed him. He says he was made to understand that nudity might also be involved. "I was in the parking lot. I just [back] got in my car and drove off," said Liberato.

Just this September, Texas ex-gay therapist Chris Austin was convicted of two counts of felony sexual assault on a patient and sentenced to 10 years in prison. (A judge later reduced that sentence to seven years of probation but fined Austin \$2,500 and stripped him of his counseling license.) The charges were based on a complaint filed by Mark Hufford, a client of Austin's for over a year. Hufford testified that Austin held healing touch sessions that progressed to include nude massage and oral sex. Hufford originally sought treatment while married to a woman but has since accepted his gay identity, divorced and begun dating a man. In addition to his own counseling practice, Austin also operated the Renew homosexual recovery program at South MacArthur Church of Christ in Irving, Texas.

Austin was a member of NARTH and had written a treatment curriculum called "Cleaning Out the Closet." His wife ran a program for the spouses of "husbands who struggle with homosexuality." Austin's criminal conviction is the first widely known case of a therapist being convicted of sexual assault in conjunction with ex-gay therapy.

Arousing the Extremists

In the late 1990s, the most powerful anti-gay groups of the evangelical right underwent their own version of ex-gay therapy. It was an unlikely conversion — most churches at the time held ex-gay ministries at arm's length, with their noses pinched. While many preached that homosexuality was a sinful choice, few wanted the stigma or controversy of hosting an ex-gay ministry.

Ethnographer Tanya Erzen spent a year observing New Hope Ministry, an ex-gay residential program in operation since the late 1970s, for her 2006 book, *Straight to Jesus: Sexual and Christian Conversions in the Ex-Gay Movement*. The program's director told Erzen: "Initially, all our opposition came from the Christian community, rather than the gay community. ... It will take the church

about one hundred years to really understand what we're doing."

Actually, it only took about 20 years. In 1998, two dozen of the country's leading Christian Right groups convened in Colorado Springs, Colo., at Focus on the Family's sprawling headquarters complex. Led by Janet Folger of the Center for Reclaiming America for Christ, the coalition of anti-gay groups called themselves "Truth in Love." They decided to spend \$600,000 on advertisements in the *New York Times* and *USA Today* to try to make "ex-gay" a household word.

Folger spelled out the new strategy in an NPR interview, saying, "That ex-gays exist shatters the foundation of the homosexual movement." On ABC's "Nightline," she admitted to wanting to imprison gays through enforcing anti-sodomy laws that were later thrown out by the Supreme Court as unconstitutional. Regardless, Truth in Love officials maintained that their message was one of hope and compassion.

Initially, ex-gay therapists and ministers were elated at the money and attention from the wealthy and powerful Christ Right groups that had shunned them for decades. In 1999, the Family Research Council, created as a political arm of James Dobson's Focus on the Family, gave \$80,000 to fund PFOX, or Parents and Friends of Ex-Gays. In return, PFOX president Anthony Falzarano — a former male prostitute and confidante of closeted prosecutor Roy M. Cohn, the rabid anti-communist who persecuted homosexuals before dying in 1986 from complications of AIDS — lobbied to keep anti-sodomy laws from being repealed in Louisiana. But Falzarano quickly realized that the new money infusion was really for lobbying against gay rights rather than expanding ex-gay ministries. Before the year was out, he had called a press conference to denounce anti-gay leaders. "Many of us in the ex-gay movement," he said at the event, "feel we're being used."

A Reach for Power

Today, PFOX is headed by Regina Griggs, the mother of an openly gay son. The group's goals have as much to do with transforming public schools as they do with changing people's sexual identities. In a move its officials aim to replicate

nationally, PFOX, with the help of Alliance Defense Fund and the Thomas More Law Center ("Christianity's answer to the ACLU"), sued the Montgomery County School District in Maryland for the right to operate a high school ex-gay club. PFOX lost the suit but continues to distribute ex-gay literature in Maryland schools.

Exodus, which for decades had been an apolitical ministry, has transformed itself into a lobbying apparatus seemingly at odds with its nonprofit status as a ministry. This August, Exodus hired Amanda Banks, a lobbyist with Focus on the Family, to direct lobbying in the Congress and the U.S. Senate. Since her hire, Exodus says it has met with 55 national lawmakers. Banks claims that one unnamed U.S. senator regularly consults with Exodus to learn "how to talk about gay issues without sounding like a bigot."

A new spin-off organization called ExodusRoots sends out daily alerts to readers, telling them how to contact their local congressmen to testify against hate crime laws that would protect gays and lesbians. Incredibly, Exodus Vice President Randy Thomas uses his own experience being assaulted and gay-bashed at a Thanksgiving party in 1988 to argue against legislation that he calls "thought crimes laws." Thomas says he was rescued from the attack by a "pair of angry lesbians" but nonetheless insists that hate crime laws would make his life "as a former homosexual less valuable now than when we were living as homosexuals."

Other heavy hitters on the Exodus board include Phil Burrell, a star organizer for the Christian Right who tapped into a personal database of 1.5 million voters and raised more than \$3 million in a few weeks to support Ohio's 2004 anti-gay marriage initiative. Exodus Chairman Melissa Coffey headed the ex-gay Regeneration Ministries while working as an aide to U.S. Rep. Rich Boucher (R-Va.) and a staff assistant to the government's 9-11 Commission. She now travels as a guest lecturer and speaks on "The Journey Through Lesbianism."

Both Chambers and Thomas, the president and vice president of Exodus, met with President George Bush in the summer of 2006 as part of a delegation to lobby for a constitutional amendment barring same-sex marriage. And James



David Gonzales said most of his counseling sessions with Dr. Joseph Nicolosi, a leading proponent of “ex-gay” therapy, took place on the phone. Today, Gonzales speaks out frequently about the therapy that he now believes damages men and women.

Holsinger, Bush’s current nominee for U.S. surgeon general, founded a church in Kentucky that operates an ex-gay ministry. In 1991, Holsinger submitted a white paper to his church — “Pathophysiology of Male Homosexuality” — that argued that gays and lesbians can alter their sexuality through prayer and willpower. Holsinger has since changed his views and now runs workshops on lesbian health issues.

But enthusiasts and ideologues of the ex-gay movement haven’t given up hope that science will confirm their view.

Playing With Numbers

To back up their claims that homosexuality is purely a deviant lifestyle choice, ex-gay leaders frequently cite the Thomas Project, a four-year study of ex-gay programs, paid for by Exodus, that recruited subjects exclusively from Exodus ministries. It was conducted by Mark Yarhouse, a psychology professor at Pat Robertson’s Regents University, and Stanton Jones, provost of Wheaton College, an evangelical institution in Illinois. Both are members of NARTH. The study was conducted entirely via 45-minute telephone

interviews conducted annually over the course of four years. Results were published this September.

Of nearly 100 people surveyed, only 11% reported a move towards heterosexuality. But no one in the study reports becoming fully heterosexual; according to the study’s authors, even the 11% group “did not report themselves to be without experience of homosexual arousal, and did not report heterosexual orientation to be unequivocal and uncomplicated.”

The researchers had originally hoped for 300 subjects but, according to an article in *Christianity Today*, “found many Exodus ministries mysteriously uncooperative.” Over the course of the four-year study, a quarter of the participants dropped out. Their reasons for quitting were not tracked.

Nevertheless, the study was hailed by Exodus, Focus on the Family and the Southern Baptist Convention as “scientific evidence to prove what we as former homosexuals have known all along — that those who struggle with unwanted same-sex attraction can experience freedom from it.”

Even more remarkably, Focus on the Family cites a 67% success rate. It came up with that number by counting as “successes” subjects who practice chastity or were still engaged in homosexual acts or thoughts “but expressed commitment to continue” the therapy.

Despite its rhetoric that “freedom from unwanted homosexuality is possible,” Exodus officials seem quietly aware that few, if any, of the thousands of people who participate in their ministries actually change their sexual orientation. Exodus pamphlets with titles like “My Fiancé(e) is Ex-Gay: Are We Ready for Marriage?” and “Women & Ex-Gay Men: Establishing Healthy Boundaries” present ex-gay status as essentially an act of faith.

“Why do ex-gay men pursue women?” one pamphlet asks. The answers offered describe the ex-gay movement itself: “Social Expectation ... Self-Reassurance ... Blind Faith.”

Wink and Nod

One of the first things to strike a newcomer to any Exodus conference is how much it seems to play to stereotypes

of gay men. At Revolution, the name Exodus gave to its conference this June at Concordia University in Irvine, Calif., the young men attending wore designer jeans and tight-fitting T-shirts. They had pierced ears and expensive haircuts. Burroway, the gay man who tracks the ex-gay movement for Box Turtle Bulletin, describes Exodus conferences he's attended as "one of the gayest things I have ever been to."

At the June conference in Irvine, which promised "complete, sudden, radical change," Exodus Vice President Randy Thomas, the master of ceremonies, dangled his wrists as he made self-conscious jokes about how much he likes the Seattle Seahawks since Tiger Woods took them to the Stanley Cup. Announcing a free Friday afternoon for conference attendees, his voice grew high-pitched when he told the audience, "There's plenty of shopping."

In short, Exodus attendees were free to nod and wink at their gay pasts. After all, as many ex-gay leaders say, "No one chooses to struggle with same-sex attraction." But a glance at Exodus seminars reveals that the road to "healing" is paved with plenty of self-hatred.

Seminars at the Irvine conference boasted militant-sounding titles such as "A Hero's Journey: Fighting the Battle of Your Life." One of the featured speakers was Michael L. Brown, author of *Revolution: The Call to Holy War* and a millennial Jew who once described the red T-shirts worn by his ministry students at a gay rights march counter-demonstration as "the shed blood of Christ flowing toward the gates of hell."

On Exodus' opening day, Brown's comments were no more reserved. To stand-up applause, he quoted from the Black Panthers and told the thousand members of his audience that the fight against gay civil rights is a "cause worth dying for."

Before the four-day Exodus conference came to an end, Focus on the Family and Exodus spokesman Mike Haley showed a final video clip on the gargantuan multimedia screen. By that time, the audience was in a weakened emotional state. Over the past four days, they'd been repeatedly told they had failed as parents, failed as boys and girls, failed as husbands and wives, and that their fail-

ure to change may lead them to fail God as well.

The video showed a local evening news segment from a town in the Midwest. A soldier is granted an unexpected furlough from Iraq. He makes a surprise visit to his son's first-grade classroom. The boy curls up in his father's arms, crying uncontrollably. Most of the audience was soon doing the same.

"I want you all to have the strength of that little boy," said Haley.

Harm? What Harm?

The same weekend as the Exodus Revolution conference, just a mile down the road at the campus of University of California-Irvine, 100 men and women gathered for the first-ever Ex-Gay Survivor's conference, subtitled "Undoing the Damage, Affirming Our Lives Together." For some, it was a space to heal. Scott Tucker, another alumnus of LIA who is now openly gay, said that for years he faulted himself for failing to turn straight until he realized



Exodus International President Alan Chambers doesn't merely seek to help people overcome their homosexuality. He accuses gays of having "an evil agenda" that will sweep up anyone "standing idly by."

the programs had the opposite effect, isolating him in a “ghetto” of gay men trying to become straight.

For others, it was a place to challenge Exodus and turn its message of “change is possible” upside down. “Yes you can pursue change. But at what cost?” said Toscano. He and other ex-gay survivors invited Exodus President Alan Chambers and other ex-gay leaders to an off-the-record dinner. “From knowing quite a few of you personally, we know that you have a heart to help people and to serve God. You meant to bless us,” read the invitation. “Too often once we leave your programs, you never hear about our lives and what happens to us.”

Exodus officials declined the invitation.

Shawn O'Donnell, who spent a decade in ex-gay ministries beginning when he was 15, chalked up his experiences on a blackboard at the Ex-Gay Survivor's conference. “I see now that going through these ex-gay experiences caused harm in my life. I heard the message loud and clear that I was a horrible person. I began cutting on myself at such an early age because I just couldn't deal with the fact that I was gay,” wrote O'Donnell. “I grew to hate myself and tried to take my life a few times.”

O'Donnell later posted the same comments on his blog, receiving a stream of supportive comments. Exodus' Chambers, who frequently challenges the posts on ex-gay survivors' sites, wrote back: “Harm? Come on, Shawn. No one is being harmed by Exodus offering people a choice. You KNOW better.”

Behind closed doors, though, Exodus' president admits to struggling with homosexuality every day of his life. “Every day, I wake up and deny what comes naturally to me,” Chambers told a private audience of about 75 “strugglers” at an ex-gay conference held in Phoenix last February.

If there's any doubt where the ex-gay leaders are taking the movement, Chambers clarified it this September, speaking to a Who's Who of the anti-gay Christian Right at the Family Impact Summit in Brandon, Fla.

“We have to stand up against an evil agenda,” Chambers told his fellow hard-liners. “It is an evil agenda and it will take anyone captive that is willing, or that is standing idly by.” ▲

Coming Out

An ‘ex-gay’ minister who struggled for years to overcome his homosexuality discusses why he finally left the movement



Scott Harrison desperately tried to change his sexual orientation in various “ex-gay” ministries for eight years, three of them as a ministry leader in Southern California. Most of his experience with ex-gay groups — Christian organizations that see homosexuality as a choice that can be changed with proper therapy — was with Living Waters and Desert Stream, two curricula of a national

ex-gay network that has more than 80 branches today. When Harrison joined in 1982, he felt ex-gay ministers were then a band of compassionate outsiders attending to the first AIDS victims. But by the end of that decade, Harrison had taken note of the movement's increasing radicalism, symbolized for him by the minister at the Vineyard Christian Fellowship in San Pedro, Calif., who performed an exorcism on him in an attempt to cast out the “demons” said to be the cause of his homosexuality. Harrison finally quit the movement in 1990 after deciding he could, after all, reconcile his sexuality with his Christian faith. Today, he speaks to parents of gay and lesbian children about the dangers he sees in the ex-gay movement. Harrison says the relatively recent alignment of Exodus International, one of the largest ex-gay groups with some 120 ministries in North America alone, with anti-gay Christian “dominionists” — people who want to impose Christian rules on the secular institutions of society — has led to ex-gay ministers pursuing a hard-line message with young people that can only end in mental anguish and failure.

Scott, how did you first get involved with the ex-gay movement?

I grew up in the '60s in a conservative evangelical home, in a Baptist environment. From a young age, I learned homosexuality was not only bad but was the worst sin a person could do. It was worse than murder. For me, the two options I saw, once I realized I was gay, were to commit suicide and go to heaven or to come out as gay and go to hell. [The ex-gay movement] offered a third option.

You started attending ex-gay ministries in 1982. Those were the early days of the movement. What was a typical meeting like?

They would open with a prayer. Andy Comiskey [founder of Living Waters/Desert Stream, a neo-Pentecostal ex-gay ministry], or whoever the particular person leading the session was, would present the teaching. These teachings later became the chapters in Comiskey's book, *Pursuing Sexual Wholeness*.

We were separated into small groups that would stay together for the entire duration of the class. It was a three-and-a-half-hour segment every Saturday. We would break up into our small groups, and we would do a discussion.

There would be praying to break "one-flesh unions." That was the language they used to describe anything that involved having sex that they considered sinful, whether it was premarital sex or homosexual behavior or someone having sex with someone who was in the occult.

The small groups were meant to create Platonic, healthy, same-sex relationships with other Christians. And so you got really close to these people who were in the group. You'd call them every day just to see how they were doing. It was really similar to a recovery group. Homosexuality was viewed as a temptation, not as an orientation.

Back in the 1980s, many Christian churches wanted nothing to do with ex-gay ministries. They saw them as shameful. What was your experience?

[The Vineyard Christian Fellowship in San Pedro, Calif.] was completely different from any evangelical church you've ever been to. There was a strong emphasis on social justice issues — feeding the homeless and doing whatever you could to help people. There was a strong emphasis on doing the things Jesus did and walking the talk.

So the first ex-gay movements considered themselves progressive?

Yes. This was at the beginning of the AIDS epidemic. If you were struggling with feelings of being attracted to the same sex, regardless of whether you accepted yourself as gay or les-

bian, you often were asked to leave your church. People tried to cast demons out of you if it was a Pentecostal or charismatic church. Some said that just through reading the Bible would make you change.

So Desert Stream comes along, and it was fairly innovative. Comiskey had a marriage and family therapy degree. He was versed in psychology. [The program] integrated his brand of psychology with theology. It was seen [in Desert Stream] that sexuality was a gift from God, but certain expressions of sexual behavior are not proper and are not blessed by God. The message was a mixed message — it had progressed from a view you heard in evangelical churches, that homosexuals are all going to hell. It was a message that was hopeful, in a sense.

In 1987 you became an ex-gay minister. Why?

I still believed that change was possible or I wouldn't have done it. I didn't believe change was an easy process. People would have said, if you asked them in private, [that] the option was one of celibacy, as opposed to accepting oneself as gay and lesbian. When [ex-gay ministers] talked about change at that time, they were talking about behavior modification. A person submitted his or her life to God and believed in the power of Christ to transform all elements of his or her life. It was a hope that was held out there, that [one's] desires would become more and more heterosexual. I dated [women] a little bit but it just didn't happen.

A minister in your church performed an exorcism on you to root out your homosexuality. How did that happen?

There was a particular associate minister who was pretty out there. But the problem was he was also extremely intuitive. He would know stuff about you without you ever having told him.

When you're coming from a perspective that you believe God can give messages to people, words of prophecy, then it's very easy to become prey. This guy got a team of people together. One of the aspects that is pretty strong in Vineyard, still, is that they believe

that people can be "demonized." Not meaning that a person is fully possessed by Satan, but that a person has given him or herself over to Satanic strongholds in his or her life, so that it may take an exorcism to release the various demons that this person has given over their lives to.

What happened as you went through it?

It was very intense, dramatic, group prayer. It lasted at least three hours. At the end, I was drenched in sweat. There were some real areas of psychological wounding. All I can really describe it as — because of how it happened and the incorrectness of the theology — is that it felt like a spiritual rape to me.

I'm not saying he [the minister] didn't have good intentions, but it amounted to a spiritual rape. The exorcism occurred that afternoon, and then we ran into the evening church service. I've got hearing issues. I'm fairly hard of hearing; I had hearing aids at the time. This person was convinced that God had given word that I was supposed to give up my hearing aids, that God would heal my hearing. He did this in front of 300 people. I was psychologically vulnerable. I didn't follow my better hunches. Even though it happened over 20 years ago, it's hard to still not blame myself. ... I knew there wasn't a demon of homosexuality.

The [minister] said that if I let him crush my hearing aids, then God would give me back my hearing. He said he would pay for them if God didn't give me back my hearing. Then, he later reneged on that. For the next several weeks, I was faking that my hearing had been healed.

Nowadays, you speak to groups like PFLAG, Parents and Friends of Lesbians and Gays, about ex-gay ministries. What do you tell them?

I always start out by saying what I am not doing is trying to bash people or say negative things about anyone who's involved with these ministries as a person. My goal is to educate people [as to] what their theology is, what they do and also what some of the things I see as dangerous [are] about the movement, both when I was involved and currently.

There's psychological damage when change doesn't occur, when sexual orientation remains homosexual. I certainly heard stories and knew people who committed suicide. I've seen what I believe is a higher incidence of risky behavior and alcohol and drug use among a lot of people who go through an ex-gay ministry. A lot of it is because of spiritual conflict that emerges going through that, feeling betrayed by God, feeling betrayed by the church.

Since you left in 1990, the ex-gay movement has become much more political, hiring lobbyists and meeting with lawmakers. How did this come about?

Around 1997, the ex-gay movement started to get funding from Focus on the Family [a huge Christian Right group led by James Dobson and based in Colorado Springs, Colo.] and from what I'll call other fundamentalist Christian organizations. Exodus International began receiving a lot of their funding from these organizations. As a result, [the ex-gay groups] began to tell a different story. Ex-gays became a vital part of the battle against gay and lesbian civil rights in society.

At the Exodus Revolution ex-gay conference this summer, you saw a speech by Michael Brown in which he encouraged people to "give up their lives" in the fight against homosexuality. What do you think of that?

When you have a keynote speaker like Michael Brown, to me that's unacceptable. It's preaching a message of Christians not just simply opposing gay civil rights and believing a spiritual revival is necessary for this country, but actually calling on Christians to lay down their lives in a spiritual revolution to set up civil laws based on one extreme interpretation of biblical laws from the Old Testament [that calls for the death penalty for homosexuals]. It's Christian



"I certainly heard stories and knew people who committed suicide. A lot of it is because of spiritual conflict that emerges going through that, feeling betrayed by God, feeling betrayed by the church."

Reconstructionism [a doctrine that calls for imposing harsh Old Testament laws on civil society], Christian dominionism. It's abhorrent, and it's dangerous, not just for LGBT people but for our entire society. Because if civil laws are based on [Brown]'s interpretation of the Bible, it's not going to be a democratic society.

Should ministries like Exodus exist?
Legally, I believe they should be

allowed to exist. But I don't believe they should be state-sanctioned. Ex-gay ministries are primarily religious. They should not be allowed to go into public schools any more than representatives of a church, mosque or synagogue. But Exodus Youth [an Exodus International outreach group] is distributing brochures and flyers in public high schools. They are telling teenagers that they should be willing to sacrifice their sexuality because Jesus sacrificed his life for us. So they should be willing to give whatever God asks in exchange for salvation.

What's the problem with that message?

I don't think that's healthy for anyone, but especially not for high school students.

Teenagers are idealistic. They're going to grab for that, believing they can actually change their sexuality, when we have plenty of evidence showing it's not possible. What's going happen when they don't change? More youth suicides, more youths engaging in risky behaviors, feeling betrayed by the church and by God and giving up on their faith. If I'd heard that message as a teenager, I don't know if I'd be here today.

I think the healthier option is to encourage them to accept themselves and find ways of maintaining a faith relationship while encouraging relationships that are healthier than promiscuity. For some people, that might be a monogamous same-sex relationship. For other people it might mean that they are celibate.

Speaking from my own experience, I never witnessed anybody [in the ex-gay movement] who would acknowledge to me privately that they did not still have attractions towards people of the same sex. I can't tell you how many people come out of the ex-gay movement with their faith wrecked and they have to rebuild it from scratch. ▲



ISRAEL

Neo-Nazi Group Arrested in Jewish Homeland

In a case that sent shock waves through Israeli society, police in September announced the arrests of a group of young neo-Nazis who allegedly attacked foreign workers from Asia, religious Jews, homosexuals, the homeless and drug addicts.

The eight suspects, Russian immigrants in their late teens or early 20s, were accused of at least 15 attacks. Videotapes of many of them, seized by police in the central Israeli town of Petah Tikva, showed victims lying on bloody floors as they were beaten and, in one case, a man being smashed in the head with a bottle. The films were shown on several Israeli TV channels amid general disbelief.

The police also seized explosives, spiked balls, knives and other weapons, along with a photo showing a suspect holding an M-16 rifle in one hand and a sign reading “Heil Hitler” in the other. In court later, several suspects displayed tattoos of the number 88, neo-Nazi shorthand for the same slogan. Others had tattoos of Celtic crosses, a symbol popular among many white supremacists, and barbed wire.

The neo-Nazi skinhead ring was

uncovered by police investigating the desecration of two synagogues in Petah Tikva. Officials said that the group at one point had also talked about planning a murder, but offered no further details.

The suspects, along with a ninth who fled the country, all came to Israel as part of a wave of Russian immigrants who arrived in the late 1980s and 1990s. The immigrants, who now make up about 1 million of Israel’s population of just over 7 million people, came under Israeli laws that allow people to claim automatic Israeli citizenship if a parent or grandparent has Jewish roots. Many

Russians are believed to have used distant connections to Judaism to escape poverty at home.

The neo-Nazis’ leader was identi-

Israeli police who uncovered a violent neo-Nazi ring also found photos of its members sieg-heiling and, in one case, holding a “Heil Hitler” sign.



fied as Eli Boanitev, 19, who police said is known as “Eli the Nazi.” Boanitev allegedly told police that he was and would remain a Nazi. “Until we kill them all, I will not rest,” he told officials.

RUSSIA

Grisly Neo-Nazi Execution Video Surfaces in Russia

The video is hard to watch. Just three minutes long, “Operation of the National-Socialist Party of Russia to Arrest and Execute Two Colonists From Dagestan and Tajikistan” opens to the sound of machine-gun fire. Then comes horrifying footage of the grisly execution of two bound and gagged men under a swastika flag. One man is beheaded, and the second is shot in the head.

The videotape surfaced in August on several ultranationalist Russian websites and caused an immediate uproar in Russia, a country that has suffered a near epidemic of racial violence in recent years. Ultranationalist party officials quickly denounced the video, suggesting that it was meant to discredit their cause.

According to *The New York Times*, the video circulated with a note from a previously unknown organization, the National-Socialist Party of Russia. The note announced that a “military vanguard” had been formed to begin armed attacks on “black colonists and those who support them from the Russian government.”

Since the Soviet Union broke up, hundreds of thousands of dark-skinned immigrants from former Soviet republics have traveled to Russia in search of work, sparking ethnic tensions with ethnic Slavs that have frequently erupted in violence.

Russian hate crime experts and police officials initially said the video appeared to depict real murders. But in late October, the official *Rossiskaya Gazeta* reportedly said Interior Ministry officials now believed the video was fake.

Not everyone accepted that verdict. The videotape clearly shows two

men who seem obviously terrified, on their knees in a forest under a swastika flag. All of a sudden, a man lunges toward one of them with a large knife. What follows is more than a minute of graphic footage of the attacker sawing his victim's head off as the man moans and blood spurts from his neck. The masked attacker then poses the victim's severed head atop his body. To many, it was hard to see how the close-up shots of the beheading and the victim's head could possibly have been faked.

SWITZERLAND

Despite 'Racist' Ads, Nativist Party Surges Ahead in Bern

Capitalizing on widespread fears about immigrants, the far-right Swiss People's Party (SVP) in October surged forward



to take 29% of the votes for the nation's lower house, the best result for any Swiss party since 1919.

The unexpectedly strong showing, which translated into 62 seats in the nation's 200-seat National Council, came after a series of anti-immigrant proposals from the SVP that caused the United Nations special rapporteur on racism, Doudou Diène, to voice his alarm. Earlier in the year, Diène wrote an official UN report that criticized the "racist and xenophobic dynamic" operating in Switzerland.

The SVP's electoral success is nevertheless not expected to substantially change the makeup of the national government, a coalition of four parties that already included the SVP, whose leader Christoph Blocher was justice minister in the last government. The new parliament will elect ministers in December.

The SVP ran on a simple platform: expulsion of foreign criminals and other immigrants, a continued refusal to join the European Union, and tax cuts.

In the run-up to the vote, the SVP ran campaign advertisements that were attacked as racist. The ads depicted three white sheep standing on the Swiss flag and kicking one black sheep off it, prompting Diène to ask for an explanation from the party. The party also proposed a law to deport immigrant families of children under 18 convicted of a violent crime, drug offense or welfare fraud. That idea was immediately attacked as a modern version

of Sippenhaft, the Nazi practice of "kin liability," where entire families were punished for an individual's crimes. The party also began a campaign to ban the building of Muslim minarets in Switzerland.

In 2004, the SVP ran anti-immigration ads depicting black and brown hands greedily reaching into a container filled with Swiss passports. Blocher also has

said that he wants to weaken anti-racism laws in order to protect free speech.

GERMANY

Slogan-Chanting Mob Hunts Down Indians in Racist Attack

In the latest outbreak of xenophobic violence in the former East Germany, a mob of 50 German youths screaming neo-Nazi slogans chased down and violently attacked eight Indian visitors and

the man who tried to give them refuge.

The Aug. 19 attack came during a town festival in Mügeln, about 50 miles south of Berlin in the state of Saxony. The attack began at a beer tent at the festival where witnesses said the youths began shouting slogans including "Foreigners out!" and "National resistance rules here!" The Indian victims, at least some of who were merchants, fled to a local pizzeria, owned by an Indian man who let them in.

The pursuing mob, soon joined by more than 100 onlookers, smashed in



the door of the pizzeria, damaged the owner's car, and assaulted the Indians, injuring all of them. Some 70 police officers arrived just in time to prevent worse violence.

The mayor and other local officials, who did not report the case until a day after it occurred, denied that the attack came from right-wingers or said that if it did, the perpetrators had come from elsewhere. Other locals, however, said officials had been warned that violent neo-Nazis intended to crash the festival. The festival's date coincided with neo-Nazi commemorations of the death of Rudolf Hess.

More than most German states, Saxony has been afflicted by racist violence and ideology. The neofascist National Democratic Party has had a presence in the regional legislature since 2004, when it won 9% of the vote. Last spring, Holger Apfel, an NPD legislator, directed a series of racist insults at foreigners.

Since 1990, more than 130 foreigners and Germans have been murdered in racially motivated, right-wing violence in Germany. A 2007 Forsa Institute poll found that one in two youths in eastern Germany believe that National Socialism — the official ideology of Adolf Hitler and the Nazis — had "its good sides." ▲

A Bomber's Life

A penetrating writer examines the life and motivations of serial bomber Eric Rudolph. Even for her, he's hard to figure out

Lone Wolf: Eric Rudolph: Murder, Myth, And The Pursuit Of An American Outlaw

By Maryanne Vollers

New York City: HarperCollins

Publishing, 2006

\$25.95 (hardback)

WHEN ERIC ROBERT RUDOLPH WAS finally arrested while scavenging through a Dumpster behind a Save-A-Lot store in western North Carolina, it came as a surprise to many. In the five years since he disappeared from sight, many law enforcement officials and others had come to believe that the Olympics bomber had either died in the forest to which he fled or managed to escape the United States entirely.

But Rudolph was very much alive, and he had traveled only a few scant miles from the trailer he abandoned in 1998. He had, in fact, survived his whole time on the lam using expert survivalist skills and a sustained program of burglarizing homes and businesses in the area for supplies. Two years later, Rudolph pleaded guilty to a series of bombings at the 1996 Olympic Games in Atlanta, two abortion clinics and a lesbian nightclub — attacks that killed two people and injured 120 others.

When he was finally sentenced, after pleading guilty in 2005 to all the attacks of which he was accused, Rudolph issued an arrogant, dismissive statement, telling the world he was doing so only to cheat the government of a death sentence.

Much was known about Rudolph by the time he was sent to prison — his early Holocaust denial, his

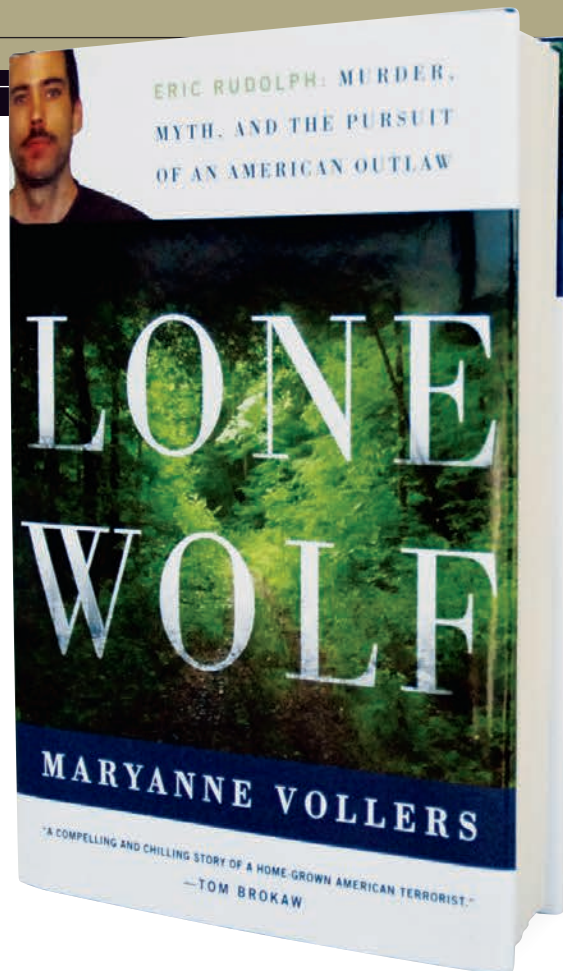
hatred for Jews and association with adherents of the racist Christian Identity theology — but even more remained hidden.

What seemed hardest to understand was what actually made the pretty-boy bomber tick.

Maryanne Vollers, a 1995 National Book Award finalist for her book *Ghosts of Mississippi*, decided to profile Rudolph after his arrest. While much has been written about Rudolph — including in these pages — Vollers' book is surely the best and most accurate portrait we have of the unrepentant serial bomber.

Vollers had great advantages, beyond her natural writing talent. She was the only writer with whom Rudolph cooperated, sending her letters and allowing his lawyers to break their confidentiality pledge by discussing his case with her. Vollers won the cooperation, sort of, of Rudolph's very strange mother — the woman who started Rudolph as a boy on his odyssey into the American radical right. And Vollers also had access to most of the law enforcement officials involved.

What emerges is a portrait of a kind of sociopath. Rudolph was handsome, intelligent, and, Vollers opines, a fine writer. One lawyer even said of



the man who pressed a detonator and watched as his bomb blew a police officer apart: "He's one of the most genuinely considerate and kind people ... that I've known." He was also an ice-cold killer who has never apologized for most of his actions.

Reacting to Rudolph's haughty courtroom statement after being sentenced, Vollers shows that she hasn't been taken in. "I stared at the empty space where Eric Rudolph had just been and tried to imagine the somber but rational man who wrote me letters, or the funny, thoughtful person his lawyers had come to love, or the wayward son his mother had forgiven, but all I could see was a self-righteous bastard in sunglasses and a cheap wig, his blue eyes darkening as he clutched the remote control [of the bomb targeting the officer] and threw the switch."

— Mark Potok

Punishing 'Outrageous' Speech

Anti-gay activists who picketed a funeral have lost a huge judgment for inflicting emotional distress. It's unclear if the verdict will hold

BY RHONDA BROWNSTEIN

IN OCTOBER, A FEDERAL JURY IN Baltimore awarded \$11 million to the father of Lance Cpl. Matthew Snyder, a Marine killed in Iraq, against the notorious Fred Phelps and his Kansas-based Westboro Baptist Church for their offensive protest at Snyder's funeral. Phelps and his church, which consists mainly of his family, are infamous for picketing at the funerals of American soldiers killed in Iraq and Afghanistan with signs saying "God Hates Fags," "Thank God for 9/11," and "Thank God for Dead Soldiers." Church members claim to believe that God is punishing America for its tolerance of homosexuality and permissive morals.

The Snyder protest took place across from the Catholic church where the funeral was being held, and signs included the words "Semper Fi Fags" and two stick figures that appeared to be engaged in sodomy. The church also posted derogatory statements about Snyder and his father on its website, www.godhatesfags.com. The jury found Phelps, the other six picketers, and the church liable for violating the Snyder family's privacy and for intentionally inflicting emotional distress. (A Legal Brief in *Intelligence Report* No. 122 discussed the constitutionality of laws banning picketing outside of funerals.)

The Phelps verdict has set off a constitutional debate over how far the First Amendment should extend to protect the most extreme forms of expression from civil lawsuits for damages. One of the laws under which the verdict was entered, the tort of "intentional infliction of emotional distress," allows a plaintiff to recover money from a defendant who intentionally engages in outrageous speech or conduct that

causes severe emotional distress to the plaintiff. Most government restrictions on speech have to be "content neutral" in order to be constitutional — that is, the restrictions can't be based on the

speech about public concerns could be effectively stripped of its constitutional protection. A state university, for example, could ban the student posting or publication of cartoons mocking

Mohammed on the grounds that they are so "outrageous" that they inflict "severe emotional distress" on Muslim students.

In the pivotal case of *Hustler v. Falwell*, the Supreme Court held that the tort of intentional infliction of emotional distress could not be used to sue over speech on matters of public concern about public figures. In that case, the well-known Christian fundamentalist minister Jerry Falwell sued the notorious porn magazine, *Hustler*, over its publication of a parody which, among

other things, portrayed Falwell as having engaged in a drunken, incestuous rendezvous with his mother in an out-house. In striking down a verdict in favor of Falwell that was based on the same tort at issue in the Phelps case, the Supreme Court noted that "[o]utrageousness in the area of political and social discourse has an inherent subjectiveness about it which would allow a jury to impose liability on the basis of the jurors' tastes or views, or perhaps on the basis of their dislike of a particular expression," which is inconsistent with the First Amendment.

The big difference between *Falwell v. Hustler* and the Phelps case is that Jerry Falwell was a "public figure," while the Snyder family is not. In libel cases, speech aimed at private figures (like



Over the line: A federal jury said this demonstration inflicted severe emotional distress on a Marine's family.

actual content of the speech. But in a civil lawsuit based on the tort of "intentional infliction of emotional distress," it is precisely the content of the speech or conduct that is the basis for the lawsuit.

The problem posed by those who disagree with the verdict in *Snyder v. Phelps* is what they call the "slippery slope" that could lead to a weakening of the First Amendment. Critics say that if the tort of intentional infliction of emotional distress applied to all outrageous speech about public matters (such as homosexuality and the alleged moral decay of America) that is aimed at private people (such as the Snyder family), then much

CONTINUED ON PAGE 64

FOR THE RECORD

INCIDENTS OF APPARENT HATE CRIMES AND HATE GROUP ACTIVITIES LISTED IN FOR THE RECORD ARE drawn primarily from media sources. These incidents include only a fraction of the approximately 191,000 reported and unreported hate crimes that a 2005 government report estimated occur annually. This listing carries a selection of incidents from the third quarter of 2007 (any additional listings may be found on the Intelligence Project's website at www.intelligenceproject.org.)

ALABAMA

Athens • Sept. 15, 2007

The National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan held an anti-immigration rally.

ARIZONA

Glendale • August 9, 2007

A chemical bomb was tossed from a car at a mosque. The bomb landed near two people associated with the Albanian American Islamic Center.

Kingman • July 5, 2007

Joshua Michael Ferrante, 27, and Eric James Crawford, 36, both self-proclaimed members of the Aryan Brotherhood, were charged with threatening or intimidating and felony participating in a criminal syndicate after they allegedly threatened residents at an apartment complex and then the arresting officers.

Scottsdale • July 16, 2007

A man was allegedly attacked by two men yelling anti-gay epithets.

Tempe • Sept. 11, 2007

Michael Estes, 32, was charged with suspicion of disorderly conduct after he allegedly cursed at an imam at an Islamic community center and made other negative remarks to him on the sixth anniversary of the Sept. 11, 2001, terrorist attacks.

CALIFORNIA

Antioch • Sept. 9, 2007

Phillip Hale, 18, was charged with assault with a deadly weapon, conspiracy and committing a hate crime after he and a 17-year-old boy allegedly taunted a group of deaf people and attacked them with a stick, a hoe and a brick. The 17-year-old was taken to juvenile hall.

Brentwood • Aug. 22, 2007

A black family's residence was

burned and racist graffiti was spray-painted on it. A vehicle was also stolen from the home; it was found Aug. 25 stripped and burned.

Campbell • Aug. 19, 2007

Anti-gay epithets were spray-painted on a church sign.

Clovis • July 22, 2007

Derik Wolff, 26, David Bradley, 36, Michael McDonald, 23, and Gabriel Ditommaso, 25, were arrested on suspicion of making criminal threats and a hate crime after they allegedly yelled racial slurs and chased and threatened to kill another man.

Covina • Sept. 29, 2007

Two 15-year-old Latina girls were arrested for allegedly attacking and robbing a black woman while shouting racial slurs.

Gilroy • Aug. 17, 2007

A black-owned nightclub was set afire and racist messages were painted at the scene.

Lakeside • July 12, 2007

A black man was allegedly attacked by a man who displayed a tattoo of a swastika. Timothy Michael Caban, 40, was charged with battery causing great bodily injury with a special circumstance that the attack was a hate crime.

Los Angeles • July 3, 2007

Adonis Irwin, 32, was sentenced to nine months in jail for pasting swastikas on the entrance of a city councilman's office. Irwin also received three years of probation after pleading no contest to vandalism, posting a swastika on private property and a hate crime charge.

Los Angeles • Aug. 23, 2007

Two men in a car allegedly yelled anti-Semitic remarks and fired several rounds of pellets at a group

of young Jewish people dressed in traditional clothing.

Manteca • July 2, 2007

A black woman was allegedly attacked by a man who yelled racial slurs. Mike Pulliam, 42, was charged with felony battery, felony violation of a person's civil rights and a misdemeanor for being drunk in public.

Marina • Aug. 11, 2007

A Latino day laborer was allegedly beaten by a white male who offered him work.

Oakland • Sept. 25, 2007

Racial slurs and the words "white power" were spray-painted on a black woman's car.

Palm Springs • Sept. 20, 2007

A gay man was allegedly attacked by a man who bit off part of his ear and made comments about the victim being "straight."

Pasadena • Sept. 19, 2007

Marcus Howze, 17, of Pasadena, was found guilty of misdemeanor assault and battery as a hate crime for attacking a Latino couple and yelling racial slurs.

Placerville • July 14, 2007

Joseph Silva, in his 50s, and Georgia Silva, 49, were charged with assault and committing a hate crime after they allegedly yelled racial epithets and beat an Indian American man in Lake Tahoe on July 14.

Porterville • July 20, 2007

Literature from the Creator Skinheads was wrapped in newspapers and stuffed inside mailboxes.

San Clemente • Aug. 31, 2007

Travis Roy Davis, 29, a suspected member of the white supremacist Public Enemy Number One was arrested for the attempted murder

of a suspected gang member. Roy allegedly stabbed and partially disemboweled a 23-year-old man at a local motel.

Seaside • Aug. 10, 2007

Glenn Michael Blevins was charged with assault with a deadly weapon, infliction of great bodily injury and unlawful imprisonment for allegedly beating a Latino day laborer.

Tarzana • July 7, 2007

A small fire was started in the sanctuary of a Jewish temple and racial slurs were spray-painted in the area.

Westminster • Aug. 8, 2007

Justin Louis Mullins, 23; Cheyenne Danica Wilson, 25; and James Joseph Kelly, 26, were charged with felony aggravated assault with a hate crime enhancement after they allegedly pulled a Latino man out of his car and beat and kicked him while yelling racial slurs.

COLORADO

Fort Collins • July 6, 2007

Three black men and three Latino men in a car were allegedly attacked by a group of white men in another vehicle while waiting at a red light.

CONNECTICUT

New London • Sept. 25, 2007

Nooses were left in a black Coast Guard cadet's bag.

Torrington • Aug. 28, 2007

Richard Tatro, 19, and two teens were charged with third-degree criminal mischief after they allegedly etched names and racial slurs into freshly poured concrete sidewalks.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Washington • Aug. 14, 2007

Swastikas were spray-painted on a synagogue.

FLORIDA

Callaway • Aug. 7, 2007

Adam J. Tollett and Timothy Allen Stillwell, both 22, were charged with felony battery as a hate crime for allegedly beating a black man.

Largo • Sept. 10, 2007

A black youth was allegedly hit in the face by a white student who called him several racial epithets.

Miami Beach • Sept. 24, 2007

Miguel Aranda, 18; Marion Biondini and Gilberto Maakaroun, both 17; and a 15-year-old were charged with a hate crime and battery for allegedly using racial slurs and beating and nearly drowning a black college student. Aranda and Maakaroun are also charged with attempted felony murder. Jose Osorio, 21, was charged with aggravated battery and attempted murder, but not a hate crime.

Miami-Dade • Sept. 30, 2007

A church was set afire and racial slurs were painted at the scene.

Sarasota • July 14, 2007

Anti-Islamic epithets were spray-painted on a Bosnian family's residence that was then set afire.

GEORGIA

Dunwoody • July 10, 2007

An apparent swastika and an obscenity were spray-painted outside the residence of a Jewish family and vehicles at four residences, three of them occupied by Jewish families, were vandalized.

IDAHO

Lewiston • Aug. 17, 2007

Steven Leas, 24, and Cody Lindell, 18, were charged with felony malicious harassment for allegedly using racial slurs and shoving a black man.

Lewiston • Sept. 15, 2007

Jill Grant, 40, was charged with felony malicious harassment after she allegedly kicked a 13-year-old Native American girl several times in the head and stomach after Grant and several others shouted "white power." Grant's daughter, 21-year-old Ashley Grant, was

being sought for allegedly beating the girl. Michael Moody, 22, and Jill Grant's son, 19-year-old Jason Grant, were charged with attempted intimidation of a witness; Moody allegedly displayed a tattoo of a swastika on his chest as he, his 18-year-old brother David Moody, and Jason Grant allegedly shouted racial slogans.

ILLINOIS

Chicago • Aug. 17, 2007

A 22-year-old gay man was allegedly attacked by three men who called him anti-gay slurs.

Crystal Lake • Sept. 20, 2007

A 16-year-old girl was sentenced to 14 days in jail and one year of probation and ordered to write letters of apology for distributing anti-gay fliers outside a high school in May.

Gurnee • Sept. 28, 2007

Curtis Hielt, 17, was charged with disorderly conduct after he allegedly made racial statements to two girls in a high school parking lot. Hielt drove into the parking lot with a noose dangling from his rearview mirror and a Confederate flag displayed in his vehicle.

IOWA

Ottumwa • Aug. 7, 2007

The letters "KKK" were scrawled on a residence that a black couple was planning to purchase.

KENTUCKY

Owensboro • Sept. 5, 2007

A 16-year-old white male student was charged with second-degree terroristic threatening at school after he allegedly made threats against black students.

Owensboro • Sept. 10, 2007

A 15-year-old boy was charged with third-degree criminal mischief after he admitted to writing threatening messages with racial slurs on walls in two boys' bathrooms at a high school.

LOUISIANA

Baton Rouge • Aug. 23, 2007

Two white men allegedly shouted racial epithets and one allegedly fired a shotgun at two black

Department of Public Works employees cutting grass.

Eric Edward Arnaud, 22, was charged with a hate crime count and two counts of attempted second-degree murder and Christopher Bradley Roussel, 17, was charged with a hate crime count and two counts of principal to attempted second-degree murder.

MAINE

Baillyville • Sept. 1, 2007

Sean MacArthur, 20; Nicolas James, 18; David Townsend, 21; Adam Casey, 24, and a 17-year-old were charged with aggravated assault for allegedly attacking two Native American youths.

MARYLAND

College Park • Sept. 6, 2007

A noose was hung in a tree near a cultural center housing several black organizations at the University of Maryland.

Waldorf • Sept. 8, 2007

Four teenagers, ages 14 to 16, were charged with four counts of committing a hate crime and 21 counts of destruction of property after they allegedly spray-painted obscenities in a neighborhood.

MASSACHUSETTS

Plymouth • Aug. 25, 2007

Joshua Duggan, 27, was arrested for allegedly spray-painting racial slurs on a car and breaking into another. He faces charges of civil rights violation, vandalizing property, larceny of property worth \$250 or less and breaking and entering in the night with intent to commit a felony.

MICHIGAN

Flushing • Aug. 11, 2007

Adam W. Jones, 19; Robert M. Bonardelli, Eric T. Trombley and Michael Lokken, all 17; and Matthew J. Akin, 18, were charged with malicious destruction of property over \$1,000 and conspiracy to commit property damage for allegedly painting racial slurs and graffiti in a park.

Kalamazoo • Aug. 4, 2007

About 40 white supremacists held a rally.

MISSOURI

Marshfield • Aug. 2, 2007

A group of white men allegedly called a black man racial epithets.

NEBRASKA

Omaha • July 5, 2007

Shirley Phelps-Roper, 49, of the anti-gay Westboro Baptist Church, was charged with negligent child abuse, contributing to the delinquency of a minor, flag mutilation and disturbing the peace for allegedly allowing her son to stomp on a U.S. flag.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Peterborough • Sept. 12, 2007

A 17-year-old youth of Middle Eastern descent was allegedly punched in the face by two men who yelled racial slurs.

NEW JERSEY

Passaic • Sept. 22, 2007

Scott Nibbling, 20; Michael Holly, 18, and Christopher Bogart, 21, were charged with three counts of harassment, two counts of biased intimidation, one count of posting signs of violence and one count of conspiracy for allegedly posting signs with swastikas and neo-Nazi rhetoric on utility poles and on the doors of a synagogue.

NEW MEXICO

Albuquerque • Sept. 11, 2007

More than 20 male Indian students at the University of New Mexico were allegedly assaulted by a man who said "Namaste" -- a traditional Indian greeting -- after the attacks.

Albuquerque • Sept. 12, 2007

Turan Johnson, 34, was arraigned on three counts of alleged battery in attacks on two East Indian students at the University of New Mexico.

NEW YORK

Cheektowaga • Aug. 9, 2007

Sean R. Kwiatkowski, 18; Mark W. Heerdt, 19; and a 16-year-old boy were charged with harassment

in the first degree as a hate crime for allegedly harassing a developmentally challenged couple with derogatory slurs and causing their car to crash into a pole.

Lockport • Aug. 2, 2007

Shawn M. Blount, 19, was sentenced to one to three years in prison for vandalizing a synagogue in January.

Manhasset • Sept. 1, 2007

John Rocissano, 20, who was reportedly connected to the neo-Nazi National Alliance, and Matthew Felicetti, 17, were charged with aggravated harassment and criminal mischief for allegedly painting swastikas and other graffiti on a synagogue, two schools, a residence and a street sign.

Matinecock • Sept. 15, 2007

An Iranian-American nail salon owner was allegedly beaten by two robbers who called her a “terrorist” and scrawled anti-Muslim messages on a mirror in her shop.

New York • July 2, 2007

Two white men and two white women allegedly yelled anti-Chinese remarks and assaulted a group of Asian men.

New York • July 27, 2007

Stanislav Shmulevich, 23, was charged with criminal mischief and aggravated harassment, both hate crimes, for allegedly throwing a Quran in a toilet at Pace University in two separate inci-

dents in October and November.

New York • Sept. 28, 2007

Daniel Young, 18, was charged with two counts of second-degree criminal mischief, first-degree aggravated harassment and third-degree criminal trespass for allegedly writing anti-Semitic remarks into the grounds of a county club's golf course. Young also was charged with fourth-degree criminal mischief for defacing a car with swastikas and anti-Semitic slurs.

Oneonta • July 31, 2007

Perry J. Webb, 49, was charged with a hate crime after he allegedly menaced a group of teenagers with a knife as he asked them their race.

Plandome • Aug. 31, 2007

A swastika, anti-Semitic epithets and other obscenities were painted on a synagogue.

Sea Cliff • Sept. 1, 2007

A lesbian who was a former contestant on the television show “Top Chef” and several of her friends were allegedly beaten by a group of people who yelled anti-gay slurs and spit on them outside a bar.

NORTH CAROLINA

High Point • Sept. 21, 2007

Four nooses were left on a high school campus.

Oxford • July 26, 2007

Letters from the American

National Socialist Workers Party were sent to some residents in Vance and Granville counties.

OKLAHOMA

Oklahoma City • Sept. 11, 2007

Richard Dale Thomas, 33, a public school transportation director, was charged with two misdemeanor counts of harassment for an alleged assault on two students that had racial overtones.

OREGON

Corvallis • Aug. 13, 2007

Jesse J. Mason, 24, pled guilty to two counts of intimidation in the second degree after spitting at two men he believed were of Middle Eastern descent and later arriving at their homes yelling slurs and throwing lawn furniture.

Grand Ronde • July 3, 2007

A church was set afire and religious slurs, swastikas, pentagrams and anarchy symbols were spray-painted on it.

Medford • Aug. 23, 2007

Shaun Patrick Temple, 21, and Kevin Kaleb Temple, 24, were charged with harassment, disorderly conduct, assault and intimidation after they allegedly shouted racial slurs and attacked two black teenagers.

Salem • July 11, 2007

Austin Chacon, 28, was charged with assault, intimidation and unlawful use of a weapon after he allegedly beat a black man.

PENNSYLVANIA

Bushkill • Aug. 8, 2007

Anti-Semitic and racist slurs were spray-painted in a neighborhood.

TENNESSEE

Nashville • July 15, 2007

Cards from the United Northern and Southern Knights of the Ku Klux Klan were left on driveways and near mailboxes in a neighborhood.

TEXAS

San Antonio • July 13, 2007

A Muslim family's vehicles were vandalized with messages telling them to move.

West • Aug. 12, 2007

Stephen Ray Chapman, 34, was charged with engaging in organized criminal activity and aggravated assault with a deadly weapon after he allegedly beat a Latino man. Maria Lee Wooten, 33, was also charged in connection with the incident.

West • Aug. 16, 2007

A Latino man was allegedly beaten and kicked by four teenage girls who say they are white supremacists.

VIRGINIA

Virginia Beach • Aug. 20, 2007

Racist remarks were spray-painted on a car that was then set afire at the residence of a white woman who has biracial children.

WASHINGTON

Queensgate • Aug. 9, 2007

Donald Francis, a 44-year-old apparently homeless man, was shot allegedly by a woman from whom Francis asked money. Geraldine Beasley, 62, was charged with murder.

Spokane • July 1, 2007

Eight neo-Nazi skinheads held a remembrance day rally for a dead white supremacist icon.

WEST VIRGINIA

Big Creek • Sept. 11, 2007

Frankie Brewster, a 49-year-old white woman, was charged with kidnapping, sexual assault, malicious wounding and giving false information after she and several others allegedly tortured a black woman and called her racial epithets.

Brewster's son, Bobby R. Brewster, 24, was charged with kidnapping, sexual assault, malicious wounding and assault during the commission of a felony in connection with the incident. Danny J. Combs, 20, also was charged with malicious wounding, battery and assault during the commission of a felony; and Alisha Burton and George Messer, both 27, were charged with battery and assault during the commission of a felony. ▲

PUNISHING 'OUTRAGEOUS' SPEECH CONTINUED FROM PAGE 61

the Snyders) receive less First Amendment protection than speech aimed at public figures (like Jerry Falwell). This is because private individuals cannot easily rebut defamatory statements and because they have not voluntarily put themselves in the public eye, and thus do not willingly assume the risk of defamation. Intentional infliction of emotional distress is not the same as libel, however, and it's not clear whether the Supreme Court would give Phelps and his protesters the same First Amendment protection as it gave *Hustler* magazine, given that Phelps' offensive speech is aimed at private, not public, persons.

As could be expected, Phelps and his co-defendants have promised to appeal the jury's verdict to U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit. ▲

Odin in Omaha

The Norse god makes a rare appearance at a neo-Nazi beer bash. His son, Thor, proves something of an embarrassment

BY SUSY BUCHANAN AND DAVID HOLTHOUSE

ON SEPT. 1, THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST Movement (NSM) held a neo-Nazi anti-immigration rally in Omaha, Neb. That night, about 60 NSM members and supporters, many of them racist skinheads, celebrated in a horse pasture. They guzzled beer, slam-danced to hate rock and cheered the torching of two gigantic wooden swastikas.

But the most highly anticipated entertainment at the NSM after-party was billed as “a visit from Odin,” the ancient Norse god worshipped by neo-pagans, including a sizable number of white supremacists.

“Odin” took the stage with the embers of the swastikas smoldering dramatically in the background.

A bedazzling Celtic cross medallion was draped around his neck. He wore an eye patch and a hooded robe with sequined trim — think Obi-Wan Kenobi meets Liberace.

As the crowd of neo-Nazis hushed into respectful silence, Odin began to speak in a theatrical voice reminiscent of Sean Connery playing a pirate. “Kindred of mine, fair and beautiful children of the light,” the venerable Norse deity intoned, gesticulating with Shakespearean aplomb. “You know me. I am known to you as all-father Odin. Lord of the wolves and of the ravens.”

The actor hamming it up for the NSM was avid hate group thespian Jerry Harbin, who had traveled not from Asgard — the mythical home world of Norse warrior gods — but from Arizona to reprise his performance as Odin at National Vanguard’s Winterfest in Phoenix in December 2006.

Harbin, who’s in his 60s, has a long history in the performing arts. He graduated from the University of Alabama with a degree in music and then acted with several theater companies in Europe while stationed there in the

Air Force. The former Phoenix unit coordinator for the neo-Nazi National Alliance, Harbin now serves as adjutant and choir director of the Phoenix camp of the Sons of Confederate Veterans, a Southern heritage group. He works as a respiratory therapist, and his passion for all things Odin is such that he hands out



As depicted in this 19th century engraving, the Norse god Odin is a regal, commanding character on his throne. As played by hate group thespian Jerry Harbin, less so.



Thor’s hammers to children in his care.

Keeping with the anti-immigration theme of the Omaha protest, Odin/Harbin sounded off against Mexicans: “My children, I did not teach you to give yourselves over to the propagation of alien strangers whose ancestors never lived with me in the old forest! Know ye not that these aliens hate you? Despise you for your charities? And envy your wealth?”

Odin reminded the besotted Aryans of their “heroic” past, when their ancestors mythically aided the Norse god in his battle against “the evil ones who dwell in darkness and use their gold and their deceit to corrupt you into their

snares. When you lived in the old forest with me, we were always victorious against these enemies.”

But the old forest is a long way from Omaha, and Odin scolded the skinheads for losing the way of the Viking warrior: “You recoil from two-legged beasts who merely snarl at you. You hide like

frightened pups from mouthy wolves and slinking thieves, yet you cry for assurance. Hah! Assurance! You are Aryan men and women! All the assurance you could ever require flows in your blood.”

There was a smattering of applause from the crowd and shouts of “White Power!”

Odin offered one last admonishment: “Drunkards and slackers make cumbersome baggage. Banish these pretenders from thy battlements.”

As if on cue, a piece of cumbersome baggage in the form of a goateed skinhead playing Odin’s son, Thor, joined Harbin on stage. “Thor” had obviously been chugging from a mead horn.

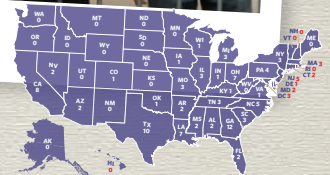
“Lo, there do I see my father! Lo, do I see my mother, and my sisters! And my brothers! Lo, do I see the line of my people!! Whoa! They talk to me!” Thor rambled, half-pacing, half-staggering across the stage. “They tell me to take my place amongst them in the hall of Val-a-halla where the brave! May live! Forever! Whoa! Sieg heil!”

The crowd dutifully saluted back as Thor continued to nonsensically ad lib: “All of you are just what Odin said. We, you, you! Are the warriors! Of our people! You must spread the word! White Power!”

“White Power!” the crowd responded. “Alright,” Thor concluded. “I gotta go.”▲

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