

Shepherd's Chapel: Televangelist attacks the 'Kenites'



Intelligence Report

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State of Denial

Turkey entices U.S. scholars, lawmakers
to cover up Armenian genocide

PLUS

NORTH MEETS SOUTH

Yankee Secessionists
Partner with Racist
Neo-Confederates

STALKED BY SKINS

Two Brothers and
Their Families
Live in Fear

Lying About History

BY MARK POTOK, EDITOR

TEN DAYS BEFORE THE 1939 INVASION OF Poland that launched World War II, Adolf Hitler reassured a conference of Nazi military leaders that even the complete destruction of the Polish people would not tar the Third Reich for long.

“Genghis Kahn led millions of women and children to slaughter — with premeditation and a happy heart. History sees in him solely the founder



of a state,” the führer told his men. And “[w]ho, after all, speaks today of the annihilation of the Armenians?”

Who, indeed? Not the Turkish government, which denies a plethora of evidence and eye-witness accounts that show that as many as 1.5 million Armenians were the victims of a genocide orchestrated by leaders of the Ottoman Empire between 1915 and 1918. On the contrary, defying the weight of modern scholarship, Turkey regularly prosecutes intellectuals who suggest there was a genocide.

And not the likes of Guenter Lewy, a right-wing professor emeritus at the University of Massachusetts who told a Harvard University audience this March that the Young Turk government of the time may have been guilty of “corruption” and “bungling misrule” — but not genocide. Lewy has made a career out of justifying American conduct in Vietnam and toward American Indians. As recounted in this issue of

the *Intelligence Report*, he, along with a network of other prominent American academics, is working now to revise Turkish history, too.

Despite the efforts of people like Lewy — many of them funded by the Turkish government — the facts of the Armenian genocide are quite well known. The ruling party of the day massacred intellectuals, forced hundreds of thousands of Armenians into what amounted to death marches, and systematically despoiled the victims of their property. Professor Raphael Lemkin coined the word “genocide” in 1943 with the Armenian slaughter in mind. In 2005, the International Association of Genocide Scholars wrote the Turkish foreign minister to remind him that the massacre of Christian Armenians was indeed “a systematic genocide.”

The claims of the Turkish government and the scholars who seem bent on supporting it are enough to make one ill. But they are not without company.

Almost from the day World War II ended, Nazi sympathizers began working to write the history of the Holocaust out of the cataclysm — to deny the existence of the gas chambers, of the Einsatzgruppen that shot hundreds of thousands of Jews to death, of any knowledge of the mass murder by Hitler. Yes, there was corruption, even “bungling misrule,” but Hitler, they say, never planned a genocide.

Similarly, almost immediately after the American Civil War concluded in 1865, Alexander Stephens, former vice president of the Confederacy, wrote a history that elided slavery as the primary cause of the conflict, substituting in its place noble Southern attempts to preserve Christianity and the Constitution. In the 140-plus years since, literally hundreds of racist writers have parroted those claims; today, many neo-Confederates will even argue slavery was a good thing for Africans.

Aside from blind, brute nationalistic pride, what is the point of all this lying about history? Emory University Jewish and Holocaust Studies Professor Deborah Lipstadt put it well in her 1993 book *Denying the Holocaust*: “Denial aims to reshape history to rehabilitate the persecutors and demonize the victims.”

That is true across the board. Some semi-official Turkish narratives now claim, in effect, that the Armenians actually carried out genocidal attacks on the Turks. Neo-Nazis and their scholarly enablers say that “the Jews” manufactured tall tales of the Holocaust in order to extort money and other concessions from postwar Germany. Neo-Confederates like Doug Wilson, a far-right pastor in Moscow, Idaho, tell their listeners with a straight face that the Civil War was nothing less than a defense of righteous Christian civilization and that blacks really didn’t mind slavery.

These lies all serve current agendas — to demonize and minimize the historical claims of Armenians, Jews, and African Americans. That is why, at the end of her book, Lipstadt called on scholars to act: “We must do so in order to expose falsehood and hate. We will remain ever vigilant so that the most precious tools of our trade and our society — truth and reason — can prevail. The still, small voices of millions cry out to us from the ground demanding that we do no less.” ▲

Intelligence Report Wins Award
This April, the *Intelligence Report* was honored with a “special recognition” award for its 2007 reporting by the Gay & Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation. The award, presented in a televised ceremony held in Hollywood, Fla., said the *Report’s* work “reinforces the reality that no one is equal until we are all equal.”



ON THE COVER

48 State of Denial

In France and Switzerland, it’s a crime to deny the Turkish genocide of the Armenians during World War I. But in the United States, the Turkish government runs a major lobbying operation and spends millions of dollar to promote a cover-up of the murder of more than 1 million people — including payments made to prominent U.S. historians by a foundation that is little more than a front operation.



19 Of Race and Rockets

Walter Kistler, a famous aerospace scientist who created the well-known Foundation for the Future, has become the only donor to the Pioneer Fund, a racist foundation that funds controversial studies of race and intelligence. A defiant Kistler says he is “not concerned about battles in society about what is and what is not ‘racist.’”



34 North Meets South

The Second Vermont Republic (SVR) and some of its allies are working to build a separatist movement in the Northeastern state that was the first to outlaw slavery. But SVR’s recent moves to ally itself with the League of the South — a racist, neo-secessionist group — has shocked many Vermonters and SVR supporters.



JAMES VICTORE (PALM PRINT); CORBIS (ARMENIAN GENOCIDE); SHANLEY SCOTT (MURRAY); SCOTT PHILLIPS (KISTLER); ANDY DUBACK (VT. STATEHOUSE)

13 Secret Identity?

Arnold Murray is well known as the pastor of Shepherd’s Chapel, an Arkansas-based television ministry that has an audience in the millions. Despite a theology that identifies an evil race he calls the “Kenites” as the killers of Christ, Murray says his ministry is not anti-Semitic. But mounting evidence suggests otherwise.

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Preston Wiginton has become a key racist activist in the U.S. and Russia, where he sublets David Duke's apartment.



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A neo-Nazi leader in Pennsylvania, acquitted of the murder of an unarmed woman, is now boasting of his handiwork.



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Members of a racist Texas cult, infuriated that authorities seized their children, are promising a major legal fight.

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Ever since a bloody 2003 encounter with racist skinheads in Illinois, two men and their families have lived in fear.

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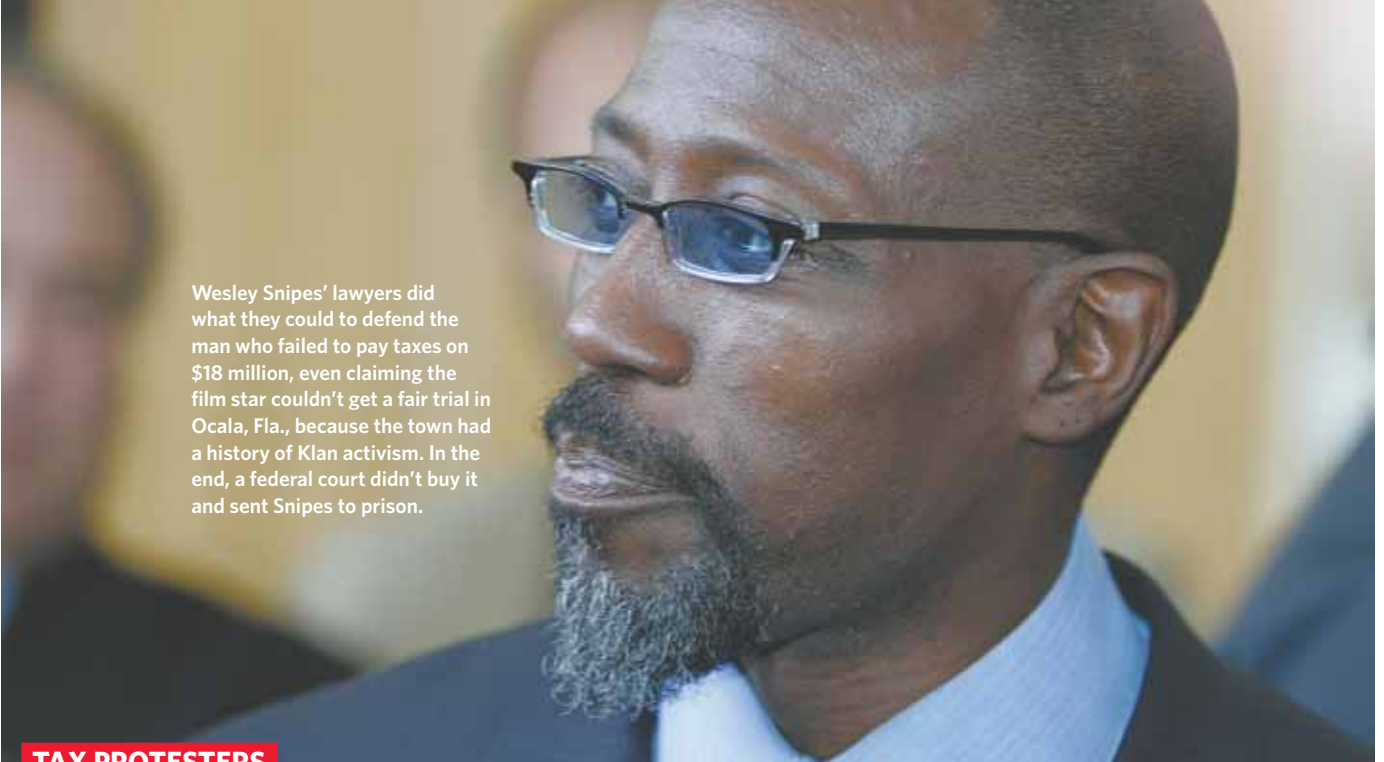
A sampling of hate crimes and hate group activities from the first quarter of 2008 is summarized in state-by-state listings.

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British motor sports icon Max Mosely spent decades living down his infamous father's fascist activism. An X-rated video may have ended all that.

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.



Wesley Snipes' lawyers did what they could to defend the man who failed to pay taxes on \$18 million, even claiming the film star couldn't get a fair trial in Ocala, Fla., because the town had a history of Klan activism. In the end, a federal court didn't buy it and sent Snipes to prison.

TAX PROTESTERS

Film Star Gets Prison in High-Profile Tax Case

He fought vampires in the “Blade” trilogy and fended off terrorists in “Passenger 57” but actor Wesley Snipes was finally vanquished this spring by a more mundane foe: tax law.

Snipes received the maximum penalty of three years in prison on April 24 for failing to file income tax returns. Federal prosecutors, who had recommended the sentence, hoped the fate of the big-screen celebrity would serve as a warning to other tax resisters that no one is above the law. “Snipes’ long prison sentence should send a loud and crystal clear message to all tax defiers that if they engage in similar tax defier conduct, they face joining him and his co-defendants [Eddie Ray] Kahn and [Douglas] Rosile in prison,” said Nathan Hochman, assistant attorney general of the justice department’s tax division, in a news release.

Snipes had sought tax advice from Kahn, whose organization, American Rights Litigators (later renamed Guiding Light of God Ministries), told hundreds of clients they could escape tax payments. Rosile prepared tax returns for American Rights Litigators.

Earlier, Snipes — who commanded \$343,750 a week for “Blade III” — had contended in court that he was merely following the guidance of Kahn’s outfit when he tried to avoid paying taxes. The argument was only partly successful. A jury acquitted Snipes in February of the most serious charges, but convicted him of three misdemeanor counts of willfully failing to file tax returns from 1999 through 2001, when he earned more than \$18 million from his films.

During the sentencing hearing, Snipes’ attorneys presented prosecutors

with checks totaling \$5 million, but one assistant U.S. attorney said that was only a fraction of what he owes. Including taxes, penalties and interest, Snipes could be faced with a bill for \$20 million.

The government minced no words in its sentencing recommendation: “In the defendant Wesley Snipes, the court is presented with a wealthy, famous and inveterate tax scofflaw,” the document states. “If ever a tax offender was deserving of being held accountable to the maximum extent for his criminal wrongdoing, Snipes is that defendant.”

The defense complained that prosecutors were taking a tough stance on Snipes because of his star status while ignoring run-of-the-mill tax-resisters. But U.S. District Court Judge William Terrell Hodges was unsympathetic.

Snipes’ sentencing came two weeks after the government announced plans to go after tax shirkers more aggressively. “When there are crimes, they will be prosecuted to the fullest,” Hochman said in early April.

HATE IN THE MAINSTREAM

“Evolution ... leads to a belief that they are superior over the weak. ... Adolf Hitler duped an entire generation using Darwin’s evolution.”

— Recent St. Petersburg, Fla., City Council member **BILL FOSTER**, in a letter to the Pinellas County School Board made public on **Jan. 12**, arguing that teaching evolution leads students to violence

“America has been the best country on earth for black folks. ... We hear the grievances. Where is the gratitude?”

— MSNBC commentator **PATRICK BUCHANAN**, in his **Jan. 21** Martin Luther King Jr. Day syndicated column, discussing complaints about slavery and segregation

“Martin Luther King Jr. was ... manufactured and maintained by the Communists who ... then (probably) eliminated him when exposure made him a liability.”

— **ALAN STANG**, in his **Jan. 21** column for the right-wing website News With Views, in a lengthy attack on King and the civil rights movement

“If I see someone with brown skin and has an accent ... I think they’re illegal.”

— Utah Minuteman spokesman **ELI CAWLEY**, quoted in a **Jan. 21** newspaper account, arguing that the overall Latino community should be targeted for immigration enforcement efforts

“[A]pparently, he was suicidal. ... I think he watched the Clinton-Obama debate last night. I think he was an Edwards guy.”

— Host **JOHN GIBSON**, on the **Jan. 22** edition of his Fox News Radio broadcast, in a long tirade mocking Heath Ledger on the same day the 28-year-old actor who played a homosexual cowboy in “Brokeback Mountain” was found dead

“When these Katrina so-called refugees were scattered about the country, it was just a glorified episode of putting out the garbage.”

— Host **NEAL BOORTZ**, on the **Jan. 30** edition of Cox Radio Syndication’s “The Neal Boortz Show,” attacking victims of Hurricane Katrina and residents of New Orleans, a black-majority city he described as “a welfare city ... a city of parasites and leeches”

“Steve Cohen and the JEWS HATE Jesus. ... Christians must unite [so] ... ONLY one black Christian faces this opponent of Christ.”

— **GEORGE BROOKS**, a black Murfreesboro, Tenn., pastor, in a widely circulated flier attacking Memphis congressman Cohen that was made public **Feb.11**

“Studies show immigration accounts for 40% of the decline in the employment of black men.”

— Former Congressional Black Caucus Foundation Executive Director **FRANK MORRIS**, in a Coalition for the Future American Worker TV ad launched nationally on **Feb. 11**, making a claim that experts said exaggerated by at least 10 times any job losses caused by immigrants

QUOTES ON THIS PAGE WERE COMPILED FROM MEDIA ACCOUNTS, WEB PAGES, E-MAIL GROUPS AND MEDIA MATTERS FOR AMERICA, A WEBSITE THAT MONITORS THE FAR RIGHT.



ANTI-ISLAMIC TERRORISM

Aryan Alliance Members Accused in Tennessee Mosque Attack

Three men, all believed to be members of the white supremacist group Aryan Alliance, face federal charges in connection with the pre-dawn arson of a Tennessee mosque.

Eric Ian Baker, Jonathan Edward Stone, and Michael Corey Golden were indicted by a federal grand jury in Nashville on March 26. The five-count indictment charges the men with conspiracy to violate civil rights, destroying a house of worship, possession of a destructive device, use of fire to destroy a building and use of fire to commit a felony, according to the Justice Department.

“Today begins a court process to hold the individuals accountable for an act which destroyed religious property and shocked a community,” James Cavanaugh, a special agent with the U.S. Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, said in a statement the day federal charges were filed.

Federal officials allege that on Feb. 9, the 32-year-old Baker spray-painted three swastikas onto the walls of the mosque, along with the messages, “We run the world” and “White Power.” Golden, 23, and Stone, 19, the officials say, hurled a brick through a window and tossed two Molotov cocktails on the floor. Earlier that morning, Baker had driven Golden and Stone to a convenience store, where they are accused of making the Molotov cocktails using gasoline, rags and empty beer bottles.

No one was injured in the blaze, though Stone almost set himself on fire.

That same day, the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) urged law enforcement officials to investigate the fire as a hate crime and asked the FBI to get involved. CAIR, a Washington D.C.-based civil liberties group that works to promote understanding of Islam, also suggested that Muslims review a community safety kit aimed at protecting them from anti-Muslim attacks.

Federal officials allege that the men had planned for about a week to burn down the Islamic Center in Columbia, a small city about 45 miles from Nashville. Baker told them “what goes on in that building is illegal according to the Bible.”

At least two of the three men are followers of Christian Identity, a virulently racist and anti-Semitic perversion of Christianity that’s often espoused by hate groups. Stone told officials that his role in the fire got him “two stripes” from Baker, his Christian Identity sponsor. He said Christian Identity members earn stripes “for committing acts of violence against enemies,” according to the affidavit.

If convicted, the men could receive a jail sentence of up to 10 years and a maximum fine of \$250,000.

EXTREMIST CRIMES

Headed to Prison, Neo-Nazi Leader Denies It All

Kevin Strom, the longtime neo-Nazi leader, had a surprising revelation for the judge who was about to sentence him to almost two years in prison on federal child pornography charges: He was not, in fact, a child pornographer.

Never mind that Strom had pleaded guilty in January to federal child pornography charges, or that police said they’d found images of child porn on his computer, along with hundreds of photos of naked girls “in sexually suggestive positions.”

At his April 21 sentencing, Strom, 51, insisted that he had no taste for pornography. “I am not a pedophile,” he said. “I am

the furthest thing from a pervert.”

Not only that, but Strom was indignant that anyone would call him a neo-Nazi. “I deeply resent the way I’ve been characterized in the press,” he huffed after entering his guilty plea in January. “I’m no more a white supremacist than the Dalai Lama is a Tibetan supremacist.”

The Dalai Lama comparison may be stretching it. For nearly two decades, the bespectacled, nattily dressed neo-Nazi served as right hand man to William Pierce, whose book *The Turner Diaries* became a blueprint for the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing. After Pierce died unexpectedly in 2002, Strom was passed over for leadership of Pierce’s neo-Nazi organization, the National Alliance. Strom eventually broke away to form the now defunct National Vanguard in 2005.

Strom’s public woes began on Jan. 4, 2007, when federal agents arrested him near his home in Stanardsville, Va. He was charged with possessing and receiving child pornography, enticing a minor to perform sex acts and intimidating a witness. U.S. District Judge Norman Moon dismissed the latter two charges at Strom’s first trial in October. He ruled that while Strom had followed and anonymously sent many gifts to a 10-year-old girl, he had not actually tried to have sex with her. The judge did note that there was “overwhelming evidence he was sexually drawn to this child.” He also found that Strom’s



numerous legal complaints against his wife did not amount to intimidation.

This January, facing a second trial on unresolved charges, Strom struck a deal with prosecutors in which he pleaded guilty to possession of child pornography. In exchange, multiple counts of receiving child porn were dismissed. During his sentencing on April 21, Strom said the child porn came from an online forum he’d visited and that he had not

intentionally downloaded it onto his computer. Strom, who had already served more than one year in prison, asked Judge Norman Moon not to give him further time.

“Mr. Strom, you pled guilty to charges that now you’re saying you’re innocent [of],” Moon responded. “I prefer people plead not guilty than put it on me.”

Moon, who called Strom’s guilty plea “extremely serious,” sentenced

him to 23 months in jail. Nonetheless, with time served, Strom could be free by the end of this year. He will be under supervised release for 15 years.

Though his critics lampooned his allegedly feminine mannerisms by nicknaming him “Weenie,” Strom’s intellectual persona gave him a veneer of respectability that stood in sharp contrast to the thuggish image of the white supremacist world. Then, in July 2006, he abruptly announced he was taking a leave of absence as chief of National Vanguard because of “family and health matters.” He acknowledged having

“made mistakes, some of them serious ones,” but didn’t elaborate.

Strom’s arrest several months later shook the supremacist movement, which in recent years has seen several key activists arrested for embarrassing crimes, some of them sexual. After Strom’s sentencing in April, the neo-Nazi online forum Vanguard News Network featured a lively debate about whether or not he was innocent. Amid the abundance of conspiracy theories and speculations that Strom had pleaded guilty as a ploy to avoid jail time, many of his fellow white nationalists sounded like they’d had enough of him.

Wrote one member: “Kevin Strom is a weirdo and should not be allowed back into WN [white nationalist] circles. Period.”

ALL IN THE FAMILY

White Supremacist ‘Freeman’ Kills Wife, Self

James Leshkevich, a staunch white supremacist who promoted events calling for the deaths of public officials, turned violent toward his own family this winter when he strangled his wife before killing himself.

In a rambling blog post concluded on Feb. 18, the 52-year-old Leshkevich accused his wife of having an affair.

Leshkevich, who called himself “Yankee Jim” on his blog, wrote the post over 10 days and called it “I Caught My Wife Sleeping with Another Man...”

“This will be the last post on The Hudson Valley Freeman for a while,” wrote Leshkevich, who lived in the Catskills town of West Hurley, N.Y. “I’m just too depressed over all this to continue. Hopefully that will change in the future.”

The final post was a departure for

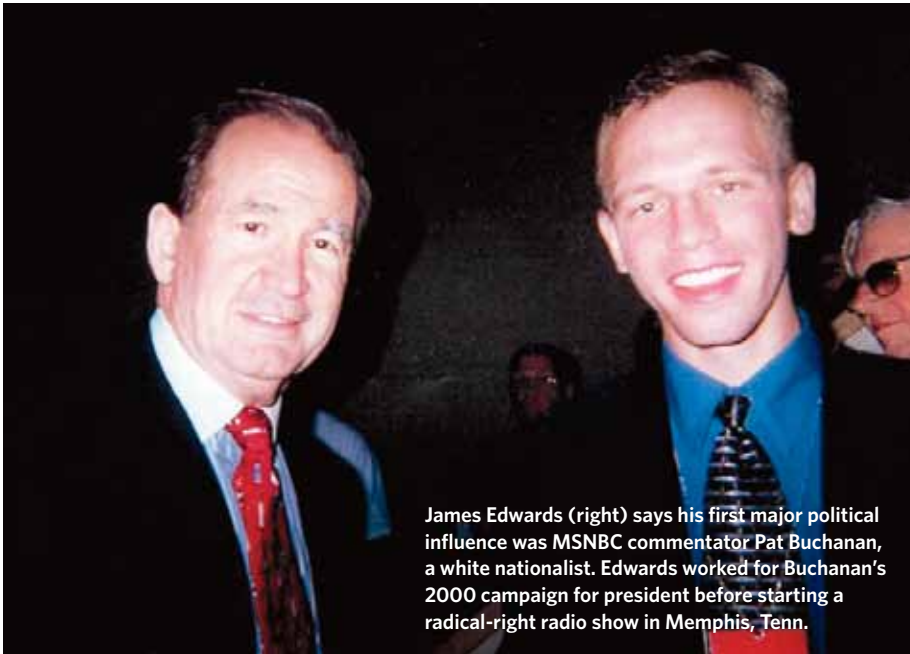


Leshkevich

Leshkevich, who generally used his blog to encourage hatred of blacks, Jews and immigrants. He also wrote numerous letters to the local newspaper and hosted a radio show.

Police found the bodies of Leshkevich and 55-year-old Deborah Leshkevich on Feb. 19 in their home. Leshkevich had beaten his wife, then strangled her with his bare hands. Deborah Leshkevich was a teaching assistant at nearby Woodstock Elementary School and had been a religious education teacher at St. John’s Roman Catholic Church in West Hurley.

A country singer and former truck



James Edwards (right) says his first major political influence was MSNBC commentator Pat Buchanan, a white nationalist. Edwards worked for Buchanan’s 2000 campaign for president before starting a radical-right radio show in Memphis, Tenn.

driver, Leshkevich joined the neo-Nazi group National Alliance in 2000 and attended the Aryan Nations World Congress in 2002. He quit the National Alliance in March 2005 along with many other rank-and-file members during a leadership corruption scandal but remained a deeply dedicated racist.

A frequent call-in guest on an Internet radio show hosted by neo-Nazi Hal Turner — who was revealed to be an FBI informant earlier this year — Leshkevich was perhaps best known in recent years for helping Turner organize a white supremacist rally outside a high school in Kingston, N.Y., in 2005.

At times, Leshkevich’s enthusiasm was too much even for those who shared his views. He was banned from the white nationalist online forum Stormfront for, as Stormfront founder Don Black put it shortly after Leshkevich killed his wife and then himself, “refusing to stop promoting Hal Turner’s various events calling for assassinations of government officials and other homicides.

“He knew our policy, but kept doing it, despite warnings by moderators who liked him,” Black wrote. “I think that personality trait may be related to his end.”

EXTREMIST MEDIA

Radio’s Racist ‘Political Cesspool’ Show is Finally Flushed

White nationalist James Edwards has ended his hate radio show, “The Political Cesspool,” after more than three years on the air.

“It’s been the thrill of a lifetime,” he gushed in the E-mail to supporters titled “All Good Things Come to an End....”

Edwards cited his father’s ill health and strain on his marriage as the main reasons for the abrupt shutdown on Feb.

15. His announcement came just two weeks after he proudly announced the syndication of his show through Dixie Broadcasting, an Internet radio outfit run by the chairman of the Georgia chapter of the League of the South, a neo-Confederate, white supremacist group. The show was broadcast on the Internet and by WLRM-AM for two hours every weeknight from a studio near Memphis, Tenn., where Edwards grew up and still lives.

Articulate and charming, Edwards had become a golden boy among white nationalists since founding “The Political Cesspool” in 2005. His show served as the primary radio nexus of hate in America. Its sponsors included the white supremacist Council of Conservative Citizens (CCC) and the Institute for Historical Review (IHR), a leading Holocaust denial organization. Its guest roster for 2007 reads like a “Who’s Who” of the radical racist right: CCC leader Gordon Lee Baum; Holocaust denier and IHR chief Mark Weber; neo-Nazi activist April Gaede; and anti-Semitic professor Kevin MacDonald. The show’s most frequent celebrity racist guest is former Klan leader and neo-Nazi David Duke, who has logged three appearances.

Though he won’t be on the radio anymore, Edwards promised listeners he would continue to serve on the CCC’s board and was contemplating an eventual run for public office. He also thanked many of the extremists who had been on his show as well as several hate groups that sponsored it. “In no way, shape or form have you heard the last from James Edwards as a European American activ-

AP IMAGES/REUTERS KASTRO (SWASTIKA)

ist,” he assured listeners. “Similar to the Great White, I’d die if I were not contributing to the survival of our race.”

HATE CRIMES

Alleged Anti-Semitic Activist is Jewish, Lawyer Says

Residents of Brooklyn Heights were shocked last September when swastikas appeared throughout the neighborhood, along with fliers proclaiming “Kill all Jews.” What’s perhaps even more shocking is that the man who’s confessed to the vandalism is, according to his lawyer, Jewish.

Ivaylo Ivanov faces multiple charges in connection with a rash of anti-Semitic graffiti in Brooklyn Heights and an arsenal of weapons he allegedly hid in his apartment. They include hate crime charges of criminal mischief and aggravated harassment.



Ivanov



Police say Ivanov spray-painted swastikas on cars, sidewalks and buildings, including two synagogues, and left the anti-Semitic leaflets on cars.

Though they suspected him from the beginning, police at first came up empty in their search for evidence that would definitively link him to crimes. Ivanov himself helped them solve the case in January when he told officers that someone had shot him in the finger. Police — who later concluded that Ivanov had accidentally shot himself — searched his apartment in the affluent Remsen Street area. They found a handgun, a hunting rifle, a sawed-off shotgun, ammunition and eight pipe bombs.

Ivanov, 37 and from Bulgaria, pleaded not guilty to the charges at his Jan. 21 arraignment. Afterward, his court-appointed attorney, Adrian Leshner, would not answer reporters’ questions but said, “I can tell you he’s Jewish.”

Besides this revelation, little is known about Ivanov. *The New York Post* reported that he’d once worked as a paid informant for the New York Police Department, helping nab a businessman who bought stolen cell phones from him. Prosecutors dropped the charges in March after discovering Ivanov was an informant.

A preliminary hearing in Ivanov’s case was set for April 24. No trial date had been scheduled at press time.

Even if Ivanov did carry out the attacks and his lawyer is correct about his Jewish roots, it would not be the first time such a situation came to light. In 2001, an avowed “Aryan” revolutionary named Leo Felton was convicted of conspiracy in a plot to blow up black and Jewish landmarks; two months later, it was revealed that one of Felton’s parents was black. William Potter Gale, the man who founded the anti-Semitic Posse Comitatus in the 1970s, was secretly descended from a long line of devout Jews. And in 1965, *The New York Times* revealed that neo-Nazi Daniel Burros had been a Jewish yeshiva student. He killed himself the same day.



Glenn Miller (with bullhorn), who headed the White Patriot Party in the 1980s, frequently called for violence. Twenty years later, his son, Jesse, was killed after inexplicably opening fire on a would-be Good Samaritan and a police officer.

RADICAL VIOLENCE

Son of 'Race Traitor' Killed After Shooting Officer

Frazier Glenn Miller, who once went to prison for refusing to shut down his paramilitary White Patriot Party, wrote in a blog post that he doesn't know why his son shot the "white man" who had pulled over to help him after a traffic accident. But that didn't stop Miller from naming a scapegoat: the Springfield, Mo., Police Department. The shooting was part of a bizarre string of events on March 28 that began with a car accident and culminated in the death of Miller's son, Jesse. Early that afternoon, an SUV driven by Jesse Miller, 30, hit a pick-up truck in Marionville, Mo. When Joseph M. Rich, 55, stopped to offer assistance, Jesse Miller killed him with a shotgun he had in his vehicle. Soon afterward, a Marionville, Mo., police officer arrived

and ordered Miller to put down his weapon. Miller responded by shooting the officer, who then shot Miller dead. The officer, Andy Clark, suffered a non-life threatening shoulder wound. The incident is under investigation by the Missouri Highway Patrol, but so far it's unclear why Jesse Miller shot Rich, whom he didn't know. Rich, whose nickname was "Big Mike," drove a small school bus that he'd converted into a traveling tattoo parlor. In a long entry on the Vanguard News Network, a neo-Nazi online forum, 67-year-old Glenn Miller asserted that his son always carried at least one weapon because he was afraid of Springfield, Mo., police. "The most important aspect regarding Jess's actions is his long fueds [sic] with the Springfield police department," he wrote. "Jess has lived there for 7-8 years now, and owns a home he purchased there about 3 years ago. Several years ago, he was beaten severely by 5-6

cops after he'd whipped a nigger in a fight in Springfield." But Grant Story, public information officer for the Springfield Police Department, told the *Intelligence Report* there was no police report indicating that Jesse Miller ever had to be physically subdued by Springfield police. Nor was he aware of Miller getting into a fight with a black person. Miller was known to Springfield police, however. He'd been involved in several assaults and disturbances over the past couple of years, Story said. On March 24, he was arrested and charged with domestic assault. The next day Miller went to the city's municipal building, where he complained to city attorneys that someone had kicked in his back door during the five hours he was in police custody. Though he'd never reported property damage, vandalism or attempted burglary, he wanted police to pay for the damage to the door. Instead, police were called to City Hall, and Miller left the building, Story said. Three days later, a car accident on a Missouri road set in motion the chain of events that led to Miller's death. Miller's father, Glenn, had his own violent past. His Carolina Knights of the Ku Klux Klan later became the White Patriot Party, one of the first hate groups to engage in paramilitary training. He went on the lam in 1986 after mailing a letter to 5,000 people calling for "total war" on federal agents, blacks and Jews. At the time, he had also violated a court order, stemming from a lawsuit filed by the Southern Poverty Law Center, that prohibited him from continuing to operate a paramilitary group. He was captured in Ozark, Mo., when authorities tear-gassed him from a mobile home. After testifying against 14 leading white supremacists in a federal sedition trial in Arkansas, Miller served just three years in prison. However, he was reviled in white supremacist circles as a "race traitor" and, for a while, kept a low profile. Now he's making a comeback with *The Aryan Alternative*, a racist tabloid he's been printing since 2005.

THE BLOTTER

Updates on Extremism and The Law

JAN. 7 A **Salt Lake City** woman pleaded guilty to obstruction of justice for concealing a prison jump-suit worn by an escaped convict who had allegedly just murdered a corrections officer. Trisha Tower, who was later sentenced to a year in jail, was a friend of Curtis Michael Allgier, a tattooed **white supremacist** who faces a capital murder trial for the killing of Stephen Anderson during an escape from a hospital.



Allgier

JAN. 30 A **white supremacist** inmate of **Florida's Washington County** prison was convicted of murdering his cellmate because the man was black and had raped a white woman. Prosecutors said they would seek the death penalty for Johnny Reed, described by authorities as allied with the **Aryan Brotherhood** prison gang, but a jury later recommended life. A final decision is up to the judge in the case.

FEB. 1 **San Quentin, Calif.**, inmate Joseph William Verducci was arraigned in the 2007 death of a man shot through the window of a **Vallejo** bar. Officials said Verducci was a member of the **Family Affiliated Irish Mafia** (FAIM), which has ties to the racist **Aryan Brotherhood** prison gang. FAIM members were arguing outside the bar where Jose Corona was sitting when the shot went off that killed him.

FEB. 2 Mariusz Wdziekonski was charged with felony criminal damage and hate crimes after confessing to desecrating 57 headstones at a Jewish cemetery in **Norridge Park Township, Ill.** Officials said

Wdziekonski, 21, had immigrated four years earlier from Poland, where he was involved in the **neo-Nazi** movement, and joined a group in America that he identified as **National Socialist Movement 88**.

FEB. 5 The last of three self-described "**radical Christian activists**" pleaded guilty to federal weapons charges in connection with a failed attempt to bomb a **Burleson, Texas**, church on July 4. Authorities said Dayton Calaway, Michael Plaisted and Jered Ragon's unnamed group opposed organized religion and government.

FEB. 12 A state appeals court ruled that the death sentence for Wade Lay — a man who with his son murdered a **Tulsa, Okla.**, guard during a 2004 bank robbery meant to raise money for guns — was justified. An apparent **militia sympathizer** who acted "in resistance to tyranny," Lay had planned to use the guns to murder those he held responsible for the 1993 deaths of some 80 Branch Davidians in **Waco, Texas**.

FEB. 14 The U.S. Marshals Service arrested Jason Gregg, a member of the racist skinhead **Blood & Honour** gang, for allegedly firing shots at an **Ohio** state police officer and another person in **Thornville**. Authorities said the 2006 attack occurred while the agent was infil-

trating the gang as part of an FBI task force, but gave no other details. Another man, Jon Carr, was earlier arrested on the same charges.

MAR. 8 "Buffalo" Rick Galeener, co-founder of the anti-immigrant **Riders United for a Sovereign America** and one of the most radical **nativists** in **Phoenix**, was charged with misdemeanor indecent exposure for showing his penis to a Latina woman who says he had earlier called her racist names. If the woman's young son had also seen Galeener expose himself, police said, he would have faced a felony charge.

MAR. 27 The capital murder case against Brendt Anthony Volarvich for killing **California** Highway Patrolman Andy Stevens on a highway near **Woodlands** in 2005 went to a jury amid defense claims that drugs were partly responsible. Prosecutors said Volarvich, who had ties to **Sacramento's United Society of Aryan Skinheads**, was involved in a murder-for-hire plot when he was pulled over by Stevens.



Volarvich

MAR. 31 **Portland, Ore.**, resident David Rainey was arraigned on attempted aggravated murder, arson and witness-tampering charges — the same charges brought against another man arrested the week before. Rainey and Daniel Davis, both linked to the **European Kindred** prison gang, had allegedly terrorized a 29-year-old robbery victim with firebomb attacks to keep him from testifying against them.



APRIL 19, 2008 • WASHINGTON, D.C.

About 30 members of the National Socialist Movement, America's largest neo-Nazi group, marched in the nation's capital on the anniversary of the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing to protest illegal immigration. Clad in spanking new black uniforms — apparently a takeoff on the Italian fascist paramilitary “Blackshirt” formations, adopted after years of wearing faux Nazi brown-shirt apparel — the marchers waved swastika flags and shouted “Sieg Heil” as they marched to jeers down Constitution Avenue. The demonstrators were surrounded by hundreds of riot-equipped police and even helicopters, and were dogged all the way to the West Lawn of the Capitol by anti-racist counter-protesters who outnumbered them by a huge margin. But the only violence came before the march started, when several NSM members were discovered by counter-protesters and a clash ensued. Police waded in and ended up arresting six of the counter-demonstrators.



MIKE MORGAN



The World Famous Redneck Shop in Laurens, S.C., has been the venue of racist gatherings like this conference of the National Socialist Movement, for decades.

SHOP OF HORRORS

Long-Time Klan Headquarters Has an Unexpected Owner

The Rev. David Kennedy, a black civil rights activist, dreams of moving his church from a double-wide trailer to the building he's owned for more than a decade: The Echo Theater in downtown Laurens, S.C.

For now, however, he cannot even set foot on the property, which houses a store crammed with racist merchandise, including Klan clothing and T-shirts that read, “Ain't Racist, Just Never Met a Nigger I Liked.” The store has served as headquarters for two different Klan factions and the neo-Nazi Socialist Movement; in 2005, the Aryan Nations Congress gathered there.

How Kennedy came to own the theater that's home to the World Famous Redneck Shop — and why he still has no control over what happens in the building — is a remarkable story involving a former Ku Klux Klan grand dragon, an act of charity and a broken promise.

AP IMAGES / PATRICK COLLARD (ECHO THEATER)

The previous owner of the property, Michael Burden Jr., was once grand dragon, or state leader, of a South Carolina Klan group. Destitute and struggling to feed his family, he asked Kennedy to buy the building. Kennedy felt compassion for Burden and believed that he'd broken free from his racist past. As a result, Kennedy's New Beginning Missionary Baptist Church purchased the theater for \$1,000 on April 22, 1997.

The sale was predicated on one key condition, however: That John Howard, another one-time Klansman, would be able to run the store until his death.

The unusual arrangement, recounted on an ABC America “Prime Time Live” segment, has garnered renewed attention since an Associated Press article on the store was published this spring. Kennedy says the 62-year-old Howard, an avowed racist, won't even let him

enter the building. Howard took a different tack when the Associated Press reporter and photographer paid a visit to his shop earlier this year. “Rev. Kennedy, where you been hiding?” he chirped.

Kennedy told the *Intelligence Report* in March that when he recently went to the courthouse to get a copy of the building's deed, he made a disturbing discovery: Two other documents had been placed on top of it. The first, dated Nov. 16, 2006, indicated that Burden, the former owner, had sold the property to Howard's wife for \$10. The second, dated March 30, 2007, showed that Hazel Howard had then sold it to her husband and Nicholas Chappell, an official of the neo-Nazi National Socialist Movement.

“That was placed on top of our deed unjustly and, as far as I'm concerned, illegally,” Kennedy said. He hadn't been aware of either transaction.

Kennedy says his lawyer is investigating the matter and believes he will prevail. As Kennedy told the AP: “There are two powers in the world: the mind and the sword. In the long run, the sword is defeated by the mind. I want to destroy the concept of hatred.”



To the shock of many a white supremacist, it turns out that this “worlds famous” gathering point for Klansmen and neo-Nazis is apparently owned by the Rev. David Kennedy — a black civil rights activist.

ADDLED ARYANS

Defending Their Race: Neo-Nazis Make a Boo-Boo

More than a dozen high-profile white nationalist activists muddled their reputations in the world of the radical right recently by organizing and publicizing a protest campaign on behalf of a teenage shooting victim they assumed was a “pure-blooded” white.

It all began on March 19, when Suffolk County, N.Y., resident John H. White, 55, was sentenced to two to four years in prison for killing 18-year-old Daniel Cicciaro Jr. in August 2006. White, who is African-American, shot Cicciaro in the face at close range when the unarmed young man and three of his friends confronted White at the foot of White’s driveway on Long Island. They had followed White’s teenaged son, Aaron, home from a party after an argument. A jury convicted White of manslaughter earlier this year.

Minutes after a judge handed down the relatively light sentence (White faced up to 15 years in prison), the victim’s father, Daniel Cicciaro Sr., shouted to reporters, “As long as you’re black and there’s a problem at the foot of your driveway, you can shoot my son in the face? Let’s see what happens when Aaron White gets shot! Let’s see what the laws are then!”

The following day, white nationalist John Anthony Boone, posting as “OTPTT,” started a discussion thread on the neo-Nazi website Vanguard News Network (VNN) titled, “White Father Responds Like White Man Over Light Sentence Given to Nigger!”

Later that day, another VNN member, Gina Brashear, posting as mgbrashear3@aol.com, claimed to have made contact with the Cicciaro family. “I just hung up with Daniel’s father’s girlfriend. ... She cried the whole time I spoke with her. I remained calm & level headed the entire 15 minute conversation I had with her. I am shaking so bad now, and crying, that I can hardly type. She said they have

received numerous death threats from the nigger’s friends and family. I assured her there are thousands more supporters out there that will take up for them, than there is [sic] niggers.”

Brashear then shifted to capital letters to implore VNN leader Alex Linder to launch a publicity campaign: “PLEASE ALEX, SOMEONE, UNDERTAKE AND MAKE IT A MISSION FOR US HERE AT VNN, AND OTHER GROUPS, & HELP THIS

purposes in the same way that Linder and other racists exploited the murders of Channon Christian and Christopher Newsom, a young white couple who were carjacked and killed by a group of African Americans last year in Knoxville, Tenn. White nationalists and others widely circulated graphic details of the brutal murders — many of them fabricated — and Linder organized a neo-Nazi rally in Knoxville against “black crime” that received substantial media coverage.



Daniel Cicciaro Sr. talks to reporters after the manslaughter conviction of his son's killer. White supremacists leapt to the Cicciaros' defense — until they realized that Daniel Cicciaro Jr. didn't qualify as a pure-blooded "Aryan."

FAMILY OUT! ... THIS IS EXACTLY WHAT WE NEED TO IGNITE PEOPLE FOR OUR CAUSE, AND TO SEEK JUSTICE FOR THIS WHITE YOUNG VICTIM OF BLACK ON WHITE CRIME."

During the next five days, the Cicciaro discussion thread was abuzz, as Boone, Brashear, Linder and others publicized the telephone number and other personal information of the judge who sentenced White, distributed a video clip of Cicciaro Sr.’s enraged comments, laid plans for a protest rally in Suffolk County, and swapped accounts of their emotional phone conversations with Cicciaro Sr. and his son’s mother.

Several of the participants in the discussion suggested that Cicciaro Jr.’s death could be exploited for propaganda

There was just one problem with the latest propaganda ploy by Linder and his friends: Christian and Newsom were blond and fair-skinned. Cicciaro Jr. was half Puerto Rican. This alarming fact finally dawned on the intrepid crew at VNN when Cicciaro’s mother, according to Brashear, said after several days of phone calls from white nationalists ranting about “Jew judges” and “niggers,” “You know I’m Puerto Rican, don’t you?”

Oops.

Needless to say, the enthusiasm of the VNN activists was dampened once they learned their race-war martyr was a “mud.” VNN member “Signal” spoke for many when he posted this incredulous comment: “235 posts before this finally comes out? Unbelievable. Research, people. Research.” ▲

An open book with aged, yellowed pages is leaning against the base of two large, white, fluted columns. The book is open to a page with some text, and its spine is visible. The background shows a blurred outdoor scene with greenery and a building.

Secret Identity?

A popular Arkansas televangelist says his theology about the ‘Kenites’ is not anti-Semitic. The evidence suggests otherwise

BY CASEY SANCHEZ PHOTOGRAPHY BY SHANLEY SCOTT

BRANSON, MO. — It’s a long way to go to church, especially for a congregation used to watching its pastor on television. But the flock of Shepherd’s Chapel is like no other. Twice a year, almost 4,000 of its members will fly or drive from points across the country to this Ozarks tourist destination, best known for the neon kitsch and wholesome family entertainment of the Highway 76 Country Music Boulevard, to see Pastor Arnold Murray, host of the long-running TV Bible study program, “Shepherd’s Chapel.”

The strapping, 6-foot-4-inch octogenarian, known as “The Sarge” to his

followers, has gained an audience that numbers in the millions. “Shepherd’s Chapel” has been on the air for at least three decades and is broadcast in nearly every major and mid-size U.S. city.

At Passover this April 5 (Murray calculates the date for Passover using the Jewish solar calendar), the 81-year-old Arkansas pastor is all smiles as the packed audience in the Grand Palace country music hall rises to give him a long standing ovation before he’s even said a word. His son Dennis introduces him as a man who is “taking names and kicking dragons.” One woman can’t contain herself. “We love you, Pastor Murray,” she yells out. Murray jokes that he should get her

number before pushing back his sleeves and opening his King James Bible. “Let’s get to work,” he commands. And they do. The audience is so rapt that throughout the 45-minute sermon the only sound they make is the onionskin rustle of thousands of Bible pages turning. But there are some things they’re not being taught.

One of them is the fact that Murray’s 1958 minister’s license was signed by the late white supremacists Roy Gillaspie and Nicholas Goff, two early ideologues of Christian Identity, a racist theology that’s been popular among Klansmen, neo-Nazis and other white nationalists for several decades. Most Identity adherents believe the Bible is the history of the



white race, who are seen as the real “chosen people.”

Gillaspie was the pastor of the Church of Jesus Christ, a seminal Christian Identity operation — headquartered at Gillaspie’s Bellflower, Calif., church — with a handful of congregations in California and Arkansas, one of which was led by Murray. (Murray’s Church of Jesus Christ in Gravette, Ark., was the precursor to his Shepherd’s Chapel, in the same location.) The *Intelligence Report* has obtained Church of Jesus Christ newsletters dated 1978 that are signed by Murray.

Goff, for his part, was the founder of the Colorado-based Soldiers of the Cross Training Institute, a school that trained Christian Identity leaders including Dan Gayman, a well-known anti-Semitic leader during the 1980s. In 1958, Goff’s pamphlet, “Reds Promote Racial War,” claimed the Bible supported racial segregation. A 1969 Soldiers of the Cross newsletter penned by Goff describes black civil rights protesters as seeking “to submerge our culture and religious heritage under a flood of cannibalism, voodooism and beastly jungle sex orgies.”

Arnold Murray is still connected to something called Soldiers of the Cross. According to Arkansas public records, a corporation by that name is doing business as Shepherd’s Chapel in Arkansas, and Murray is registered as the corporation’s agent. Murray’s home, his church property where the TV studio and satellites are located, and several parcels of land in Gravette, Ark., are all listed as the property of Soldiers of the Cross.

Despite these ties to the roots of the Christian Identity movement, Murray today publicly disavows racism, and his followers include a tiny minority of non-whites. Even so, Murray preaches often about a race of evil people, descended from Cain, borne out of “the Serpent Seed” of Eve’s sexual union with Satan in the Garden of Eden. He calls them the “Kenites” and identifies them in his 1979 *Shepherd’s Bible* as people “who slipped in among the Jewish people in Jerusalem and claim to be God’s chosen people, when in fact they are of Lucifer.” He also mentions that “in 1967 ... Jerusalem fell to the Kenites during the 6 day war”; the Israelis, in fact, won the Six-Day War. In one sermon, Dennis Murray speaks



of “the Kenites, who are responsible for the slaying of Christ.” (In most Judeo-Christian traditions, the Kenites are a nomadic clan of Midianites and a tribe into which Moses married.)

The Serpent Seed is a belief ripped straight from the pages of “seedline” or “two-seed” Christian Identity theology, the hard-line version of the theology that holds that Eve was impregnated by Satan and gave birth to his son, Cain, described as the first Jew. That is, Jews are seen as biologically descended from Satan, and are allegedly hard at work preparing the earth for his rule. Identity adherents also argue that whites, not Jews, are the real Hebrews of the Bible, and that non-whites are sub-human “beasts of the field” created without souls.

While Murray doesn’t outright endorse these hardliner views, by promoting the “Serpent Seed” doctrine on 225 broadcast stations he’s gone further than any Christian Identity preacher in pushing what seem clearly to be anti-Semitic Identity teachings into the mainstream.

“This is certainly Identity theology, inasmuch as he presents a two-seed-line argument, identifies the [present] inhabitants of Israel with the descendants of Cain, and calls the mating of the Serpent with Eve the primal sin,” Michael Barkun, the leading scholar of Christian Identity and a political science professor at Syracuse University, told the *Intelligence Report*.

Or, as Murray puts it more cautiously on his website: “What about teaching Serpent Seed? I make no apology for teaching the word of God.”

Kenites, Cainites and the Jews

In the atrium of the Grand Palace, a stately country music hall, teenagers are as common as senior citizens. Southern drawls mix with Wisconsin and Southern Californian accents. About two dozen black families are in the audience as well as a white woman wearing a pink hoodie with the words “Homeland Security” superimposed on a photo of four armed American Indians.

At a gathering of almost 4,000 in Branson, Mo., this spring, Arnold Murray preached a “Serpent Seed” doctrine that sounded a lot like anti-Semitic Christian Identity theology. An expert says that’s precisely what it is.

Over the course of the weekend, the Murrays will anoint two dozen babies with oil and baptize 83 adults and teenagers next door, in the indoor pool of the Radisson Hotel. There’s a rock concert feel to the weekend, both intense and oddly impersonal for a religious gathering. When either of the Murrays’ sermons end, his followers quietly file out of their chairs and make their way back to the parking lot, only briefing loitering for conversation or fellowship.

Rarely does a month go by without the elder Murray warning his followers about the Kenites. “Bless your heart if you have ever been deceived by the Kenite, and I am speaking now on the spiritual level, if you have ever really believed that group was the chosen of God, you were deceived by Satan,” Murray says in one popular audio tape sermon. “Repent of that even more so than your personal sins in the personal sense.”

Although Murray states on his website, “Anyone saying that I use the word [Kenites] to describe Judah is not tell-

“Bless your heart if you have ever been deceived by the Kenite. If you have ever really believed that group was the chosen of God, you were deceived by Satan.”

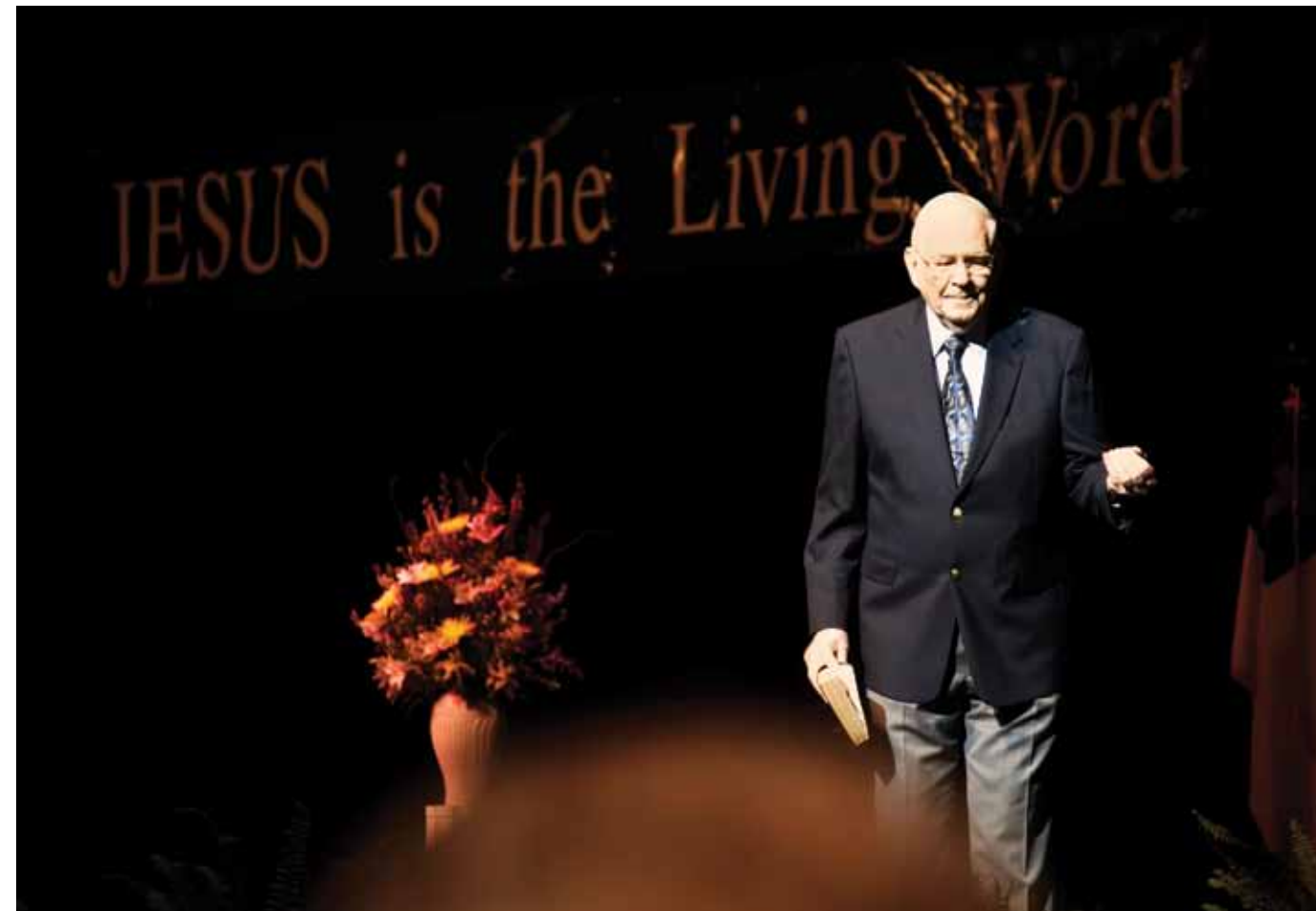
ing the truth,” it’s not hard to figure out why many of his followers — and others — equate Kenites with Jews.

In one written sermon, Murray says that “the Kenites slipped in among the Jews.” In an audiotape sermon called “Demons,” he says of the Kenites, “Why do you think their own Talmud is the filthiest piece of literature ever written? Because they’re at home with it. They



love it. It’s their cup of tea. It’s Satan’s cup of tea.”

“Murray is a bit distinctive in one respect, and that is the emphasis on ‘Kenites,’” Barkun, the scholar, told the *Report*. “None of the central figures in the formation of Christian Identity ... speak of the Kenites. Rather, they discuss descendants of Cain and sometimes Cainites. ... However, there appears to be a small





number of Identity pastors who trace Biblical genealogy from Cain through the Kenites (were they somehow attracted by the similar sounds of the names?).

“Murray is obviously one.”

For their part, longtime Shepherd’s Chapel students, seeking to avoid what they feel is Satanic deceit, believe they must learn how to “identify” a Kenite. On Internet forums where Shepherd’s Chapel followers congregate, there is much debate over the racial identity of the Kenites. On a Shepherd’s Chapel MySpace group, some ask whether the Kenites might be of Asian ancestry. But over on TheSeason.org, a long-running forum for Shepherd’s Chapel students, there’s little ambivalence. Numerous essays, citing the anti-Semitic hoax, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, claim that the Kenites and the Jews have long plotted world domination.

For Some, Disillusionment

Paul Stringini, a former Shepherd’s Chapel student, told the *Intelligence Report* that Murray “promotes what I would call soft resentment against Jews.” “He’ll say he loves the Jews, it’s the Kenites he doesn’t like,” say Stringini. “Just try and nail him down on it. There’s a semantic game that goes on. Frankly, the only real ‘benefit’ which I have ever seen of knowing ‘who the Kenites are’ is that knowledge makes many people prejudiced against Jews ... assuming they are ‘Kenites.’ I know that is not explicitly what Pastor Murray teaches but that is what it does to many Shepherd’s Chapel students I have known.”

Stringini knows he’s not alone among former Shepherd’s Chapel students who left in disgust over Murray’s Serpent Seed theology. But whatever students Murray may lose are quickly replaced, thanks to his coast-to-coast TV and radio presence. That’s how Stringini got involved with Shepherd’s Chapel in 1993. In 1995, he was baptized in a hotel pool at the group’s Branson Passover. “By 1996, I owned and had studied every single-subject cassette available at the time,” wrote Stringini. He even married his wife at the Shepherd’s Chapel headquarters in Arkansas.

But the more he heard from Murray about the “trumpets” of the end times and the “evil” of the Kenites, the less it rang true. Stringini quit Shepherd’s Chapel in 1999 and remains one of the few former Murray followers willing to publicly criticize his ex-mentor, though he says that when Arnold Murray is not talking about

the apocalypse or Kenites, “he’s actually a pretty decent Bible teacher.”

Unlike unapologetic Identity preachers, Murray doesn’t condone or suggest violence against the “Kenites.” “Let’s get one thing straight, coming out the gate. Are you saying we should hate Judah? That would be stupid indeed,” he says in one recorded sermon. Instead, Murray encourages followers to focus their energy on identifying and avoiding Kenites, claiming an end-times event will “take care” of them. In “Kenites,” a widely distributed audio sermon, he claims this teaching comes directly from Jesus. Murray uses the New Testament parable of the “tares,” a bitter weed that Jesus warns can grow hidden in wheat fields and go unnoticed till harvest. Murray likens the tares to the Kenites, adding, “The angels will take care of the tares — the tares are taken together in the fire — that’s the end of the world — that’s how it’s going to be.”

For Murray, the end of the world isn’t an abstraction. The 1980 Mount St. Helens eruption that happened during the week of Pentecost led him to proclaim the Antichrist would return in 1981. Murray’s resolve has only hardened during the 27 years since that prophecy failed to come true. He dismisses his critics as “numbskulls,” “Bible-thumpers” and “yo-yos.”

The formula for his TV program is deceptively simple. “Verse by verse, chap-

Arnold Murray’s flock follows him word by word as he goes through his unique exegesis of the Bible. Later, he will baptize 83 people (facing page) in a hotel swimming pool.



ter by chapter,” Murray, often partnered with his son Dennis, sits between a wood desk and an American flag and interprets the King James Bible with the help of a Greek/Hebrew concordance. At the end of each show, he fields caller questions on global politics, end-times prophecy and scripture.

During a live taping of Shepherd’s Chapel in 1998, an audience member yelled, “Blasphemer!” Murray turned around at his desk and pulled out a gun. The broadcast cut to Shepherd’s Chapel’s satellite logo but the audio continued. “Here. Take this 9mm to that boy,” Murray said. The clip aired on “The Daily Show” and remains widely available on the Internet, as is another Shepherd’s Chapel clip in which Murray reaches into his desk and pulls out what he claims is the fossil of an angel footprint, from a pre-Adamic time when angels walked the earth.

Under the Radar

Despite his gaffes with guns and failed end-time prophecies, Murray has received very little attention in the mainstream press. In the mid-1990s the *Arkansas Democrat-Gazette* did briefly examine whether Murray’s airplanes, which he claims are used in the nonprofit religious mission of Shepherd’s Chapel, were in fact private vehicles and therefore taxable assets. But it did not delve into the nature or origins of Murray’s theological teachings.

Few chapel students will ever attend services at the actual Shepherd’s Chapel in Gravette, a tiny and remote town of 1,800 in far northwest Arkansas. Located just a couple blocks from the town’s main street, the headquarters chapel is a former roller rink, flanked by four satellites, one the size of a carousel. A stone plaque that reads, “I Am That I Am,” sits in front of the church. The chapel holds videotaped services on the first and third Sunday of every month. As with his live appearances at the Passover in Branson this April, Murray seldom lingers on stage to chat with or greet his followers after his sermon concludes.

“I’m a very private person, almost a loner,” Murray says in one audiotape sermon. Murray says he prefers the outdoors and maintains an intensely private

life on a wooded 30-acre property in rural Benton County, Ark. Few biographical details are known about the pastor. Born in 1927, Murray grew up in a farming family. On the Shepherd’s Chapel site, he says he served in the Korean War as a Marine. He also claims to have received a doctorate, though he doesn’t name the institution. Murray almost never gives

practice racism is another outright lie. We have people of all races that attend and study with the Shepherd’s Chapel.”

While that may be true, Shepherd’s Chapel’s supporters who defend their church as non-racist have some former colleagues among white supremacists. On the neo-Nazi website Stormfront, an array of former Murray students who now



media interviews and did not respond to requests for comment for this story. But he has addressed some of those who criticize him.

In a Shepherd’s Chapel website post called “An Answer to Our Critics,” Murray says: “To say I teach racism or

“Why do you think their own Talmud is the filthiest piece of literature ever written? Because they’re at home with it. They love it. It’s their cup of tea. It’s Satan’s cup of tea.”

pray and pastor at hard-core Christian Identity churches, have weighed in on Murray’s anti-Semitic credentials. “Yep, Murray is ‘lukewarm,’ he is half right, which makes him all dangerous,” wrote “NC patriot.” Another poster going by the handle “Artemis Clydefrog” stated: “I’ve been studying with the Chapel for about 15 years. He’s not C.I. [Christian Identity], but he does teach the ‘Serpent’s Seed.’” “[Murray] believes that blacks are exactly the same as Whites in the eyes of God,” said Stormfront poster “LeBrune” with evident disapproval. “Just because he teaches about the ‘Serpent’s Seed,’ don’t think for a moment that he is a White Nationalist, promotes Christian Identity, White Separation, or even White Preservation.”

But a 1997 complaint filed with the Federal Communications Commission, which regulates broadcast media, argued otherwise. Shepherd’s Chapel’s



broadcasts were one of the subjects of a complaint by former media company MediaOne (now part of AT&T) against Georgia’s WNGM-TV in a dispute over market access. MediaOne alleged that “Shepherd’s Chapel,” then carried on WNGM-TV, “has purveyed racist dogma,” citing claims by the program on Nov. 13 and 15, 1996, that “not all races can come from Adam and Eve,” that “God created different races ... and that’s the way he wanted us to stay,” and that the Biblical flood “was to destroy those [of different races] who had intermixed.”

With the exception of New York

In the end, the theology of Arnold Murray — attacking the “chosen people,” the winners of the Six-Day War in Israel, and those “responsible for the slaying of Christ” — is obviously anti-Semitic. But that hasn’t seemed to limit the popularity of his ministry.



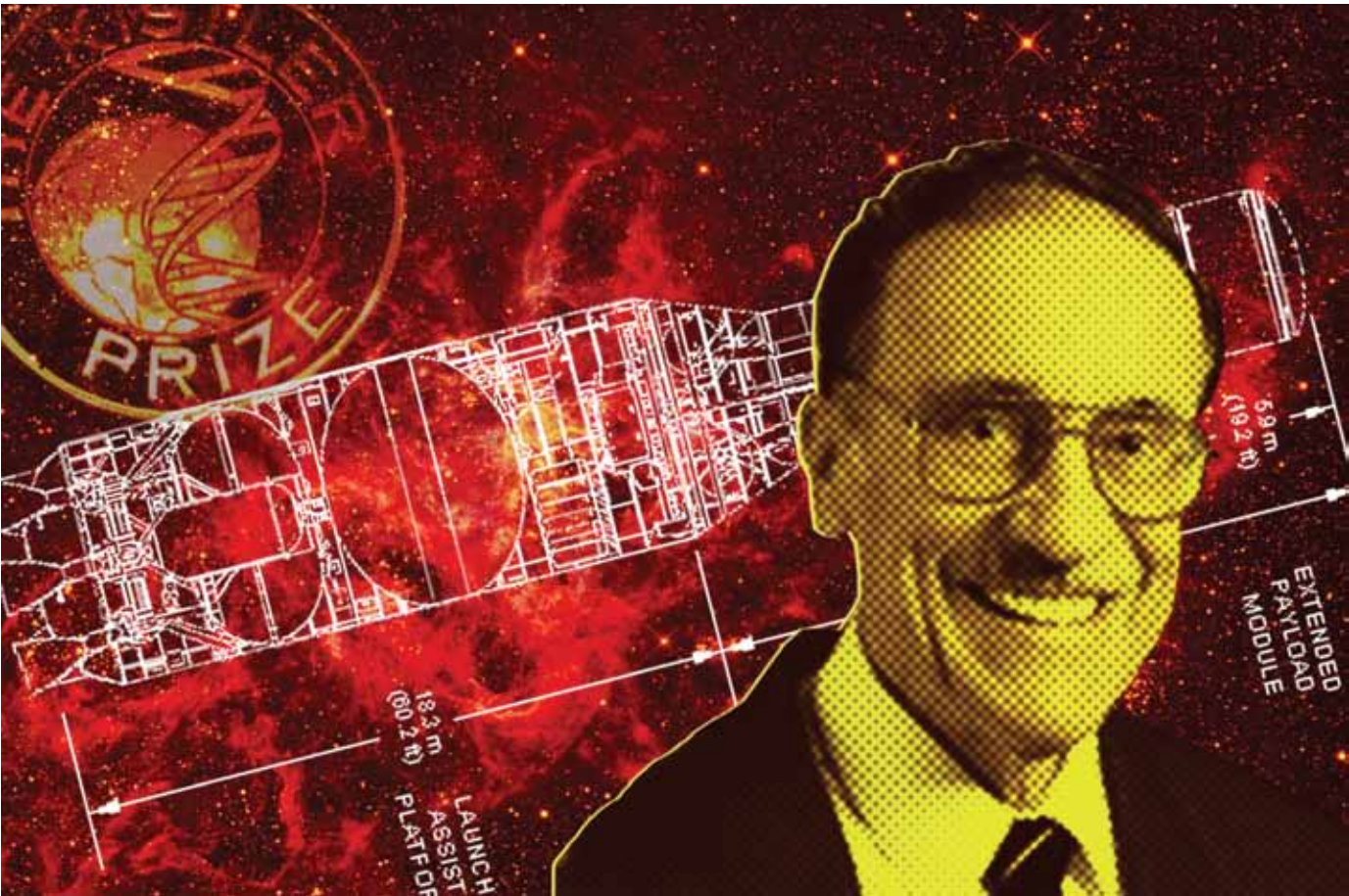
City, “Shepherd’s Chapel” airs in every major market in the country, in one- to four-hour slots, usually between midnight and six a.m. For hardcore fans, a 24-hour, seven-day a-week satellite broadcast of Shepherd’s Chapel is available on DirecTV. A prophecy hotline is also available where callers can listen to a two-minute loop of Murray’s commentary on events of the day.

All that airtime doesn’t come cheap. In 1990, the *Arkansas-Democrat Gazette* reported that Murray spent \$75,000 a month on television time. Where all that money comes from remains a mystery. Arkansas churches are shielded by state law from having to disclose their finances like other nonprofits. Unlike other, more notorious televangelists, the Murrays rarely make direct appeals for funds. At Passover in Branson, a single

discreet tithing box was unmanned in the main room.

But many Shepherd’s Chapel students are all too happy to donate to their pastor. For them, he’s often the first and only religious figure to have walked them through the Bible verse by verse. Buying his books and sermons, or directly donating, seems less like tithing to them and more like paying tuition.

But at the Passover in Branson, if they listened closely, students could hear snippets of a theology that probably was more than they bargained for, like when Dennis Murray blamed the Kenites for the crucifixion of Jesus. “I’d like to see them crawling around the floor picking up their blood money,” Dennis Murray said of the people his father still insistently claims are not the Jews, despite all appearances. “That’d be a picture.” ▲



Of Race and Rockets

Famed space pioneer Walter Kistler, a distinguished and wealthy scientist, is refilling the coffers of the racist Pioneer Fund

BY HEIDI BEIRICH

An accomplished rocket scientist has become the sole donor to the Pioneer Fund, which is listed as a hate group by the Southern Poverty Law Center.

Since 2003, Walter P. Kistler — the founder of Kistler Aerospace, who in 1996 endowed in perpetuity the well-known Bellevue, Wash., science outfit Foundation for the Future — has given \$200,000 to the Pioneer Fund. The fund is an organization that has bankrolled many of the leading Anglo-American race scientists of the last several decades as well as anti-immigration groups such as the Federation for American Immigration Reform and Californians for Population

Stabilization. Kistler told the *Intelligence Report* he would be happy to donate even more to the Pioneer Fund, which he considers “an institution that has courageously attempted to do research in the field of human differences.”

“I am fearless about supporting scientific research in this field,” Kistler said. “I am not concerned about battles in society about what is and what is not ‘racist.’”

Kistler’s donations are the first substantial financial backing Pioneer has received since the Canadian race scientist J. Philippe Rushton took over in 2002 as the organization’s president. (Rushton is best known for “research” supposedly showing an inverse relationship between brain and genital size, with blacks being

larger in the latter.) Kistler said he holds Rushton “in high regard for the courage he demonstrates in pursuing research in the field of human differences.” Prior to Rushton taking the job, the fund was slowly drawing down its resources.

The Pioneer Fund has a long and sordid history. Created in 1937, its original mandate was to pursue “race betterment” by promoting the genetic stock of those “deemed to be descended predominantly from white persons who settled in the original thirteen states prior to the adoption of the Constitution.” Its original endowment came from Wickliffe Draper, a racist scion of old-stock Protestant gentry who despised unions and helped fund opponents of desegregation in the 1950s.



Aerospace scientist Walter Kistler lauds the controversial work of race scientists J. Philippe Rushton (left), president of the Pioneer Fund, and Arthur Jensen. Jensen, who has received more than \$1 million from the fund, is the only race scientist to have received the Foundation for the Future's prestigious Kistler Prize.

During the 1950s and 1960s, Pioneer grants were given to the International Association for the Advancement of Eugenics and Ethnology, which brought together academic defenders of segregation in the United States and apartheid in South Africa. Other, more recent grantees included Nobel Laureate William Shockley, a physicist at Stanford best known for his “voluntary sterilization plan” for individuals with IQs below 100.

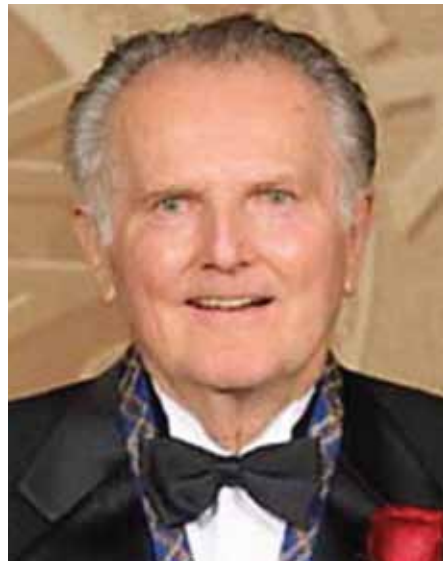
Kistler, 89, is a Swiss physicist who came to the United States in 1951 and worked on Bell Aircraft’s most advanced rocket projects. A pioneer in electric measurement technology using quartz crystals, he later founded several companies, most notably Kistler Instrument Corporation and Kistler Aerospace. Kistler reportedly helped fund the Ansari X Prize to support privately built manned space vehicles, which awarded \$10 million in 2004 to SpaceShipOne. He was inducted into the Aviation Hall of Fame in 1998.

Kistler has long associated with race scientists. In 1999, he traveled to London for meetings of the Galton Society, which was formerly known as the Eugenics Society. (Eugenics is the “science” of improving the human race through selec-

tive breeding that was discredited by its strong association with Nazi ideology and the Nazis’ murder of the mentally “deficient.”) Scheduled to speak there were Arthur Jensen and Glayde Whitney, but protesters shouted down the meeting.

Whitney, who until he died in 2002 was a controversial genetics expert at Florida State University, was also the author of a fawning introduction to David Duke’s 1998 racist and anti-Semitic autobiography, *My Awakening*. Whitney described the former Klansman’s 717-page tome as “a painstakingly docu-

The Pioneer Fund's original mandate was to pursue “race betterment” by promoting the genetic stock of those “deemed to be descended predominantly from white persons who settled in the original thirteen states prior to the adoption of the Constitution.”



mented, academically excellent work of socio-biological-political history that has the potential to ... change the very course of history.”

Jensen, for his part, has long been accused of racist research and has received more than \$1 million in Pioneer grants. In the last few years, he co-published three articles with the fund’s President Rushton. Jensen has argued against school desegregation and, in his infamous 1969 attack on the Head Start early learning program for the poor, wrote that the problem with black children was that they had an average IQ of only 85. No amount of social engineering could improve that performance, he claimed, adding that “eugenic foresight” was the only solution. In 2003, Kistler’s Foundation for the Future awarded its prestigious Kistler Prize, which consists of a \$100,000 cash award and a 180-gram gold medallion in a leaded glass sculpture, to Jensen, who now serves on the Kistler Prize Advisory Panel. (No other race scientist has been awarded the annual prize.)

Kistler defended the donation to Jensen, calling him “one of the foremost respected scientists on the planet when it comes to the study of human differences, specifically human intelligence.” Most other experts in the field disagree, and some say Jensen has ignored whatever evidence contradicts his ideas. But Kistler insisted that Jensen “doesn’t have a racist bone in his body” and “is and will always be one of the more distinguished winners of the Kistler Prize.”

Roger Pearson, whose Institute for the Study of Man has been one of the top Pioneer Fund beneficiaries over the past 20 years, is another example of an extremist supported by the fund. Using the pseudonym Stephan Langton, Pearson edited *The New Patriot*, a short-lived magazine published in 1966 and 1967 to conduct “a responsible but penetrating inquiry into every aspect of the Jewish Question.” Its articles carried such titles as “Zionists and the Plot Against South Africa,” “Early Jews and the Rise of Jewish Money Power” and “Swindlers of the Crematoria.” To this day, Pearson still publishes race scientists in his *Mankind Quarterly*, whose editorial board features Pioneer Fund board member and grant recipient Richard Lynn.

In recent years, the fund has mostly been giving grants to its own board members and a few other groups that are not embarrassed to be the beneficiaries of its racist charity. For example, from 2002 to 2006, board member Lynn’s Ulster Institute for Social Research received \$286,372. During the same period, Rushton, the fund’s president, received, through the University of Western Ontario where he teaches, \$301,326. The other big beneficiary of Pioneer handouts is *American Renaissance*, a racist newsletter published by Rushton’s close friend, Jared Taylor, who recently argued in its pages that blacks are incapable of sustaining any kind of civilization. Taylor’s journal focuses on eugenics and alleged race-based differences in intelligence.

Given Kistler’s prolific scientific experience, the Pioneer Fund seems an especially odd choice for his largesse because it does not employ scientific

norms. Pioneer has no peer review process for judging grant applications, and its board decides on its own whether a particular research proposal merits funding. In addition, once a grant is awarded, there is no requirement that the grantee provide proof that they undertook the work for which they were given funding. They are not even required to acknowledge that Pioneer backed the work. These are atypical practices for scientific grant-making institutions.

Though most of the Foundation for the Future’s (FFTF) work is unrelated to race science — the foundation’s main undertaking is holding several seminars a year on such things as climate change, energy security, and other important matters — Kistler’s politics have leaked into FFTF’s programming. In 2001, Pioneer Fund board member Lynn received a \$15,000 grant for a study entitled, “Is Fertility for Intelligence in the United States Dysgenic?” Kistler is concerned that the United States is in a dysgenic downward spiral, where persons with “negative social behaviors and lower intelligence” have more children than college graduates. Kistler has written that he believes this process is breeding successful genes out of American society and could lead to the “decay of our civilization and culture.”

Kistler told the *Report* that, although he is concerned about dysgenics, his reason for donating to the Pioneer Fund is “for scientific research in the field of human differences.” He dismissed criticisms of the organization as applying only to its “history and past.” And he said that he has “never personally discriminated against anybody” nor “acted on any of the conclusions of the research into human differences.” His closest colleagues,

Kistler said, are “a Jew, an East Indian, and a woman.”

FFTF Executive Director Bob Citron, who was CEO of Kistler Aerospace in the 1990s, told the *Report* that the foundation is “anti-racist” and that “Kistler has one vote on the board of trustees and they don’t allow his personal views to influence the foundation.” He explained that Jensen was awarded his prize partly because the advisory panel considers “how much courage the person has in fighting his colleagues and persons who make fun of his or her research” and because Jensen had devised the “g factor” intelligence measurement.

Citron said that Kistler has over the years brought race scientists to the foundation, adding that Kistler included Glayde Whitney in some of FFTF’s programming. Whitney also is featured in one of FFTF’s booklets as a “Scholar Participant.” Though Whitney spoke at the Galton Institute event Kistler attended in London in 1999, Kistler told the *Report* that he did not invite him to FFTF and that FFTF has “nothing more to do with Glayde Whitney.” Asked about the fact that Whitney penned the introduction to David Duke’s autobiography, Kistler told the *Report*, “I am not especially concerned one way or the other that he did.”

Other race scientists who have participated in FFTF’s events include Michael H. Hart, who describes himself as a “white separatist” and attends conferences put on by *American Renaissance* (other attendees have included David Duke and other racist leaders), and Michael Levin, a professor of philosophy at the City University of New York who believes that whites are genetically superior to blacks.

Citron defended his longtime colleague and friend as a “wonderful man,” saying that he didn’t think Kistler was a racist but that he had a “distorted view of race.” But he added that Kistler should “know better than to try to support hate groups.” “It’s amazing that an honorable, intelligent human being can have those points of view,” Citron told the *Report*. “It’s truly tragic.” ▲



One of the major beneficiaries of the Pioneer Fund of late has been Jared Taylor, editor of *American Renaissance*. Taylor argues in his magazine’s pages that black people are incapable of sustaining “any kind of civilization.”



From Russia, With Hate

Virtually unknown just three years ago, Preston Wiginton has become a key white power activist in Russia and the U.S.

BY DAVID HOLTHOUSE

He lives part of the year in a Moscow apartment that he sublets from former Klan boss David Duke. His best friends are Russian skinheads. He boasts of pumping \$50,000 a year of his own money into the white nationalist movement. He's tight with the leader of the racist British National Party as well as ultra-right politicians and white supremacist academics in Russia, his adopted homeland.

His name is Preston Wiginton, and his newfound purpose in life is forging international connections between anti-immigration extremists and white supremacists to prevent the populations of "white nations" from becoming what he has termed "a homogenous muddle of sludge."

A 43-year-old native Texan and former owner of a shipping pallet manufacturing company, Wiginton declined to comment for this article when contacted by E-mail, calling himself "the wrong Goy" to ask for information. "You [the Southern Poverty Law Center] have a political objective to destroy European and Slavic peoples and cultures," Wiginton wrote. "We can exist only if we live in the yoke of your Judaic system."

Wiginton first appeared on the white nationalist scene in October 2005, not long after he turned 40, when he attended Hammerfest, a neo-Nazi skinhead festival

in Draketown, Ga. It's unclear from his prolific subsequent blog posts and essays whether he subscribed to white nationalist ideology relatively late in life or was a longtime believer who came out publicly in middle age. Either way, it's certain that in less than two years Wiginton became a major behind-the-scenes player in the white nationalist movement and the most dynamic American far-right extremist making waves abroad other than Duke, who Wiginton calls a good friend and claims to speak with twice a week.

The accelerating trajectory of Wiginton's activism began in the fall of 2005, one month after Hammerfest,

when he organized a lecture at Texas A&M University by anti-immigration extremist Frosty Wooldridge. When about 100 anti-racist protesters surrounded Wiginton and Wooldridge in a "free speech zone," Wiginton threatened to "bring in the Hammerskins," apparently a reference to members of Hammerskin Nation, a nationwide coalition of violent skinhead gangs.

Wooldridge's appearance at Texas A&M was originally sponsored by the university's chapter of Young Conservatives of Texas. But that group backed away from the event after its chairman revealed that Wiginton had duped him



ALEXANDER ZEMLIANICHENKO/AP IMAGES



In His Own Words

When it suits his purposes, Preston Wiginton presents himself as a mainstream conservative. But his own writings unmask him

“Beating down a mud [person of color] when they try to poison [sic] one of our own or when they try to seduce one of our [white] girls may not be God inspired, but rather a righteous act of collective preservation.”

— Stormfront.org post, July 29, 2007

“Some of the leading skinheads in Russia are my best friends. They are also the founders of the skinhead movement in Russia.... Luckily Russia is the only nation that understands RAHOWA [Racial Holy War]. Because of this...immigrants think twice about coming to Russia.”

— Stormfront.org post, July 21, 2007

“I am here to tell you of...[a] cancer called illegal immigration ...an abnormal growth that is threatening the life of American culture and the life of American people through the poisoning and infecting of our infrastructure ...because of unsustainable cost ... our streets and neighborhoods with crime...our health and environment with the spreading of diseases...our workforce by displacing jobs and...(our) values and ways of life.”

— Excerpt from “Illegal Immigration Spells Cancer for the American Way of Life,” undated essay posted to NoAztlan.org

by falsely claiming to be organizing the lecture on behalf of the organization’s state officers.

Wooldridge’s Texas A&M appearance occurred in the midst of an uproar on campus over a video posted to YouTube that showed a white student in blackface being whipped by his “slavemaster.” In the aftermath of that brouhaha, Wiginton publicly challenged Tito Guerrero III, Texas A&M’s vice president and associate provost for diversity, to debate Jared Taylor, editor of the white supremacist magazine *American Renaissance*.

According to campus media accounts, Wiginton attended a campus diversity symposium holding a 2-by-4 foot sign that read, “Why Won’t Tito Guerrero Debate Jared Taylor?” When a professor during a panel discussion described widespread institutional racism in America, Wiginton interrupted from the audience. “Sir, you’re lying and I’m having a hard time listening to this,” he said. “I hate to see young minds get lied to.”

Wiginton’s next public move was the NoAztlan aerial banner campaign. By his own account, he paid \$5,500 for a gigantic banner that bore the message, “USA LOVE IT OR LEAVE IT,” a crossed-out Mexican flag and the Internet address of Wiginton’s conspiracy theory website NoAztlan.Com (a reference to an alleged secret plan by Mexico to reconquer the southwestern United States, part of what some Mexican revanchists refer to as “Aztlan”). The banner made its debut the morning of April 10, 2006, when a Cessna 188 took off from a regional airport in Ellis County, Texas, with the NoAztlan banner in tow. For 90 minutes, the plane circled above Dallas. Then its engine failed, and the pilot was forced to make an emergency landing in a weedy field near a residential neighborhood. No one was injured.

Twelve days after this inglorious beginning, the banner was flown over a NASCAR race in Phoenix, Ariz., that was attended by more than 40,000 people. The website it promoted contains an essay by Wiginton that describes non-white immigration as “an abnormal growth that is threatening the life of American culture and the life of American people.”

ALEXANDER ZEMLIANICHENOV/AP IMAGES

“If action is taken, and time is of the essence, this cancer can be eradicated,” Wiginton writes. If not, “the death of the American way of life, identity and sovereignty is certain.”

The language in Wiginton’s NoAztlan essay is about as harsh as his rhetoric gets if it’s intended for a general audience. When he interacts with college students, talks with American media or posts to mainstream conservative blogs, he typically assumes the guise of a Minuteman-style nativist concerned chiefly with illegal immigration. He strategically limits his Jew-bashing and endorsements of racially motivated violence to his personal website and a handful of white supremacist online forums including Stormfront, which he joined in October 2006 using the screen name “Ruskybound.”

According to his own posts, Wiginton moved to Moscow shortly thereafter and began forging connections with racist “skinheads, leaders of Russian nationalist parties, Russian skinhead and patriot bands and Russian WN [white nationalist] academics.” He has since repeatedly boasted on Stormfront of his close relationship with Alexander Belov, the former spokesman for the Russian ultranationalist and virulently anti-Semitic group Pamyat. Currently, Belov is the leader of Movement Against Illegal Immigration, or DPNI, a powerful white nationalist organization with 5,000 members in 30 regions of Russia. DPNI has close ties to neo-Nazi Russian skinhead



BURT STEEL/AP IMAGES (DUKE); MIKHAIL METZEL/AP IMAGES (BELOV)

Preston Wiginton has worked to build alliances with key figures on the Russian radical right, including Alexander Belov, former spokesman for the virulently anti-Semitic group Pamyat.

gangs, whose members carried out more than 600 xenophobic attacks last year, including 68 murders, according to the Sova Information and Analysis Center, a Moscow-based watchdog organization.

“Russia is under third world invasion. Luckily Russia is the only nation that understands RAHOWA [Racial Holy War],” Wiginton wrote in a Stormfront post last July. “Because of this immigrants think twice about coming to Russia.”

Wiginton returned to America in the spring of 2007 to ramp up his activism here by organizing a series of lectures on college campuses by racist leaders, starting with a lecture at Clemson University last April that was co-sponsored by the South Carolina chapter of the Council of Conservative Citizens (CCC), a white supremacist organization.

Last summer, Wiginton was back in Russia for the annual DPNI congress, which was attended by skinheads and other white nationalists from at least five European countries. “There were many Seig Heils and Roman Salutes,” Wiginton wrote on Stormfront. Also in the summer of 2007, Wiginton promoted a series of concerts in Russia by the Bully Boys, an American hate rock band. In his spare time, he tried to find a Russian girlfriend. “Real Russian women, not half-breeds or Jews, want real Russian men,” he wrote



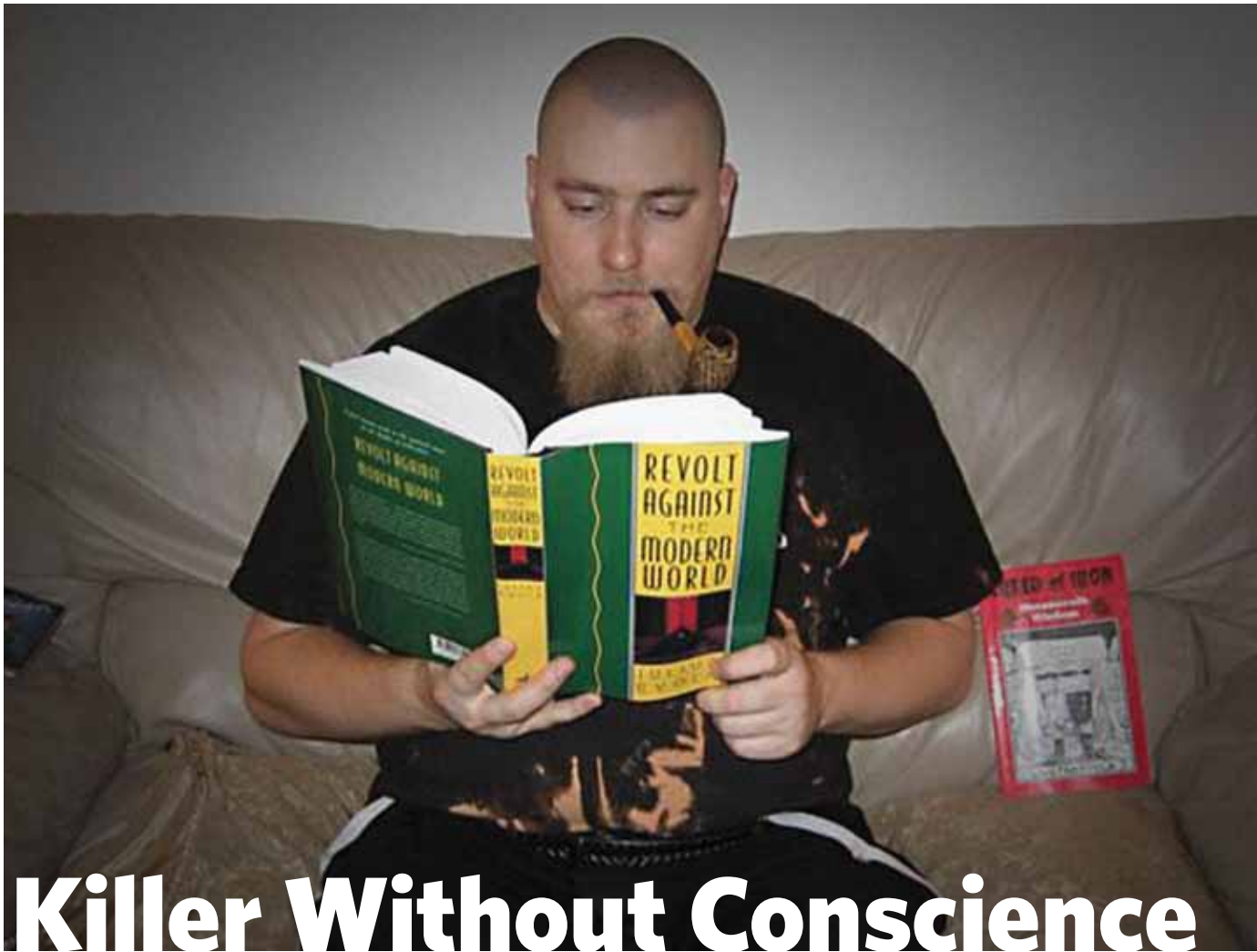
on his website. “I know I have been turned down a few times, but also I was lucky in knowing many people over here when I came.”

Wiginton reappeared in America last October when he co-sponsored another lecture at Clemson with the CCC, this one by Nick Griffin, the Holocaust-denying chairman of British National Party (BNP). The following day, Griffin lectured at Texas A&M at the invitation of the so-called Aggie Independents. Griffin then flew to East Lansing, Mich., for an Oct. 26 lecture at Michigan State University that was sponsored by the MSU chapter of Young Americans for Freedom. Griffin later described Wiginton on the BNP website as the “host and organizer of the whole tour.”

The week after Griffin’s lectures, Wiginton was back in Moscow, where he spoke at a rally against non-white immigration last Nov. 4 that was attended by approximately 5,000 Russian ultra-nationalists, including a large contingent of skinheads. Lifting his black cowboy hat into the air, Wiginton said, “I’m taking my hat off as a sign of respect for your strong identity in ethnicity, nation and race.” The skinheads raised their arms in Nazi salutes and chanted “White Power!” in English.

It was the first time Wiginton stepped from the shadows into the spotlight. It’s unlikely to be the last. ▲

In the last two years, Preston Wiginton has become the most dynamic American far-right extremist making waves abroad other than David Duke, who Wiginton calls a good friend and claims to speak with twice a week.



Killer Without Conscience

It was shocking enough when an unstable skinhead was acquitted of murdering an unarmed woman. Now he's bragging about it

BY DAVID HOLTHOUSE

Even for a fascist killer, Hardy Lloyd has a lot of rules. The "Daily Code of a Fascist" section of his sprawling website issues decrees on dress ("A Fascist should wear black all the time!"), diet ("A Fascist eats lots of organic fruits and vegetables!"), calculating weight and distance ("A Fascist uses the Metric System!"), and everyday conversation ("The Fascist shall greet all Comrades with one of the following: 1) Freedom! 2) Hail Victory or Sieg Heil 3) Greetings, Comrade(s) ... A Fascist shall refer to non-Fascists in one of the following ways: 1) Infidel 2) Non-Fascist 3) Enemy").

Lloyd, an unstable, 30-year-old racist skinhead and former Pennsylvania leader of the violent neo-Nazi group World Church of the Creator, goes on to encourage cohorts to always carry a weapon, and to never fight fair. "Stab

"Women and children can also be your enemy. Do not shy away from hitting or killing a woman or child!"

your enemy in the back, or kick him when he, or she, is down," he exhorts. "Do not have sympathy for the enemy, but have only utter contempt."

There's no shortage of delusional grandiosity in Lloyd's bloodthirsty screeds. "I'm the next generation of Aryan thought," he proclaims. "I am the beginning of the final stage of evolution. I am what we should all be!" But then, a firm grasp of his own significance in the world has never been one of Lloyd's strong points. Neither has his sense of morality.

He was kicked out of the World Church of the Creator after being involuntarily committed to a psychiatric hospital in 2003. The following year

he began referring to himself as "the doctor of all hate" and promoting himself as the leader of the so-called "Order of National Socialism," whose motto was "Wake up and Kill Someone." Today, he's admonishing his comrades to be as violent and vicious as possible. "Women and children can also be your enemy," he writes. "Do not shy away from hitting or killing a woman or child!"

Hardy Lloyd practices what he preaches. Until 2004, it was tempting to write him off as a loathsome character with extremely unpleasant views. But then he killed a woman. He did it, Lloyd now says, "just to watch her die."

The victim was Lori Hann, a 41-year-old divorced legal secretary who met Lloyd through an Internet dating service. Lloyd shot her in the temple on Aug. 3, 2004, and she died on the porch of a stranger's home in the Pittsburgh neighborhood of Squirrel Hill.

According to homicide investigators, Lloyd said at first that he shot Hann as she was running away from him after a heated argument between the two of them in Hann's car. But then he changed his story, claiming that Hann had threatened him with a handgun before they both exited the vehicle and that he fired in self-defense when she whirled toward him moments later. He said he mistakenly believed the gun was still in her hand, when it was actually still in her car.

Lloyd spent more than two years in jail awaiting a murder trial in which prosecutors argued that Hann pulled over because she was terrified and that Lloyd shot her in cold blood as she was running for help. But the prosecutors didn't convince the jury, which acquitted Lloyd of first-degree murder as well as voluntary manslaughter, finding him guilty only of carrying a firearm without a license. Jurors apparently believed that Lloyd reasonably assumed that Hann was armed.

After he was freed last November, Lloyd launched what is probably yet

Few people believed that Hardy Lloyd would get off after being arrested (right) for killing Lori Hann in 2004. Even fewer expected to find him, after winning an acquittal, bragging that he murdered her "just to watch her die."

"She was an employ[ee] of the Pentagon, and was keeping files on people, and then sending them to an FBI agent!! Also, she confessed to being a spy. What I did was morally and ideologically right and just!! I killed a government agent of an evil and tyrannical order!"

another one-man organization, "Universal Fascism," whose stated goal is to "promote open and violent revolt against the Americans, the JEWS, the Economic Elite of the world, and Monotheism!" No longer strictly a white supremacist, Lloyd informed the *Intelligence Report* in a recent E-mail exchange that he is now dedicated to fostering "inter-racial cooperation between Fascists" across the globe. "I have associates in Japan, Turkey, the UK and Ireland, all over Europe, Mexico, America, Canada, Panama, Columbia, Chile, Brazil and Argentina," he claimed.

He also has a taste for the macabre. Last December, a month after starting up his latest group, Lloyd began posting song lyrics to his website in which he taunts Hann's family and gloats about getting away with murder. One of his songs, a take on rapper Ice-T's controversial 1992 single, "Cop Killer," is titled "Bitch Killer."

*BITCH Killer, better her than me
BITCH Killer, fuck Hann's family
BITCH Killer, I know Lori's family's grievin'*

BITCH Killer, but tonight I got even.

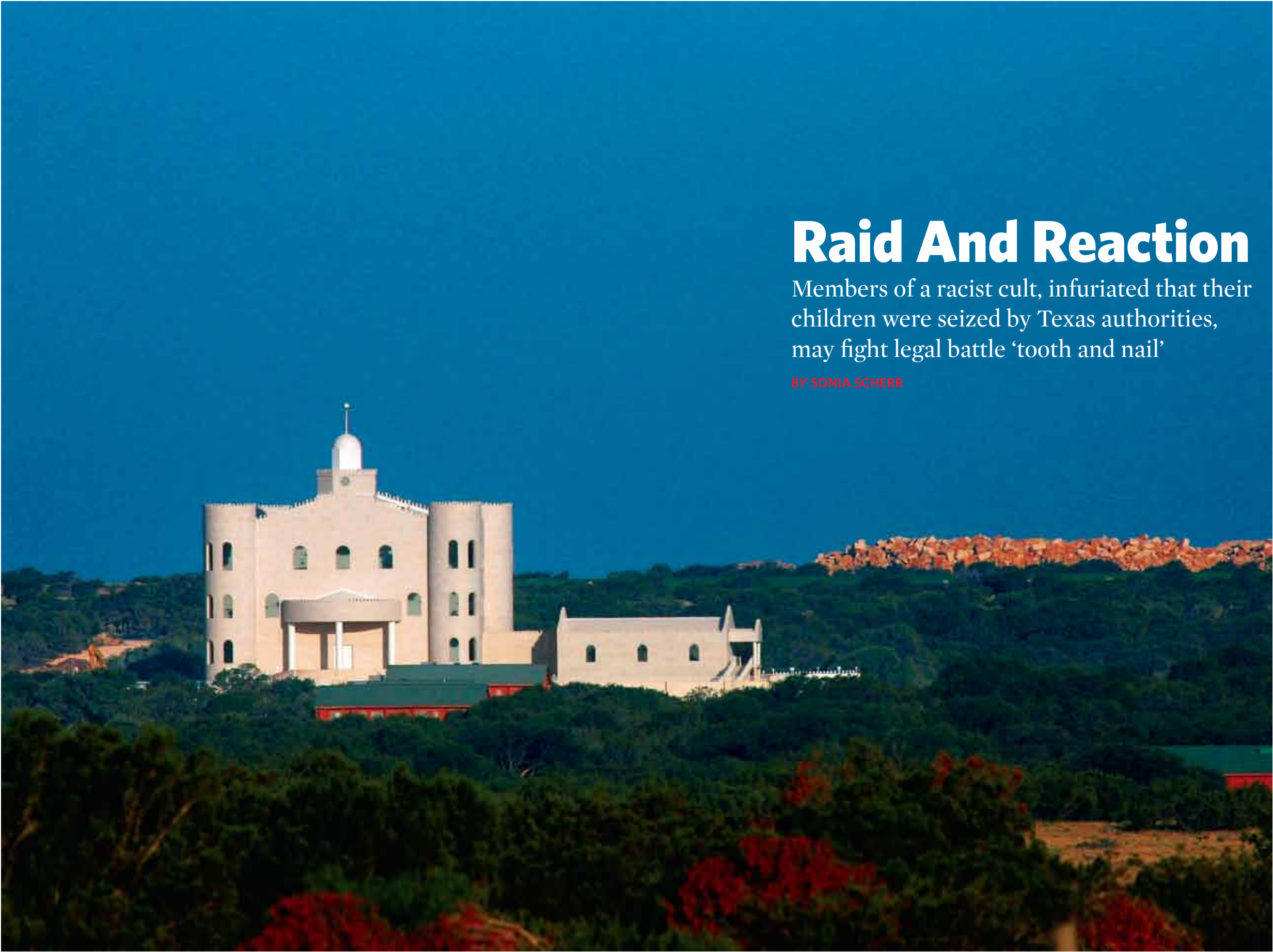
In his version of Johnny Cash's legendary "Folsom Prison Blues," Lloyd adds, "I shot that bitch in Squirrel Hill, just to watch her die."

Hann's family has declined to discuss the case with reporters.

Lloyd claimed in one of his E-mails to the *Report* that he suspected Hann was a secret agent. "She was an employ [sic] of the Pentagon, and was keeping files on people, and then sending them to an FBI agent!!" he wrote. "Also, she confessed to being a spy. ... What I did was morally and ideologically right and just!! I killed a government agent of an evil and tyrannical order!"

That has a better ring to it, after all, than, "I gunned down a frightened, unarmed woman." ▲





Raid And Reaction

Members of a racist cult, infuriated that their children were seized by Texas authorities, may fight legal battle ‘tooth and nail’

BY SONIA SCHERR

When leaders of a racist, polygamous cult purchased 1,691 acres for a compound in rural Texas, they hoped to retreat further from the government and the press, which increasingly were shining a spotlight on some of their more unsavory activities.

Only it didn’t quite work out that way. Instead, their so-called prophet, Warren Jeffs, was convicted last year of being an accomplice to rape for arranging a marriage involving a 14-year-old girl. Then, in early April, state authorities took more than 460 children from the group’s secluded Yearning for Zion ranch in Eldorado, a small town in central Texas. Shortly afterward, a judge ruled that the children could remain in state custody, at least temporarily, because Texas officials had shown they were in imminent danger of abuse or neglect by their parents. The children, who were sent to foster homes, were to receive individual hearings to decide if



TOM FOX/DALLAS MORNING NEWS/CORBIS (COMPOUND); ERICH SCHLEGEL/DALLAS MORNING NEWS/CORBIS (POLICE RAID)

the state retains control of them or if they can return to their parents.

Though the children’s fates had yet to be determined at press time, the Fundamentalist Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (FLDS) — which split from the Mormon Church years ago — could grow even stronger as it fights what it considers ongoing harassment by outsiders. “This is a major, major blow and will be seen as the ultimate persecution,” said John Dougherty, who has written extensively about FLDS. “This will not do anything to weaken them. It will just make them more determined to move forward.”

The raid was triggered by a phone call to a Texas domestic abuse hotline. The caller identified herself as a 16-year-old girl who was being physically and sexually abused by her 50-year-old husband. While the report is now believed to be a hoax, child welfare workers say they’ve uncovered other examples of abuse at the compound, including marriages between underage girls and older men. Of the 53 girls ages 14 to 17 who were taken from the ranch, 31 either have children or are pregnant, state officials said. Texas law generally forbids girls under 18 from having sex with an adult. As of press time, no criminal charges had been filed against any ranch member in connection with the alleged abuse.

For its part, the sect denies that abuse occurred and has enlisted attorneys to challenge the removal of its children. “They will fight this thing tooth and nail. They’re not just going to give up,” Dougherty said.

While the group is best known for practicing polygamy more than 100 years after it was outlawed by the Mormon Church, FLDS is also extremely racist. According to Jeffs, “The black race is the people through which the devil has always been able to bring evil unto the earth.” He has blasted the Mormon Church for allowing blacks to become priests, saying it “became the great and terrible church on the earth” and will be destroyed by God.

As for sexual relations between men, Jeffs called that “the worst evil act you can do, next to murder. It is like murder. Whenever people commit that sin, then the Lord destroys them.”



Jeffs has claimed some 10,000 followers, most of whom live in the Short Creek community of Colorado City, Ariz., and neighboring Hilldale, Utah. Nonetheless, the sect’s impact extends beyond its adherents: An investigation of the cult by Dougherty, then a reporter for the *Phoenix New Times*, detailed how FLDS leaders used taxpayer dollars, intended for city services, to help finance the church. He also found — as did a major 2005 exposé of the cult in these pages — that FLDS marriages between relatives

“The black race is the people through which the devil has always been able to bring evil unto the earth.”

were causing babies to be born with an extremely rare and disabling genetic disease. The refusal of FLDS members to stop inbreeding had troubling financial implications along with ethical ones, since the state of Arizona was helping pay for medical care and other assistance for children with the disease.

In addition, an investigation this spring by McClatchy Newspapers revealed that tax dollars were flowing to a business run by an FLDS leader. The

business, NewEra Manufacturing in Las Vegas, had been awarded \$1.2 million in military contracts and a \$900,000 federal loan. In a 2005 affidavit filed as part of a civil lawsuit, a former NewEra employee said the company was funneling \$50,000 to \$100,000 of its monthly profits to the FLDS or Jeffs.

Jeffs hoped to escape that kind of unwanted attention when he moved several hundred of his most loyal followers to the compound in Eldorado. But in 2006, he was apprehended after nearly two years on the lam and a stint on the FBI’s Ten Most Wanted list. A Utah judge sentenced him to two consecutive prison terms of five years to life for forcing Elissa Wall, then 14, to marry her 19-year-old cousin. Jeffs is currently imprisoned in Kingman, Ariz., awaiting trial on charges of arranging two other marriages involving underage girls. He continues to run FLDS from prison.

In fact, Jeffs’ imprisonment made him a martyr in the eyes of his followers — and they will now see him as an even greater prophet than before, Dougherty said. They will regard the ranch raid as fulfilling their leaders’ predictions of further persecution by outsiders. In addition, Dougherty said FLDS members no doubt see an explanation for their ordeal in the race of the 33-year-old woman whom police have linked to the phone call that touched off the raid.

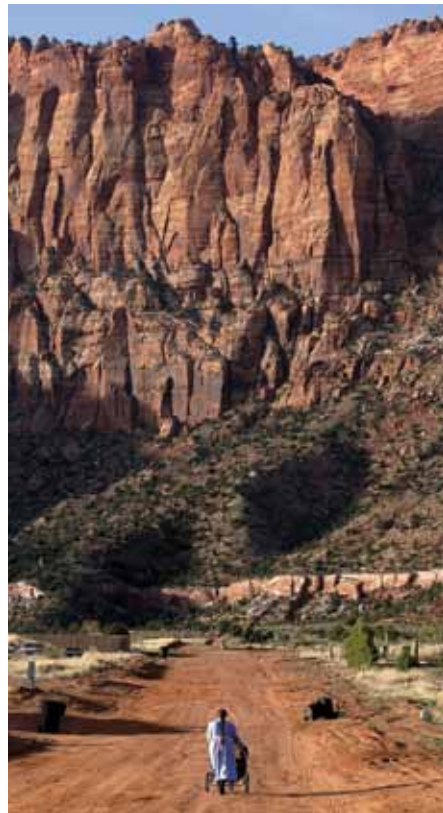


The police raid this spring on its sprawling compound in Eldorado, Texas, was the culmination of a series of troubles for the Fundamentalist Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (FLDS). Over the years, the polygamist cult threw out many of its young boys so that there would be plenty of women for the remaining men to marry, leading to a whole colony of “lost boys” like Richard Black (top right), who was excommunicated and forced to leave his family at age 15 for watching the film “Scary Movie.” As news of this practice and the marriage of young FLDS girls spread, cult leader Warren Jeffs (facing page) prepared to take followers at the walled-off FLDS compound in Hilldale, Utah (above), to Eldorado in an apparent bid to avoid prosecution. But Jeffs was arrested after two years on the lam and convicted last year as an accomplice to rape for helping arrange a child bride’s marriage to her cousin. This April, Texas police raided the compound (right and top, left) and took more than 460 children to investigate their possible physical and sexual abuse.





The sprawling Eldorado, Texas, compound (facing page) of the Fundamentalist Latter-Day Saints (FLDS) was the scene of law enforcement raids this April in which hundreds of the cult's children were seized because of possible child abuse. FLDS has long promoted the marrying off of young girls as child brides, a practice that ultimately resulted in the conviction of cult leader Warren Jeffs in connection with forcing a 14-year-old girl to marry her 19-year-old cousin (above, testifying during Jeffs' 2007 trial for being an accomplice to rape). As a result of extensive inbreeding within FLDS, many member of the cult — which has large settlements in Arizona, Colorado, Texas, Utah, South Dakota and British Columbia, Canada — look remarkably similar, and such a high percentage of their children die of genetic diseases that the cult has built a cemetery specifically for deceased infants.



TONY GUTIERREZ/AP PHOTO (COURTHOUSE); DOUGLAS C. PIZAC/AP PHOTO (CRIMINAL); TRENT NELSON/REUTERS/CORBIS (WOMAN); TOM FOX/DALLAS MORNING NEWS/CORBIS (CROWD); DOUGLAS C. PIZAC/AP PHOTO (STROLL)



(The woman, Rozita Swinton, is black.) “That’s just more support [for the idea] that the devil is at hand and that’s why this is happening,” he said.

The case is bound to provoke a legal debate about whether the state of Texas was justified in separating all the children from their parents and not just teenage girls or those on the cusp of puberty, Dougherty said. During the hearing in April, the state contended that the children were living in a climate that fostered abuse by teaching girls to accept sex with much older men and boys to eventually take child brides. However, no evidence presented at the hearings suggested that young children were directly harmed. “I think there are going to be all sorts of constitutional questions raised about the right of the state to intervene,” Dougherty said.

The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) of Texas, which observed the custody hearing, has already said the rights of FLDS members may have been violated. “We recognize that this balanc-

ing act is difficult, but we are concerned that government may not be complying with the constitution or the laws of Texas in the execution of its mandate, from how the raids were conducted to whether the current process protects basic rights,” said Lisa Graybill, legal director for the ACLU of Texas, in a statement.

“This will not do anything to weaken them. It will just make them more determined to move forward.”

The situation unfolding in Texas is eerily similar to a raid on Short Creek in 1953, which was also prompted by reports that men were taking minors as wives. In Short Creek, law enforcement officials took protective custody of than 300 women and children and arrested nearly 40 men, according to the *Deseret*

News. The incident garnered extensive media coverage, most of it highly critical of the state’s actions. The raid ended the political career of Arizona Gov. John Howard Pyle, but did nothing to damage the FLDS. None of the men were prosecuted, and everyone who’d been taken from Short Creek ultimately returned. FLDS followers saw the incident as a trial they had to endure for their faith — one from which they emerged victorious.

FLDS members view the Eldorado raid in a similar light. Just as they did more than half a century ago, they are coming together to fight the unwelcome intrusion from outsiders. While their Texas outpost may not have provided quite the refuge they were hoping for, it’s doubtful they will abandon it anytime soon.

“They’ve invested a tremendous amount of time and money into building their compound down there,” Dougherty said. “I find it hard to believe they’re going to walk away.” ▲

North Meets South

Vermont's secessionist movement, born of the left, has forged a bewildering alliance with racist neo-Confederates

BY HEIDI BEIRICH

From 1777 until 1791, Vermont was an independent state complete with all the trappings — a constitution, a flag, even a mint to pump out its own money, the Vermont copper. But in 1791, Vermonters happily joined the new United States.

Now, some of the locals want out.

In 2003, the Second Vermont Republic (SVR) sprang up to push for the independence of Vermont, a tiny, idyllic Northeastern state with fewer than 630,000 residents. In its seemingly quixotic quest, SVR took up the mantra that small is beautiful, arguing that secession would lead to sustainability, ecological balance, an end to military entanglements overseas, and a better life. SVR activists designed a new green flag for Vermont and started selling T-shirts, particularly popular with the state's many tourists, that read, "U.S. OUT OF VT!"

But in recent months and years, SVR's actions have gone from way out to worrying. Starting in 2005, SVR leader Thomas H. Naylor — along with SVR's very close ally, the Cold Spring, N.Y.-based Middlebury Institute that is headed by longtime leftist Kirkpatrick Sale — began openly collaborating with a collection of Southern extremists to build a national secession movement.

SVR's disturbing new partner is the white supremacist League of the South. The Alabama-based group is against interracial marriage, believes the old Confederacy never surrendered, and wants to reestablish "the cultural dominance of the Anglo-Celtic people and their institutions" in a newly seceded South. It seeks to accord different classes of people differing legal rights in what sounds very much like a medieval the-

ocracy of lords, serfs and clerics. League intellectuals have defended both slavery (which was “God-ordained”) and segregation, a policy described as protecting the genetic “integrity” of both blacks and whites. Right after Hurricane Katrina, league members put up “whites only” housing offers, including one from Alabama offering a trailer to a “white family of three or four,” and another from Tennessee offering to temporarily house a “White Christian family.”

Many Vermonters have been shocked by this alliance. After all, the Green Mountain State was the first to abolish slavery in 1777, and its men fought fiercely to preserve the union in battles during the Civil War, some of which are proudly commemorated in paintings displayed inside the gold-domed State House. But Naylor isn’t worried about his fellow Vermonters’ concerns, hotly defending as critical his newfound alliance with members of the radical right.

“For the last 30 years, people have been speculating on the idea of far left meets far right, and I saw the possibility for that not to be fantasy but to be real,” Naylor told the *Intelligence Report*. “The objective is to bring down the Empire.” The League of the South, Naylor added, though “not perfect,” is “not racist.”

Birthing a Movement

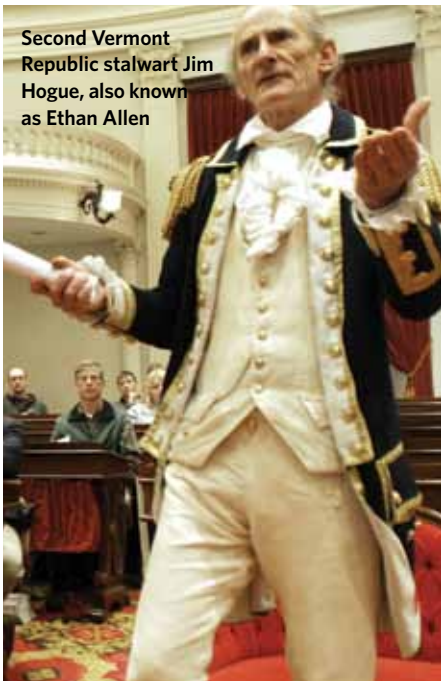
Talk of secession has been heating up in Vermont since the early 1990s and even before. In 1991, then-Lt. Gov. Howard Dean moderated debates in seven towns that then voted for secession. That same year, University of Vermont professor and current SVR advisor Frank Bryan argued for secession in a series of well-publicized debates with Vermont Supreme Court Justice John Dooley. With the election of George Bush and the onset of the increasingly unpopular Iraq war, secessionist sentiment in traditionally liberal Vermont picked up, with a 2006 University of Vermont poll showing 8% of residents interested in the idea.

It was Naylor who turned that sentiment into a movement, founding SVR after self-publishing *The Vermont Manifesto* in 2003. Naylor was spurred to create SVR by the 9/11 terrorist attacks, which he does not believe were organized by Osama bin Laden, a “fun-



Secession strategizing: Thomas Naylor (left), founder of the Second Vermont Republic, listens as Ian Baldwin talks to Kirkpatrick Sale, founder of the secessionist Middlebury Institute. The three met during a May 2007 gathering of separatists in Charlotte, Vt.

damentalist living in a remote cave,” but rather were the ultimate result of American arrogance. In his manifesto’s preface, Naylor writes: “Our nation has truly lost its way. America is no longer a sustainable nation-state economically, politically, socially, militarily or environ-



Second Vermont Republic stalwart Jim Hogue, also known as Ethan Allen

mentally. The Empire has no clothes.” A perennial curmudgeon, Naylor regularly berates government officials. He calls Vermont’s elected officials “enemies of the state” and has labeled six-term Vermont Sen. Patrick Leahy, a Democrat, “a world-class prostitute.”

To most Vermonters, SVR was originally seen as a far-out outfit that engaged in publicity stunts to push secession. At least in the beginning, its most enthusiastic supporters seemed to be the Glover, Vt.-based Bread and Puppet Theater troupe, a merry band dedicated to “cheap art” whose building hosted SVR’s first statewide meeting in October 2003. One SVR attention-grabber was a “memorial service” held on March 4, 2005, commemorating the day in 1791 that Vermont joined the union. The service included everything from a reading from Ecclesiastes to the strains of Chopin’s “Funeral March.” A funeral procession with a New Orleans-style jazz band carried a flag-draped coffin containing the “deceased First Vermont Republic” to the State House in Montpelier, where it was placed at the feet of Vermont Revolutionary War hero Ethan Allen’s

statue. SVR even achieved a symbolic political success, persuading the legislature to designate Jan. 16 as Vermont Independence Day to commemorate the establishment of the First Vermont Republic in 1777.

Naylor’s leftist credentials were enhanced greatly by his close friendship with Kirkpatrick Sale, whose Middlebury Institute he helped found in 2005. Sale, a contributing editor at the left-wing journal *The Nation* and a chronicler of the militant, 1960s-era Students for a Democratic Society, is best known as the author of *The Conquest of Paradise: Christopher Columbus and the Columbian Legacy*, a 1991 history that was the first to denounce Columbus for “founding” the New World and ushering in the destruction of its native peoples. Between 1965 and 1968, he was editor of *The New York Times Magazine*. Thirty years later, in

1995, Sale was named as a “visionary” by the *Utne Reader*, a liberal journal. Sale also is known for his hatred of technology, once famously smashing a computer to bits on a New York stage.

In 2005, the Vermont secessionist movement also spawned a popular independent newspaper, *Vermont Commons*, that the SVR describes as a “sister organization.” The newspaper promotes nonviolent secession and a “more sustainable Vermont future.” Both SVR and *Vermont Commons* argue that the United States has become an unsustainable “empire” in need of dismantling.

From Mississippi to Montpelier

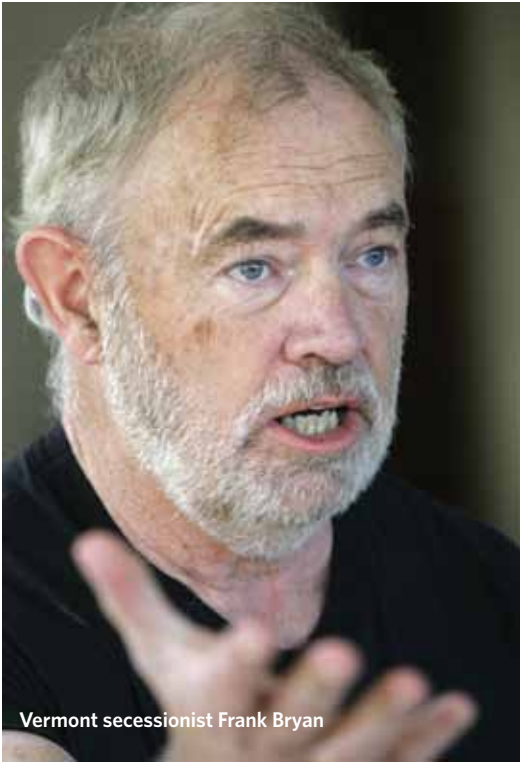
The image of SVR as a quixotic band of idealistic Vermontophiles fighting for an independent Green Mountain State has taken a public beating since 2006, when Naylor and Sale began openly working with the League of the South and other neo-Confederates. But the fact is that from the beginning, the SVR has been in many ways a Southern import that pushes 19th-century claims about states’ rights and a revisionist take on Lincoln and the Civil War.

Naylor, the SVR’s 71-year-old founder, is a born-and-bred child of the Deep South. He apparently developed his secessionist ideas under the guidance of former League of the South member and Emory University philosopher Donald Livingston — a man Naylor told the *Intelligence Report* is the “philosophical guru of the Second Vermont Republic” and who is also published in *Vermont Commons*. Livingston — who told the *Report* in a 2001 interview that “the North created segregation” and that Southerners fought during the Civil War only “because they were invaded” — has attended most of SVR’s events. Livingston is also featured in the SVR video, “U.S. Empire and Vermont Independence,” alongside SVR stalwarts Frank Bryan and Jim Hogue, who is an Ethan Allen reenactor.

Naylor is a native of Jackson, Miss. Some of his father T. H. Naylor Jr.’s correspondence is found in the archives of the infamous Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission, a secret state spy agency that was formed to battle integration. The elder Naylor was even featured in the notorious film, “Message From

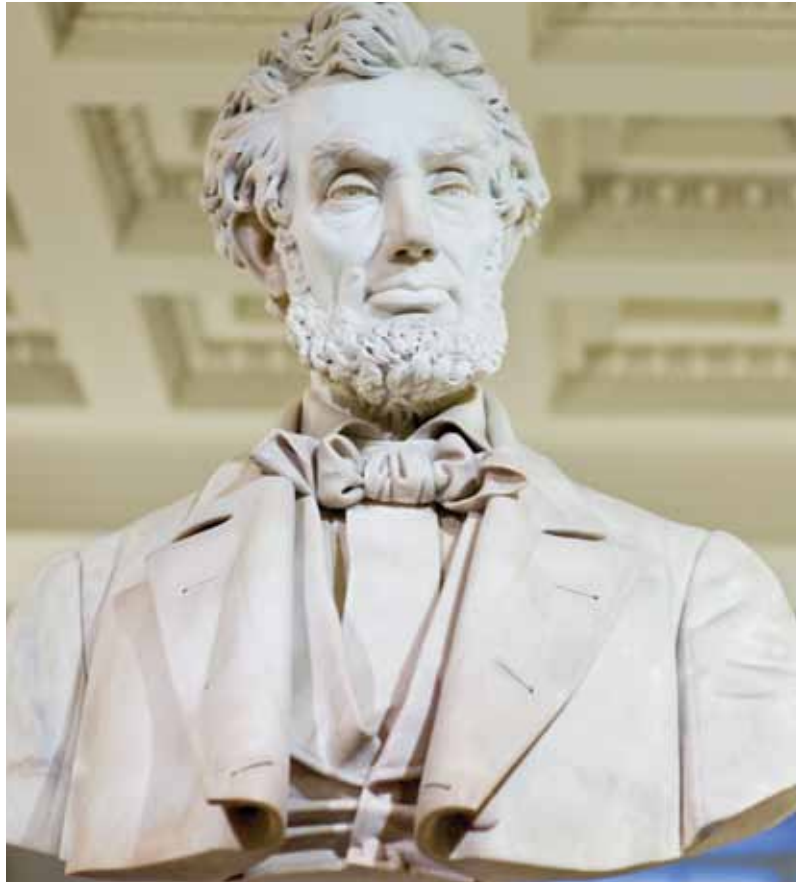
Mississippi,” which promoted the joys of segregation. Now retired, Naylor taught economics at Duke University in Durham, N.C., for 30 years, and has written 30 books, ranging from tomes on computer simulations to political works on Gorbachev. In the early 1990s, he worked as a consultant for companies in the USSR. During that time, he became convinced that the break-up of the Soviet Union was a harbinger of America’s future.

Although the younger Naylor told the *Report* that while in college he refused



Vermont secessionist Frank Bryan

to stand when “Dixie” was played at the University of Mississippi’s football games, his ideology is now rife with neo-Confederate ideas. By 1997, Naylor, in his book *Downsizing the U.S.A.* — co-authored by William Willimon, the dean of chapel and a professor of Christian ministry at Duke University in North Carolina — was calling the Civil War the “War Between the States.” Parroting the neo-Confederate anti-Lincoln line, Naylor calls Lincoln “arguably the worst” president in American history. “Lincoln invaded the Confederate States without the consent of congress,” he wrote in his *Manifesto*, adding that Lincoln “may have also been the father of American *internal imperialism*.”



The interior of the Vermont State House — the venue of the First North American Separatist Convention in 2006 — contains a bust of Abraham Lincoln and a painting of Vermonters overcoming Confederate soldiers during the Civil War. Many Vermonters today are shocked that a Vermont separatist organization has joined hands with racist neo-Confederates seeking a second Southern secession.

And he adopted a revisionist view of the causes of the Civil War that has been roundly rejected by most serious historians. “Most Americans think the Civil War was fought about freeing the slaves, but rather it was fought to preserve the union and build an empire,” Naylor told *The (U.K) Independent* last October.

Naylor also is down on desegregation. In a 2007 essay, “Minority States NOT Minority Rights,” Naylor criticizes segregation but also “forced racial integration,” complaining that the federal government was in the 1950s and 1960s “ordering me to associate with minor-

ities whether I like it or not.” Overall, Naylor can’t abide by the idea that since civil rights legislation was passed in the 1960s, “minority rights always trump states’ rights.” He asks if integration “disempowered minorities, diluting their influence over their communities and implying that every solution to their problems always lies in the hands of the majority-backed government?”

New Friends

Naylor’s reasons for moving to Vermont are explained in *Downsizing the U.S.A.* He portrays his then-hometown of

Richmond, Va., as overcome by crime and angry African Americans, saying it was in a “death spiral.” When he moved to Vermont in 1993, Naylor almost immediately started calling for an independent state. He pines for a separate Vermont, perhaps allied with other Atlantic maritime entities, that would resemble Switzerland or Luxembourg — countries Naylor considers as close to perfect as possible. In *Downsizing the U.S.A.*, Naylor sounds a theme similar to that of many white supremacists, suggesting that some parts of the country could be broken up according to ethnicity. “If

Palestine could be divided into a Jewish state and an Arab state, why can’t independent African American, Hispanic, and Native American states be carved out of the United States?”

In Vermont, Naylor grew close to an unlikely secessionist, the renowned diplomat George Kennan, described by Naylor as “the godfather of the movement.” In his 1994 autobiography *Around the Cragged Hill*, Kennan had suggested breaking the U.S. into “a dozen constituent republics” for reasons that don’t sound that different than Naylor’s. In a letter to Naylor quoted in *The American Conservative*, Kennan

ANDY DUBACK

wrote of “unmistakable evidences of a growing differentiation between the cultures, respectively, of large southern and southwestern regions of this country” and worried that “the very culture of the bulk of the population of these regions will tend to be primarily Latin-American in nature.” Kennan questioned whether American society should be “recklessly trashed” for what he called “a polyglot mix-mash.”

Though he has spent his entire life in the New York region and been a regular on the progressive intellectual scene in New York City, Kirkpatrick Sale, too, has sounded very Confederate of late. When addressing the League of the South’s convention last fall in Chattanooga, Tenn., Sale came off like a newly minted neo-

Confederate. Describing himself as a “Northerner but with the blood of the South running through my veins,” Sale told the cheering audience that he was descended from the Sale clan of Virginia and Kentucky and that one of his ancestors, Charles “Chic” Sale, wrote a popular story in Southern vernacular on building outhouses called *The Specialist*. At the end of the league conference, the audience stood and sang “Dixie” together. In a more recent essay, Sale described his view of what happened when the South seceded the first time: “They were ruthlessly attacked and their society eventually destroyed.”

Early last October, Sale’s institute co-hosted with the league the Second Annual North American Secession Conference in the same Chattanooga venue. With about 60 attendees, most of the conference’s speakers were members of the league or prominent neo-Confederate activists. The event also attracted interest in white supremacist circles outside of the South. For example, publisher Bill Regnery, backer of the white supremacist National Policy Institute, which issues reports on such things as

“The State of White America” and “Conservatives and Race,” was on hand. For a movement supposedly led out of Vermont and New York, Southerners seem now to be at least co-driving the bus.

Left Meets Right

Four years earlier, in November 2004, SVR held its first serious conference in Middlebury, Vt., in conjunction with Fourth World, a left-wing British secessionist group supported by Sale. That was the beginning of the close partnership between Sale and Naylor.

Attended by 35 people, the conference produced “The Middlebury Declaration,” named for the place where it was signed, the Middlebury Inn. The original signers were Naylor, Sale and Donald Livingston, the former league leader. The declaration asserts that “[t]he American empire, now imposing its military might on 153 countries around the world, is as fragile as empires historically tend to be, and that it might well implode upon itself in the near future.” Hence the need for a “new politics” based on separation.

Secessionists with League of the South connections were soon involved. Naylor said they approached SVR “as a role model.”

Speaking at a Vermont Independence rally that same year was John Remington Graham, an expert on the Francophone independence movement in Quebec, Canada, and an affiliated scholar at the League of the South’s Institute for the Study of Southern Culture and History. The main outcome of the meeting was a decision to create a think tank to explore secession around the world. That idea came to fruition with the establishment of Sale’s Middlebury Institute in 2005 as a sort of secessionist gathering point that posts material on its website about secessionist groups around the world. The institute also holds conferences on secession, two of which have prominently featured league members as well as other neo-Confederates.



In November 2006, SVR and the Middlebury Institute co-hosted the First North American Separatist Convention in the Montpelier State House (which, ironically, is graced by a large statue of Lincoln). The secessionists-only conference brought together several groups, including the Free Hawaii movement and members of the Alaskan Independence Party. But the bulk of the crowd even then was made up of Southern groups including the racist League of the South; Christian Exodus, a theocracy-minded outfit headed by a former league leader from Texas; and the Abbeville Institute, which was established by Donald Livingston in 2003 after he finally left the League of the South due to its “political baggage.” Livingston’s institute is devoted to the “Southern tradition,” including what it describes as the ignored “achievements of white people in the South.”

In October 2007, the league, Naylor and Sale met again in Chattanooga for the Second Annual North American Secession conference, an event organized by the Middlebury Institute and this time officially co-hosted by the league. The conference issued the “Chattanooga Declaration” — a document that pronounced the “old left-right split meaningless and dead” and called

Spreading the word: While it may seem far out to outsiders, many Vermonters find the idea of secession appealing. But ties to white supremacist Southern neo-Confederates have damaged the movement’s reputation.

for “diversity among human societies.” It was while in Chattanooga that Sale spoke so fondly of his Southern roots.

Sale defended the league to reporters, telling *The (U.K.) Independent* that fall that he wanted to show the “folks up north” that league members are “legitimate colleagues” who have been wrongly declared “racists.” (Sale declined to discuss the league, its history or anything else with the *Report*, saying by E-mail that he did not trust it “for one instant to be fair or truthful.”) Sale has hotly contested the SPLC designation of the league as a hate group, telling The Associated Press in 2007 that the league — whose leader, former university professor Michael Hill, has engaged in such activities as sending out E-mails mocking the names of his African-American students — “has not done or said anything racist in its 14 years of existence.”

Hard to Starboard

Naylor and Sale don’t just share secessionist chitchat with their new neo-

Confederate friends. Over the last two years, they have both become ensconced in the neo-Confederate movement and collegial with several extremists. For example, Naylor serves as an “associated scholar” at Livingston’s Abbeville Institute, whose ranks are filled with current and former league members. Another Abbeville “scholar,” Scott Trask, has written for the white supremacist newsletter *American Renaissance*, which is devoted to proving the intellectual inferiority of minorities and recently claimed that blacks are incapable of creating any civilization.

SVR, the Abbeville Institute and the League of the South Institute for the Study of Southern Culture and History all share as an advisor Thomas DiLorenzo, a professor at Loyola College who has done more than anyone to push the idea that Abraham Lincoln was a paragon of wickedness, a man secretly intent on destroying states’ rights and building a massive federal government. “It was not to end slavery that Lincoln initiated an invasion of the South,” DiLorenzo writes in his 2002 attack on Lincoln, *The Real Lincoln: A New Look at Abraham Lincoln, His Agenda, and an Unnecessary War*. “A war was not necessary to free the slaves, but it was necessary to destroy the most significant check on the powers of the central government: the right of secession.”

Appointed to the SVR advisory board in 2005, Marco Bassani, an Italian college professor, is also an associated scholar at the Abbeville Institute. More importantly, he is a member of the xenophobic and anti-immigrant Northern League, whose leader, Umberto Bossi, has described African immigrants as “bingo-bongos” and suggested opening fire on the boats of would-be illegal immigrants to Italy.

Besides speaking at league conferences, Sale’s speeches are for sale at Georgia League of the South leader Ray McBerry’s Dixie Broadcasting, where Sale is described as a “social liberal who supports the Constitutional concept of the right of secession.” The league advertises on its website that it will participate in the Third Annual North American Secessionist Convention, to be put on by Sale’s Middlebury Institute next fall.

In the last two years, Sale and Naylor

even signed on as guests for the now-defunct Tennessee-based hate radio program “The Political Cesspool,” run by white supremacist Council of Conservative Citizens board member and David Duke pal James Edwards. Naylor, who has been a guest twice on the program whose guest line-up reads like a Who’s Who of the racist radical right, appeared during its celebration of “Confederate History Month” in April 2007.

In the case of Israel, Sale has views that are common to the far left and the far right. In a 2003 article for the left-wing journal *Counterpunch* called “An End to the Israel Experiment? Unmaking a Grievous Error,” Sale asks “[w]hether the 50-year-old experiment known as the state of Israel has proven to be a failure and should be abandoned.” He points out that “[t]he [Jewish] diaspora, after all, has existed since 70 A.D., far longer than the state has, and might even be thought of as the natural or historic role of Jewry.”

Naylor sees it similarly. “We have a government that is unconditionally allied with the state of Israel, which is an apartheid terrorist state,” he told the *Report*. He complained that the entire congressional delegation of Vermont “supports Israel.”

‘Hating America’

Some Vermonters continue to stand by Naylor despite concerns. *Vermont Commons* Editor Rob Williams told the *Intelligence Report* that although his organization is completely separate from SVR, Naylor is “no racist” and a man whom he considers “a colleague” and whose essays his paper will continue to publish. A member of SVR’s speakers bureau, Williams added: “The ‘racism’ charge, by the way, has become a convenient way for a few outspoken Vermonters who may not agree with our goals to throw stones at us.”

The real racist, Williams said, is “the United States empire.”

But playing footsie with neo-Confederates has cost SVR, as several members have left the group or distanced themselves from it in recent years. Former executive director Jane Dwinel quit the group in 2006, telling the *Report* later that she had had sharp disagreements with Naylor. John McClaughry,

a supporter of decentralization, told the *Report* that SVR has “shaded over to hating America.” According to the Vermont Secession blog, Dan Dewalt, a former SVR advisory member, was dismissed from the group for merely raising irksome questions about Naylor’s connection to groups including the league.

Even many of those who remain Naylor’s colleagues are worried by SVR’s new Southern friends. “You’ve got to watch whose conference you go to. There’s no doubt about it,” SVR advisor Frank Bryan told the *Report*. Added longtime SVR ally Jim Hogue, “If [Naylor] was very flattering toward the League of the South, and they’re racist, that was probably a bad idea.”

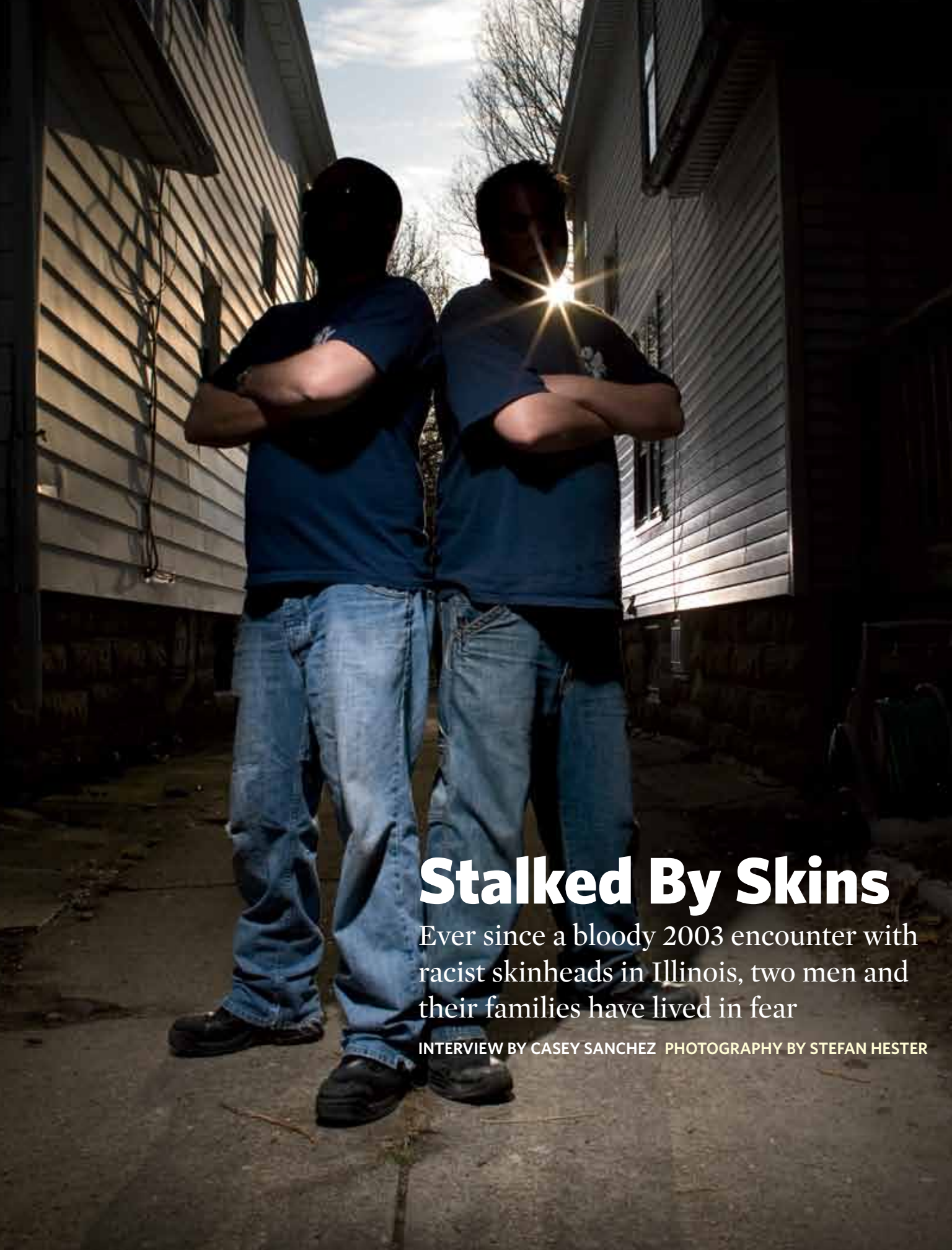
In the face of these criticisms, Naylor remains defiant. “I don’t give a shit what you write,” he told the *Report*. “If someone tells me that I shouldn’t associate with the League of the South, it guarantees that I will associate with the League of the South.”

Sale seems to be losing friends, too. Roane Carey, an editor who has worked with Sale at *The Nation*, told the *Report*: “*The Nation* has no sympathy for or connection to the League of the South or any group of that ilk. A couple of years ago, we found out that the Vermont secession movement had the astonishingly poor judgment to make an alliance with the [League of the South], whose thinly disguised racism ... and closed-mindedness we condemn without reservation.

“It’s one thing to call for devolution, local self-rule, small-is-beautiful politics — even, in some circumstances, the idea of secession — in the cause of ending empire and enhancing democracy, personal liberty, equal rights and environmental sanity,” said Carey. “It’s quite another to make nice with groups, such as the League of the South, that use the language of secession and regional or local self-rule as a means of promoting Old South revanchism.”

Carey added that he hopes Sale “comes to his senses.”

Despite SVR’s best efforts, for now the union appears to be safe — Vermont secessionists failed to obtain the signatures needed to put independence resolutions on 2008 Town Meeting Day ballots. They will try again in 2009. ▲



Stalked By Skins

Ever since a bloody 2003 encounter with racist skinheads in Illinois, two men and their families have lived in fear

INTERVIEW BY CASEY SANCHEZ PHOTOGRAPHY BY STEFAN HESTER

Bill and Roger Larson are 33-year-old identical twins who grew up and still live in Springfield, Ill. In May 2003, when both Larsons were employed as emergency medical technicians (EMTs), a gang of racist skinheads ambushed the brothers outside a bar over a minor perceived affront. Roger Larson defended himself with his EMT knife, stabbing to death Jason Hinsey, one of the leaders of the Midwest 1911 Brotherhood, a Springfield-based splinter faction of the violent Midwest Hammerskins. Homicide investigators found that Hinsey's death was a justifiable homicide, and Roger Larson was not charged. But in the five years since Hinsey bled out despite Bill Larson's efforts to save the skinhead, the surviving members of the 1911 Brotherhood have done their best to make the Larsons' life a living hell, subjecting them to repeated online death threats, confronting them in restaurants, and stalking their spouses and children in a local Wal-Mart. The Larson brothers, both of whom are traumatized by Hinsey's violent death and its continuing consequences, spoke to the Intelligence Report recently in separate interviews. Their accounts are presented side by side in order to present a more readable narrative.

When did you first encounter skinheads in Springfield?

ROGER LARSON Back when we were in high school, we were in the punk rock scene, in the skateboard scene, and on the weekends there were all-ages shows. Unfortunately, [racist] skinheads tried to be part of the scene. They'd start in the mosh pit [a dance floor near the stage]. One time, they came up to me and my brother and they go, "We're not allowing anybody in the pit, but we'll allow you two guys if you want to come on in." And that's [how] they'd get people in the pit. But instead of moshing, they'd end up beating them up and giving them boot parties [kicking them with steel-toed boots]. WAR [White Aryan Resistance, a neo-Nazi group based in Southern California] was prolific here. Then a few years later, the Hammerskins started getting popular, so [some of WAR's skinhead members] broke off. Some stayed WAR and then some broke off to start a Hammerskins chapter. So there ended

up being two factions. This was in the early 90s, maybe '90 to '95.

How did you first come across Jason Hinsey?

BILL LARSON A friend of mine was dating a girl. This was 10, 12 years ago. She was cheating on him. We went to go move him out of her house. They got into it while we there. They were fighting and stuff. Six months to a year after that, she started dating Jason Hinsey. I don't know what she told him, but he developed some serious hatred for me and my brother.

ROGER LARSON Six years ago, we were out at Brewhaus, one of the more popular local bars in Springfield, and this Jason Hinsey and another guy walks up to me and says, "Do you know who the fuck I am?" I did. I knew what he was about. I knew what he does. I had a couple cocktails on me. I was buzzed. So I ended up having fun with it. I'm like, "No, but you obviously know who the fuck I am, so what do you want?"

So he started saying, "I'm gonna beat you up, I'm gonna get your brother." So I was like, "Fine, you want to beat me up, come to my house, we don't do this at the bar, we don't do this in public." At the time, I was EMS [Emergency Medical Services]; I didn't want to go to jail for getting into a fight because that'd ruin my career. He said, "No, I'm going to be a gentleman about this." And there was no violence that night.

What happened on the night of May 3, 2003?

ROGER LARSON We all decided to go out. Me and my brother and my brother's wife and some other friends of hers. So we go down to Brewhaus.

BILL LARSON There was a group of skinheads there. We'd only been there probably 15 minutes when one of the guys who has been around for a long time as a skinhead, walked up to our table and just started talking to us. I should've known something was wrong then, because it was odd for him to approach us like that. Anyway, we decided to leave because the skinheads were there. So we walk out the front door of the bar. My brother's vehicle is parked in the parking lot that's in the rear.

ROGER LARSON I had a little Isuzu Rodeo, a little crappy truck. I'm walking with my hands in my pocket. I always walk with my head looking down on the ground. My brother, I could hear him start to say something. He's pointing behind me. Before he can get a word out, I look back, my head is still down, all I can see is feet running up on me.

BILL LARSON Have you seen "Aliens"? You remember when the aliens just start charging the Marines? I mean they're just jumping, coming out of everywhere, jumping over stuff. That's what it reminded me of. I screamed, "Skinheads!" I didn't even get the word all the way out before there were instantly two of them on him. And more were coming. They went down to the ground. A third one jumped on him. Then Jason [Hinsey] yelled to the rest of them, "That's the other one, get him."

ROGER LARSON At first, I didn't even

know who the hell it was. One of them grabs me by the neck in a choking position. And the force of him hitting me knocks me over the hood of my car. The second one comes up and starts hitting me on the side of my head. I can hear him going, “Hit him! Hit him! Hit him!” I got my eyes closed — I’ve never been accosted like that in my life. Then I hear more feet running up on me. This guy’s grasp on my throat is getting tighter and tighter. I can hear someone saying, “Choke him out! Choke him out!” At this point, I’m thinking, “I’m dead, I’m going to die.” So I’m like, you know, I might as well try to get myself out of this as best I can. So I cut his arm with my knife.

Why were you carrying a knife?
ROGER LARSON It was my paramedic’s knife. Before that night, I never carried a knife for protection. I always just looked at a knife as something I carry on the job. I use a knife all throughout the day, either cutting a nasal cannula [supplemental oxygen tubing] or to tie down ET tubing.
BILL LARSON Every paramedic in town carries a knife because it’s a tool.

What happened after you cut Hinsey’s arm?
ROGER LARSON He wouldn’t let go. I cut it another time. He still wouldn’t let it go. I think I cut it a third time and he still would not let go. And this whole time, I’m not able to breathe, he’s got such a tight grip around my throat. And there are guys pummeling me, beating the hell out of me. I’m so scared, I’m about to piss myself. So I swung my knife around and I was trying to get his lung. I swung blindly. I was just trying to get him off me. And I made contact with the knife. A few seconds later I can hear him say, “He stabbed me. Motherfucker stabbed me.”

As he was falling, I got spun around to where I went face down. And then when I hit the ground I looked up and there was Jason Hinsey crawling backwards away from me. And then I remember getting kicked in the head.

The next thing, I’m waking up with somebody standing over me, trying to help me up.

“We were both there that night. Roger stabbed him. I tried to save him. It doesn’t matter. They want both of us. And they’ll take both of us.”

Bill, what were you doing while your brother was being attacked?
BILL LARSON This skinhead who was probably six-and-a-half feet tall, 350 pounds, a big, big guy, he pulled a knife on me and my buddy and goes, “You want to get in? You’re going to get cut.” I realized I wasn’t going to be able to help him [Roger], so I did what I thought was right — I went back into the bar to call [the police]. As I was heading back out, a friend of my wife’s runs up to me and says, “They stabbed your brother. He’s been stabbed.” I run out and see a couple of my buddies holding the skinheads back. And I see my brother on the ground. He’s not responsive to voice commands and he’s covered in blood. And then I see Jason Hinsey about three feet away from him, laying on the ground. So I go into work mode. I’m assessing a patient. I’m not assessing my brother, you know? It takes me about two seconds to realize, my brother’s breathing, he’s waking up. This blood is not his.

That’s when you realized...
BILL LARSON One of the skinheads, one of the few that stayed to help his friend that got stabbed, he says, “He [Roger] didn’t get stabbed, Jason did.” So I look at Jason, he’s wearing a wife beater, so I can see quite a bit of his body. His left arm is cut to shreds, inside of the elbow. He’s purple from the nipples up which

is called traumatic asphyxiation. That means there’s no blood flow to the higher parts of the body. So you get purple from the nipple line up. That’s not a good sign.
I immediately ran over to him. This skinhead that was helping him, he was trying to do some type of tourniquet. So I rip my shirt off, I said, “The bleeding in his arm, you’re not going to stop with a tourniquet. Take my shirt, put it in the hole and squeeze as tight as you can.” So while he’s doing that, I’m checking vital signs. He’s got a pulse. It’s sporadic but it’s there. He’s moving air, it’s called “guppie breathing,” like a fish. He’s moving air and he’s got a pulse, so technically I cannot start CPR. Because you don’t start CPR on someone that’s got a pulse. Even though he’s got a screwed-up pulse, he still has one.

What happened when the police arrived?
BILL LARSON I’m controlling the bleeding when a cop shows up. I say, “Look I’m an off-duty Lifestar medic. I need his shirt open. Can you cut his shirt open?” The cop kinda looked at me for a second, trying to size me up, to make sure I’m not trying to kill this guy. Then he cuts [Hinsey’s] shirt open and I see a quarter inch stab wound in his chest that’s not bleeding. At that point, as soon as I recognized that, an ambulance shows up and I give them a report of what’s going on, what’s happening to this guy. The cop is escorting me the whole time. He’s like, “Who was involved?” There were only three skinheads who stayed. The rest took off. One of them stole my brother’s jacket. As soon as they beat my brother down to unconsciousness and knew the cops were coming, they split.



ROGER LARSON The police grabbed me and put me in ‘cuffs and threw me in the back of the squad car. Then they took me down to their Major Crimes Unit and put me in a holding room. Me and two police officers, we sat there for a good three, four hours waiting for the detective unit to get everyone’s statements. They finally grab me, we did interviews. And I just broke down. I was held there for a few hours. The police said, “Right now, it sounds like it was self-defense. You didn’t go to the bar looking for a fight.” So I was released that morning.
I went home, had a cup of coffee. My mom took out \$3,000. We went to the

gun shop and bought guns. For a year, I carried a pistol. I would sleep with it, I would eat with it. Then I viewed that me having that pistol was fucking me up worse. So I got rid of it.
So the morning after the fight outside Brewhaus, Hinsey was still alive?
BILL LARSON Yeah. About a week later, Hinsey ended up dying in the ICU. They got him stabilized in the St. John’s ER [but] because he’d been down for so long without oxygen, there was really no brain activity, from my understanding. He expired a week later from his injuries. When he was still alive, though, my buddy calls up the ICU and

talks to [Hinsey’s] girlfriend, the one that cheated on my friend 12 years ago. He talks to her and pretended that he’s a skinhead that lives in California. He recorded the conversation. He was like, “What’s going on?” She said, “Me and Jason were sitting at home, all the guys [the skinheads] called and said, ‘Hey, we’re gonna jump the Larsons. They’re at the bar. Get down here fast’. So he [Hinsey] left and went down and I guess they were beating one of them up pretty bad and he stabbed Jason.”
My buddy recorded all this and he got it on tape. He gave me the tape — then I went down and talked to a detective. That day, they said the

“That’s my biggest fear — that I’ll be at Wal-Mart with my wife and kids, I get attacked and I’ve got to shoot one of them, or all of them. I don’t want violence with them. For God’s sakes, I don’t want anybody else getting hurt.”

investigation is over. It’s justifiable homicide. Self-defense.

When you found out Jason Hinsey was dead, what did you do?
ROGER LARSON I put a gun in my mouth. Does that make any sense? To this day, when I really think about it, I get like that. [He begins crying.] When I start thinking about... I’ll start visualizing it in my head and before I know it a couple hours have passed.
BILL LARSON After we heard that he had died, it got worse. It was, “Oh, my God, our lives are ruined. Our lives are never gonna be the same.” I felt bad that someone lost their life and I still feel bad about it. But, you know, these people, they attack one person with five, six, seven other people. Do they just expect someone to lay down and



say, “OK, you can beat me, do whatever you need to do and I’ll just take it?”

Where did you go after the attack?
ROGER LARSON My whole family converged on one house, and we all stayed in one house for a month. We didn’t leave. We didn’t go anywhere.
BILL LARSON No. You don’t go outside. That’s the last place you go. If you need something, my mom goes and gets it. And she doesn’t leave the house unless she’s got her .380 [handgun] in her pocket. I made my mom go and buy my kids new clothes because I was too afraid to go home and get them.

What did the skinheads do after Hinsey died?
ROGER LARSON The detectives had an undercover unit on top of their house,

sitting down the street watching them. At the time, Hinsey’s crew, all these guys, lived under one roof. They had some skinheads from St. Louis come up and they all piled in a van. They had a bunch of weapons and bats and shit like that. And they were coming over here to do a hit. The police in the unmarked car called it in. One of the detectives got on the scene and pulled them out and was like, “Hey, just to let you know, we’re fucking watching you guys.”
BILL LARSON Every time the skinheads loaded up in a van, they [police officers] pulled them over: “What are you guys doing? Where you guys going? You planning on attacking the Larsons?” The skinheads, they’d say, “No, no, we’re so appreciative of Bill trying to help Jason that night.” And they were

just, you know, blowing smoke up the detectives’ butts.

Have the skinheads gone after your family?
BILL LARSON I’ve had a skinhead follow my pregnant wife around Wal-Mart with a baseball bat. This was three years ago. My wife was like eight months pregnant, huge. She does the grocery shopping. I find my wife, and she has this look of dread on her face. I instantly know something’s wrong, there’s a skinhead here. I knew it. As soon as I saw her face, she said, “There was a skinhead following me around with a baseball bat.” I’m on the defensive, right then and there. I’m ready to kill this guy. I don’t care what happens — this is my wife and my child. I went back [into the store] and picked up a T-ball bat. My [EMT] partner who’s working that day is Doug. He’s six-and-a-half feet tall. He’s not fat. I’ve seen the man pick up a 200-pound person, off his feet, from a standing position.

As soon as I’m starting to calm down, this skinhead comes out of the store. My partner Doug has this T-ball bat in his hand. It looks like a small billy club in this man’s hand. Doug [says], “How you doing today?” Skinhead stops in his tracks and looks at me: “I’m doing F-ing fine.” He’s Australian so he’s got an Australian accent. He got into some trouble with the Southern Cross Hammerskins before he came to the States. Nothing happened, no violence happened. I’m just letting this guy know, don’t mess with us. Ten of you can catch one of us at a point in time. But at some point in life, 10 of us are going to catch one of you out.

What other hostile encounters between the two of you and the 1911 skins have occurred?
ROGER LARSON [My brother and his son], they go to this Thai restaurant to pick up a to-go order. They go in and the guy behind the counter goes, “Well the order’s not ready. Why don’t you go sit down in our waiting room? It’ll be up in a minute.”
BILL LARSON I hear somebody clear his

throat. I don’t think anything of it. My son and I are talking. I hear him again clear the throat and then I got a bad feeling. So I look up and there’s a group of them, it’s like a table full of skinheads.
I’m thinking to myself, “Wow. What are the chances? Well, actually, pretty damn good in a town of 100,000 people.” It was going to happen eventually, but here I am: no gun, no knife, I wasn’t planning on going in public, so I’m unarmed. So this skinhead looks up at me. He goes, “You’re gonna have to leave or you’re gonna have a real serious fucking problem.”
There’s a deputy in the next room. He’s having lunch with his girlfriend. I walk up to the deputy and say, ‘Hey, I really hate to bother you, but this is what just happened. They just threatened me with violence to leave the restaurant.’ I explained the back history to him. His response was, “Okay, just have a seat here with me until your order’s ready.”

“I instantly know something’s wrong. As soon as I saw her face, she said, ‘There was a skinhead following me around with a baseball bat.’ ”

I get my stuff and leave. I go home and get my gun and come back. I’m telling you, man, I’d reached a point in my mind where 10 years in prison seemed better than having my head on a swivel, looking behind me for these guys the rest of my life. Thank God they were gone.
ROGER LARSON When it comes to that little boy [Bill’s son], they expanded or broadened the horizons of this little conflict. They’ve included my family. And instead of being fearful, it has given me anger, and I am so enraged by them doing this and scaring the hell

out of my little nephew, my brother’s son, that I just can’t stand it any more.

You’re identical twins. Do you think they want to harm both of you, or they just can’t tell who’s who?
BILL LARSON I thought for a long time, they’ll take either one of us because they don’t know which one’s which. Now I’m more along the line that they just don’t care. We were both there that night. Roger stabbed him. I tried to save him. It doesn’t matter. They want both of us. And they’ll take both of us.

Have they also posted online threats?
ROGER LARSON The same asshole that confronted my brother at the restaurant and scared my nephew, now this brain trust has a MySpace page. It says on there, “For those of you responsible for Choppa, your days are numbered. I will always remember. Watch your back cunt.” Choppa was Jason Hinsey’s nickname.
BILL LARSON Another one put on their MySpace page a month ago: “I’m not going to do anything right now. I’m gonna wait ’til my kids are grown, because my kids are more important than anything, and when my kids are grown, I’m gonna kill them [the Larsons].”

How do you explain all this to your own children?
BILL LARSON My son, who’s 12, he knows what happened. He knows that Uncle D [for Dennis, Roger’s middle name] killed somebody. He knows that the man who Uncle D killed was a bad person and there are still bad people who wouldn’t hesitate to harm one of us if we ran into them.
I don’t ever want my son to see me shoot somebody. I don’t ever want my son to see me get attacked. That’s my biggest fear — that I’ll be at Wal-Mart with my wife and kids, I get attacked and I’ve got to shoot one of them, or all of them. I don’t want violence with them. For God’s sakes, I don’t want anybody else getting hurt. But I ain’t gonna let them touch one of my kids. I ain’t gonna let ’em touch my wife. I ain’t gonna let ’em touch me. ▲



State

of Denial



A network of U.S. scholars and lobbyists is working to support Turkey's denial of the Armenian genocide

BY DAVID HOLTHOUSE ILLUSTRATION BY JAMES VICTORE



EARLY THIS YEAR, the Toronto District School Board voted to require all public high school students in Canada's largest city to complete a new course titled "Genocide: Historical and Contemporary Implications." It includes a unit on the Armenian genocide, in which more than a million Armenians perished in a methodical and premeditated scheme of annihilation orchestrated by the rulers of Turkey during and just after World War I.

The school board members each soon received a letter from Guenter Lewy, a professor emeritus of political science at the University of Massachusetts, rebuking them for classifying the Armenian genocide in the same category as the Holocaust. "The tragic fate of the Armenian community during World War I," Lewy wrote, is

best understood as "a badly mismanaged war-time security measure," rather than a carefully plotted genocide.

Lewy is one of the most active members of a network of American scholars, influence peddlers and website operators, financed by hundreds of thousands of dollars each year from the government

of Turkey, who promote the denial of the Armenian genocide — a network so influential that it was able last fall to defy both historical truth and enormous political pressure to convince America's lawmakers and even its president to reverse long-held policy positions.

Lewy makes similar revisionist claims in his 2005 book *The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey: A Disputed Genocide* and in frequent lectures at university campuses across the country. Speaking at Harvard University in March 2007, he chalked up the ghastly Armenian death toll to "bungling misrule," and stressed that "it is important to bear in mind the enormous difference between ineptness, even ineptness that had tragic consequences" and deliberate mass murder.

"Armenians call the calamitous events of 1915-1916 in the Ottoman Empire the

first genocide of the twentieth century," he said. "Most Turks refer to this episode as war time relocation made necessary by the treasonous conduct of the Armenian minority. The debate on what actually happened has been going on for almost 100 years and shows no signs of resolution."

But it's not only Armenians calling the slaughter a genocide, and there is no real debate about its essential details, according to the vast majority of credible historians. Although Lewy's brand of genocide denial is subtler than that of Holocaust deniers who declare there were no gas chambers at Auschwitz, it's no less an attempt to rewrite history.

"The overwhelming opinion of scholars who study genocide — hundreds of independent scholars, who have no affiliations with governments, and whose work spans many countries and nationalities and the course of decades — is consistent," the International Association of Genocide Scholars stated in a 2005 letter to the Turkish government.

"The scholarly evidence reveals the following: On April 24, 1915, under cover of World War I, the Young Turk government of the Ottoman Empire began a systematic genocide of its Armenian citizens — an unarmed Christian minority population. More than a million Armenians were exterminated through direct killing, starvation, torture, and forced death marches. The rest of the Armenian population fled into permanent exile. Thus an ancient civilization was expunged from its homeland of 2,500 years [see also story, p. 52]."

Double Killing

Despite this clear consensus of experts, Turkey exerts political leverage and spends millions of dollars in the United States to obfuscate the Armenian genocide, with alarming success even at the highest levels of government. Lobbyists on the Turkish payroll stymied a Congressional resolution commemorating the genocide last fall by convincing lawmakers to reverse their stated positions. Even President Bush flip-flopped.

Revisionist historians who conjure doubt about the Armenian genocide and are paid by the Turkish government

provided the politicians with the intellectual cover they needed to claim they were refusing to dictate history rather than caving in to a foreign government's present-day interests.

"This all happened a long time ago, and I don't know if we can know whether it was a massacre or a genocide or what," said U.S. Rep. John Murtha (D-Penn.) after changing his vote.



Guenter Lewy, author of *The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey: A Disputed Genocide*, claims the deaths of a million or more Armenians was "a badly mismanaged war-time security measure," not a genocide.

"The last thing Congress should be doing is deciding the history of an empire [the Ottoman empire] that doesn't even exist any more," said President Bush.

But experts in genocide saw things quite differently.

"Denial is the final stage of genocide," says Gregory Stanton, president of the International Association of Genocide Scholars. "It is a continuing attempt to destroy the victim group psychologically and culturally, to deny its members even the memory of the murders of their relatives. That is what the Turkish government today is doing to Armenians around the world."

Last year, the Elie Wiesel Foundation for Humanity issued a letter condemning Armenian genocide denial that was signed by 53 Nobel laureates including Wiesel, the famous Holocaust survivor and polit-

ical activist. Wiesel has repeatedly called Turkey's 90-year-old campaign to cover up the Armenian genocide a double killing, since it strives to kill the memory of the original atrocities.

He was hardly the first. As long ago as 1943, law professor Raphael Lemkin, who would later serve as an advisor to Nuremburg chief counsel Robert Jackson, coined the term "genocide" with the Armenians in mind.

Stanton, a former U.S. State Department official who drafted the United Nations Security Council resolutions that created the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, spoke this April at a United States Capitol ceremony honoring victims of the Armenian genocide — a ceremony held four months after the bill to commemorate the slaughter was shot down.

"The U.S. government should not be party to efforts to kill the memory of a historical fact as profound and important as the genocide of the Armenians, which Hitler used as an example in his plan for the Holocaust," Stanton said before an audience that included three survivors of the Armenian genocide and more than 100 representatives and senators.

Infiltrating the Academy

Efforts to kill the memory of the Armenian genocide began while carrion birds were still picking over corpses in their desert boneyards, with Turkey issuing a first official statement assuring the world at large that no atrocities had occurred. Turkey's primary strategy for denying the Armenian genocide since then has shifted from blanket denial to disputing the death toll to blaming the massacres on Kurdish bandits and a few rogue officials to claiming the Armenians who died were enemy combatants in a civil war.

Turkey began intervening in the U.S. on behalf of denying the genocide in the 1930s, when Turkish leaders convinced the U.S. State Department to prevent MGM studios from making a movie based on the book *The Forty Days of the Musa Dagh* because it depicted aspects of the Armenian genocide.

In 1982, the government of Turkey donated \$3 million to create the Institute for Turkish Studies, a nonprofit organiza-



Fatih Sanbas/Reuters/Corbis (Turkish flag); Underwood & Underwood/Corbis (Armenians fleeing); Previous page: Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis (Armenian mother and son)

tion housed at Georgetown University that pushes a pro-Turkey agenda, including denial of the Armenian genocide. Three years later, in 1985, Turkey bought full-page advertisements in *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post* and *The Washington Times* to publish a letter questioning the Armenian genocide that was signed by 69 American scholars. All 69 had received funding that year from the Institute for Turkish Studies or another of Turkey's surrogates like the Ankara Chamber of Commerce, a quasi-governmental agency in Turkey's capital city.

The Institute for Turkish Studies has since received sizable donations from American defense contractors that sell arms to Turkey, including General Dynamics and Westinghouse. Turkey continues to provide an annual subsidy to support the institute. In 2006, the most recent year for which tax records are available, the institute awarded \$85,000 in grants to scholars. Its chairman is the current Turkish ambassador to the U.S., Nabi Sensoy.

The first unassailable evidence of the extent of the Armenian genocide denial industry's reach in academic circles arrived in 1990 in an envelope addressed to Robert Jay Lifton, a professor of psychology and psychiatry at the City University of New York's Graduate Center and John Jay College. It contained a letter signed by Nuzhet Kandemir, who was then Turkey's ambassador to the United States, protesting Lifton's inclusion of several passing references to the Armenian genocide in his prize-winning book *The Nazi Doctors: Medical Killing and the Psychology of Genocide*.

"It is particularly disturbing to see a major scholar on the holocaust, a tragedy whose enormity and barbarity must never be forgotten, so careless in his references to a field outside his own area of expertise," Kandemir wrote. "To compare a tragic civil war perpetrated by misguided Armenian nationalists, and the human suffering it wrought on both Muslim and Christian populations, with the horrors of a premeditated attempt to systematically eradicate a people is,



Henry Morgenthau (top, center), the American ambassador to the Ottoman Empire during World War I, bore witness to the organized slaughter of Armenian men, women and children, many of whom starved to death or died of thirst on forced marches into the Syrian desert.



How it Happened: The Armenian Genocide in History

FOR DECADES BEFORE THEY WERE THE victims of genocide, Armenians living as a Christian minority in the Muslim-dominated Ottoman Empire were accorded second-class citizenship. It was against the law for them to carry weapons or ride horses. Their houses could not overlook those of Muslims. Testimony from Armenians was not admissible in courts of law — just as slaves and even freedmen in the 19th-century American South were barred from testifying against whites.

This official state discrimination opened the door to massive violence preceding the ultimate genocide. Between 100,000 and 300,000 Armenians were



massacred in 1895. Another 15,000 to 30,000 were killed on a single day in 1909. When the Ottoman Empire entered World War I in 1914 on the side of Central Powers, its military and political leaders

feared the oppressed Armenians would form a fifth column and collaborate with the Russians, who were pressing hard at the collapsing empire's eastern edges. There is strong evidence that some Armenian men of fighting age did in fact take up arms against Turkish troops, fighting as pro-Russian guerillas.

Armenian men enlisted in the Turkish army were disarmed and reassigned to labor battalions, and widespread propaganda began depicting Armenians as a collective threat to national security. On April 24, 1915, the Ottoman government imprisoned around 250 Armenian intellectuals and leaders. This marked the beginning of the genocide, which even-

tually resulted in the deaths of between 1 million and 1.5 million people. During the next six months, by government order, more than a million Armenians were forcibly deported and marched through the desert into Syria with little or no food, water or shelter. Others were herded into concentration camps and drowned, poisoned, burned to death or shot.

The documentary evidence of the genocide includes a 1915 telegram to a Turkish provincial official from Behaeddin Shakir, one of the leaders of the secret organization created to plan and carry out the genocide, which included death squads staffed by criminals released from prison for

that purpose. "Are the Armenians, who are being dispatched from there, being liquidated?" Shakir wrote. "Are those harmful persons being exterminated, or are they merely being dispatched and exiled? Answer explicitly."

Eyewitnesses to the genocide included Henry Morgenthau, the American ambassador to the Ottoman Empire at the time. "When the Turkish authorities gave the orders for these deportations, they were simply giving the death warrant to a whole race," he said. "They understood this well, and in their conversations they made no particular attempt to conceal the fact."

— David Holthouse

to anyone familiar with the history in question, simply ludicrous.”

There was nothing out of the ordinary about Kandemir’s letter. Academics who write about the Armenian genocide were then and still are routinely castigated by Turkish authorities.

What Lifton found intriguing, however, was a second letter in the envelope, which the Turkish ambassador had included quite by accident. It was a memo to Kandemir from Near East historian Heath Lowry, in which Lowry provided Kandemir with a point-by-point cheat sheet on how to attack Lifton’s book, which Lowry chummily referred to as “our problem.”

Lowry at the time was the founding director of the Institute for Turkish Studies. He resigned that position in 1996 when he was selected from a field of 20 candidates to fill the Ataturk Chair of Turkish Studies at Princeton University, a new position in the Near Eastern Studies department that was created with a \$750,000 matching grant from the government of Turkey.

Prior to joining the Princeton faculty, Lowry had never held a full-time teaching position and had not published a single work of scholarship through a major publishing house. As a result of that and of what *The Boston Globe* described in 1995 as his work as “a long-time lobbyist for the Turkish government,” his appointment sparked a firestorm of controversy. A protest group called Princeton Alumni for Credibility published a petition decrying Lowry’s appointment that was signed by more than 80 leading scholars and writers, including Kurt Vonnegut, Arthur Miller, Cornel West,



Joyce Carol Oates and many historians and experts in genocide.

Peter Balakian, the director of Colgate University’s Center for the Study of Ethics and World Societies and the author of *The Burning Tigris: The Armenian Genocide and America’s Response*, called Lowry “a propagandist for a foreign government.”

Speaking at a 2005 symposium at Princeton commemorating the 90th anniversary of the Armenian genocide, Balakian posed a rhetorical question: “Would a university want someone who worked with a neo-Nazi group to cover up the Holocaust on their faculty?”

The relationship of Turkey to U.S. scholars promoting Armenian genocide denial is similar to that of the oil industry to fringe climatologists who dispute the reality of global warming. The cause and effect relationship is murky. It’s impossible to know for sure if they’re making the claims to get the money or getting the money because they make the claims. And many of those who receive money from the Institute of Turkish Studies do little or nothing to support the government’s version of what happened to its Armenian minority.

But a number of them certainly seem to, including Justin A. McCarthy, a professor of history at the University of Louisville. McCarthy claims that death



When Turkish ambassador Nuzhet Kandemir (above middle) mailed a letter in 1990 to genocide scholar Robert Jay Lifton (left) protesting Lifton’s affirmation of the Armenian genocide, he included by accident a cheat sheet memo from Heath Lowry, a lobbyist for the Turkish government. In 1996, Lowry was appointed to a position at Princeton University created with a \$750,000 grant from Turkey.

tolls attributed to what he calls “this imaginary Turkish plan” are grossly exaggerated and resulted from justifiable wartime self-defense actions triggered by traitorous Armenians conspiring with Turkey’s enemies.

McCarthy also points out that Armenians massacred Turks on at least one occasion before the “so-called Armenian genocide.” In other words, they had it coming. “The question of who started the conflicts is important, both historically and morally important,” McCarthy declared in a 2005 speech before the Turkish Grand National Assembly. “In more than 100 years of warfare, Turks and Armenians killed each other. The question of who began the killing must be understood, because it is seldom justifiable to be the aggressor, but is always justifiable to defend yourself.”

He continued: “If those who defend themselves go beyond defense and exact revenge, as always happens in war, they should be identified and criticized. But those who should be most blamed are those who began the wars, those who committed the first evil deeds, and those who caused the bloodshed. Those who began the conflict were the Armenian nationalists, the Armenian revolutionaries. The guilt is on their heads.”

Enforcing the Turkish View

In France and Switzerland, it’s a crime to deny the Armenian genocide. In Turkey, it’s a crime to affirm it.

Enacted in 2005, Article 301 of the Turkish penal code makes it illegal for any citizen or resident of Turkey to give credence to the Armenian genocide. Numerous journalists and scholars have been prosecuted for “denigrating Turkishness” under that statute, beginning with Nobel laureate Orhan Pamuk, who was charged for stating, “A million Armenians were killed in these lands.” Turkish-Armenian newspaper editor Hrant Dink was prosecuted three times for criticizing the Turkish government’s longstanding policy of denying the Armenian genocide.

Where the law failed to silence Dink, bullets succeeded. He was gunned down in front of his central Istanbul office last January by a Turkish ultranationalist. Footage and photos later surfaced of the assassin celebrating in front of a Turkish flag with grinning policeman.

Dink’s friend and ideological ally Tanner Ackam, a distinguished Turkish historian and sociologist on the faculty of the University of Minnesota’s Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies, attended Dink’s funeral in Turkey, despite the considerable risk to his own life. Ackam, a leading international authority on the Armenian genocide, was marked for death by Turkish ultranationalists following the November 2006 publication of his book, *A Shameful Act: The Armenian Genocide and The Question of Turkish Responsibility*. The book is a definitive history based in large part on official documents from Turkish government archives.

“It would be better for world peace and truth if sewer germs like you were taken off the planet,” went one of the dozens of anonymous threats Ackam continues to receive in Minnesota. “Pray that the devil takes you away soon because otherwise you’ll be living a hell on earth. ... Who am I? You’re going to find out, Tanner, you’re going to find out.”

Turkish ultranationalists have, in effect, targeted many other people who, like Ackam, affirm the genocide. Several of their websites (see story, p. 56) include home addresses, phone numbers and photos of these scholars.

Genocide deniers often disrupt Ackam’s lectures. In November 2006, a gang of Turkish ultranationalists attacked him at a book signing at City University of New York.

“Denial of the Armenian genocide has developed over the decades to become a complex and far-reaching machine that rivals the Nazi Germany propaganda ministry,” says Ackam. “This machine runs on academic dishonesty, fabricated information, political pressure, intimidation and

threats, all funded or supported, directly or indirectly, by the Turkish state. It has become a huge industry.”

Convincing Congress

Academia is one of two major American fronts in Turkey’s campaign to kill the memory of the Armenian genocide. The other is Congress.

As the only Muslim-dominated country in a troubled region to call the U.S. and Israel its allies, Turkey wields significant political influence that it uses to prevent the U.S. from joining 22 other nations in officially recognizing the Armenian genocide as a historical fact.

In 1989, the U.S. State Department released archived eyewitness accounts



The assassination last year of Turkish-Armenian journalist Hrant Dink, an outspoken critic of Armenian genocide denial, sparked protests throughout Turkey.



“Would a university want someone who worked with a neo-Nazi group to cover up the Holocaust on their faculty?”

that, according to State Department officials, showed that “thousands and thousands of Armenians, mostly innocent and helpless women and children, were butchered.” That same year, a bill commemorating the genocide was introduced in the U.S. Senate. But Turkey responded by blocking U.S. Navy ships from entering strategically important Turkish waters and by declaring a ban on all U.S. military training operations on Turkish territory. The bill quickly evaporated.

Last September, the matter came up again. The U.S. House Foreign Relations Committee voted to bring a nonbinding resolution to the floor of Congress condemning the mass murder of Armenians by Ottoman Turks, placing the death toll at 1.5 million, and labeling the killing a “genocide.”

This time, Turkey responded by recalling its ambassador to the United States and forecasting dire repercussions. “In the case that Armenian allegations are accepted, there will be problems in the relations between the two countries,” warned Turkish President Abdullah Gul.

“Yesterday, some in Congress wanted to play hardball,” said Egmen Bagis, foreign policy advisor to Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan. “I can assure you, Turkey knows how to play hardball.”

The next day, State Department spokesman Sean McCormack apologized to Turkey on behalf of the United States by issuing a statement expressing “regret” for the committee’s actions, which, he cautioned, “may do grave harm to U.S.-Turkish relations and to U.S. interests in Europe and the Middle East.”

Defense Secretary Robert Gates added his opposition to the resolution and pointed out that 70% of the air cargo sent to U.S. forces in Iraq and 30% of the fuel consumed by those forces is delivered via Turkey. President Bush, perhaps forgetting his campaign promise in 2000 to push for official recognition of the Armenian genocide if elected president, also came out against the resolution.

While Turkish officials made threats, lobbyists paid by Turkey delivered money to congressmen in the form of campaign and political action committee donations. Louisiana representative Bobby Jindal (a

The Sites

English-language websites are a key part of the arsenal of those who would deny the Turkish genocide of the Armenians

There are dozens of English-language Armenian genocide denial websites. Their content ranges from video clips of lectures by prominent academic deniers to photos and home addresses of U.S. scholars who affirm the genocide to bigoted anti-Armenian screeds. The following are capsules descriptions of four top sites:

TALL ARMENIAN TALE

www.tallarmeriantale.com
Claiming to present “the other side of the falsified genocide,” this website describes Armenians as lemmings and makes the argument that Armenians are inherently traitorous. Murad “Holdwater” Gumen, a Turkish-American illustrator best known for his work on Disney and Warner Bros. cartoon characters, is the webmaster for this site. “Armenians have clung to the tragic events of so long ago as a form of ethnic identity, and have considered it their duty to perpetuate this myth,” he writes. “As descendants of the merchant class from the Ottoman Empire, Armenians have been successful in acquiring the wealth and power to make their voices heard ... and they have made good use of the ‘Christian’ connection to gain the sympathies of Westerners who share their religion and prejudices.”

ARMENIAN GENOCIDE HOAX

www.armeniangenocidehoax.com
This site’s title is somewhat misleading because, instead of presenting the Armenian genocide as fakery, it focuses on the semantic argument that Armenians were the victims of massacres but not genocide. “The genocide label is simply propaganda to associate Turks with evil and is a form of Anti-Turkism,” the site argues. Its anonymous writers present the massacres as occurring in the midst of a frenzied civil war fought along ethnic lines, posing the rhetorical question,

“When a nation loses a rebellion in a civil war, what better way to seek revenge than to claim it was genocide?”

ARMENIANS 1915

<http://armenians-1915.blogspot.com>
This blog features the writings of Yuksel Oktay, a Turkish-American energy consultant and power plant designer who has lived in Turkey since 1995 and is a prolific Armenian genocide denier. It’s also the primary online promoter of the increasingly popular conspiracy theory among Turkish ultranationalists that affirming the Armenian genocide is the first stage in a secret Armenian plot to assume control of Turkish lands, similar to the “reconquista” conspiracy theory held by many U.S. anti-immigration extremists who believe Mexico is plotting to “reconquer” the Southwestern United States.

ARMENIAN REALITY

www.armenianreality.com
Armenian Reality details a comprehensive alternative universe in which Muslim Turks were the victim of an Armenian-perpetrated genocide during WW I, not the other way around. The site also repeatedly characterizes Armenians as terrorists, making the outlandish claim that “Armenian crimes against humanity and war crimes against the Ottoman Turkish ... have been forgotten amidst congressional preoccupation with placating the vocal and richly financed Armenian lobby.”



Former Louisiana representative Bobby Jindal (upper left) and Mississippi representative Roger Wicker (lower left) dropped their support of a resolution commemorating the Armenian genocide after receiving money from lobbyists Bob Livingston (upper right) and Richard Gephardt.

Republican who’s now Louisiana’s governor) and Mississippi representative Roger Wicker (now a Republican senator representing that state) both dropped their sponsorship of the resolution and began speaking against it — but only after receiving around \$20,000 each from former congressmen Bob Livingston, a Republican, and Richard Gephardt, a Democrat, who now work for lobbying firms contracted by Turkey to oppose any recognition of the Armenian genocide.

In 2000, while still in office, Gephardt had declared that he was “committed to obtaining official U.S. government recognition of the Armenian genocide.” In 2003, he co-sponsored a resolution placing “the Armenian genocide” in the company of the World War II Holocaust and mass deaths in Cambodia and Rwanda that was voted down after a Turkish lobbying blitzkrieg.

Since leaving office and accepting a \$1.2 million-a-year contract to lobby for Turkey, the former House majority leader has experienced a profound change of heart. “Alienating Turkey through the passage of the resolution could undermine our efforts to promote

stability in the theater of [Middle East] operations, if not exacerbate the situation further,” he wrote in an E-mail to the *International Herald Tribune*. Last fall, as part of his efforts to help torpedo the symbolic Armenian genocide resolution, Gephardt escorted Turkish Ambassador Nabi Sensoy to meetings with Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi and other Democratic leaders.

Bob Livingston, whose firm has been paid more than \$12 million by the Turkish government since 1999, also pitched in. As part of the lobbying effort last fall that U.S. Rep. Adam Schiff (D-Calif.), one of the sponsors of the resolution, called “the most intense I’ve ever seen,” Livingston shepherded Turkish dignitaries from office to office on Capitol Hill.

As another part of that campaign, the government of Turkey took out full-page advertisements in major American newspapers calling upon the members of Congress to “support efforts to examine history, not legislate it.” The ads featured a testimonial from Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice — “These historical circumstances require a very detailed

and sober look from historians” — that implied that historians have yet to seriously study the Armenian genocide.

More than 100 supporters of the resolution reversed their positions, and H.R. 106 was voted down.

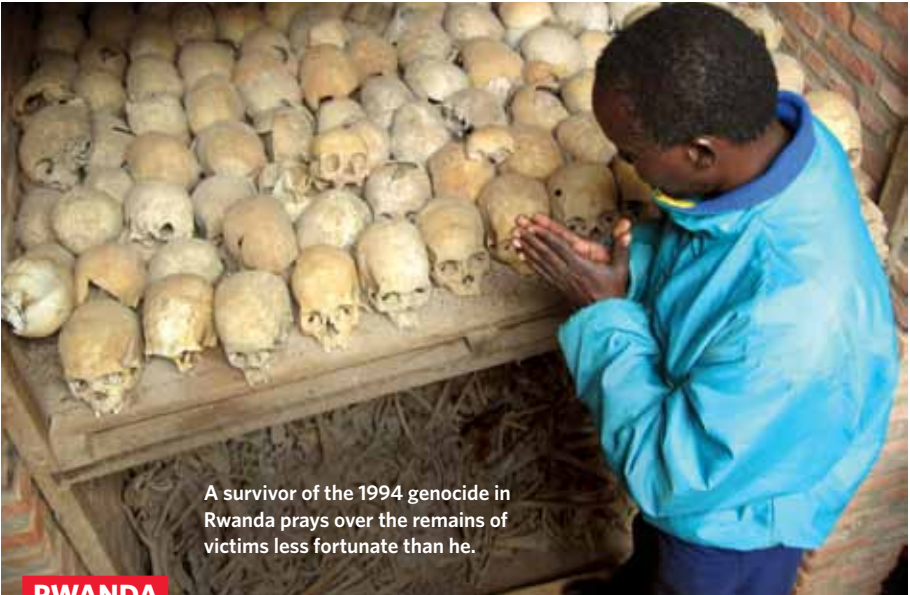
The government of Turkey has since continued to call for a “historian’s commission” of scholars to “study the facts of what happened in 1915-1923.” The proposed committee is marketed as a high-minded quest for truth and reconciliation, a long overdue arbitration of disputed history, and a chance to finally give equal weight to both sides of the story.

But as the saying goes, a lie isn’t the other side of any story. It’s just a lie.

“When it comes to the historical reality of the Armenian genocide, there is no ‘Armenian’ or ‘Turkish’ side of the question, any more than there is a ‘Jewish’ or ‘German’ side of the historical reality of the Holocaust,” writes Torben Jorgensen, of the Danish Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies. “There is a scientific side and an unscientific side — acknowledgement or denial.” ▲



Turkish President Abdullah Gul warns of severe repercussions to the relations between the United States and Turkey if the “Armenian allegations are accepted.”



A survivor of the 1994 genocide in Rwanda prays over the remains of victims less fortunate than he.

RWANDA

Genocidal Ideology Promoted in Schools, Report Finds

Nearly 15 years after the genocide that killed at least 800,000 Rwandans, a government inquiry has uncovered alarming instances of schools teaching hate.

The parliamentary investigation found that some schools were promoting what it termed “genocide ideology” — the denigration of a particular ethnic group. Among the examples:

- Students encouraged to wear different uniforms according to their ethnic group.
- Old books falsifying history in order to marginalize Rwanda’s minority Tutsi population.
- The circulation of anonymous writings that threaten and vilify Tutsis.

The report is particularly disturbing given that Rwanda’s state-sponsored genocide was the culmination of a decades-long campaign against Tutsis. Hundreds of thousands of Tutsis and moderate Hutus, the majority ethnic group, died over a period of 100 days in 1994.

In response to the report, the Rwandan Parliament is enacting a law aimed at curbing genocide ideology. In addition, dozens of high school teachers were suspended from their jobs for promoting hate and ethnic division.

The Belgians, who controlled Rwanda after World War I until 1962, fostered ethnic divisions by issuing identity cards to Rwandans based on whether they were Hutu or Tutsi. In the late 1950s, the Belgian military encouraged Hutus to topple the Tutsi monarchy, causing many Tutsis to seek refuge in nearby countries. In April 1994, the airplane carrying the Rwandan president was shot down over Kigali, triggering a massacre that would spread throughout the country. After three months, the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) led by Paul Kagame — now president of Rwanda — secured the capital and stopped the mass killing.

EUROPE

Four Far-Right Parties Plan New European Organization

Far-right political parties in Europe are planning to form a new coalition to battle what they see as threats from immigration and Islam.

Four ultraconservative groups — all with ties to anti-Semitism, racism or xenophobia — announced in January that they would band together to create a European

party to be called the “European Freedom Party” or “European Patriotic Party.” They claim they’re recruiting other groups to join the organization.

“We say: patriots of all the countries of Europe, unite! Because only together will we solve our problems,” Austria’s Freedom Party leader, Heinz-Christian Strache, told journalists.

The groups include France’s National Front, whose leader, Jean-Marie Le Pen, has twice been fined for downplaying the Holocaust. Most recently, he was convicted in February of denying a crime against humanity and complicity in condoning war crimes over remarks he made to a far-right magazine in 2005. He told Rivarol that the Nazi occupation of France was “not particularly inhumane, even if there were a number of excesses — inevitable in a country of 55,000 square kilometers.” He also said the German army wasn’t to blame for the 1944 killing of 86 men in the northern town of Villeneuve d’Ascq.



the Nazi gas chambers as a “detail of history.” Nonetheless, Le Pen has enjoyed some political success, finishing second in France’s 2002 presidential elections.

And Le Pen isn’t the only National Front leader who’s been linked to anti-Semitism. The party’s second in command, Bruno Gollnisch, was convicted of Holocaust denial last year.

The groups forming the new coalition also include Austria’s Freedom Party; its former leader, Jorg Haider, has long been accused of harboring Nazi sympathies. The other two groups are the Bulgarian Attack party and Belgium’s Vlaams Belang, whose predecessor, Vlaams Blok, was banned as a racist party in that country.

AP IMAGES/SAVVID AZIM (STOLZ); AP IMAGES/FRANCOIS MORI (LE PEN)

Nick Griffin, chairman of the British National Party, has also called for right-wing cooperation. “We are the generation that has to face down the drive from Wahhabist Islam to conquer Europe, mainly through immigration, high birth rates, conversion propaganda and the inherent weakness of liberalism,” he told the Austrian Freedom Party’s newspaper, *Zur Zeit*.

GERMANY/EUROPE

Hotheaded Holocaust Denier’s Attorney Gets Prison

An attorney who was supposed to defend a prominent Holocaust denier instead found herself headed to a German jail in January after calling the extermination of Jews during World War II “the biggest lie in world history.”

Sylvia Stolz, known for her courtroom antics, was convicted of inciting racial hatred and sentenced to three and a half years in prison. She also was forbidden to practice law for five years. (Unlike in the United States, Holocaust denial is a crime in many European countries, including Germany.)

Stolz’s remarks came during the 2006 trial of Ernst Zundel, 69. The German-born Zundel, a publisher of Holocaust revisionist materials, lived in Canada for many years before he was deported to Germany.

Stolz was kicked off the case after an outburst in which she said the judges should get the death penalty for “offering succor to the enemy.” But she wouldn’t leave Zundel and had to be physically removed from the courtroom. After a new trial in February 2007, Zundel received the maximum prison sentence of five years for disputing that the Holocaust is historical fact.

The judge who sentenced Stolz said the lawyer used the Zundel trial as a forum to promote revisionist theories. While representing Zundel, Stolz frequently claimed the Holocaust never happened, signed a legal document with “Heil Hitler” and advocated hatred of Jews.



Stolz

CANADA

Anti-Semitism Rises in Canada as it Dips Elsewhere

Anti-Semitic incidents in Canada have quadrupled over the past decade, according to the League for Human Rights of B’nai B’rith Canada.

More than 1,000 anti-Semitic incidents were reported to the league in 2007, up from 240 in 1998, the league said in its annual “Audit of Anti-Semitism.” The 2007 figure also represents an increase of 11.4% over 2006, when 935 incidents were reported. The incidents ranged from the firebombing of a synagogue during Passover to the vandalism of homes with anti-Semitic graffiti.

“The 2007 findings indicate that anti-Semitism is not just at the fringes of Canadian society, nor the work of a lone few bigots,” said Frank Dimant, executive vice president of B’nai B’rith Canada. “Anti-Semitism’s reach is far more systematic, occurring in benign places where one normally would not expect to encounter racism. This form of hatred appears to be increasing in rural areas, whereas before incidents were primarily confined to urban centers.”

The league attributes the jump to several events both within and outside Canada that brought more attention to Jewish issues. Those included the anti-Semitic

remarks of Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad and the debate over a Canadian professor’s decision to attend an Iranian conference disputing the Holocaust. In addition, the league contends that Canada’s Bouchard-Taylor hearings on reasonable accommodation of minorities provided a public forum

for expressions of xenophobia, racism and anti-Semitism.

The spike in Canadian anti-Semitism comes as similar incidents have declined elsewhere, including in Britain and France. The United States also saw a decline overall, though New York City — which has a relatively large Jewish

population — saw incidents jump by nearly 25% over 2006.

Another troubling development in Canada is the growing visibility of a neo-Nazi group called the Aryan Guard. This spring, about 25 members of the group staged a “White Pride” march through downtown Calgary. The neo-Nazis shouted denials of the Holocaust and condemned non-whites. Police separated the



A Jewish agency says anti-Semitic remarks by Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad contributed to rising anti-Semitism in Canada.

group from some 200 anti-racist protesters, many of whom covered their faces for fear of retribution from Aryan Guard members. Though the Aryan Guard states on its website that it is nonviolent, police in February were looking into whether the group might be linked to two firebombings in the area. In one of the incidents, a Molotov cocktail was thrown at the home of anti-racist activists.

Although the Aryan Guard appears to be on the rise, a white supremacist street gang based in Edmonton was severely crippled in March after police arrested 17 of its members and issued warrants for another five. The White Boy Posse, which has links to the Hells Angels and members throughout northern Alberta, often incorporates the swastika into tattoos and gang paraphernalia. The group is also involved drug in trafficking; police confiscated cocaine and cash during the arrests. ▲

Enlisting Extremism

A major biography of George Wallace reveals how racist radicals were utilized by the segregationist Alabama governor

The Politics of Rage: George Wallace, the Origins of the New Conservatism, and the Transformation of American Politics

By Dan T. Carter
Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996
\$23.95 (paperback)

MANY PEOPLE WHO KNOW THE GENERAL outlines of the story of George Wallace are aware that the Alabama governor’s 1963 inaugural speech — culminating in the infamous battle cry, “Segregation now, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever!” — was written by Asa Carter, a violently racist Ku Klux Klan organizer.

They may even know that Carter — whose followers stoned the first black student at the University of Alabama at Tuscaloosa, assaulted singer Nat King Cole on a stage in Birmingham, and castrated a retarded handyman as a warning to black “troublemakers” — later took on a new life as one Forrest Carter. After leaving the state, partially in disgust at the “moderate” tone Wallace took in later years, Carter used his alias to write books, including the prize-winning novel *The Education of Little Tree*, that bizarrely celebrated the culture of early American Indians.

But few know of Wallace’s many other links to racial extremists.

The biography written by Dan T. Carter (no relation to Asa) more than a decade ago is well known as the classic portrait of Wallace and his central role in the “Southernization of American politics.” The book describes Wallace as more of an opportunist than a racist ideologue, a man whose ambition drove him to do almost anything he thought would boost his power. And it argues powerfully that Wallace “anticipated

the groundswell that transformed American politics in the 1980s.”

But many readers of this magazine may be especially interested in the links between Wallace’s political machine and racist, often criminal, radicals.

In the fall of 1963, shortly before schools opened, Wallace, acting through his arch-racist state trooper leader Al Lingo, approached Ed Fields, the “national information director” of the neofascist National States Rights Party. Fields, publisher of the neo-Nazi *Thunderbolt* magazine and a man whose personal hero was Julius Streicher, the pornographic Nazi ideologue, later explained how Lingo told him that Wallace wanted Fields to wage a “boisterous campaign” against integrating the schools. He did so, leading a caravan of almost 100 NSRP vehicles to the Capitol to present a petition and afterward meeting secretly inside the state house with Lingo and the governor’s executive secretary. Wallace sent along his greetings.

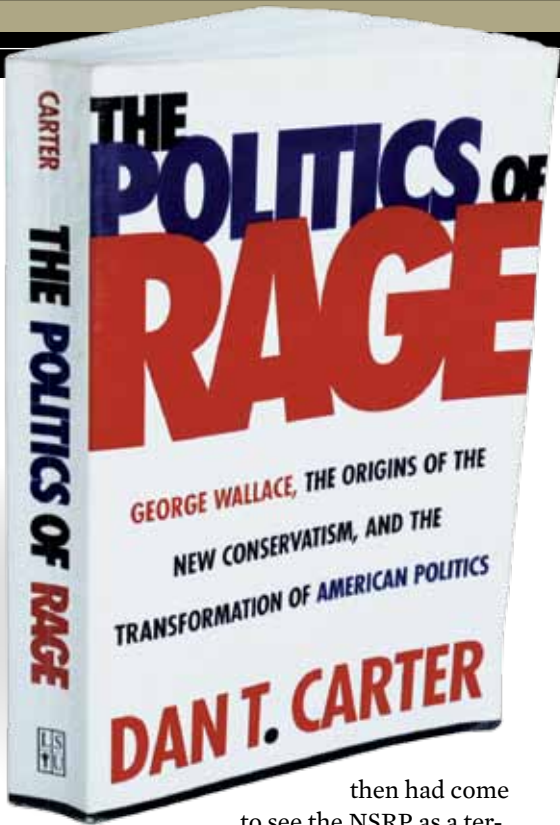
As the opening of integrated schools that fall drew even nearer, Wallace’s close ally, recently ousted Birmingham Police Commissioner Bull Connor, joined the governor before a crowd of some 10,000 angry whites, many of them Klansmen. Wallace shocked many Birmingham police officers, who even

then had come to see the NSRP as a terrorist group, by inviting Fields to join them on the dais.

(For his part, Robert “Dynamite Bob” Chambliss, who eventually would be convicted in a Birmingham church bombing that left four young black girls dead, was an acolyte of Connor’s. Years later, Carter reports in his book, Chambliss told the FBI he had “only been doing what he was told to do by Bull Connor.”)

The same 1966 day that Wallace’s wife Lurleen was sworn in as Alabama governor (she ran at her husband’s insistence because he could not run again), Asa Carter and another Wallace ally convened a strategy session in a Montgomery, Ala., country club to prepare for an expected Wallace presidential bid. The strategy session was attended by William Simmons of the white supremacist White Citizens Councils and representatives of an array of other radical-right organizations — the John Birch Society, the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade, Billy James Hargis’ Christian Crusade, and many others. Most notable of all was an emissary of Willis Carto, a long-time anti-Semitic leader and racist who is still active today.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 64



The Big Lie

Christian Right groups across America say a hate crimes bill will send righteous pastors to prison. They’re not telling the truth

BY RHONDA BROWNSTEIN

THEY SURE SOUND LIKE THEY KNOW what they’re talking about.

“A bill now before Congress (H.R. 1592/ S. 1105) would criminalize negative comments concerning homosexuality, such as calling the practice of homosexuality a sin from the pulpit, a ‘hate crime’ punishable by a hefty fine and time in prison,” says the American Family Association’s “Petition to Congress in Defense of Religious Freedom.”

“We must stop it before they send your grandma, your pastor, or you to jail for sharing your faith,” Faith2Action President Janet Folger writes in an April 18, 2007, press release.

“The proposed law would make it a crime to preach on Romans Chapter 1 or I Corinthians Chapter 6,” adds a June 14, 2007, “action alert” from the American Family Association. “Or even to discuss them in a Sunday School class.”

There’s just one thing. Every one of these statements is completely false.

These and other similarly outlandish claims by an array of far-right Christian fundamentalist groups are designed to incite their members to oppose a proposed amendment

to the current federal hate crimes law. But it’s obvious that these groups never consulted an actual lawyer — at least not one who knew anything about law.

The truth is that the Local Law Enforcement Hate Crimes Prevention Act (LLECHPA), which overwhelmingly passed the U.S. House of Representatives in May 2007 and is currently pending in the Senate, would simply amend our current fed-

eral hate crime act to add protection to victims who are violently attacked on the basis of sexual orientation, gender, gender identity, or disability. Currently, federal law protects only victims of violence that was motivated by race, color, religion, or national origin. The current law excludes the 15.5% of hate crimes that FBI statistics suggest are based on sexual orientation and the untracked percentage of hate crimes based on gender, gender identity, and disability. The bill also would remove a huge jurisdictional barrier — the requirement that the Justice Department prove that the victim was attacked while engaging in a federally protected activity, such as voting.

Nearly 1,400 ministers of all faiths have signed a letter of support for the bill. The bill is also supported by 26 state attorneys general and over 280 national law enforcement, professional, educational, civil rights, religious, and civic organizations, including the National District Attorneys Association, the International Association of Chiefs of Police, and the National Sheriffs’ Association.

It does not “criminalize negative comments concerning homosexuality.” It would not make calling the practice of homosexuality a sin from the pulpit a “hate crime” punishable by “a hefty fine and time in prison.” It would not “send your grandma, your pastor, or you to jail for sharing your faith.”

Here’s what the bill actually says: *Sec. 6: (A) IN GENERAL — Whoever, whether or not acting under color of law ... willfully causes bodily injury to any person or, through the use of fire, a fire-arm, or an explosive or incendiary device, attempts to cause bodily injury to any person, because of the actual or perceived religion, national origin, gender, sexual orientation, gender identity or disability of any person —*

- (i) shall be imprisoned not more than 10 years, fined in accordance with this title, or both; and*
- (ii) shall be imprisoned for any term of years or for life, fined in accordance with this title, or both, if—*
 - (I) death results from the offense; or*
 - (II) the offense includes kidnapping or an attempt to kidnap, aggravated sexual abuse or an attempt to commit aggravated sexual abuse, or an attempt to kill.*

The bill also contains an explicit provision making it clear that the First Amendment rights of those who oppose homosexuality would be protected: *Sec. 8: Nothing in this Act, or the amendments made by this Act, shall be construed to prohibit any expressive conduct protected from legal prohibition by, or any activities protected by the free speech or free exercise clauses of, the First Amendment to the Constitution.*

Despite the clear wording of the bill, the American Family Association (AFA)

CONTINUED ON PAGE 64

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

Contrary to the claims of right-wing groups like the American Family Association that the bill would “criminalize thoughts,” the bill only applies in cases where a victim was physically attacked or the subject of an attempted

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 first quarter of 2008 (any additional listings may be found on the Intelligence Project’s website at www.intelligenceproject.org.)

ALABAMA

Florence • Feb. 24, 2008

The letters “KKK” and a racial epithet were spray-painted on the door of a predominantly black church.

Lauderdale County • Feb. 24, 2008

Racial slurs were spray-painted on the door of a church.

Phenix City • Jan. 7, 2008

Two 21-year-old self-proclaimed satanists, Geoffrey Parquette and James Clark, were arrested in connection with a rash of churches that were burned and others vandalized with satanic graffiti in Russell and Lee counties since the first of the year. Parquette was charged with second-degree arson, third-degree burglary and criminal mischief and Clark was charged with second-degree arson and burglary.

ARIZONA

Gilbert • Jan. 13, 2008

Racist graffiti was spray-painted on a wall of a black family’s residence.

CALIFORNIA

Alameda • March 5, 2008

The word “gay” was written in mud on the side of a lesbian couple’s residence.

Auburn • March 6, 2008

Lance Clements, 37, was arrested on hate crime related charges after he allegedly made racial slurs against a black student and a Latino student during an altercation.

Bakersfield • Jan. 21, 2008

A Nazi flag was hung from a flagpole on a high school campus during the Martin Luther King Jr. holiday weekend.

Fontana • March 21, 2008

Racist graffiti was scrawled on the

front window of a black-owned barbershop that was broken into. A couch inside was set afire.

Huntington Beach • Feb. 26, 2008

A 16-year-old teen was beaten by a man who shouted “Nazi” and “I hate Mexicans.”

Long Beach • March 1, 2008

A man was allegedly shot by a group of black men and a Hispanic female was stabbed by a group of black women.

Los Angeles • Feb. 24, 2008

Swastikas and other graffiti were spray-painted on the walls and gates of a cheder, a Jewish elementary school building.

Malibu • March 10, 2008

A threat targeting seven black male high school students and citing the date of Abraham Lincoln’s assassination was written in a boys’ bathroom at the school.

Oxnard • Feb. 12, 2008

Brandon McInerney, 14, was charged as an adult with first-degree murder and a hate crime for allegedly shooting Lawrence King, an openly gay 15-year-old student, in the head at school.

San Francisco • Jan. 2, 2008

Swastikas and other Nazi graffiti were sprayed on plaques at the Pink Triangle Memorial Park, which honors lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgendered victims of the Holocaust.

San Luis Obispo • Jan. 26, 2008

The numbers “666” and a satanic pentagram were scrawled in a church where pews were also vandalized.

Santa Maria • Jan. 15, 2008

An 11-year-old boy and a 12-year-old boy were arrested on suspicion of spray-painting swastikas and the words “white power” and

“KKK for life” on the walls of an elementary school and a junior high school.

Tracy • Jan. 18, 2008

A 14-year-old teen was arrested on suspicion of interfering with the exercise of someone’s civil rights after he allegedly called a black family and claimed to be a Ku Klux Klan member, made death threats and threatened to burn a cross on their lawn.

Vacaville • Feb. 16, 2008

Racist leaflets from the neo-Nazi Church of Jesus Christ Christian/Aryan Nations were left on driveways throughout the city.

West Hills • Feb. 18, 2008

A Molotov cocktail was thrown at a building at a Jewish center.

COLORADO

Boulder • March 11, 2008

A Latino man leaving a convenience store was allegedly assaulted by two 19-year-old men who accused the man of “stealing our jobs.” Abraham Paquet was charged with a bias-motivated crime, third-degree assault, robbery and harassment and Joshua Ruzek was charged with suspicion of a bias-motivated crime, harassment and possession/consumption of alcohol by an underage person.

Monument • March 6, 2008

Three seventh-grade boys, all of different ethnicities, allegedly put on hoods and chased a minority youth while shouting “KKK.” The incident ended in a fight. Two of the three seventh-graders face charges of suspected harassment, while the minority student faces a charge of alleged misdemeanor assault.

FLORIDA

Broward • Feb. 22, 2008

Simmie Williams, a 17-year-old gay black youth who dressed in women’s clothing, was shot to death allegedly by two men.

Cooper City • Jan. 29, 2008

A swastika was scratched into the hood of a car owned by a Jewish female campaign aide to the city’s mayor, who is also a Jewish woman.

Fort Lauderdale • Feb. 24, 2008

A gay couple was attacked outside a restaurant by a man who yelled anti-gay slurs.

Orlando • March 30, 2008

A 62-year-old white woman and two of her mentally-challenged companions were allegedly beaten by four black men in a public park for not paying a fee for being white in the park. Christopher Colbert, Erick Golden, Willie Pritts and Antoniette Boone were charged with a hate crime.

GEORGIA

Twiggs County • Feb. 21, 2008

The letters “KKK” were painted on a black county commission candidate’s campaign sign.

ILLINOIS

Chicago • Jan. 5, 2008

Swastikas and anti-Semitic comments were spray-painted on almost 60 tombstones in a large Jewish cemetery.

Norridge • Jan. 19, 2008

Mariusz Wdziekonski, a 21-year-old self-proclaimed neo-Nazi, was charged with desecrating a Jewish cemetery with anti-Semitic graffiti.

INDIANA

Hobart • Feb. 19, 2008

Racial slurs were spray-painted on the dugouts at a ball park and a skateboarding park near a high school.

IOWA

Des Moines • Feb. 23, 2008

Two black men were assaulted by two white men with shaved heads who used racial slurs.

Iowa City • March 2, 2008

Racial slurs and threats and pictures of a noose and two black people being lynched were drawn on the apartment door of two black University of Iowa students.

KENTUCKY

Lexington • Feb. 17, 2008

A man was assaulted outside a gay nightclub by two men who shouted anti-gay slurs.

LOUISIANA

Monroe • Jan. 3, 2008

Anthony Cascio, 18, and Jared Horne, 21, were charged with attempted second-degree murder and a hate crime for allegedly beating and stabbing a black homeless man.

Monroe • Jan. 29, 2008

Raymond G. Hodges, a 40-year-old white man, was charged with attempted second-degree murder and a hate crime for allegedly shooting a black woman in the head and face at a stoplight, stating that God will bring her back as white.

MASSACHUSETTS

Paxton • Jan. 31, 2008

Racist and anti-Semitic graffiti was written inside a co-ed residence at Anna Maria College.

Philipston • March 20, 2008

Anti-religious graffiti was spray-painted on a church.

MICHIGAN

Southfield • March 7, 2008

Three teenage boys were arrested for allegedly participating in attacks on Orthodox Jews as they walked in their neighborhoods during the Jewish Sabbath earlier in the month. A 14-year-old and a 15-year-old were charged with attempted unarmed robbery and another 15-year-old was charged with two counts of assault and battery.

MINNESOTA

Austin • Jan. 13, 2008

Racial slurs and profanity were spray-painted on the vehicles of four Latino men.

Blaine • Jan. 22, 2008

Three men set afire a convenience store with bottles of combustible liquid. The word “Arab” was found spray-painted on the building.

Chatfield • Jan. 4, 2008

Two high school students allegedly hung a black doll from a noose on a high school gymnasium stage.

Olmstead County • January 24, 2008

Brent Douglas Espenson, 23, and Nathan Espenson, 21, were charged with assault after they allegedly yelled racial epithets at a black man, who Brent Espenson then chased with a knife.

St. Paul • Feb. 24, 2008

Charles Irwin Johnson, 36, was charged with suspicion of fifth-degree assault after he allegedly punched a man in the face during a bus ride after telling the man he didn’t like Hispanics.

NEBRASKA

Omaha • Jan. 20, 2008

Brittany Williams, a 21-year-old black college student, was shot to death while in a fast-food restaurant drive-through. Kyle Bormann, a 19-year-old white man who allegedly made statements indicating race was a motive in the killing, was charged with murder.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Concord • Feb. 19, 2008

Threatening hate mail was put in black students’ mailboxes at a prep school.

NEW JERSEY

East Windsor • Jan. 9, 2008

Nicholas Kurahara, Nikolai Afanassenkov and Max Drazdik, all 18, were charged with bias intimidation and bias-based criminal mischief after allegedly spray-painting swastikas and profanity on statues and signs in several cities.

Hoboken • Jan. 30, 2008

Carrie Covello, 37, was charged with bias intimidation and harassment after he allegedly attempted to rip a Sikh man’s turban off his head.

Newton • March 23, 2008

Rebecca Kinney, a white woman, was charged with bias intimidation for allegedly taunting a black man with a Confederate flag and a sign that referenced the Ku Klux Klan.

Paramus • Jan. 30, 2008

Peter T. Lisa, 55, was charged with bias intimidation by committing arson, aggravated arson and two counts of criminal mischief after Lisa, in 2006, allegedly vandalized and set afire the residence of a Latino man he may have believed was black.

NEW YORK

Bronx • March 18, 2008

Paula Mergel, 43, was charged with alleged attempted robbery, assault and harassment after she allegedly yelled racial slurs and attempted to choke a cab driver who was an Indian immigrant.

Brooklyn • Jan. 2, 2008

A swastika and an anti-Semitic phrase were painted on the door of a senior center.

Brooklyn • Jan. 18, 2008

A 16-year-old Jewish boy was kicked and punched by a group of black teenagers who used anti-Semitic slurs.

Brooklyn • Jan. 24, 2008

Racist graffiti was found in two elevators near the chambers of a black judge.

Brooklyn • March 18, 2008

Hussein Ali, 19, was charged with grand larceny as a hate crime and aggravated harassment after he allegedly yanked a skullcap off a rabbi’s head and shouted an Arabic phrase for “God is great.”

Hempstead • Jan. 8, 2008

The image of a noose was drawn on a black city worker’s locker.

Moreau • Jan. 12, 2008

A racial epithet was spray-painted

on a black man’s garage.

New York • Jan. 29, 2008

A voodoo doll was found hanging from a noose on a bulletin board at a hotel.

Queens • Jan. 15, 2008

David Wood, 36, was charged with second-degree assault as a hate crime, second- and third-degree assault and second-degree aggravated harassment after he allegedly yelled, “Arab, go back to your country” at a worshipper at a Sikh temple and punched the man.

Queens • Feb. 5, 2008

Swastikas were spray-painted on several tombstones in a Jewish cemetery.

Queens • Feb. 12, 2008

Racist phrases and the name of stormfront.org, a racist online forum, were written on diversity posters on a college campus.

Unadilla • Feb. 6, 2008

A noose was hung on the door-knob of a black counselor’s room at a school.

NORTH CAROLINA

Carrboro • Jan. 24, 2008

Two high school students were arrested following a Jan. 24 fight between black and white students that allegedly occurred after two white students exchanged text messages containing threats against black students. A white 17-year-old student, Joseph Keith Stiffler, was charged with simple affray and ethnic intimidation and a black 17-year-old student, Lamont Powell, was charged with simple affray.

OREGON

Portland • Jan. 17, 2008

Mark Anthony Labonte, 34, was charged with accusations of assault, intimidation, menacing and harassment after he allegedly yelled racial slurs and punched a black man in a grocery store.

PENNSYLVANIA

Fulton • Jan. 29, 2008

A 17-year-old boy and a 15-year-old girl were charged with

Ze Crime und Ze Punishment!

Max Mosley spent much of his life living down his father’s fascist activism. An X-rated video may have ended all that

BY SONIA SCHERR

ON AN EARLY SPRING DAY IN LONDON, a silver-haired man in a black overcoat hastily unlatched a wrought-iron gate in one of the city’s most fashionable districts. After entering a basement apartment, he was welcomed by prostitutes clad in Nazi-style uniforms.

“You are going to be punished to show how we treat prisoners in our facility,” one said. Another pretended to comb through his hair for lice. What the client — motor sports titan Max Mosley — didn’t know was that a small camera was hidden on the premises. It captured a five-hour sadomasochistic session in which Mosley at one point counted off in German — “eins, zwei, drei, vier” — and declared in a B-movie accent, “She needs more of ze punishment!”

The video, leaked by a British tabloid, has brought Mosley’s unsavory family history to the fore once more. His parents invited Hitler to their wedding and were imprisoned during World War II for their pro-Nazi activism.

Mosley, 67, at least initially refused to resign from his position as president of Federation Internationale de l’Automobile, the governing body of motor sports, including Formula One racing; he faces an FIA vote of confidence June 3. Married for nearly 50 years, he insists that no Nazi-themed role-playing was involved and plans to claim in court that he was speaking German merely because at least two of the five prostitutes involved are from Germany, according to *The Times* of London.

But the insignias worn by the prostitutes on their uniforms, reminiscent of Iron Eagles, suggest that Mosley had more in mind than practicing his German, as do the recollections of one of the prostitutes. “Max knew last week’s orgy was to have a Nazi theme — he

ordered it,” the 40-year-old woman told the *News of the World*, which broke the story about Mosley’s orgy.

After the torture sessions, the women offered Mosley wine, but he requested tea instead.

no one knew or cared about his family’s fascist connections. But few of his racing colleagues are sticking up for him now — and many are clamoring for his resignation, including four car companies involved in Grand Prix



Perhaps the tea drinking is a holdover from Mosley’s upper-class upbringing. His father was Sir Oswald Mosley, a fascist leader in pre-war Britain. The elder Mosley was married to Nazi sympathizer and socialite Diana Mitford in the drawing room of Joseph Goebbels, the infamous Nazi propagandist. Hitler attended as guest of honor.

Mosley once proclaimed that in car racing, he’d discovered a world where

racing: BMW, Daimler-Benz, Honda and Toyota.

“I don’t believe he can represent anything after this,” Jody Scheckter, the first and only Jewish driver to win the Formula One world driver’s championship, told *The New York Times*. “If it didn’t have a Nazi connotation it would be a completely different matter, but for a person in his position, and with his background, it’s unbelievable.” ▲

institutional vandalism, ethnic intimidation and burglary after they allegedly defaced religious paintings and spray-painted satanic slogans and symbols inside one church and set fire to a hymnal on the pulpit inside another church.

Middletown • Feb. 9, 2008

Anti-religious phrases were spray-painted on a Catholic church, where a statue of the Virgin Mary was also spray-painted and another statue knocked over.

Philadelphia • Jan. 4, 2008

Swastikas were spray-painted on two Jewish centers.

Philadelphia • Jan. 18, 2008

A kindergarten classroom in a Jewish center that also houses a synagogue, school and community center was set afire. A swastika was painted on the rear of the building two weeks before the fire.

Philadelphia • Feb. 15, 2008

Two men standing outside a Temple University building that

had once housed a Jewish fraternity were allegedly assaulted by a group of students who asked the men if they were Jewish, made anti-Semitic remarks and then punched them. Four students were suspended in connection with the incident.

Wilkes-Barre • Jan. 19, 2008

Fliers promoting the racist skin-head group the Keystone State Skinheads were posted on dozens of utility poles.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Columbia • March 11, 2008

Three members of a white family upset that a news crew was reporting on the arrest of a relative allegedly yelled racial slurs and assaulted a black news reporter. Tousha Smith and Billie Joe Taylor, both 31, and Trina Vinson, 48, were arrested on assault and battery charges.

TENNESSEE

Columbia • Feb. 9, 2008

Swastikas were spray-painted

on a mosque and Molotov cocktails were thrown at the building. Michael Golden, 23, Eric Baker, 32, and Jonathan Stone, 19, were arrested on federal charges of unlawful possession of a destructive device and state charges of arson of a religious building. Two of the men claim they are followers of the racist, anti-Semitic Christian Identity religion.

Memphis • Feb. 14, 2008

An anti-Semitic flier targeting a Jewish congressman who represents a predominantly black district was sent to the congressman and other residents.

Nashville • Jan. 10, 2008

A noose and a cross atop a pile of burning newspapers were left on a man’s doorstep.

TEXAS

Benbrook • Jan. 20, 2008

A Latino family’s home was vandalized and racial slurs were spray-painted on their car.

Waco • Feb. 14, 2008

A swastika was drawn near the dorm room of a Baylor University student who recently converted to Judaism.

WASHINGTON

Seattle • Feb. 3, 2008

A gay couple was attacked by three young men who used anti-gay slurs.

Seattle • March 23, 2008

A black man was allegedly beaten by two white men who yelled racial slurs. Jason Roan, 28, and Richard Miles, 46, were charged with second-degree assault, first-degree robbery and malicious harassment.

WEST VIRGINIA

Nitro • Jan. 19, 2008

Ku Klux Klan recruitment fliers were left at residences.

WISCONSIN

Cottage Grove • Jan. 17, 2008

A deer carcass was left on a black family’s car.

THE BIG LIE CONTINUED FROM PAGE 61

warns that a minister could be prosecuted for preaching against sexual relations outside of marriage if someone in the congregation heard the sermon, committed an act of violence, and then claimed the minister’s sermon inspired him to do it. In addition to being an obvious distortion of the proposed law, the AFA’s warning ignores the fact that the U.S. Supreme Court has repeatedly ruled that even speech advocating criminal conduct — and the minister’s speech in the AFA’s example was not — is protected by the First Amendment, unless the speech is intended to incite “imminent lawless action.”

To further ensure that the First Amendment rights of those who oppose homosexuality are fully protected, the bill even contains a special “Rule of Evidence” section providing that “evidence of expression or associations of the defendant may not be introduced as substantive evidence at trial, unless the evidence specifically relates to that offense.” The special rule is more protective of freedom of expression than the general federal rules of evidence.

The outrageous claims of the American Family Association and other groups that the LLECHPA is “dangerous legislation [that] would take away your freedom of speech and your freedom of religion” are nothing more than false demagoguery and fearmongering. As groups that allegedly promote morality, one would expect they would have more allegiance to the truth. ▲

ENLISTING EXTREMISM CONTINUED FROM PAGE 60

The Carto connection was not ephemeral. Even before the gathering, Carto and Asa Carter had co-authored a pamphlet headlined “Stand Up For America: The Story of George C. Wallace,” lauding the candidate as the only one capable of beating back “Blacky” and the Communist-dominated federal government. Carto’s Liberty Lobby mailed 175,000 copies to its subscribers and printed an additional 150,000 copies that were provided to the Wallace campaign for distribution.

Snippets like these abound in Dan Carter’s sweeping and penetrating book, the definitive account of both Wallace and the early stages of America’s turn to the right. The book also recounts Wallace’s many racist speeches — some of which are far more virulent than those most people know — and his infamous vow, made after losing a campaign to a race-baiting opponent, to “never be out-niggered again.”

Whether or not Wallace’s late-life repudiation of racism was sincere, Carter makes one thing plain: By cynically playing to the worst racist instincts of the crowd, and by his willingness to enlist the most violent of radicals, George Wallace probably did this country more damage than almost any other recent figure.

— Mark Potok