

GOING UNDER A Federal Undercover Agent Tells His Story



Intelligence Report

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THE SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER

SUMMER 2009 | ISSUE 134



A murder in the Louisiana woods draws back the curtain on a place once infamous for Klan activity

Into the Wild

PLUS
'NATIONAL ANARCHISTS'
The new race warriors

BEHIND THE GUNFIRE
Rampage killing and propaganda

Resurgence on the Right

BY MARK POTOK, EDITOR

AS THE FIRST MONTHS OF THE OBAMA Administration unfold, a growing consensus is emerging that a resurgence of right-wing hate groups and radical ideas is spreading across the United States. Law enforcement officials, civil rights groups, and many others have all expressed worries about this troubling trend.



This February, in the last issue of the *Intelligence Report*, the Southern Poverty Law Center reported on the continued growth of hate groups, whose numbers have risen by more than 50% since 2000. It attributed that growth mainly to fears about non-white immigration, but pointed out that the rise of a black man to the White House also appears to have contributed. And it said the ongoing economic meltdown, which some have already blamed on racial minorities and undocumented Latino immigrants, could well add to a worsening situation.

Two months later, a Department of Homeland Security report, “Rightwing Extremism: Current Economic and Political Climate Fueling Resurgence in Radicalization and Recruitment,” was leaked to the press. Dated April 7, the report mirrored many of the conclusions of the SPLC and added that “rightwing extremists [could] attempt to recruit and radicalize returning [military] veterans.” (The *Report* has written extensively about the problem of extremists in the military.)

Already, there is evidence of the violence that an expansion of the radical right may portend. Some of it is chilling.

- In late April, a man shot to death

two Okaloosa County, Fla., sheriff’s deputies responding to a domestic disturbance call. Officials said Joshua Cartwright was interested in militia groups and that his wife told police that he was “severely disturbed” by Obama’s election.

- Three days before the DHS report was issued, a gunman in Pittsburgh killed three police officers. Internet postings by the suspect in the months before the murders suggest the man was motivated by racist and anti-Semitic ideology, antigovernment conspiracy theories, and a fear that Obama would pass confiscatory gun laws.

- Around the same time, a Marine who had earlier been arrested for armed robberies near Camp Lejeune, N.C., was indicted for threatening Obama. Kody Brittingham’s journal allegedly contained neo-Nazi propaganda and a plan to assassinate the then president-elect.

- On Jan. 21, the day after Obama’s inauguration, a white man in Brockton, Mass., allegedly murdered two black people and planned to kill as many Jews as he could that night. Police said the man told them he’d been reading white supremacist websites and believed that whites were facing a genocide.

- Last December, a woman who had just shot her husband to death in Belfast, Maine, told police that James Cummings was “very upset” with Obama’s election, had been in touch with white supremacist groups, and had talked of building a “dirty bomb” chock full of deadly radioactive materials. Police found many of the components for that bomb, along with an application for the neo-Nazi National Socialist Movement filled out by Cummings.

- And in late October, two racist skinheads were arrested in Tennessee and charged in connection with an alleged plot to murder more than 100 black Americans, beheading some of them, and then to assassinate Obama.

The government report was met with howls of outrage from pundits, politicians and others on the right who characterized it as an attack on conservatives and veterans — an absurd contention for anyone who actually read the document. Televangelist Pat Robertson, the gay-bashing founder of the Christian Coalition, even said the DHS report “shows somebody down in the bowels of that organization is either a convinced left winger or somebody whose sexual orientation is somewhat in question.”

These expressions of anger were disingenuous at best. The reality is that many of these same people have done their best to pour fuel on the flames of incipient antigovernment fury, feeding the same kind of white-hot popular anger that animated the militia movement of the 1990s, with all its violence.

MSNBC commentator Pat Buchanan recently said Obama would face a “blood-bath” if he legalized undocumented workers. U.S. Rep. Michele Bachmann (R-Minn.) fears Obama will set up “re-education camps for young people.” U.S. Rep. Spencer Bachus (R-Ala.) warns there are 17 “socialists” in the Congress. FOX News’ Glenn Beck calls Obama a fascist, a Nazi and a Marxist, and even re floated militia-era conspiracy theories about secret concentration camps for patriots.

People like Beck — who described himself as a mere “rodeo clown” when he was called out on such statements — may be craven opportunists pandering for ratings. It really doesn’t matter. Their lunatic rants, planted in the rich soil of social discontent, make it that much harder for our country to advance toward a better future. ▲

CORRECTION A website belonging to Worthy Creations of Fort Lauderdale, Fla., was incorrectly listed as a hate site in *Intelligence Report* No. 133. We regret the error.



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12 Going Under

On the eve of his retirement from a 23-year career with the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives, Bart McEntire can finally tell the story of his 18 months of undercover work against white supremacist organizations in the Southeast — an investigation that helped solve a series of murders and other crimes.

ON THE COVER

34 Into the Wild

The murder of a woman who tried to quit the Ku Klux Klan last year near Bogalusa, La., brought back troubling memories of the tough little city once dubbed “Klantown, U.S.A.” Local officials, who had long considered the local Klan essentially dead, are reevaluating the situation in a town that still has separate black and white high school proms and where the police chief now says racial divisions are stark.



20 ‘National Anarchism’

A California group called the Bay Area National Anarchists claims it represents a new and more vital — if still little-known — form of anarchism. But the reality is that the organization, which advocates racial purity and seeks a race war that will result in whites-only enclaves, is merely another white nationalist project.



24 Northern Exposure

Aryan Guard, a hate group that clashed recently with anti-racists in western Canada, has sent “a collective gasp” through the city of Calgary, which has not witnessed such events in at least two decades. Like many other Canadian hate groups past and present, the Aryan Guard is also developing ties to a U.S. Klan organization.

STEPHANIE DALTON COWAN (INTO THE WILD); JOHN HEALEY (GOING UNDER); PETER HOVARTH (NATIONAL ANARCHISM); JEFF MCINTOSH/AP IMAGES/THE CANADIAN PRESS (NORTHERN EXPOSURE)

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A nativist documentary about immigration is coming back to life, thanks in part to a key restrictionist group.

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The anti-Semitic books of former Klan boss David Duke and academic Kevin MacDonald have much in common.

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An alleged racist murderer tells police that he acted after reading a hate website run by an American in Estonia.

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In the aftermath of a killing spree in Massachusetts, four experts discuss the effect of propaganda.

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A recent Vatican uproar focused attention on an anti-Semitic bishop. But it didn’t shed much light on his order.

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Law enforcement traffic stops based on race are not only unconstitutional — they’re also remarkably ineffective.

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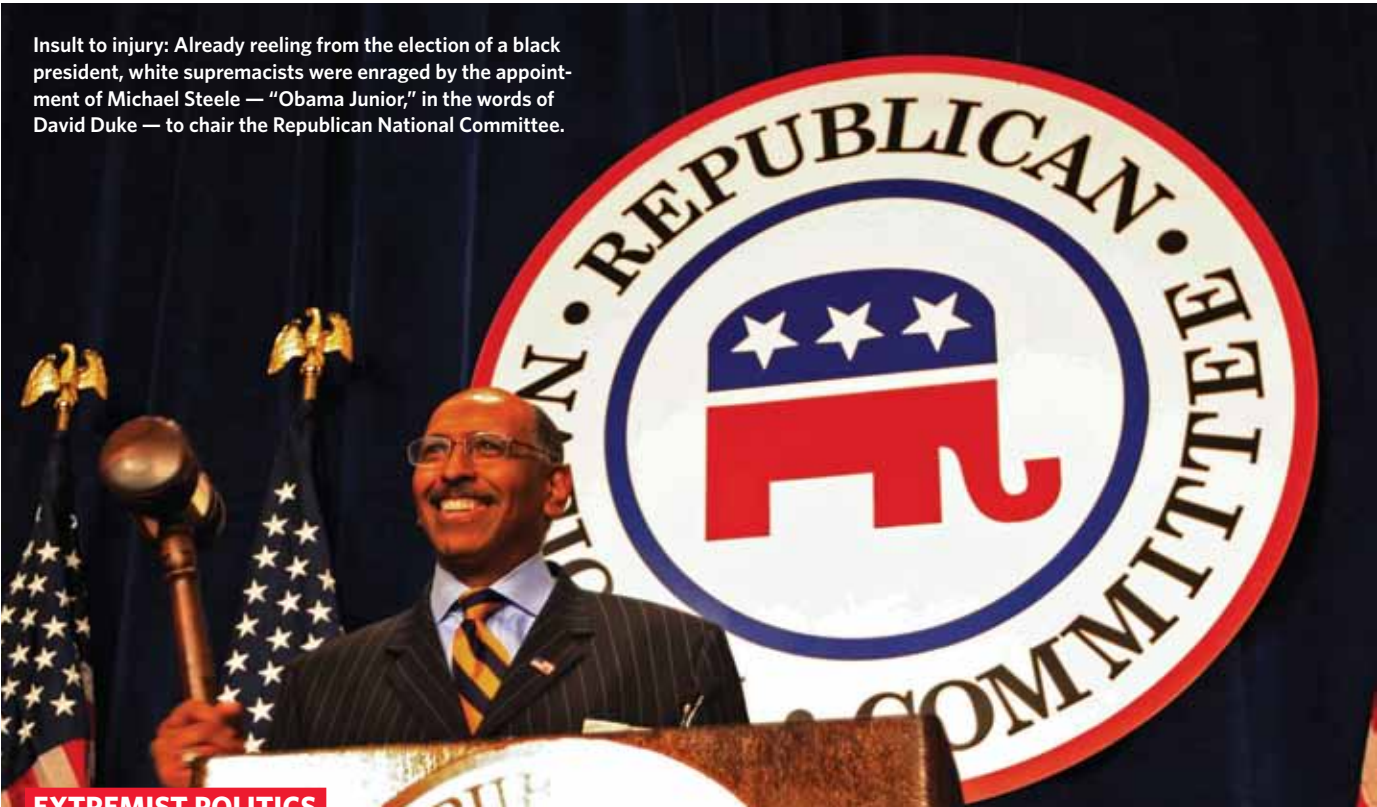
A sampling of hate crimes and hate group activities from the first quarter of 2009 is summarized in state-by-state listings.

65 The Last Word

David Duke agitates for the master race, but his photos are no masterpieces.

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.



EXTREMIST POLITICS

Racists Threaten To Abandon ‘Lesser-Evil’ Republican Party

Still reeling from Barack Obama’s win last November, right-wing extremists were dealt another grievous body blow when former Maryland Lt. Gov. Michael Steele was elected by the Republican Party faithful in early February to become the first African-American chairman of the Republican National Committee.

Extremists view Steele’s ascension to the helm of the GOP as a betrayal by the party that many considered, in their words, “the lesser of two evils.” On blogs and online forums, they excoriated the Republican Party for supposedly pandering to minorities.

No one professed more outrage than David Duke, the ex-Klan boss, ex-con and former Louisiana state legislator. Duke blasted “GOP traitors” for appointing “Obama Junior as

Chairman of the Republican Party.”

Grasping for a silver lining, Duke bravely predicted “a huge revolt” in the Republican base. “As a former Republican official, I can tell you that millions of rank-and-file Republicans are mad as hell and aren’t going to take it anymore! We will either take the Republican Party back over the next four years or we will say, ‘To Hell with the Republican Party!’ And we will take 90 percent of Republicans with us into a New Party that will take its current place!”

For now, though, white supremacists are doing more whining than revolutionizing. The Council of Conservative Citizens headlined their anti-Steele screed, “GOP continues shooting bullets into it’s [sic] own corpse.”

The League of the South, a racist neo-Confederate hate group that has

proposed that the South secede anew, blasted Steele for reaching out to moderates in a blog post titled, “New GOP chair to Southerners and conservatives: drop dead.” It concluded: “Remind me again why I should vote Republican?”

The anti-immigration hate website VDARE.com (named for Virginia Dare, the first white child born in the English New World colonies) branded the election of Steele a “disaster” for nativists and called white Christians “the new Slave class.”

“Apparently Chairmanship of the Republican National Committee has become another of those positions, like being head of an Ivy League School or Governor of the Federal Reserve, to which white men of Christian heritage Need Not Apply,” fumed the writer of the post, Patrick Cleburne.

Perhaps the only bright spot in recent mainstream political events for the anti-immigration sector of the extremist movement came in late January, when outgoing President Bush commuted

HATE IN THE MAINSTREAM

“Poor people ... are not poor because they lack money. They’re poor because they lack values, ethics and morals.”
— Cincinnati radio host **BILL CUNNINGHAM**, discussing black people on welfare during the **Jan. 4** broadcast of Clear Channel’s “The Big Show With Bill Cunningham”

“I have black people in my family tree. If I recall, they’re still hanging there.”
— One of four racist jokes circulated in a **Jan. 4** mass E-mail from Staten Island Community Education Council appointee **SALVATORE BALLARINO** that superimposed word balloons onto photos of a presidential debate between John McCain and Barack Obama

“What’s the difference between a black man and a picnic table? A picnic table can support a family.”
— Another joke from **SALVATORE BALLARINO**, who called his **Jan. 4** E-mail “a political cartoon” and said he was no racist because he has “plenty of black friends” and “drove black people home from work”

“It’s a class ... to teach normal men how to have sensitivity to a psychopathic sex-change operative who should be in a mental hospital.”
— Radio host **MICHAEL SAVAGE** during the **Jan. 7** broadcast of “The Savage Nation,” criticizing a San Francisco Police Department training program for detectives on transgender issues

“We are being told that we have to hope he succeeds, that we have to bend over, grab the ankles ... because his father was black.”
— **RUSH LIMBAUGH**, bemoaning the inauguration of Barack Obama to Fox News host Sean Hannity during an “exclusive” **Jan. 21** interview on “Hannity’s America”

“If Mexico collapses ... does anyone think there will be a rush of people ... rushing our border? ... Have you heard that ... they’re going to reclaim California? That they’re going to reclaim Texas?”
— Host **GLENN BECK**, referencing the racist Aztlan conspiracy theory on the **Feb. 3** broadcast of “The Glenn Beck Program” on Fox News

“Homosexuality will always be a sexual perversion. ... What are the morals of a gay person? You can’t answer that because anything goes. ... [Gays] are probably the greatest threat to America going down I know of.”
— Utah State Sen. **CHRIS BUTTARS**, quoted in a documentary released **Feb. 17**, in comments that led to his being removed as chairman of the state Judiciary Committee

“White folks in America ... are not responsible for the fact that African Americans commit crimes at seven times the rate of white Americans ... gang rapes, gang assaults, the numbers are almost 100 to one.”
— MSNBC commentator **PAT BUCHANAN** on the **Feb. 19** edition of “Hardball”

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.



the lengthy sentences of Jose Compean and Ignacio Ramos, two Border Patrol agents imprisoned for shooting an unarmed, fleeing drug smuggler in the buttocks and then attempting to cover up the episode. Nativists from Lou Dobbs to the vigilante Minutemen groups had demanded their release. Celebration of the commuted sentences in white supremacist circles was considerably less enthusiastic, considering that both agents are of Latino descent. As “Aryan Warlord” put it in his Jan. 19 post to a Ramos-and-Compean discussion thread on the white nationalist online forum Stormfront: “Okay, so they can’t hold authority over whites any more but they get out of prison [for shooting a Mexican]. I can live with that.”

EXTREMIST CRIMES

Neo-Nazis With Bomb Parts in Maine, Alabama

A Belfast, Maine, neo-Nazi who was shot to death by his wife last December possessed a cache of radioactive and other dangerous materials suitable for building a “dirty bomb,” according to an unclassified FBI intelligence report. A dirty bomb uses conventional explosives to disperse radioactive and other harmful materials over a large area. During a search of the house where James G. Cummings lived with his wife, Amber, investigators reportedly discovered instructions for making a dirty bomb, along with four 1-gallon containers filled with a mix of uranium and thorium, both of which are radioactive, along with highly toxic beryllium powder. The containers also held lithium metal, thermite, mag-

BUET STELLAP IMAGES

nesium ribbon and other substances that are used to amplify the effects of homemade explosives. According to the FBI report, police also found a membership application from the National Socialist Movement, the country’s largest neo-Nazi group, which Cummings had filled out. Amber Cummings reportedly told police that her husband was “very upset” over Barack Obama being elected president, had been in contact with white supremacist groups, and had been mixing chemicals in their kitchen sink while talking about dirty bombs. Authorities say she claimed that she gunned down her husband with a .45-caliber Colt Peacemaker after years of mental, physical, and sexual abuse, and termed the killing a “domestic violence homicide.” Nevertheless, she was later indicted for murder. One month after the dirty bomb components were allegedly discovered in Maine, police in Mobile, Ala., reported finding a “cache of explosives” in the residence of alleged neo-Nazi Thomas Hayward Lewis, after Lewis was arrested for spray-painting swastikas and neo-Nazi slogans on a Messianic Jewish house of worship. The slogans



JOEL PAGE/AP IMAGES

Amber Cummings allegedly told police she shot her husband to death after years of abuse. She also told them that he was building a terrifying “dirty bomb” because he was enraged at the election of Barack Obama.

included “Hitler was right,” “Juden raus (German for “Jews get out),” and references to Combat 18, a violent neofascist group based in the United Kingdom that promotes “lone wolf” terrorism. At press time, Lewis was being held without bail.

ANTI-GAY PROPAGANDA

Hard-Line Gay-Basher Seeks a Kinder Look

As the U.S. envoy for the international anti-gay hate group Watchmen on the Walls and co-author of *The Pink Swastika*, a history that falsely asserts gays masterminded the Holocaust, Scott Lively has said some pretty ugly things. But now he says he wants to show the world a kinder, gentler side. In early February, *The North Country Times*, a California weekly newspaper, reported that Lively “fervently wants to get off the Southern Poverty Law Center’s [hate group] list,” because the “characterization of him as a ‘hater’ is especially troubling given his profession as a pastor: a Christian shepherd, a man of God.” (The SPLC lists Lively’s Abiding Truth Ministries, in Temecula, Calif., as a hate group.) “The last thing you want to be called as a Christian is a hater,” Lively said. Surely this couldn’t be the same Lively who, just two weeks earlier, had worked himself up into a homophobic lather in a Christian Newswire media advisory warning of “a mass exodus of normal men from a homosexualized military” if the “don’t ask, don’t tell” policy is repealed. “There would be severe morale problems for normal men forced to live as the objects of sexual interest of other men with whom they share close quarters,” Lively wrote. “However, the much bigger, longer-term problem is the threat of a homosexual takeover of the military branches.” He continued: “Most people don’t realize that male homosexuality does not always lean to the effeminate. Historically, male homosexuality was

much more often associated with hyper-masculine warrior cults which were usually very brutal and very politically aggressive. ... Masculine-oriented male homosexuality tends also to be pederastic in nature. This bodes ill for the young men who will be our future draftees.” Lively’s *Pink Swastika*, written with one Kevin Abrams, is characterized by such section headings as “The Homosexual Roots of the Nazi Party,” “The Homosexual Roots of Fascism,” and “The Fascist Roots of American ‘Gay Rights.’” The book was endorsed by such luminaries as R.J. Rushdoony, the late founder of a theology that calls for the stoning to death of adulteresses, gays and “incorrigible children,” among many others. Another ringing endorsement came from the late Paul deParrie, who publicly advocated the murder of abortion providers. And a third was from pastor Ralph Ovdal, who calls the pope the “antichrist.”

COMMUNING WITH EXTREMISTS

Nashville Sheriff Tells White Supremacists of Immigration Work

Ignorance of the law may not be a valid defense in most criminal prosecutions, but ignorance of a well-known hate group’s ideology was Davidson County Sheriff Daron Hall’s defense of his guest-starring role at a white supremacist event sponsored by the Middle Tennessee chapter of the Council of Conservative Citizens (CCC). The CCC describes blacks as “genetically inferior” and opposes racial intermarriage and all non-white immigration. The topic of Hall’s talk, delivered last Nov. 22 at a buffet restaurant in Nashville, was his department’s controversial round-ups of undocumented immigrants. Needless to say, they’re a hit with the CCC. “Under Hall’s leadership, more than 4,000 illegal aliens have been removed from the streets of Davidson County, thus reducing crime,” reported the

Citizens Informer, the CCC’s nationally distributed newsletter. “The meeting drew the largest attendance in 12 years, with many youth in attendance.”



Sheriff Daron Hall

When the *Intelligence Report* broke the news in late January of Hall’s appearance at the CCC meeting, the sheriff faced a firestorm of criticism from local human rights activists and elected officials, many of whom were already critical of his office’s 287(g) program. That program, which empowers local deputies to make arrests for federal immigrant code violations, has provoked allegations of racial profiling.

“At no time before, during, or after did I have any idea what views this organization supported,” Hall explained in a Feb. 3 letter to Metro Council members. “Keep in mind, I was speaking about the Davidson County Sheriff’s Office immigration program during this meeting — there was never any discussion of their [the CCC’s] purpose or mission.”

But the CCC’s purpose and mission are there for anyone to see on its websites, which proclaims its opposition to “all efforts to mix the races of mankind,” sells “White Pride Worldwide” T-shirts and links to various skinhead organizations. The Republican National Committee and the Conservative Political Action Committee, among many others, have publicly denounced the CCC as racist.

The week before Hall’s appearance at the hate group event came to light, Nashville voters soundly defeated an English-only measure that would have

limited all Nashville government communications, publications and meetings to English, with no exceptions for health or safety. The campaign in support of the measure received almost all of its support — \$19,000 out of \$20,000 in total donations — from the Arlington, Va.-based organization ProEnglish, which was founded by John Tanton.

Tanton is a retired Michigan ophthalmologist and nativist impresario who operates a racist publishing company and has written that to maintain American culture, “a European-American majority” is required.

NATIVIST PROPAGANDA

Revised Legion Report Still Bashes Immigrants

Six months after being called out by the *Intelligence Report* for publishing xenophobic falsehoods in a widely distributed booklet about immigration, the American Legion quietly removed the most egregious inaccuracies from a new version of its report.

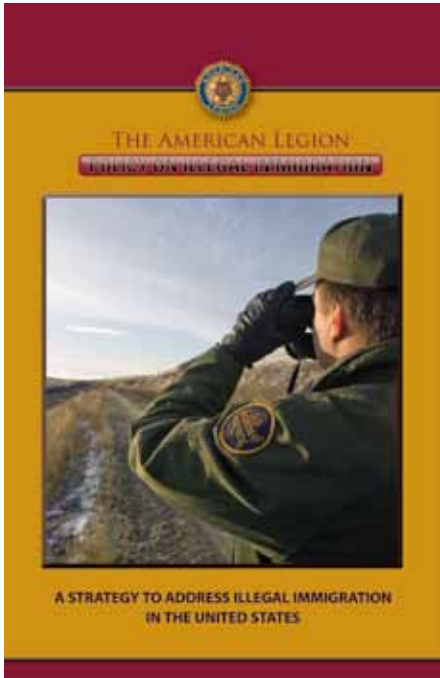
America’s largest veteran’s organization, however, has yet to publicly acknowledge the errors, and the new edition of the report still contains derogatory myths about undocumented immigrants. “The security, economy and social fabric of the United States of America is seriously threatened by individuals who are illegally in this country,” the booklet states.

The legion first released *A Strategy to Address Illegal Immigration in the United States* on April 28, 2008. Two months later, the legion announced the booklet was being “updated” after two organizations — the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund and the American GI Forum, a Hispanic veterans group — repeatedly protested the original booklet’s immigrant-bashing fabrications.

The “updated” report, which came

out this January, no longer contends that “non-citizens make up fully 30% of the American prison population.” (The real number is roughly 6%.) Nor does it falsely claim that undocumented immigrants infected 7,000 people in this country with leprosy during a recent three-year period. (The actual figure for all leprosy cases in the U.S. during that time is about 400, and it’s unknown how many were attributable to immigrants, undocumented or otherwise.) Also gone is the false assertion — for which the original report provided no source but which is a widespread allegation among hard-line nativists — that “more Americans are killed by illegal aliens than died in the Iraq War.”

Despite these changes, the booklet still presents some misinformation, including the claim that “[b]y failing to assimilate into our culture [undocumented immigrants] divide America into ethnic enclaves.” In fact, a recent study by the Manhattan Institute found that today’s foreign-born, while currently less assimilated than their counterparts of 100 years ago, are in fact assimilating at a faster rate than those earlier newcomers. The booklet also makes claims about job losses and the drain on public services that immigra-



MARK HUMPHREY/AP IMAGES (HALL)

tion scholars have largely debunked.

Also troubling is the fact that several of the American Legion’s state chapters and local posts are allied with nativist extremist groups. The California branch of the American Legion, for instance, recently joined a coalition that seeks to force “illegal alien birth mothers” to obtain special birth certificates. The coalition, Taxpayer’s Revolution, argues that ending the 14th Amendment’s guarantee of citizenship to anyone born in the United States is “critical toward reducing the crime problem.” (Several studies clearly show that immigrants, in fact, are significantly less criminal than native-born Americans.)

Last August, a Colorado American Legion post hosted a three-day “national security convention” devoted entirely to immigration. The speakers included Glenn Spencer, leader of the hate groups American Patrol and American Border Patrol and a man who has suggested ordering Spanish-language television off the air.

NATIVISTS IN THE COURTS

Arizona Rancher Found Liable in Vigilante Action

A federal civil jury rendered a mixed verdict in the latest lawsuit against border vigilante Roger Barnett. On Feb. 17, the eight-member jury in Tucson, Ariz., rejected claims that Barnett, a southern Arizona rancher, violated the civil rights of four Mexican women he detained at gunpoint on his property in 2004. But the jury found Barnett liable for assault and infliction of emotional distress. It ordered him to pay the women \$77,804 in damages, \$60,000 of them punitive.

Barnett regularly patrols his 22,000-acre ranch, located about five miles north of the border. He travels armed with an AR-15 assault rifle and a pistol, bearing a blue-and-gold badge that closely resembles that of the Arizona highway patrol, emblazoned with the words, “Barnett Ranch Patrol, Cochise County, Arizona.” Three years ago, he



For the second time, Roger Barnett has been found liable for damages after holding suspected undocumented immigrants at gunpoint. Barnett frequently patrols with his brother, Donald.

claimed to have captured more than 10,000 suspected border-crossers since 1997.

In 2006, a state jury in Arizona, ruling in a lawsuit sponsored by the Southern Poverty Law Center, ordered Barnett to pay \$98,570 to a family of Mexican-Americans, including two young children and their friend, who he mistook for undocumented immigrants and held at gunpoint. The family was hunting on federal land that Barnett leases in October 2004.

The victims in that case testified that when one of them asked Barnett, in English, “What is your name, sir?” he flew into a rage, chambered a round in his rifle, used racial epithets, and then yelled: “My fucking name is Roger Barnett. If you don’t get off my property, I’m going to shoot you and shoot you and shoot you.”

The more recent lawsuit stemmed from another 2004 incident, this one in March, that began when Barnett’s dog led him to a group of 24 immigrants in a brush-studded arroyo. The four plaintiffs alleged that Barnett drew a pistol and pointed it at them, kicking and threatening to kill them before finally turning them over to the Border Patrol.

“His activities go way beyond defense of property,” said Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund attorney Marisol



Roger Barnett

Perez. “He intimidated these individuals, he threatened them with a gun.”

Barnett has never been indicted for any criminal violations related to his vigilante activity. Although a deputy sheriff who investigated the October 2004 confrontation found evidence to charge Barnett with eight felony counts of aggravated assault and 10 misdemeanor counts of disorderly conduct and intimidation, the Cochise County prosecutor refused to file charges. Ronald Morales, a member of the hunting party, said the prosecutor told him, “No jury in Cochise County will ever convict Roger Barnett.”

HATE IN THE MAINSTREAM

Ann Coulter Defends White Supremacist Group

Rabid far-right commentator Ann Coulter is known across America for sliming everyone and everything she disagrees with. Al Gore is a “total fag” and another one-time presidential candidate, John Edwards, is the same. Muslims are “ragheads” and America should “kill their leaders and convert them to Christianity.” Jews are people who need to be “perfected.” *The New York Times* building and its editorial staff should be bombed. Supreme Court Justice John Paul Stevens should have “rat poisoning” mixed into his food. The Rev. Al Sharpton is “a fat, race-baiting black man.”

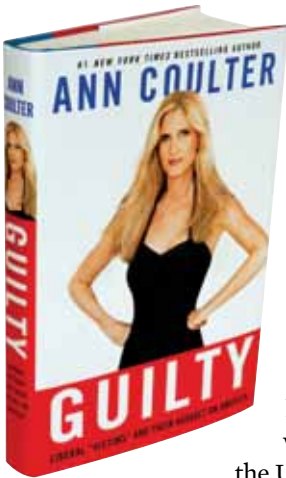
But despite denouncing school desegregation as a “spectacular” failure, Coulter has generally avoided bolstering white supremacist hate groups.

Until now, that is.

In her latest foaming-mouth tome — *Guilty: Liberal “Victims” and Their Assault on America*, released on Jan. 6 — Coulter spends the better part of three pages defending the Council of

Conservative Citizens (CCC), which *The New York Times* had described as a “thinly veiled white supremacist organization.”

Coulter begs to differ. The CCC, Coulter opines, is “a conservative group” that has unfairly been branded as racist “because some of the directors of the CCC had, decades earlier, been leaders of a segregationist group.” “There is no evidence on its Web page that the modern incarnation of the CCC supports segregation,” she says. “Apart from some aggressive reporting on black-on-white crimes — the very crimes that are aggressively hidden by the estab-



lishment media — there is little on the CCC website suggesting” racism. Indeed, the CCC’s main failing is “containing members who had belonged to a segregationist group thirty years earlier.” Ahem. The truth is that CCC columnists have written that black people are “a retrograde species of humanity,” and that non-white immigration is turning the U.S. population into a “slimy brown mass of glop.” Its website has run photographic comparisons of pop singer Michael Jackson and a chimpanzee. It opposes “forced integration” and decries racial intermarriage. It has lambasted black people as “genetically inferior,” complained about “Jewish power bro-

kers,” called gay people “perverted sodomites,” and even named the late Lester Maddox, the baseball bat-wielding, arch-segregationist former governor of Georgia, “Patriot of the Century.” One day, the CCC ran photos on its home page of accused Beltway snipers John Muhammad and John Malvo, 9/11 conspirator Zacharias Moussaoui and accused shoe-bomber Richard Reed. “Notice a Pattern Here?” asked a caption underneath the four photos. “Is the face of death *black* after all?” On another occasion, its website featured a photo of Daniel Pearl, the “Jewish *Wall Street Journal* reporter” who had just been decapitated by Islamic terrorists. In the photo, Pearl was shown with his “mixed-race wife, Marianne.” The headline above the couple’s picture was stunning even for the CCC: “Death by Multiculturalism?”

JAN. 18-19, 2009 • SPRINGFIELD, MO.

About two dozen members of the National Socialist Movement (NSM), currently the country’s largest neo-Nazi group with 69 chapters in 30 states, gathered for a series of activities that began with a Saturday cleanup of a section of highway the group had taken responsibility for under the state’s Adopt-A-Highway program. Although NSM members had done little in the way of highway cleanup before, this time they had the media along and studiously worked for a brief interval while the cameras rolled. Later on that day, members went bowling — in large part, as NSM officials reported later, to “give the media a chance to film our family interactions.” The next day was the NSM Springfield Unit regular meeting, where the press was welcomed once again. Talks were given by NSM officials including Commander Jeff Schoep, Women’s Division Director Ami Bostwick, Viking Youth leader Christina Drake, Missouri state leader Steven Boswell, and Springfield Unit leader Cynthia Keene.



THE BLOTTER

Updates on Extremism and The Law

JAN. 5 Two members of the **Peckerwoods** were arrested in **Bakersfield, Calif.**, for assault with a deadly weapon. Investigators say 10 members of the **white supremacist** gang armed with baseball bats and knives attacked a rival gang member outside his apartment complex. When his fiancée intervened, she was stabbed repeatedly. Police arrested Debra Gannon, 43, and an unidentified 16-year-old.

JAN. 7 The FBI arrested three members of a “**vigilante crew**” in **Staten Island, N.Y.**, who allegedly beat a teenage Liberian immigrant with a metal pipe and police baton in the hours after Barack Obama was elected president last Nov. 4. Prosecutors said the men also ran over a white man they thought was black, leaving him in a coma, shoved another black man to the ground, and yelled **anti-Obama** profanities.

JAN. 8 Ricky Allen Snow, who police said was a member of a **racist skinhead** crew and went by “Snowman,” was sentenced to 31 years to life for threatening to kill two residents of **Oroville, Calif.**, while breaking into their homes. Snow, who had 10 prior felony convictions, was sentenced under California’s “three strikes” law.

JAN. 17 Three members of **Canoga Park Alabama**, a Latino street gang, were charged with the hate-crime murder of a randomly targeted black bowling alley worker last Dec. 22 in **Canoga Park, Calif.** Prosecutors said James Sharp, a 48-year-old father of two, was hauling garbage out of Canoga Park Bowl when a car full of gangbangers pulled up next to him and one of the occupants fatally shot him in the chest.

FEB. 2 A racist skinhead was convicted of felony murder for killing a black woman during a botched carjacking in December 2005 in **Hamilton Township, N.J.** Walter Dille Jr., a member of the **Atlantic City Skins**, accosted Cindy Cade in a movie theater parking lot. Witnesses testified that Dille, dressed in camouflage, chased Cade down and shot her in the head. He faces life in prison with no possibility of parole.

FEB. 2 Four self-described white supremacists in **Berlin, Conn.**, including a reputed member of the neo-Nazi **Aryan Nations** group, were indicted for assault, robbery and hate crimes for allegedly luring a black man into a home on the pretense of having a party, then beating him severely while yelling racial epithets and robbing him of \$180. The victim said his assailants threw rocks at his car when he fled.

FEB. 19 **Aryan Circle** associate Tanya “Little Feather” Smith was convicted of murdering two police officers during a hotel shootout in **Bastrop, La.**, on Aug. 10, 2007. Smith and her boyfriend — Dennis Clem, a “shot caller” for the white supremacist prison gang — were on the run after allegedly participating in a double murder in **Houston**. Police who were investigating a theft shot Clem to death when he burst from the Bastrop hotel room he was sharing with Smith with pistols in both hands.

FEB. 23 Ohio **Aryan Brotherhood** member Billy Jack Fitzmorris overturned a courtroom table, cursed

a judge and threatened to kill “the first corrections officer I get a hold of” after being sentenced in **Columbus, Ohio**, to 80 years for escape, bank robbery, hostage-taking and gun crimes. In 2007, Fitzmorris, then serving a 35-year-sentence for drug trafficking, overpowered a prison guard, stole his uniform and gun, carjacked a motorist and robbed two banks before being recaptured.



FEB. 25 A federal grand jury indicted former Marine Kody Brittingham for plotting to assassinate Barack Obama while stationed at Camp Lejeune near **Jacksonville, N.C.** Brittingham was ejected from the military in January, after civilian

authorities arrested him for armed robbery. Investigators who then searched Brittingham’s barracks found white supremacist materials and a journal outlining the plot.

MAR. 16 Prosecutors agreed with attorneys for neo-Nazi Bill White that their client should get a new judge from outside **Chicago**. White, the leader of the **American National Socialist Workers Party** who faces an upcoming trial for making Internet threats, had expressed delight that the family of another Chicago judge was murdered.

MAR. 24 A federal judge in **Jackson, Tenn.**, rejected defense requests to dismiss a threat charge against Paul Schlesselman, one of two **racist skinheads** accused of plotting to murder over 100 black people and then assassinate Barack Obama. Schlesselman and Daniel Cowart were arrested shortly before Obama’s election.

But to Ann Coulter, there is “no evidence” on its website that the CCC “supports segregation.” Mostly, she says, the group — which was formed from the debris of the White Citizens Councils that Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall called “the uptown Klan” — is about “a strong national defense, the right to keep and bear arms, the traditional family, and an ‘America First’ trade policy.” Indeed, she says, *The New York Times* and other critics of the CCC are simply liberals “who have no principles.”

LAW ENFORCEMENT EXTREMISM

Klan Officer Resigns, Neo-Nazi Deputy Imprisoned

The law enforcement careers of two white supremacists ended abruptly in separate cases last January when one was forced to resign and the other was sentenced to prison on drug charges.

Fruitland Park, Fla., police officer James Elkins, 28, quit the force during an internal affairs investigation into reports that Elkins was distributing Ku Klux Klan recruiting literature. Also, a local sheriff’s office had received photos of Elkins dressed in Klan regalia, including one in which his uniform, badge and service revolver were visible beneath his unfastened white robe.

Elkins initially denied he was involved with the KKK. But after investigators linked him to a post office box that was used to send and receive Klan literature, Elkins admitted that he was the “district Kleagle,” or local recruiter, for the National Aryan Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, a small Klan group based in Englewood, Fla., some 160 miles from Fruitland Park.

“It’s an embarrassment to this department, it’s

disgusting and we do not tolerate this kind of conduct,” Fruitland Park Police Chief Mark Isom told a local television reporter.

Former Yavapai County (Ariz.) Sheriff George “Buck” Buchanan apparently held a somewhat more tolerant view of white supremacist activity in 1999 when he hired Justin Dwyer as a detention officer. Internal memos show that Buchanan knew that Dwyer was the former Washington state leader for Aryan Nations, a neo-Nazi group.

In that role, Dwyer had recruited racist skinheads, organized a neo-Nazi rally on Whidbey Island, and visited white supremacist Randy Weaver at his remote Idaho cabin just days before the infamous Ruby Ridge shootout and siege in August 1992. In April 1994, Aryan Nations founder Richard Butler presided over Dwyer’s marriage ceremony, held beneath a burning swastika during an Aryan Youth Conference held at the Aryan Nations compound in Hayden Lake, Idaho.

By the time he moved to Prescott, Ariz., in 1999, however, Dwyer claimed he was no longer a neo-Nazi. He got the detention officer’s job and was promoted to deputy in 2000.



Whatever his ideology, though, his off-duty behavior proved less than exemplary. In September 2008, Dwyer, 41, pleaded guilty to providing alcohol, marijuana and cocaine

to minors at homemade pornography viewing parties. He was sentenced last January to seven and a half years in prison, with no chance for parole.

TAX PROTESTERS

Spaced Travel: From ‘Liberty Dollars’ to Church of Pot

For many years he was the “monetary architect” of the “Liberty dollar,” much beloved by antigovernment “Patriots.” Nowadays, after running afoul of federal authorities over his alternative currency scheme, Bernard von NotHaus has embarked on a more ethereal venture: the Free Marijuana Church of Honolulu, where he is the “high priest.” Church members step into the “High Room” for one toké of marijuana, then retire to a meditation room “in serene bliss,” according to a church press release.

Von NotHaus, 64, says he once was friends with psychedelic drug proponent Timothy Leary. But he’s best known on the radical right for creating “American Liberty currency” certificates in denominations of \$1, \$5 and \$10, starting in 1998. The certificates were backed by stocks of silver and gold stored in Idaho, von NotHaus said. The currency has been popular with extreme-right tax protesters and members of

the radical “sovereign citizens” movement, who maintain that the federal government has no right to tax or otherwise regulate them, as well as those who believe that the Federal Reserve, America’s central bank, is run by a private body for personal profit.



In 2007, federal agents raided the company’s Evansville, Ind., headquarters, and seized two tons of copper coins featuring Republican presidential candidate Ron Paul and 500 pounds of silver from a Liberty Dollars warehouse. The raids followed the U.S. Mint’s issuance of a public warning to consumers and businesses that using Liberty Dollars in lieu of U.S. currency was a crime. Although von NotHaus feared he might be arrested on allegations of violating federal laws prohibiting the private manufacturing of currency, he was not criminally charged. He has always insisted that Liberty Dollars are a voluntary barter currency, not “legal tender,” “current money” or “coin.”

Von NotHaus said he has been smoking pot for 40 years. But it was only in the past 12 that he began smoking one puff of marijuana every Sunday morning and learned “to listen to the God within my own mind.” The idea of a church came to him “as a means for other people to experience their higher consciousness,” he wrote in a lengthy essay on the church’s website. The website lists no address for his church, however, and he wrote that there is no need to visit there to experience God — just take “one toké of high-grade marijuana” and lie down in a dimly lit room.

Despite his redoubled interest in cannabis-fueled bliss, it doesn’t appear

that von NotHaus’ Liberty Dollar ties have completely gone up in smoke. The Liberty Dollar website, www.libertydollar.org, features his photograph, front and center, along with a long message from him extolling the virtues of Liberty Dollars. “Even though I get an enormous amount of mail, please write to me,” von NotHaus says. “I love hearing every Success Story when you use the Liberty Dollar.”

Even so, von NotHaus said last October that he was turning over the reins of the Liberty Dollar to others and retiring. He had, he said in a written statement to supporters, “discovered an amazing new God within my own mind.”

Now von NotHaus says he hopes to publish a book on famous and not-so-famous people’s positive drug-use stories. The working title: “One Toké to God — Two Tokes to Party.”

ECO-RADICALS

‘Animal Liberation’ Attacks on Researchers Continue

Self-professed animal-liberation radicals continue to target scientists at the University of California, Los Angeles, the latest reminder of the escalating violence that characterizes the fringes of the movement.

On Jan. 8, a UCLA researcher who studies methamphetamine and nicotine addiction in primates received a card in the mail. Enclosed were razor blades coated with blood and rat poison. “As long as you continue to terrorize and murder monkeys for a living, you and your entire family are in harm’s way,” read the card, signed by the radical animal liberation group Justice Department, which has sent poisoned razor blades to researchers before. “This is just the beginning.”

Actually, it wasn’t. An incendiary device was ignited on the same researcher’s front porch almost a year earlier, in February 2008.

The poisoned card arrived less than two months after the Animal Liberation

Front (ALF), another radical group, claimed responsibility for car bombs that destroyed two vehicles that the attackers mistakenly believed belonged to another UCLA researcher who uses animals to study morbid obesity and eating disorders.

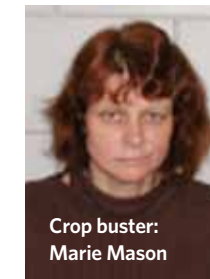
That wasn’t the first time in recent years ALF has gotten the wrong address. In 2006, self-professed ALFers placed a firebomb on the doorstep of a neighbor of their intended target, yet another UCLA professor. Officials said that had the device worked as intended, the neighbor and her elderly tenant would have been killed.

In January, local and federal law enforcement went on heightened alert because of possible retaliatory acts from animal liberationists and eco-radicals following the sentencing to 22 years in prison of a member of the Earth Liberation Front. Cincinnati resident Marie Mason had pleaded guilty last September

to helping set off an explosion and fire that caused more than \$1 million in damage to Michigan State University’s Agricultural Hall on New Year’s Eve 1999. The attack was aimed at research into genetically modified crops.

Although Mason’s lawyers portrayed her as remorseful, Assistant U.S. Attorney Hagen Frank declared in a pre-sentencing court filing that she remains “an unapologetic advocate of violence and intimidation.”

A “Free Marie Mason” webpage paints a different picture of Mason as “a 46 year old mother of two ... an avid community gardener, a musician, a writer, an Earth First! organizer and a volunteer for a free herbal healthcare collective.” The site says Mason’s case is “one of the latest developments in what many have dubbed the ‘Green Scare,’ a recent wave of government repression aimed at disrupting and discrediting grassroots environmental activism and criminalizing dissent.” ▲



“White power!” Nearly 200 racist skinheads, white-robed Klansmen, and other white supremacists chanted racist slogans as they marched through downtown Montgomery, Ala., on a sunny Saturday in March 1991. As they passed the headquarters of the Southern Poverty Law Center, Mark Carpenter — the leader of a new hate group called the White Reich — yelled out, “[SPLC co-founder] Morris Dees is a racist Jew and a queer!”

He sounded like a bigot brimming with hatred. But Carpenter had a secret. His true identity was Special Agent Bart McEntire of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms. For months, he’d been preparing to go undercover to investigate the skinhead underworld in Birmingham, Ala., which at the time was among the most active and violent in the country. To establish his credentials, McEntire had asked an ATF informant to drop his cover identity’s name in white supremacist circles. He’d scoured newspaper articles for details about unsolved robberies and bombings he could claim to have committed. And he’d arranged for the Lexington County Sheriff’s Department in South Carolina, where he’d begun his law enforcement career, to conjure a record showing that Mark Carpenter had been arrested for illegally possessing explosives.

Finally, he and the White Reich were making their public debut in Montgomery. It was the beginning of an 18-month undercover investigation that took McEntire and fellow ATF agents from Klan rallies throughout the Southeast, to skinhead gatherings deep in the woods of rural Alabama, to a military base in western Georgia. The investigation helped solve a series of murders and contributed to the successful prosecution of more than a dozen white supremacists on charges ranging from illegal possession of firearms to homicide and manslaughter. It also uncovered a ring of soldiers at Fort Benning who were supplying hate groups with stolen military weapons, highlighting the ongoing dangers of white supremacists infiltrating the military.

Now, on the eve of his retirement from

Going Under

For 18 months, an undercover agent worked in the revolutionary racist underground. Now, Bart McEntire can finally tell his story

BY SONIA SCHERR PHOTOGRAPHY BY JOHN HEALEY



Federal agents Bart McEntire (left) and Tony Waldrop give the requisite Sieg Heils at a Klan rally at Stone Mountain, Ga., birthplace of the “second era” Klan in 1915.

the ATF after a 23-year career, McEntire is for the first time telling the story of his double life as Mark Carpenter. His account reveals some of the tactics he used to penetrate the inner circle of a criminal subculture in which young minds were twisted to believe that brutal murders of unarmed black homeless men constituted the first battles of a fast-approaching race war. This war was to be fought in part with guns and bombs stolen from the armories of the Zionist Occupied Government, the enemy oth-

erwise known as the United States.

The following account is based on extensive interviews with McEntire and other local and federal law enforcement officials; state and federal court documents; *Associated Press* articles; and McEntire’s unpublished memoir, *Not for Self But Others*.

Making Friends

The first contact McEntire developed was Cecil Bradley, a member of the Alabama Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. They’d marched together in Montgomery. Several nights a week, McEntire drove to Bradley’s house in nearby Hueytown, Ala., in his ATF undercover vehicle: a blue and gray GMC pick-up with mud grip tires and four-wheel drive. They’d sit on Bradley’s front porch, sometimes drinking beer. McEntire commiserated with the Klansman about how minorities were taking over the world. Soon, Bradley was singing the praises of Mark Carpenter and the White Reich to other Birmingham-area Klansmen.

One evening, Bradley’s 9-year-old son, Phillip, gave McEntire a straight-armed Nazi salute.

“What are you?” Bradley asked.
“A national socialist,” the tow-headed boy replied.
“What’s that?”
“A Nazi.”
“Where does Adolf Hitler live?”
“In my heart.”

Bradley beamed. He often trotted out his son to repeat his allegiance to Hitler. The exchange always made McEntire queasy. Yet he also saw him play tenderly with his disabled daughter and learned that Bradley had lost his own father as a child.

COURTESY BART MCENTIRE (UNDERCOVER PHOTO)





Bart McEntire and his family left Birmingham shortly after he testified against Bill Riccio. He never worked undercover again.

One night a couple months after they'd started hanging out, Bradley confided in a low voice that a longtime Klansman was organizing a militant extremist group some 20 miles southeast of Birmingham on Oak Mountain. He was a true warrior for the white race, Bradley said. McEntire had to meet him.

Meeting the Boss

As the light faded in his suburban Birmingham neighborhood several days later, McEntire pulled on an old Soldier of Fortune T-shirt, a ragged pair of jeans and heavy work boots. He rubbed his hands, arms and clothing with a gooey mixture of dirt, engine grease and water. He tossed a shovel, rake and lumber into the blue and gray pick-up truck.

He also armed himself with his ATF-issued 9 mm Sig Sauer semi-automatic pistol. "Only a German gun is suitable for killing our enemies," he'd tell his new friends.

After picking up Bradley at his home, they headed south toward rural Shelby County. The truck bounced along a rutted dirt road that snaked its way through thick woods until a ramshackle house appeared in a clearing on a hill. As he turned into the driveway, McEntire saw Bill Riccio, who rented the so-called "WAR House" that was named after his hate group, the White Aryan Resistance.

"Great," McEntire recalls thinking. "All I need is to meet a Klansman holding an ax."

But Riccio was simply cutting some trees for the night's cross lighting. As he launched into a tirade about the superiority of the white race, kids arrived for the night's festivities. They greeted



McEntire with a Nazi salute and shouted “Heil Hitler!”

“Heil Hitler,” McEntire replied.

Riccio told McEntire that he needed to keep a low profile while he was still on parole. He had racked up several felony convictions, including firearms and civil rights violations.

The sounds of gunfire often reverberated as kids took part in rifle target practice. The group was trying to obtain its goal of a separate nation for whites not only through political tactics — such as distributing fliers near shopping centers and schools — but also by teaching followers how to engage in armed combat.

Yellow Laces

On April 18, 1992, the ATF Birmingham Field Office received a call from the Birmingham Police Department. Just before 4 a.m. that morning, a Birmingham police officer on patrol had responded to an apparent fatal industrial accident. At the scene, the officer saw that a railroad

train had run over a man, whose left foot was severed. But the officer also observed a trail of blood leading from the man’s bedroll beneath a bridge, where homeless people often slept, to his body some 20 feet away. The man’s face was cut and he had a stab wound in his chest. The victim was black.

Meanwhile, about 20 minutes earlier, two officers patrolling the nearly empty streets had seen someone throw an object through the passenger side window of a blue Chevy Malibu not far from the railroad tracks. They stopped to retrieve what turned out to be a 12-inch hunting knife. It was dripping with blood.

The occupants of the vehicle included three young men who were members of Riccio’s skinhead network.

Four months earlier, on Christmas Eve, another homeless man was beaten to death beneath the same bridge. Yet another was found unconscious on the road below. It appeared that he’d jumped from the overpass to escape the same fate.



Purporting to represent the nonexistent “White Reich,” lawman Bart McEntire marches in a 1991 white supremacist rally in Montgomery, Ala.

The violence continued. On April 16, 1992, just two days before the victim with the severed foot was discovered, a group of homeless black men were sleeping beneath the bridge when several young white men drove up in a red truck. One of them stabbed a man in the back. He spent a week recovering in a hospital.

The spate of violence sharpened the focus of McEntire’s investigation. It also prompted him to enlist the help of Dave

Behrend, a six-foot-two, 245-pound ATF agent who assumed the role of bodyguard for the leader of the White Reich.

During McEntire and Behrend’s first visit to Riccio’s after the discovery of the severed-foot murder victim, the atmosphere was unusually subdued. They noticed two skinheads slip outside. They were Louis Oddo, a hulking thug, and Adam Galleon, a skinny kid who sported a white supremacist tattoo on his head. The two undercover agents watched them whisper together intently. Neither Oddo nor Galleon had been in the car when the four skinheads

were arrested on April 18. The two agents glanced at one another. They were both thinking the same thing: the whispering skinheads were involved in the murders and attacks.

At a Birmingham-area rally several weeks later, Behrend overheard another skinhead exclaim, “You ain’t shit until you earn your yellow shoelaces.”

Some skinheads wear yellow laces in their combat boots to signal that they’ve killed someone. McEntire remembers thinking the skinheads were murdering homeless men “for a damned pair of yellow shoelaces.”

Big Chops

Three months after the April murder, Riccio invited McEntire to a Klan rally in northern Alabama’s Morgan County. As McEntire and another undercover agent got ready to leave the WAR House, a skinhead — nicknamed Chops because he sported sideburns extending from his ears to his mouth — asked if he could ride with them.

Chops usually smelled bad and enjoyed talking about his sex life. It was going to be a long ride.

As they headed north on I-65, the lush scenery on either side of the highway

COURTESY BART MCENTIRE (UNDERCOVER PHOTO)

unspooled like ribbon. And so did Chops. “Bum bashing, man, that’s what it was,” McEntire remembers him saying. “Those niggers did not have a chance.”

Chops was referring to the night on Christmas Eve when skinheads killed the homeless black man with a baseball bat and chased another off the overpass. He began naming the skinheads who’d participated, including Galleon and Oddo — the two that McEntire and Behrend had seen whispering together at the WAR House. Soon he began revealing details about other incidents, including the second murder. Clearly, he wanted to impress the White Reich, which had developed a fearsome reputation and was often fending off requests from white supremacists eager to join.

Military Neo-Nazis

Around the same time that Chops unwittingly gave up several fellow skins for murder and attempted murder, McEntire’s undercover operation took another dramatic turn. He was sitting on a Klan leader’s porch talking about explosives with a couple of skinheads when one of them, Ken Collins, asked if they wanted to see something.

Collins scurried around the back of the house. When he returned, he proudly displayed a Model M116A1 hand grenade simulator, used in the military to teach people how to operate hand grenades.

“You know how to really hurt someone?” he asked, according to McEntire’s notes.

McEntire smiled encouragingly.

“Wrap some BBs around it.”

McEntire wanted to get it away from Collins, but the skinhead was reluctant to part with his prize. Finally, he agreed to trade the simulator for a six-pack of Budweiser.

Collins explained that he’d gotten the simulator from some soldiers at Fort Benning, just over the Alabama line in Columbus, Ga. The soldiers were stealing military equipment from the base and selling it to white supremacist groups.

“We could really use some of that stuff,” McEntire said. “I need to meet those guys.”

Collins said he’d work on it.

But before Collins set up the meeting, McEntire’s cover was blown when an HBO producer who’d been working



Bart McEntire (top, circled, with other members of a security detail at a Klan-owned farm in Morris, Ala.) helped make criminal cases against Bill Riccio (above, middle), Cecil Bradley (in Klan robe), and Ken Collins.



on a documentary about Riccio, and who’d met McEntire when he was at the WAR House in character, spotted him at the ATF’s offices in Birmingham. Despite her swearing not to reveal his identity, McEntire’s superiors forbade him from continuing to work undercover, though he was still allowed to run the operation.

Then Collins made contact and said he’d arranged a meeting with the soldiers. McEntire knew that if he didn’t go along, Collins might suspect it was a setup. So McEntire instructed the three undercover agents who’d be driving to Columbus to act decisively when they picked up Collins at the WAR House. “Two of you grab him, put him in the car, lock the door, give him a beer, and don’t let him out,” he remembers telling them.

As predicted, Collins was upset when he didn’t see McEntire in the car. Behrend offered an excuse for McEntire’s absence and explained that the other two men were the White Reich’s explosives guys.

Collins yelled racial slurs out the window of the ATF’s black Camaro on the way to the soldiers’ home, a run-down trailer on the outskirts of Ft. Benning. Balled-up fast-food wrappers, beer cans and liquor bottles littered the floor.

The soldiers — Michael Stacy, Mark Abbott and Keenan Zimmerman — were skittish. Because the white power band Skrewdriver was blasting from a stereo, Behrend called Zimmerman into a bathroom so their conversation would be picked up by the agent’s body wire.

“Listen, brother,” Zimmerman said, according to Behrend’s notes, “if we get busted for this shit, you guys are going to a fucking country club prison camp somewhere, and we’re going to fucking Leavenworth to do hard time busting big rocks into smaller rocks.”

Eventually, Zimmerman handed over a single grenade simulator. They’d have to return if they wanted explosives to blow up synagogues and black churches.

Two days later, the undercover agents and Collins once again headed to Fort Benning. When they arrived at the trailer, the soldiers drew a map showing where they’d stowed the explosives.

After the agents tried unsuccessfully to find the cache in the darkness, the soldiers — heavily armed with machine guns — brought them to a dirt road surrounded by pine forest and gestured toward a nearby tree.

“They’re going to hose us down, man,” Behrend recalls saying to another agent.

But instead Behrend safely retrieved a canvas duffel bag with an artillery simulator, flares and rounds of tracer ammo.

Leaving Columbus, they stopped at a gas station. An exhausted Behrend, who’s now a supervisory criminal investigator with the Department of Homeland Security, held the door for an older black woman. She glared at him. For a moment he was confused. Then he saw his reflection in the plate glass; he was wearing a T-shirt emblazoned with a swastika and the words “white power.”

The Unmasking

On Aug. 10, 1992, McEntire strode into the Hugo L. Black U.S. Courthouse in downtown Birmingham. McEntire was the sole government witness scheduled to testify at a bond hearing for Bill Riccio and Ken Collins. Both men had been arrested on federal weapons charges, along with Bradley.

McEntire had forsaken his worn jeans and white power T-shirt for a suit and tie. As he entered the courtroom, Collins

looked up in shock, while Riccio’s eyes burned with contempt.

McEntire spotted Bradley — the Klansman who’d been his first contact — in a blue T-shirt sitting behind one of the attorneys. McEntire had gotten to know Bradley well. He felt that Bradley could have had a different life, if only there’d been someone to show him the way.



Off duty: As he heads toward retirement, Bart McEntire, seen here playing ball with his son, plans to spend more time with his family. During his undercover days, his wife, Lisa, says, “I didn’t really feel safe in my own home.”

He slowly walked over to Bradley and put his hand on the man’s shoulder. “Cecil,” he remembers saying, “it will be all right.”

Bradley gazed at him with fear and surprise. He shook his head.

McEntire walked away. He couldn’t think of anything else to say.

Prison Times

Riccio pleaded guilty to federal firearms violations and was sentenced to four years in prison. He served less than two years of his sentence, resumed his white supremacist activities upon his

release, and continued to recruit youths into the movement, albeit on a much reduced scale. Collins and Bradley also pleaded guilty to firearms violations and received sentences of five months of imprisonment and three years’ probation, respectively.

Four skinheads were convicted of murdering the homeless black men and

sentenced to between 25 years and life in prison. Two others were convicted of manslaughter. One, who wielded a knife, received the maximum penalty of 20 years. The other, who drove a getaway car, was sentenced to nine months in prison and five years probation.

U.S. soldiers Zimmerman and Abbott were court-martialed, dishonorably discharged, and sentenced to five- and four-year prison terms, respectively.

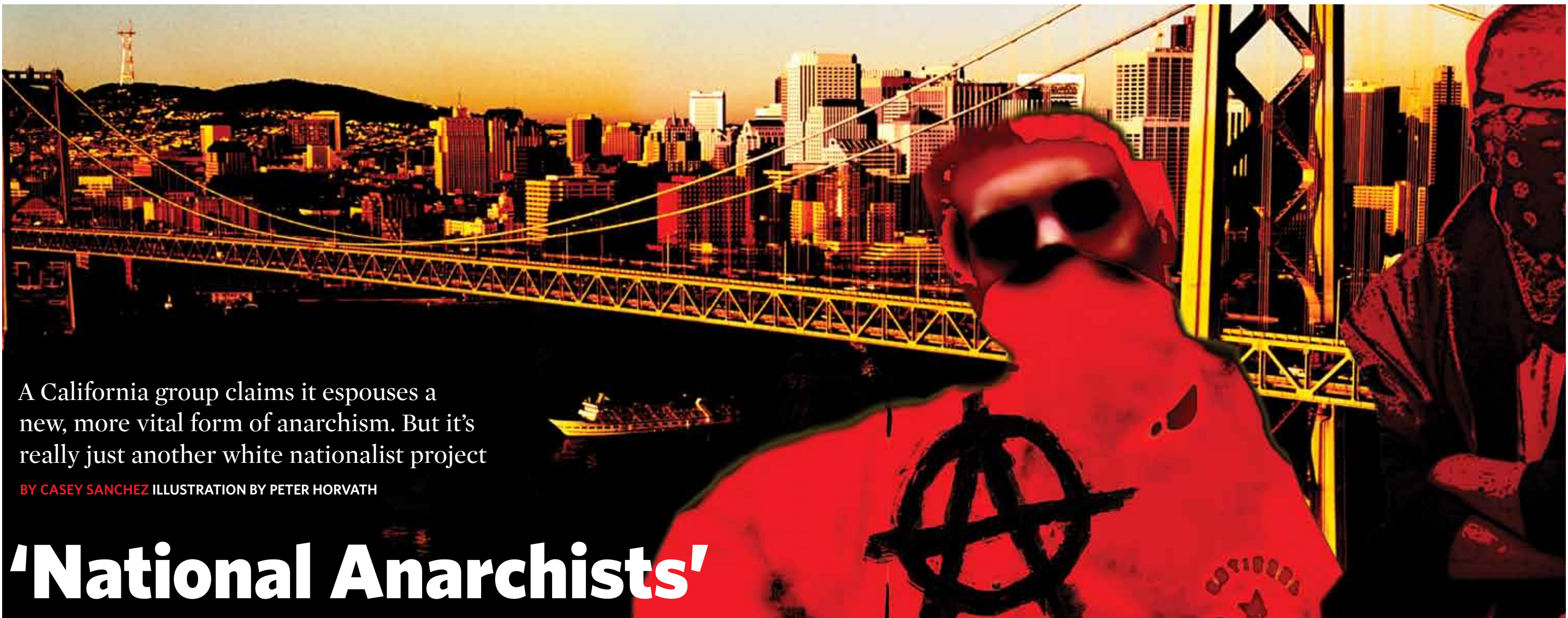
McEntire and his family left Birmingham shortly after he testified against Riccio. A wanted poster showing his face was plastered on white supremacist websites. He never worked undercover again.

When he looks back on his year-and-a-half living as Mark Carpenter, he remembers snapshots of images from nights at the WAR House and white power rallies. At one rally, when it came time

for the grand finale — the lighting of a 30-foot high swastika — the skinheads realized they’d forgotten the diesel fuel. McEntire and another agent drove from one convenience store to another in rural Alabama, but none of them carried it. They finally bought two quarts of oil and mixed it with five gallons of gasoline.

When they pulled into the entrance of the Klan-owned farm, they handed over the gas can without revealing that the liquid inside was fast-burning gasoline. The skinheads doused the burlap-covered swastika with the concoction. As they lit the swastika, it caught fire with a tremendous whoosh that sent the white supremacists fleeing. McEntire smiled as the flames consumed the symbol of hate. ▲

COURTESY BART MCENTIRE (UNDERCOVER PHOTO, BRADLEY MARCHING), © HBO PRODUCTIONS (RICCIO, COLLINS)



A California group claims it espouses a new, more vital form of anarchism. But it's really just another white nationalist project

BY CASEY SANCHEZ ILLUSTRATION BY PETER HORVATH

'National Anarchists'

SAN FRANCISCO — At this year's Bay Area Anarchist Bookfair, held in Golden Gate Park in mid-March, there was plenty of discord among the 6,000 or so anarchists in attendance. The militant vegans of the Animal Liberation Front, for instance, sold books advocating violence in defense of animal rights while a nearby "anarcho-steampunk" (a survivalist with a fetish for Victorian-era steam-powered contraptions) casually skinned a roadkill raccoon. "It's good protein," he offered.

Unifying anarchists has been likened to herding cats. But if there is one theme that most anarchists will rally around, it is that of stamping out racism, especially organized racism driven by white nationalist ideology. Many younger anarchists are members of Anti-Racist

Action, a national coalition of direct-action "antifa" (short for "anti-fascist") groups that confront neo-Nazis and racist skinheads in the street, often resulting in violence. At the Golden Gate book fair, one antifa crew handed out stickers with a telephone hotline number that called out the racist skinhead groups Volksfront and the Hammerskins and encouraged fellow anarchists to report in with "Information on Racist/Fascist activity in your area."

But also lurking at the book fair was a handful of little-noticed anarchists of a different sort — so-called "national anarchists," who advocate racial separatism and white racial purity. They're also fiercely anti-gay and anti-Israel. Calling themselves the Bay Area National Anarchists (BANA), they envision a future race war leading to neo-tribal, whites-only enclaves to be called "National Autonomous Zones."

"We are racial separatists for a number of reasons, such as our desire to maintain our cultural continuity, the principle of voluntary association, and as a self-defensive measure to protect each other from being victimized by crime from other races," BANA co-founder Andrew Yeoman told the *Intelligence Report*.

Members of BANA and other like-minded national anarchists cloak their bigotry in the language of radical environmentalism and mystical tribalism, pulling recruits from both the extreme right and the far left.

"It's an extremely diverse group," said Yeoman, with no hint of irony. "We have ex-liberals, ex-neo-cons, we have Ron Paul supporters, we have ex-skinheads, we have apolitical people that have been turned on to our causes."

Although national anarchism in the

U.S. remains a relatively obscure movement, made up of probably fewer than 200 individuals in BANA and a couple of other groups in northern California and Idaho, organizations based on national anarchist ideology have gained a foothold in Russia and sown turmoil in the environmental movement in Germany. There are enthusiasts in Britain, Spain and Australia, among other overseas nations. Now, national anarchists in the U.S. are carefully studying the successes and failures of their more prominent international counterparts as they attempt to similarly win converts from the radical environmentalist and white nationalist movements in this country.

"The danger National Anarchists represent is not in their marginal political strength, but in their potential to show an innovative way that fascist groups

can re-brand themselves and reset their project on a new footing," said a report issued last December by Political Research Associates, a Massachusetts-based progressive think tank. "They have abandoned many traditional fascist practices — including the use of overt neo-Nazi references. In [their] place they offer a more toned down, sophisticated approach ... often claiming not to be 'fascist' at all."

'Entryism' and the Left

Indeed, one of national anarchists' principal tactics is called "entryism," defined in one of the movement's how-to guides as "the name given to the process of entering or infiltrating bona fide organizations, institutions and political parties with the intention of gaining control of them for our own ends."

In *The Case for National-Anarchist Entryism*, leading national anarchist ideologue Troy Southgate, a Briton, called for national anarchists to join political groups and then "misdirect or disrupt them for our own purposes or convert sections of their memberships to our cause."

Anti-racist anarchists on the West Coast have been aware of national anarchists attempting to infiltrate and exploit their scene since at least 2005, when the Oregon eco-anarchist magazine *Green Anarchy* issued a warning: "If you encounter these people, don't be fooled by the surface similarities; treat them as if they were Klan members or Nazis."

Nevertheless, the doctrines of national anarchism seem to be making inroads into what Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke, a longtime researcher of esoteric Aryan racial cults, has called "a folkish or tribal

revival among white youth who are beset by an acute sense of disenfranchisement.”

National anarchists appeal to these youths in part by avoiding the trappings of skinhead culture — flight jackets, shaved heads and combat boots — in favor of hooded sweatshirts and bandanas. They act the part of stereotypical anarchists, as envisioned by most Americans outside of far-left circles: black-clad protesters wreaking havoc at political conventions and anti-globalization rallies.

In reality, although militant street action has been a favored and much-noticed tactic of some anarchist groups, most anarchists are less interested in smashing the state than in learning to live outside it. They scavenge surplus groceries for their meals, squat in abandoned buildings and construct pirate radio stations.

Yeoman said it was this do-it-yourself ethos that inspired him to become involved with the anarchist movement not long after the sometimes-violent 1999 anti-globalization demonstrations in Seattle drew international notice. But it didn’t take him long to move towards white separatism. In 2003, “the Anarchist People of Color had a well-known meeting in Detroit in which they prohibited white people from entering,” Yeoman recounted. “It was seen as this progressive thing not to allow white people into their meeting so they could pursue their black agenda or whatever. I really saw that as a huge contradiction between behavior that was allowable for certain kinds of people but not people of my descent.”

Coming Out

BANA first began appearing in public in San Francisco only in late 2007. Since then, BANA members with “Keep Our Children Safe” signs have protested alongside Christian Right demonstrators outside a gay leather subculture festival in San Francisco and organized a cleanup of San Francisco Bay shores. “Just because you’re proud to be white doesn’t mean you have to let everything go to waste,” one BANA member stated in a YouTube video documenting the beach cleanup.

The group also recently formed at least a fleeting alliance with the



On the march: Members of the Bay Area National Anarchists slip into a larger rally protesting the Israeli invasion of the Gaza Strip. Among them was BANA co-founder Andrew Yeoman.



American Front, a skinhead group based in Sacramento, Calif. American Front leader David Lynch credits BANA online with helping raise funds on behalf of a member of the domestic extreme-right terrorist group The Order who’s due to be released from prison early next year.

Last Dec. 28, BANA members donned their national anarchist hoodies — emblazoned with “Smash All Dogmas” on the back and “New Right” on both sleeves — tied bandanas over their faces, unfurled a banner reading “Yes We Can, Bay Area National Anarchists” and joined a protest of several thousand against Israel’s bombing of the Gaza Strip. Practicing full-blown entryism, they marched between groups carrying the Palestinian flag and the gay-pride flag, while shouting, “Fuck, Fuck, Fuck Zionism!”

More recently, BANA members have started carrying a black flag with the letter Q in one corner. That’s a reference to

Yeoman’s claim that his ancestors rode with Quantrill’s Raiders, a notoriously violent pro-Confederate guerrilla outfit that battled for control of the border state of Missouri during the Civil War.

Like their late hero Julius Evola, an esoteric Italian writer and “spiritual racist” lionized by modern-day fascists, BANA members believe themselves to be in revolt against the modern world. The group’s website carries notes of high praise for neo-Confederate secessionist groups like the League of the South and the Republic of South Carolina. Some of the site’s content is unintentionally comical. For example, BANA exalts the lily-white town of Mayberry in the 1960s TV sitcom “The Andy Griffith Show” as “a realized anarchist society.”

Yearning for Eden

The bulk of the BANA website, in fact, consists of long-winded blog posts predicting the imminent collapse of multicultural liberalism. Most illustrative of BANA’s worldview — and its hopes for the future — is a short piece of urban apocalyptic fiction that Yeoman penned for BANA and cross-posted at the white nationalist website Stormfront.org. It’s titled, “The Clock Strikes High Noon.”

The story begins on a San Francisco morning with a young white woman on a bicycle. She witnesses a fight break out between a black man and a Latino. An

anti-fascist street punk steps in to break up the fight, only to be beaten down. The bicyclist turns away and pulls out her laptop to discover the country is collapsing: the president has been assassinated, the stock market is in free fall, and the Constitution has been suspended.

Horried, she speeds home on her bike into the gentrified section of the predominantly Latino Mission district, or “what she likes to call the ‘whiter and brighter’ side of the Mission.” Inside the house, tuning into dire radio and police dispatches, she decides it’s a “better time then [sic] ever to activate the network,” apparently a fictional surrogate for BANA. The “network” has caches of food stashed throughout the Bay Area, which members collect and bring together at a “National Autonomous Zone, where people can be



trusted to keep the zombies away.”

The “zombies” are non-whites, who “emerge from the confines of the projects and barrios where the city likes to keep their surplus labor contained.” The story ends with the woman on her way out the door to a safe house, chambering a round into her .45 pistol, and proclaiming, “It’s time to get out of Dodge.”

White nationalists taken with this kind of scenario have long proposed creating white homelands or what have been called “Pioneer Little Europes.” The “PLE” movement encourages white nationalists to consolidate their presence in white neighborhoods, creating a communal atmosphere whose insularity will repel ethnic minorities. H. Michael Barrett, the originator of the Pioneer Little Europe idea, has engaged in discussions with national anarchists about the shape of his plan. For his part, Yeoman conceded that BANA’s National Autonomous Zones are similar to PLEs, but he claims BANA’s enclaves will be superior because residents will be selected far more carefully.

“A PLE has all the problems inherent with an open-door hippie commune in the 1970s, with the free-love mentality,” Yeoman said. “We’re what a PLE would be if it had higher standards.”

Strait is the Gate

The reality is that BANA’s philosophy is such that it has thus far drawn few followers and many enemies. Hard-liners on both the far left and the far right have expressed their disdain for national anarchism in no uncertain terms.

“I am totally dedicated to finding an equitable solution to the Jewish question. But I will be damned if I will bust my ass and sacrifice my individual desires so that a bunch of social leftists can co-opt the struggle,” said one poster at Stormfront.org, the world’s largest racist

“The National Anarchist idea has spread around the world over the Internet. The United States has only a few websites, but the trend so far has been toward a steady increase.”

Web forum. “You want the flash of calling yourselves ‘anarchists’ without any of the philosophical baggage that accompanies such a claim. The name ‘anarchist’ has a pseudo revolutionary flair. You want that, but do not want to be linked with 19th century Jewish bomb tossers.”

“Our role with the white nationalist movement is a transformative one rather than symbiotic one,” Yeoman responded in an interview. “We have friends in the white nationalist movement but we have just as many enemies.”

Even some who are ideological BANA allies do not agree with its recruiting aims. One of the few other national anarchist groups in the United States, Idaho Falls, Idaho-based Folk and Faith, has no interest in recruiting “left-wing scum,” in the words of its leader, a former skinhead who uses the name “Joe Hadenuff.” (BANA’s magazine *Hadenuff* was named in his honor.)

In a forum post, Hadenuff made clear who he thinks potential recruits to the movement should be. “Try ex-skinheads

that have all grown up and are raising families, try ex-reactionary racists now moving on to folk-centered idealism, try ex-NS’ers [National Socialists] that just got worn out on ‘88’ [neo-Nazi code for “Heil Hitler”] and Sieg Heiling cameras as a purported answer to our folk’s problems,” he wrote. (Last year, Hadenuff, a former soldier whose real name is Jeremy T. Wilcox, had part of an Army court martial verdict against him — for attending a Klan rally and posting racist material in 2000 — set aside.)

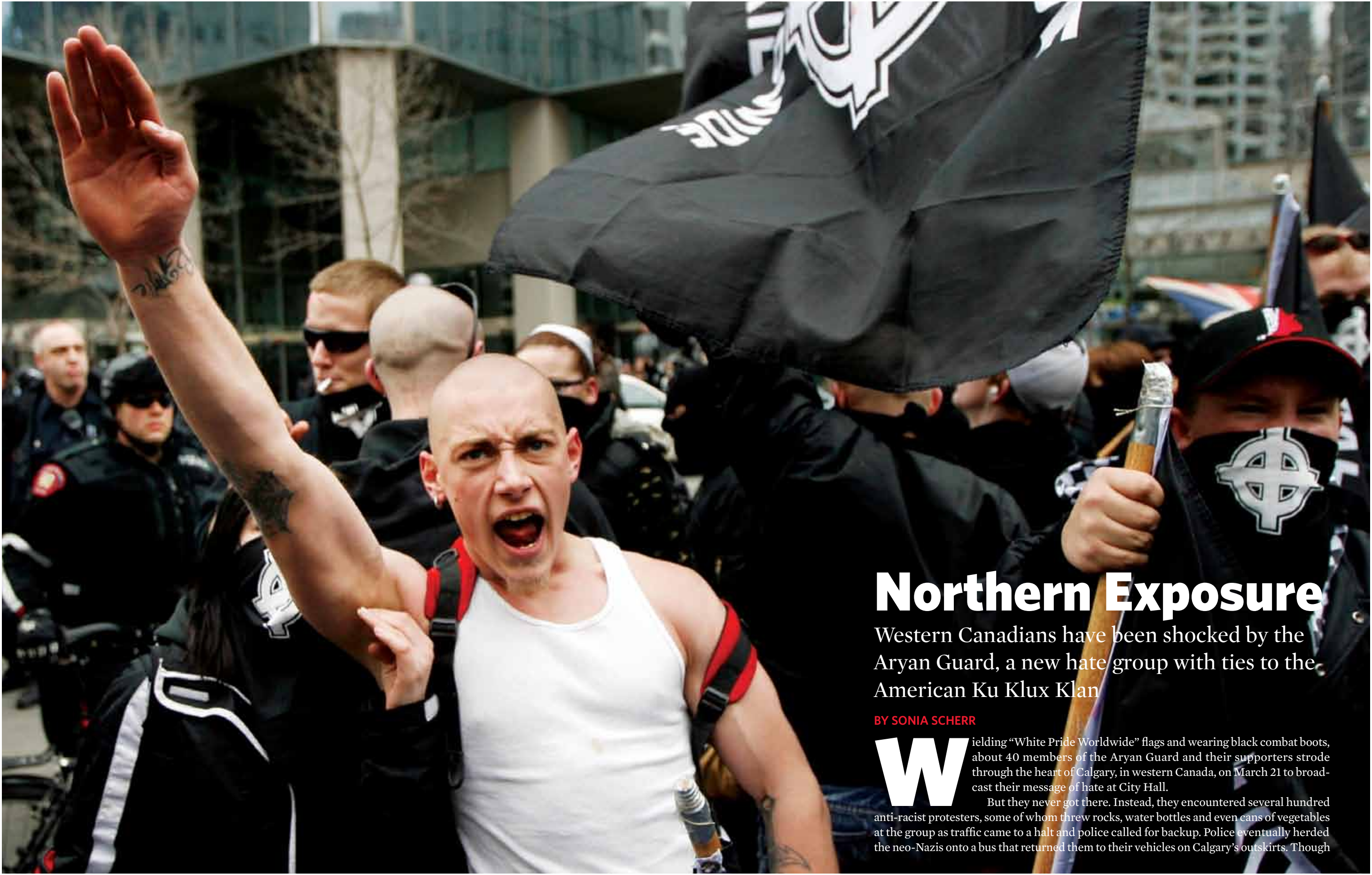
On most of the far left, BANA is even more despised.

One of the few non-BANA anarchists to express support for the philosophy is Keith Preston, who runs attackthesystem.com, an online gathering place for anarchists critical of far-left anar-

chism — a philosophy that Preston has sneeringly suggested is held by “throw-aways from exurbia who think they are doing their part to bring down the System by renouncing deodorant, gorging themselves with tofu and calling their bourgeois parents Nazis for voting Republican.” Preston seeks to build tactical alliances with separatists of every stripe, including Christian theocrats, white nationalists and black separatists.

That attitude — the willingness to seek out recruits from other political sectors, many of them non-racist — is what has many observers worried about the potential for national anarchists and their small but growing movement.

“The National Anarchist idea has spread around the world over the Internet,” is how the Political Research Associates report puts it. “The United States has only a few websites, but the trend so far has been toward a steady increase.” The movement, PRA concluded, could become the new face of the radical right. ▲



Northern Exposure

Western Canadians have been shocked by the Aryan Guard, a new hate group with ties to the American Ku Klux Klan

BY SONIA SCHERR

Wielding “White Pride Worldwide” flags and wearing black combat boots, about 40 members of the Aryan Guard and their supporters strode through the heart of Calgary, in western Canada, on March 21 to broadcast their message of hate at City Hall.

But they never got there. Instead, they encountered several hundred anti-racist protesters, some of whom threw rocks, water bottles and even cans of vegetables at the group as traffic came to a halt and police called for backup. Police eventually herded the neo-Nazis onto a bus that returned them to their vehicles on Calgary’s outskirts. Though



Anti-racists and members of the white supremacist Aryan Guard traded punches this spring in the streets of Calgary, in western Canada. Both sides say the other has attacked its members' homes.

no serious injuries were reported, the melee snared headlines across Canada and prompted Aryan Guard spokesman Kyle McKee — who has “Kill Jews” tattooed on his shins — to declare victory.

“We didn’t make it to City Hall, but I think a lot of people will hear about it, and on that part it’s a success,” he told *Canwest News Service*.

The aborted march shows how the relatively tiny Aryan Guard has nonetheless made its presence felt in Calgary, which has sizeable immigrant and minority populations. “What they stand for is causing a

lot of anxiety and concern in the community,” said Edmonton Police Sgt. Stephen Camp, co-chair of the Alberta Hate Crime Committee. “They’re pretty hard-core.”

The group gained a toehold in Canada’s third-largest city through the efforts of the country’s two best-known white supremacists, showing how established movement leaders continue to exploit the anger of bigoted young people in an effort to advance their cause. Essentially a racist gang, the Aryan Guard is the most public hate group to appear in Calgary — which, like much of western Canada, has a history of such activity going back to the Klan of the 1920s — in the past two decades. These Nazi look-alikes have clashed with counter-protesters at rallies in the city’s downtown, handed out white-power

music CDs to teenagers in an attempt to bolster their membership, and perpetrated attacks on minorities despite espousing non-violence. In a country where racism tends to be suppressed, the community’s response to the Aryan Guard’s in-your-face tactics has resembled, in the words of Sgt. Camp, “a collective gasp.”

“It shocks us,” added Valerie Pruegger, social research planner for the city of Calgary. “That’s not something that the larger public expects to see.”

Help From Their Friends

The Aryan Guard was founded in late 2006 with help from two disgraced ex-teachers who marched with the fringe group at the March 21 rally: Paul Fromm of the Canadian Association for Free

Expression, who lost his teaching certificate because of his white supremacist activities, and National Socialist Party of Canada leader Terry Tremaine, a former part-time university lecturer who in 2007 was fined \$4,000 by the Canadian Human Rights Tribunal because of his racist and anti-Semitic Internet postings.

“They were the main catalysts behind bringing these young fellows here,” said Constable Lynn MacDonald, hate crimes coordinator for the Calgary Police Service.

“These people are violent thugs. They’re going to collapse eventually, but the real question is, ‘Who are they going to hurt between now and then?’”

MacDonald said the Aryan Guard has also received ongoing support from Christian Waters, a leader of the Canadian branch of the Brotherhood of Klans Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Headquartered in Marion, Ohio, that group has emerged as the largest Klan organization in the United States.

The Aryan Guard is hardly the first Canadian hate group with links to U.S.-based white supremacist organizations. In the 1920s, American organizers seeded the Ku Klux Klan in Canada, where it thrived in western Canada generally and Calgary specifically. Many of the best-known contemporary U.S. groups, including Aryan Nations, have in recent times had Canadian chapters. The World Church of the Creator (WCOTC, since renamed the Creativity Movement), once formed an alliance with Heritage Front, a Canadian neo-Nazi group that fell apart around 2005. George Burdi, a former WCOTC member and racist rock band leader, and the founder of Resistance Records — a white-power music label that just a few years ago was the largest such distributor in the world — is a Canadian.

The Aryan Guard began as a loose-knit group of about 10 people and now

has roughly 20 full-fledged members, MacDonald said. Another 20 to 30 are somewhat affiliated, including those belonging to the Valkyrian Legion, or woman’s wing of the Aryan Guard, which consists mostly of the girlfriends of male members. The majority of Aryan Guard members are in their early 20s.

Despite forming 2½ years ago, the Aryan Guard didn’t garner much attention until late July 2007, when members inserted neo-Nazi pamphlets into the pages of *Fast Forward*, an alter-

native newsweekly, and distributed hate literature in a couple of Calgary neighborhoods. That September, they ventured some 130 miles away to the town of Lethbridge, where they handed out fliers under the direction of Tremaine, who told *Canada Press* that the group “doesn’t have a problem with non-white people, as long as they stay in their own homelands.”

Although the Aryan Guard disrupted anti-racism rallies in August 2007, its first organized public appear-

ance occurred nearly two months later, when about 15 neo-Nazis rallied outside City Hall to denounce the Canadian law that permits Muslim women to wear burkas while voting. Since then, the group has conducted sporadic demonstrations in Calgary, including the first “White Pride Day” rally in March 2008, which drew about 30 Aryan Guard members and supporters. Both White Pride Day events were scheduled to coincide with the International Day for the Elimination of Racism. In January 2009, the Aryan Guard briefly set aside its Muslim-bashing to join a protest against Israel’s incursions into Gaza, much to the consternation of the protest’s Arab-Canadian organizers who did not share the group’s anti-Semitism.

At all its rallies, the Aryan Guard has found itself vastly outnumbered by anti-racist protesters, including members of Anti-Racist Action Calgary. Police say both Aryan Guard members and counter-protesters have been arrested for assaults at these events, with this year’s White Pride Day rally seeing the most serious altercations between the two groups. (Jason Devine, a spokesman for Anti-Racist Action Calgary, said no member of his group has been charged in connection with any incident at an Aryan Guard rally.) Police complain that the anti-racists — who they say were the main instigators at the March 21 rally —



SPECIAL TO THE INTELLIGENCE REPORT

JEFF MCINTOSH/AP IMAGES/THE CANADIAN PRESS

The Aryan Guard march provoked a “collective gasp” among the generally well-mannered residents of Canada’s third-largest city.

The battle in Calgary brought white supremacists to the forefront in a country that has a relatively weak radical right.



tend to be uncooperative. For their part, the anti-racists accuse police of ignoring acts of violence by the Aryan Guard, which police deny.

Criminal Conduct

The true danger posed by the Aryan Guard comes not from its public activities, but from its more clandestine ones. A man reached at the Aryan Guard's contact number refused to answer most questions during a brief interview, but repeated the group's opposition to violence.

Yet the group's history of criminal activity belies that assertion. According to the Calgary Police Service, the Aryan Guard has been linked to several assaults between late 2006 and mid-2008. The victims have included a homeless man, a gay community member, and a cab driver from North Africa, MacDonald said.

Writing about the latter incident on Stormfront on July 20, 2007, McKee — who'd been charged in connection with the attack, though he claimed a good friend was actually responsible — boasted about getting the case dismissed. "The reason being was that they couldn't make a positive ID because apparently everyone there was all dressed in combat boots with white laces [and] black flight jackets and all had shaved heads. So let this be a lesson to anyone who wonders why on earth all us skinheads dress so similarly. [T]his is another great reason. lol [laughing out loud]"

The incident that has received the most publicity involved an assault on a Japanese visitor in her mid-20s, Asako Okazaki, when she left a bar shortly after midnight in July 2008. A 17-year-



old Aryan Guard member — who was convicted in March but has not been publicly identified because he was a juvenile — kicked the woman in the back of the head with steel-toed boots. According to court testimony, the attacker followed the woman out of the bar after making a disparaging remark about Asians. At the time of his arrest he was wearing boots with red laces — a skinhead symbol indicating he'd spilled blood for the movement.

In addition, members of Anti-Racist Action believe that the Aryan Guard is responsible for firebombing Jason Devine's home shortly before last year's White Pride march. Devine said he was home with his children one night when he saw a flash of light and heard a crash. The poorly constructed Molotov cocktail did little damage to his home, but Aryan Guard members taunted him and his wife about the incident at protests. "Is it hot in there?" they asked, according to Devine. "How are the kids? How's the house?"

(Police investigated but never charged anyone in the incident. Constable MacDonald said an Aryan Guard member's home was also bombed and that police received information that a member of Anti-Racist Action was



responsible. Devine says no such bombing ever occurred.)

The Aryan Guard has also been tied to less serious but still disruptive crimes, including vandalizing a shopping mall and using racial slurs last year on a First Nations reserve near Calgary, according to news accounts. Four Aryan Guard members were charged with mischief and disturbing the peace in connection with that incident.

"I think the larger population in Calgary can ignore them because they don't necessarily see the effect on the racialized [non-white] communities here, but the racialized communities can't escape it," Pruegger, the Calgary planner, said. "They're quite aware of what these people are saying and what they represent. It's a real black eye for our city."

The group's propensity for criminal activity is no surprise given that many members have histories of vandalism and assault. Two of the group's most prominent members, McKee and Dallas Price, faced assault and weapons charges in connection with a September 2006 confrontation in which one victim was hit with a wooden club and another was stabbed with a knife. Robert Reitmeier, also active in the group, was



charged with attempted murder in connection with a November 2006 assault on a man who suffered skull and facial fractures. Member Bill Noble was convicted in 2008 of posting hate material on the Internet that primarily targeted non-whites, Jews and gays. A judge sentenced him to four months in jail and imposed limits on his computer use for three years, though Noble continues to post frequently on Stormfront.

Looking Forward

The Aryan Guard is now trying to recruit four new members per month, MacDonald said. There's no evidence they've had much success.

Last July, the group attempted to entice new members to move to Calgary by offering to pay their rental damage deposits — a boon in a city with a high cost of living. "We believe that through fortifying our current locations with more White Nationalists we can spread the world [sic] more efficiently and then in the future branch out further throughout Canada," McKee posted on Stormfront.

In their latest stab at increasing membership, the Aryan Guard is distributing white power CDs to teenagers, MacDonald said. The campaign resembles a U.S.-based recruitment drive dubbed "Project Schoolyard" that succeeded in getting thousands of racist music samplers into the hands of middle and high school students in 2004 and late 2008. A 2004 quote from white-power music broker Byron Calvert, who was behind the most recent incarnation of Project Schoolyard, appears on the Aryan Guard's website. However, Calvert told the *Intelligence Report* he's not involved in the group's effort to disseminate white power music. Pictured on the Aryan Guard's website, the CD is emblazoned with the group's URL, along with a list of songs including "Keep it White" and "Stop Immigration."

The Aryan Guard has been adept at using Internet sites — including Stormfront, Blood & Honour, Facebook and its own site's forum — to network with other white supremacists. "Because of their use of the media, including the Web, they definitely have a strong impact,"

said Cam Stewart, who authored a hate crimes report commissioned by the Alberta Hate and Bias Crime Incidents Committee. "If you look at the posts on Stormfront, they're getting a lot of support and attention across the city and across North America. That just encourages like-minded people to carry on their ideology."

Like many white supremacist organizations, however, the Aryan Guard has been plagued by infighting. The group even appeared to be on the verge of collapse last fall after some members defected, according to anti-racist activists. Thanks to a sex scandal, allegations of drug use, and other behavior deemed unfit for a superior race, the group has also acquired a dubious reputation among their fellow travelers. "Increasingly, they're being seen in the white power movement, at least in some sectors, as jokers," Devine said.

But for now anti-racist activists say they shouldn't be ignored. "These people are violent thugs," Devine said. "They're going to collapse eventually, but the real question is, 'Who are they going to hurt between now and then?'" ▲



One of Their Own

Angered at the anti-Semitism of a key racist conference, a Jewish astrophysicist hosts his own to bash blacks, Muslims and Latinos

BY JANET SMITH

BALTIMORE, Md. — Seventy people, including a few well-known mainstream academics, joined prominent white nationalists and academic racists gathered in the Four Points Sheraton at the Baltimore/Washington International airport this February for the first-ever “Preserving Western Civilization Conference.” Its aim: to defend “America’s Judeo-Christian heritage and European identity.” But not much civilized was said there. Rather, the discussion centered around claims that blacks are not as intelligent as whites, immigrants are destroying America, and Islam is no religion of peace — it’s expansionist, intolerant, militant, and seeks to destroy.

The conference was convened by Jewish astrophysicist Michael Hart, author of the racist book *Understanding*

Human History, which focuses on alleged differences in intelligence between various ethnic and racial groups. In the past, Hart was a regular at the biannual conferences put on by *American Renaissance*, a racist publication whose editor wrote, in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, that “[w]hen blacks are left entirely to their own devices, Western civilization — any kind of civilization — disappears.” Though few in number, Jewish academic racists were active in *American Renaissance* right from the start, welcomed by that group’s leader, Jared Taylor, who even once arranged for kosher meals. But Taylor has also welcomed as speakers outspoken anti-Semites, including Holocaust denier Sam Dickson and neo-Nazi activist Steven Barry, making for a potentially volatile situation.

In 2006, the explosion went off, and the façade of civility that Taylor had tried

to maintain by requiring polite language and professional attire shattered. The conflict was triggered by former Klan boss and professional anti-Semite David Duke, who attacked Jews, telling the crowd, “There is a power in the world that dominates our media, influences our government and that has led to the internal destruction of our will and spirit.” Though Duke didn’t directly say Jews were that power, everyone in the crowd, which included several members of the neo-Nazi National Alliance, knew exactly who he meant, and many cried for more.

Hart couldn’t take it. He stood up and yelled at Duke, “You fucking Nazi, you’ve disgraced this meeting!” and stormed out. As many as 50 people at the conference then began to jeer and point at the rapidly disappearing Hart.

Hart and other Jewish academic racists left *American Renaissance* shortly thereafter, when Taylor declined to explicitly ban anti-Semites. But Hart was apparently not ready to give up public discussion of the superiority of the white race. Hence, “Preserving Western Civilization,” Hart’s Jewish-friendly replacement for the *American Renaissance* conference.

Detritus From Academia

Hart’s February event drew some heavy hitters from mainstream academia. Among the speakers was Lino Graglia, the current A. Dalton Cross Professor of Law at the University of Texas. A longtime critic of affirmative action, Graglia contends that the children of undocumented workers born in the U.S. should not be granted American citizenship. According to Graglia, making an argument popular in white nationalist circles, the Fourteenth Amendment, which granted civil rights to former slaves, was not meant to grant citizenship to children of the undocumented.

Graglia also said that the Fourteenth Amendment wasn’t properly ratified, because the Southern states were coerced into passing it after the Civil War. Citing the Fourteenth Amendment’s clause “subject to the jurisdiction thereof,” Graglia alleges that since the parents are subject to the jurisdiction of the Mexican government, so, too, should their children be. A one-time attorney with the U.S. Department of Justice, Graglia sug-

RAUL ALLEN

gested that birthright citizenship is subject to challenge in the courts and that Congress can revoke it by statute.

Roger McGrath, a former professor at the University of California, Los Angeles, and commentator for History Channel documentaries, also talked about the evils of illegal immigration. A native Californian, McGrath depicted California as “paradise lost” and the U.S. as suffering “nothing less than a foreign invasion.”

McGrath, who claimed whites were being ethnically cleansed from their own country, blamed the civil rights laws of the 1960s for driving whites into the minority. And with non-whites come trouble, said McGrath, citing California’s collapsing bond rating, state prisons crowded with “illegal aliens,” and billions a year in benefits to immigrants. Recalling the good old days of the infamously named Operation Wetback, McGrath pointed out that back then “we rounded up and deported illegal aliens

Michael Hart stood up and yelled at Duke, “You fucking Nazi, you’ve disgraced this meeting!” and stormed out.

back to where they came from.”

“Do we not have a right to preserve our way of life?” McGrath asked, reflecting a common sentiment at the conference.

The Latino bashing was rounded out with a presentation by Peter Brimelow, who runs the anti-immigrant hate site VDARE.com, named for the first white child born in the English colonies, Virginia Dare. “There is no benefit to the native-born from immigration,” Brimelow said, adding without a hint of irony that immigration “only destroys national community.” (Brimelow is himself a naturalized immigrant from Britain.) Calling the Obama administration an “occupation government,” Brimelow warned darkly of a future in which the First Amendment would be abrogated in the name of curtailing hate speech and secession movements would arise throughout the country. Brimelow had one suggestion for putting a stop to this possible future: a new, all-white political party.

Some of the most inflammatory pre-

sentations of the conference came from regulars on the academic racist circuit, particularly those into race and IQ studies. Steve Farron, author of *The Affirmative Action Hoax: Diversity, the Importance of Character, and other Lies*, is a former classics professor at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, South Africa. Nowadays he specializes in “proving” the inferiority of blacks. According to Farron, “Any black 12th grader solves problems at the same level of a 6th grade white child.” Farron alleges that blacks with post-graduate degrees have IQs equal to whites with high school diplomas. Farron said his “research” showed that only 18% of blacks understand bus schedules, while just 14% can make change or figure a tip on a simple luncheon bill. Farron also claimed that another study had shown more black police officers means more violent crime in a community.

Farron’s claims were abetted by J.

Philippe Rushton, a psychology professor at the University of Western Ontario, Canada, who also heads the New York City-based Pioneer Fund, a racist foundation set up in 1937 to funnel money to the study of “race betterment.” Hauling out his PowerPoint presentation on “The Heritability of IQ Differences,” which he also used at the 2008 *American Renaissance* conference, Rushton said that IQ research is an important part of science and claimed that IQ tests can predict almost everything — the speed of learning a new job, job performance, dropout/welfare rates, brain size, and longevity. But his main interest is his claim that the average IQ of whites is substantially higher than that of blacks. Bringing up age-old and thoroughly debunked assertions, Rushton also claimed that brain size and IQ are related and that blacks have smaller brains. And he asserted that blacks are more aggressive than other races and that aggressive, closed-minded people have lower IQs.

Islam’s Turn

It wasn’t just minorities who were slammed at Hart’s conference. Muslims came in for some serious drubbing, too. Brenda Walker, an anti-immigrant activist in California who writes frequently for VDARE.com, warned that Western civilization is being destroyed by “immigrants and multiculturalism.” She argued that Islam suppresses women’s rights and that Islamic culture includes honor killing, wife beating, female circumcision, and the production of deformed babies because of marriages between cousins. Walker then spread out to describe the abominable aspects of various other immigrants, saying that “sex with children in Mexico is accepted,” the Chinese kidnap and sell women, and East Asian Indians practice indentured servitude and dowry murders.

Lawrence Auster, a right-wing blogger and essayist who has spoken in the past to *American Renaissance* and who is of Jewish descent, told the audience that the U.S. needs a constitutional amendment to prohibit Islam, which would encourage Muslims to leave on their own. Auster’s other suggestion for our nation’s leaders: “Go to Saudi Arabia, seize the oil, operate the oil fields and adjacent transportation facilities until we get our own energy.” For Auster, Islam, political correctness and multiculturalism are a toxic trio. “If a society can’t distinguish itself, it will not continue to exist,” he told those assembled. “If we open ourselves to threats, we go out of existence.”

Hart, having compared the Koran to *Mein Kampf* and Islam to Nazism, no doubt agreed with Auster.

The lowlight of the conference was a banquet on Saturday night featuring entertainment in the form of Jewish comedienne Julia Gorin, a self-proclaimed “conservative” joker who also writes for *Jewish World Review*. Gorin’s routine was filled with anti-Muslim and anti-Obama jokes, which were real crowd pleasers. To wit: “But you see, to a Jew there is no greater accomplishment than getting a black man into the White House. The thinking goes: ‘Our work is done. It’s OK if the Muslims come kill us now.’” In another skit, Gorin joked that Osama bin Laden was probably already dead — “from laughing his ass off.” Fittingly, many of Gorin’s jokes are featured in the *Complete Idiot’s Guide to Jokes*. ▲

Video Vigilantism

A nativist film about the U.S.-Mexico border comes back to life, thanks partly to the Federation for American Immigration Reform

BY LARRY KELLER

The lack of drama captured on the Mexican border in the documentary film “Border” is more than made up for by melodrama sparked when its creator, Chris Burgard, travels in 2006 to Washington, D.C. to wander the halls of Congress.

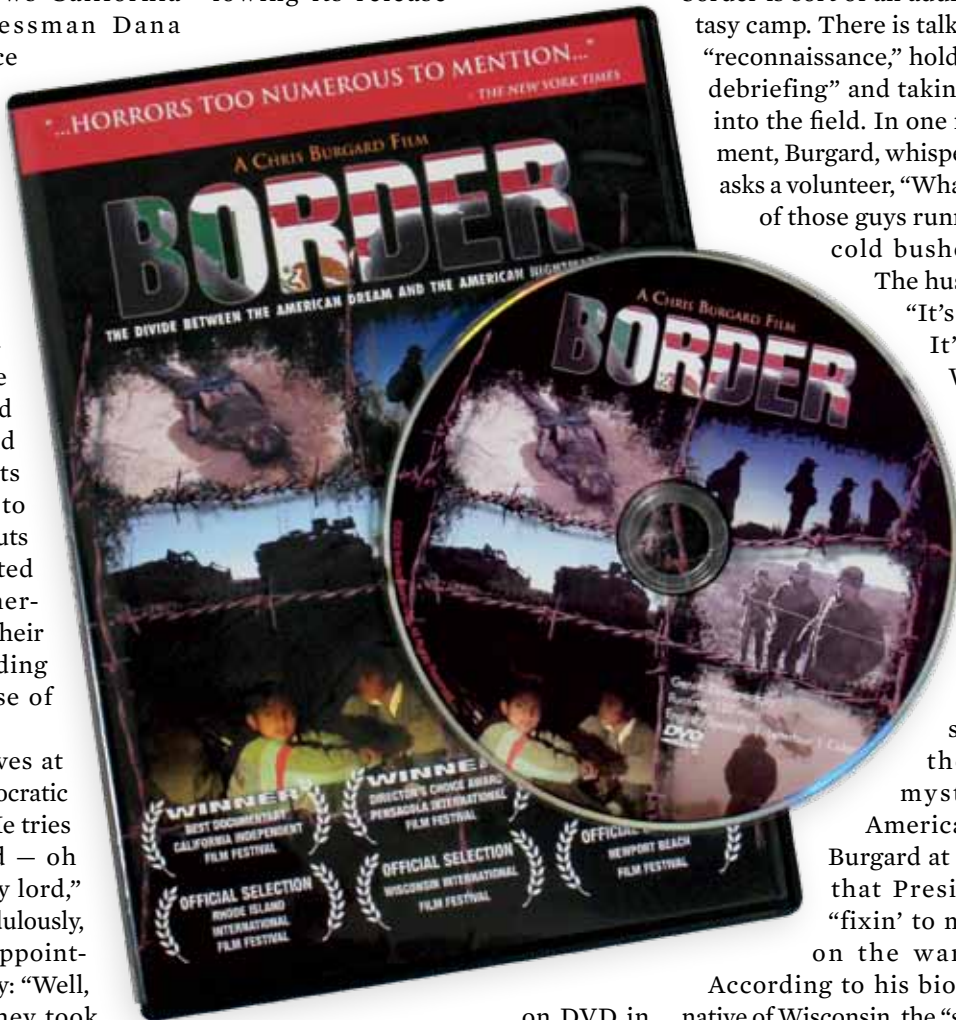
First, he interviews California Republican Congressman Dana Rohrabacher, who once called a proposed guest worker program “the foul odor that’s coming out of the United States Senate” and argued that it wouldn’t really be a problem if all the Mexican farmworkers in America were rounded up and deported because prisoners could pick the nation’s fruits and vegetables. True to form, Rohrabacher spouts off about undocumented immigrants using emergency rooms “as if it’s their HMO” and overcrowding schools at the expense of “ordinary kids.”

Next, Burgard arrives at the office of House Democratic Leader Nancy Pelosi. He tries to open the door and — oh no! “It’s locked. Oh my lord,” Burgard exclaims incredulously, although he had no appointment. And then, bitterly: “Well, it’s been a big day. They took down Tom DeLay today.”

That comment dates “Border.” Burgard shot his film in 2005 and 2006, and it began screening in early 2007. Burgard was briefly a nativist media

darling, interviewed by right-wing TV personalities like Lou Dobbs, Glenn Beck and Sean Hannity. Burgard also promoted his film by appearing, among other places, at a screening in Hazleton, Pa., known for targeting undocumented immigrants with harsh local laws.

Now, the film is gaining new life following its release



on DVD in November. The Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), which is listed as a hate group by the Southern Poverty Law Center, recently offered a free copy of the “impartial” doc-

umentary to anyone contributing \$25 or more before the end of February. It’s no surprise, given FAIR’s politics, that the film amounts to a defense of nativism.

In the movie, Burgard joins forces for a month with Chris Simcox and the volunteers of Simcox’s Minuteman Civil Defense Corps (MCDC), an anti-immigration vigilante organization that conducts “citizen border patrols” in states that include Arizona, California, New Mexico and Texas. Simcox presents himself as a persecuted victim in his interviews with Burgard. “My phones have been tapped for years,” Simcox asserts at one point.

One can’t escape the feeling in this film that for many of Simcox’s MCDC volunteers, traipsing around on the desolate border is sort of an adult military fantasy camp. There is talk of conducting “reconnaissance,” holding a “mission debriefing” and taking the “troops” into the field. In one nighttime segment, Burgard, whispering excitedly, asks a volunteer, “What did you think of those guys running out in the cold bushes like that?”

The hushed response: “It’s pretty gnarly. It’s pretty John Wayne.”

It’s an apt image. Burgard and some of the MCDC volunteers wear cowboy hats and ride horses. Apparently swept up in the Wild West mystique of the American Southwest, Burgard at one point says that President Bush is “fixin’ to make a speech on the war on terror.”

According to his bio, Burgard is a native of Wisconsin, the “son of a cop and a cowgirl” who was “riding horses before he could walk.” He is also a former ballet dancer and movie stuntman who, before delving into the nativist movement, was probably best known as Matthew



The characters who populate “Border” come straight out of Central Casting — the rancher, the mad scientist, the cowboys and the zealot with the thousand-yard stare.

Broderick’s dance double in the 1986 hit movie “Ferris Bueller’s Day Off.” Now he lives on his ranch in Southern California with cats named Smith and Wesson.

Although FAIR and various border vigilante groups herald “Border” for its supposed accuracy and neutrality, in fact the film relies heavily on dubious statistics and the undocumented claims of anti-immigration zealots.

For example, Madeleine Cosman is featured prominently, talking a blue streak about exotic diseases and immigrants. Cosman — who died in 2006



— was the primary source of a grossly erroneous statistic that CNN immigrant-basher Lou Dobbs reported concerning the number of new leprosy cases in the United States due to immigration. (Although he stood by his discredited story, Dobbs later claimed it had come from elsewhere and called Cosman a “whack job.”)

For a statistic on spending in California on illegal immigrants, Burgard cites the far-right *Washington Times* as his source. For figures on profits from smuggling Chinese nationals into the United States, his source is Dobbs, whose tendentious treatment of evidence has made him a major purveyor of nativist falsehoods.

In what is supposed to be a dramatic climax to the film, Burgard and his associates wait at night to watch the action at a particularly dangerous border crossing point. They spot a group of 29 individuals walking toward the border, then a second group of 19, including one who is armed. The music reaches a frenetic pitch, but the ghostly images of the border crossers aren’t scary, just surreal. There is no confrontation, yet long after they’re gone, Burgard is still whispering.

For all of this silliness, there are some sympathetic people in “Border.” Certainly the owners of large ranches along the border who deal with dead bodies and serious property damage because their land is on a migration route are suffering real hardships. Not to mention the Mexicans trying to sneak across. The film depicts photos of some of their corpses baking in the sun.

One of the more interesting segments of “Border” occurs when Burgard and a few Minutemen come across four forlorn Mexican men hunkered down in the shade. The men say they’ve gone without water for two days. The Americans offer them some and call the Border Patrol.

One of the Minuteman volunteers is moved by the Mexicans’ plight. “I don’t know if I feel bad for these guys or not,” he says at first. But then he reconsiders: “I feel pretty horrible. I mean, all they want to do is work. They come here, they have nowhere to go once they get here.”

Burgard has little use for such mushy-headed sentimentality. Less than a minute later, the camera is back to Simcox. “One hundred nine people with known ties to terrorist groups were caught coming across this border last year,” he intones. Simcox offers no evidence for his eyebrow-raising claim, and Burgard doesn’t press him for any. “Border Patrol catches one in four. How many of them get in?” ▲

Into the Wild

A backwoods murder in Louisiana draws back the curtain on a place once infamous for Klan activity. It's not over yet

BY LARRY KELLER ILLUSTRATION BY STEPHANIE DALTON COWAN



BOGALUSA, La. — When a troubled woman named Cynthia Lynch was killed near here last November in what authorities maintain was a Ku Klux Klan initiation gone awry, longtime residents may have experienced déjà vu. In the 1960s Bogalusa was thought to have the highest per capita KKK membership in America. Klansmen held offices in city government. They assaulted and terrorized blacks — and whites who didn’t share their bigotry. And it was a few miles up the road that the parish’s first two black deputy sheriffs were shot — one fatally — in a case still unsolved 44 years later, but presumed to have been the work of the Klan.



In the aftermath of Lynch’s murder, local officials were quick to deny that this gritty lumber-and-paper mill town remains a hotbed of Klan activity. The mayor said he “probably hadn’t heard the word [Klan] for 20 years.” The police chief claimed he had seen no sign of the KKK in his 13 years on the job.

Black residents, however, insisted that while public cross-burnings and robbed demonstrations were a thing of the past, the KKK was still a lurking presence around town. Bogalusa resident Fate

Ferrell said that news of the purported Klan initiation murder was no shock to him. “I was surprised it didn’t happen sooner. The blacks say, ‘If they do that to their own, what are they going to do to us?’”

Months later, the criminal case against those charged with killing Lynch and covering up the crime was pending. But this much is clear: The Klan is in Bogalusa. “I would say there are members that do reside in this area,” Police Chief Jerry Agnew tells the *Intelligence*

Report. As many as 40 of them, adds Agnew, the same chief who initially dismissed the notion of modern-day Klan activity in his jurisdiction. After the FBI was called in to probe Lynch’s murder, and following his own department’s investigation, Agnew amended his comments. “But I’ve never seen activity like demonstrations,” he adds.

It wasn’t long ago that Klan demonstrations were a fact of life here. The KKK openly and brutally wielded power and influence in this, one of the

most combative and volatile arenas of the civil rights struggles of the 1960s (see story, p. 38), where violence in the name of resistance to “race-mixing” and federal authority was largely accepted, if not openly celebrated. A lifelong black resident, the Rev. Coleman Moses, 55, recalls his father telling him how he learned of John F. Kennedy’s assassination in 1963. His father was conducting business in a Bogalusa bank when customers, upon hearing the news, erupted in applause.

Although the victim of the most recent flare-up of reported Klan violence in Bogalusa is a white woman from Oklahoma, the case nonetheless draws back a curtain and offers a glimpse of the machinations of a Klan faction in today’s Deep South that proved no less deadly for being almost comically dysfunctional. At the same time, the case is disinterring bad memories from shallow graves in Bogalusa — memories of burning crosses and gunfire, and of billy clubs striking bone — in the tough little city once dubbed “Klantown, U.S.A.”

The Magic City

When the Civil Rights Act passed in 1964, the Klan had people in high places in Bogalusa.

The city attorney, for example, was the “Exalted Cyclops” or leader of the town’s “klavern,” or local branch. An estimated 800 Klansmen attended a rally in Bogalusa in 1964. In December of that year, the mayor and police chief met with 150 hooded Klansmen in an effort to avert possible violence. The mayor would admit later that he was “frightened when he looked into 150 pairs of eyes,” according to a court document. And for good reason, it turned out. Many months of confrontations, beatings — even murders — would soon follow.

Located about 60 miles north of New Orleans and across the Pearl River from Mississippi, Bogalusa today is the largest settlement in Washington Parish and has always been a working-class town. Forty-one percent of its 13,000 residents are black. People living in Washington Parish are less educated than Louisianans as a whole, and more than 25% of them fall below the poverty line. All eight people arrested in connection with Cynthia Lynch’s murder said they were indigent

and had attorneys appointed for them.

Bogalusa’s neighborhoods are riddled with small, ramshackle homes, boarded up or barely habitable. Many businesses on the dreary main street downtown — at one time the epicenter of raucous civil rights demonstrations — are vacant. Among the survivors are two rent-to-own stores.



Chuck Foster first connected with Cynthia Lynch on the Internet. When they finally met in person, the encounter ended with her murder at a remote Washington Parish campsite.

For much of the day and into the night, smoke belches from a hulking paper products manufacturing plant, the town’s largest employer. An explosion in an adjacent chemical plant in 1995 turned the sky orange, forced the evacuation of about 3,000 residents, flooded emergency rooms, and prompted years of litigation and settlements.

Bogalusa’s nickname is “The Magic City.” It was here that a 300-pound

Klansman, Raymond Charles “Chuck” Foster, came to live a few years ago.

Wizard or Wannabe?

Chuck Foster held a variety of jobs over the years, including working on tugboats and installing siding on homes. In 1994, he stabbed and killed an acquaintance near Bogalusa who held a knife to a woman’s throat and threatened to kill her. He was arrested for manslaughter, but a grand jury did not indict him. Foster headed a Ku Klux Klan group near Baton Rouge in 2001. Then he went to prison for 20 months on forgery charges. When he got out, his wife and kids had moved to Bogalusa, and he joined them. He formed the Sons of Dixie Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in 2007 and took the title of imperial wizard. By then he was spending his days “sitting on his ass, doing nothing,” says his wife, Theresa.

“He didn’t like blacks and whites mixing,” Foster’s wife tells the *Intelligence Report*. The Sons of Dixie Knights had around 30 members at one time, but many of them quit, she says. Her husband coerced three of their four sons to join and recruited many of their friends. He also tried to get her to be a member, Foster adds. She refused. “We argued hot and heavy about it. I can’t stand the Klan.”

Last year, the Sons of Dixie Knights circulated fliers around Bogalusa for a “second annual” crawfish boil. “Bring a Friend! (Whites Only!)” the flier urged. The location: the house Foster was renting 100 yards back from a busy road. The house’s owner: Thomas Anderson Jr., a lieutenant with the Washington Parish Sheriff’s Office. “He knew for months and months” of the Klan activity there, Theresa Foster contends. Anderson angrily refused to comment.

Theresa Foster says around 30 Klan members and personal friends attended the crawfish boil in March 2008. Over seven or eight hours, the partiers devoured three sacks of crawfish, finger sandwiches and chips, but Theresa Foster forbade drinking any alcohol at her home.

There was some excitement when a couple the Fosters knew complained to Chuck that their son, who was in his early 20s, was causing them problems.

Bad Old Days

DURING THE RACIALLY CHARGED CONFLICTS OF THE 1960S, THE Klan in Bogalusa, La., turned its wrath not only on blacks, but also on whites who didn't support segregation. Ralph Blumberg was one of the latter.

Blumberg had been in the broadcasting business for 16 years when he bought and began running a Bogalusa radio station in 1961. He and five other white civic leaders, including three ministers, invited former Arkansas congressman and onetime president of the Southern Baptist Convention Brooks Hays to meet with 100 white and eight black leaders in January 1965. Their intention was to lay plans to avert the racial strife plaguing other Southern cities and towns.

The Klan immediately distributed a pamphlet in Bogalusa telling citizens that Blumberg and the others were trying to force integration on them. It warned that the civic group would try and convince citizens to integrate with blacks by "hiring more of them in your businesses, serving and eating with them in your cafes and allowing your children to sit by filthy, runny-nosed, ragged, ugly little niggers in your public schools." And Hays? "He is a traitor to the South."

The Klan pamphlet also included an ominous threat. "Being a secret organization, we have Klan members in every conceivable business in this area. We will know the names of all who are invited to the Brooks Hays meeting and we will know who did and did not attend this meeting. Those who do attend ... will be tagged as integrationists and will be delt [sic] with accordingly by the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan."

Blumberg and his group canceled the Hays appearance, but Blumberg broadcast a civil rights editorial. It was pretty mild, stating that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was the law of the land and if the community didn't abide by it, there would be trouble. The Klan, however, didn't like it one bit. Blumberg got constant death threats against not only himself, but his wife and two children, at work and at home. His and his wife's car windows were smashed and tacks were placed in their driveway. Somebody fired seven bullets from a high-powered rifle into the radio station's transmitter. Blumberg sent his wife and kids to live with relatives in St. Louis.

At the same time Blumberg was being threatened, the Klan organized a boycott of his radio station's sponsors. Nearly all of them pulled their commercials. The Klan also organized boycotts of other businesses it claimed were pro-integration, including Mobil service stations that just happened to be competitors of the service station owned by the local Klan's second-in-command. Klansmen burned crosses on the lawn of the white publisher of the local newspaper, who was too moderate for their tastes.

Blumberg hung on for as long as he could. He wanted to set an example for other small radio stations, because "if the Klan could close our doors easily, this would be a tremendous display of strength," as he told the House of Representatives' Committee on Un-American Activities in 1966. And, Blumberg told the committee, he felt he had to make a stand in defense of freedom of speech.

Blumberg didn't broadcast another civil rights editorial, hoping to appease the Klan and end the boycott of his sponsors. But the Klan didn't relent. "This is when I knew I had made a mistake, because you just can't compromise with the devil, and that was what I was trying to do," he told the congressmen. A couple of months before he testified, Blumberg had shut down the station. "Unfortunately, the Klan has won their battle in Bogalusa," he said.



July 1965: In an atmosphere thick with racial terror, Klansmen and civil rights demonstrators led by James Farmer (far left, wearing tie) both walked the dangerous streets of Bogalusa.



Chuck Foster responded by smashing the couple's son in the face with a pistol, and a friend called 911, Theresa Foster says. Police did not respond, she adds. If they had, she thinks Cynthia Lynch might still be alive. The young man has a scar on his face, courtesy of Foster's disciplining, according to Theresa Foster.

A few months later, Lynch, 43, of Tulsa, apparently responded to information she saw about Sons of Dixie Knights on the Internet. A "Chuck" of Bogalusa who claimed to be 28 years old (Chuck Foster is 44) created a MySpace page about that time in which he extolled the virtues of the "Christian-based" Sons of Dixie Knights. In broken English, he wrote that "we are not a dateing service though so must be taken serious we do not allow dating in the klan unless u came in as a couple." Lynch applied for membership and was designated a "Grand Kleagle," or recruiter. Then she rode a bus to Louisiana to be initiated.

Theresa Foster says she spoke to Lynch by telephone two days before she got on the bus and tried to dissuade her from joining the Klan. "It's just something I want to do," was the woman's response, she says. Contrary to media reports, the Tulsa woman did not arrive in Louisiana the Friday before she was killed. She came on Wednesday and stayed at the Fosters' home, Theresa Foster says.

It only took Lynch a day to become depressed and homesick, Theresa Foster says. "I knew she was bipolar. I could tell she did not like Chuck from the get-go. I couldn't blame her for wanting to go home."

Deadly Initiation

That weekend, Foster, his 20-year-old son Shane, and four other men and two women from the Bogalusa area between the ages of 20 and 30 took Lynch to a wooded campsite next to the Pearl River Navigation Canal, nine miles south of town. On Sunday, Lynch reportedly asked to leave. That enraged Chuck Foster, who shot her in the chin with a .40-caliber handgun, killing her, investigators contend. The bullet didn't exit her body, so Foster extracted it with a razor blade, then ordered some of his followers to burn Lynch's belongings, authorities say.

— Larry Keller

The crime came to light when Shane Foster and another defendant, Franky Lee Stafford, walked into a Circle K a few miles away about 4 a.m. on Monday and asked a clerk how to get blood out of clothing. The clerk called the sheriff's office.

They found Lynch's body almost at the end of Lock No. 3 Road in bushes near the police department building for the tiny town of Sun. Chuck Foster and the others were reached on their cell phones and surrendered. A St. Tammany Parish grand jury heard the case in February and indicted Chuck Foster for second-degree murder, Shane Foster and Franky Lee Stafford for obstruction and Danielle Jones with accessory after the fact. The jury did not indict the other four suspected Klan members on any charges.

Investigators discovered Klan robes, a KKK flag, a Confederate battle flag, a swastika banner and guns and knives, plus Lynch's membership application, at the campsite and in Foster's home. They found a Klan "blood oath" in which the signer swears to "be Klannish in all things" and to "maintain the purity of the white blood and natural superiority with which God has ennobled it."

A couple of those arrested in association with Lynch's death may not even understand the meanings of blood oaths they took.

Shane Foster has a brain injury from being hit by a car when he was 4 years old, his mother says. Aged 20 at the time of Lynch's murder, he has the mental capacity of a child of 7 or 8, she says. "Shane, he forgets a lot. My son didn't do anything wrong. [Chuck] has no right doing this to my son. He makes me sick to my stomach." In April, a judge agreed, ruling that Shane Foster was not currently competent to stand trial.

Among those arrested but not indicted was Andrew Yates, 20. "I really don't think he knows what the Klan is," says his attorney, Ernest Barrow III. Yates is mildly mentally retarded and was collecting Social Security disability checks at the time of his arrest, he adds. After Lynch was killed, Chuck Foster stole Yates' boat and his cell phone "so he couldn't call police," according to Barrow. "I think he was in the wrong place at the wrong time."

Justice Delayed

VARNADO, LA. — ONEAL MOORE AND CREED ROGERS made history in 1964 when they became the first black deputy sheriffs in Washington Parish, a notorious Ku Klux stronghold. A year later, Moore was dead, and Rogers was blind in one eye.

On the night of June 2, 1965, the two men were driving in a patrol car to Moore's home in this village seven miles north of Bogalusa. They planned a late dinner break. Moore's wife of 11 years, Maevella, was cooking catfish.

The patrol car crossed the railroad tracks on Main Street, less than a mile from Moore's home, when a pickup truck carrying at least three men drew near. A bullet from a hunting rifle ripped into the back of Moore's head, killing him. Rogers survived wounds from shotgun pellets, but was blinded in his right eye. Both men had been deputies for a year and a day.

Rogers radioed in a description of the pickup — black with a Confederate flag decal on the front bumper. About an hour later and an hour's drive north in Tylertown, Miss., police stopped a truck fitting that description. They arrested the driver, Ernest Ray McElveen, a Bogalusa paper mill worker and part-time insurance salesman. McElveen was well regarded in town. He was also a member of the racist and anti-Semitic Citizens Councils of America and of the even more savagely bigoted National States Rights Party. Police found two pistols in his truck, but no hunting rifle or shotgun.

Two nights after the deputies were shot, six bullets sprayed the home of Washington Parish's chief deputy sheriff, a white man who was investigating Moore's murder. For his part, McElveen was extradited back to Louisiana. He said little, and was released on bond after a few days. He was never prosecuted, and no other arrests were made. James Farmer, the national director of the civil rights organization Congress of Racial Equality, said at the time he suspected the Klan was behind the shootings. A lot of folks in Bogalusa still believe that to be the case and suspect that some old-timers know who did it.

The FBI has reopened investigations into the shootings three times, most recently in 2007. Reward posters and postcards were placed around the parish offering \$40,000 for information leading to the indictment and arrest of anybody responsible for the shootings. And still there have been no arrests.

"For it to go unsolved, you know people are being tight-lipped," says Marvin Austin, 61, a black former two-term city councilman in Bogalusa who has lived there most of his life.

"Somebody in the know is keeping it a secret," says Maevella Moore, 73, a retired nurse. She lives in the same modest and tidy house that she did in 1965 when she got the news that her husband had been slain. "I need some closure. I'm very frustrated."

The Moores had four daughters. They ranged in age from 9 years to 9 months when he was murdered. "My children have been robbed of so much," she says. "We all have."

The Rev. Coleman Moses isn't surprised nobody has come forth after 44 years to provide information on the killing of Moore and the wounding of Rogers, who died in 2007 at the age of 85. "There are no secrets in Bogalusa," says Moses, a black



Scot free: Ernest Ray McElveen, a member of the neo-Nazi National States Rights Party, was arrested an hour after men in a truck like his murdered deputy sheriff Oneal Moore. But he was never prosecuted and Moore's widow (above, in 1965) says today that her daughters were robbed.

Baptist minister in Bogalusa. "We cover up stuff we're not going to talk about. If it's racial, there will be no comment from the white community to the point it doesn't exist."

When McElveen — the prime suspect in the deputies' shootings — died in 2003 at the age of 79, the local newspaper's obituary noted that he was a World War II veteran who had received two Purple Hearts. It mentioned that he had recently retired after 55 years with the same company. But there was not a single word about McElveen's suspected role in the shootings. Not a single comment about it was posted in the online version of the obituary.

It was as if it never happened.
— Larry Keller



Modern-day Klan leader Chuck Foster hosted a "whites-only" crawfish boil last year — at the house rented to him by a Washington Parish Sheriff's Office lieutenant.

Theresa Foster says her husband coerced some people, including his son, to remain in the Klan under threat of violence. "He threatened everybody. The way I look at it is Raymond Foster is wholly to blame for what happened." She's divorcing him, she adds.

Investigators also recovered a document with instructions on how to properly address fellow Klan members or officers, and definitions of various Klan titles. As imperial wizard, Foster supposedly was "a wise man, a wonder-worker having power to charm and control." Another document was an elaborate chart explaining in detail what color robe, cape and stripes each Klan officer must wear.

For all of that, some Bogalusa locals remain skeptical that Foster and his followers were the real deal. A man wearing a baseball cap and sitting outside a small store in Sun, a couple of miles from the murder site, echoed the sentiments of many other whites in the area when he said Foster and his group were merely Klan wannabes who committed a sloppy murder. "If they were Klan, nobody would have found out," he said.

The man, in his early 60s, declined to

give his name. He said he had lived in the area his entire life, and that his grandfather and father were Klansmen. "They're still around," he said of the Klan, "but they don't force it on you like the blacks do with Martin Luther King."

Fists, Belts, Clubs and Guns

The Klan certainly did "force it on you" in 1965, when they constantly clashed with blacks in Bogalusa and elsewhere in Washington Parish. Klansmen threw a tear gas canister at a group of blacks in Bogalusa, beat up black marchers in the city's downtown and chased blacks out of a city park with clubs, belts and other weapons.

A chapter of an armed black self-defense group called Deacons for Defense and Justice patrolled parts of Bogalusa and confronted the Klan. Members of the civil rights organization Congress of Racial Equality, or CORE, marched in Bogalusa and were assaulted, including its co-founder and national director, James Farmer. The Klan at one point reportedly planned to kill Farmer the next time he came to town. Scores of FBI agents were assigned to the town. President Lyndon Johnson dispatched an assistant attorney general to investigate.

In June of that year, the first two black deputy sheriffs hired in Washington Parish, Oneal Moore and Creed Rogers, were riding together in a village near Bogalusa. Men in a pickup truck pulled

alongside them and opened fire, killing Moore and blinding Rogers in one eye. The crime was never solved (see story, p. 40).

Black members of the Bogalusa Civic and Voters League sued to have their rights protected. A federal court in New Orleans issued an injunction ordering Bogalusa and Washington Parish law enforcement officers and elected officials to use all reasonable means to protect blacks from being intimidated and assaulted. The next day, a pair of Klansmen responded by passing out more than two dozen clubs to young white men in downtown Bogalusa as blacks marched.

J.B. Stoner, an Atlanta lawyer and founder of the virulently white supremacist and anti-Semitic National States Rights Party, soon came to Bogalusa and addressed a crowd of 1,500 people. “The nigger is not a human being,” he said. “He is somewhere between the white man and the ape. We don’t believe in getting along with our enemy, and the nigger is our enemy.” Two nights later, Stoner and a cohort spoke to 2,000 whites in Bogalusa. Later that month, black demonstrators were attacked at a shopping center and, in another incident, showered with stones, fruit and firecrackers.

Finally, the U.S. Department of Justice filed suit against a group called the Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, a front organization called the Anti-Communist Christian Association, and 38 individual Klansmen. Still, the violence continued. In December 1965, shots were fired into the home of a black leader of the Bogalusa Civic and Voters League. The following March, a black soldier was shot and critically wounded while using a public telephone booth. In July, Clarence Triggs, a black participant in several demonstrations, was killed outside of town. Two white men were arrested. After a jury acquitted one of them, charges were dropped against the second man.

Facing the Future

Even after the tumultuousness of the 1960s abated, the Klan retained a strong presence in Bogalusa. In 1976, the Invisible Empire of the Knights of the Ku

Klux Klan opened a new headquarters in town, complete with a cross lighting. About 30 Klansmen and 100 spectators attended. And performing the ribbon cutting ceremony, as if he were celebrating the opening of a new department store, was the city’s mayor, Louis Rawls. “They’re citizens just like anybody else,” he explained.



Cynthia Lynch’s murder brought investigators to a littered campsite hidden away just off the Pearl River Navigation Canal.

Bogalusa has had few overt Klan incidents in the years between then and Lynch’s murder last November. But race relations remain strained at best. The public high school today still has separate proms for white and black students. There is a black YMCA and a white YMCA. Longtime black residents in Bogalusa say they still live segregated and

unequal lives, and some of them say they are worse off now than in the 1960s. “I never realized there was such a division when I came here” in 1995, says Agnew, the white police chief. “I don’t see much of a come-together.”

“As long as you don’t ask for too much, that’s the attitude,” says Marvin Austin, a black former city councilman. In a city where some of the most memorable battles of the civil rights struggles occurred, there is not a single historic marker commemorating any of those events.

Simmering racial tensions boiled over again in 2007 when the school board opted not to renew the contract of Jerry Payne, the black superintendent. Many prominent black residents, including ministers, vigorously objected. “I accused some of the school board members and their supporters of racism,” Austin says. Soon after, a rock came crashing through his living room window.

Coleman Moses, pastor of the White Hall Missionary Baptist Church, says he received a phone call, then a visit, from a white man he won’t name who warned him that black ministers and others who were vocal in their support for Payne would have their property vandalized — or even be killed — if they didn’t back off. He told police of the threat after a dozen or so school officials — mostly black — had rocks and bricks thrown through their car windows late at night.

That was when Bogalusa Police Chief Agnew called in the FBI. Moses says agents asked him if he knew who might be behind the vandalism. His reply: “To be truthful, two-thirds of the white people in Washington Parish would like us dead.”

Now, Washington Parish is about to face its past, and its present, once again. Chuck Foster, after pleading innocent to second-degree murder, is scheduled to be tried this spring. For many in this troubled region, that is not much consolation.

“The attitude of whites in this area still has not changed,” Pastor Moses says. “They still desire to be separate and in control. Everything is still racially divided. But the methods have changed. They’re more covert than back in the 1960s. You listen for code words. There is a KKK presence.” ▲

DAVID GRUNFELD/TIMES-PICTURE (CAMPSITE); LARRY KELLER (CANAL)



BURT STEEL/TIMES-PICTURE

In the 1960s and 1970s, Klansmen were a common sight in and around Bogalusa. Today, there are still Klansmen in Washington Parish, but until Cynthia Lynch’s murder they had managed to go largely unnoticed.



The books of anti-Semites
David Duke and Kevin MacDonald
have something in common
beyond their loathing for Jews

BY HEIDI BEIRICH

Share and Share Alike

Former Klansman David Duke has made much of his academic credentials of late. On his website, he repeatedly refers to himself as “Dr.” David Duke, a reference to the supposed Ph.D. he “earned” in 2005 at an anti-Semitic Ukrainian institution described as a “diploma mill” by the State Department. Around the white supremacist world, excited accolades to Duke’s scholarship abound.

As the closest thing the radical right has to an intellectual today, Duke claims to uphold the high standards of academia. His website brims with criticisms of plagiarism — although they come, naturally, in the form of repeated attacks on civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr., who is characterized as a “world-class plagiarist.” Plagiarism, Duke’s site adds piously, is “theft,” a rip-off that the site suggests amounts to “a serious felony.”

Which brings us to Duke’s last book.

When Duke published his self-proclaimed “world-wide Bestseller” *Jewish Supremacism: My Awakening to the Jewish Question* in 2002, he promised that the book’s “amazing documentary evidence” would challenge “your most cherished beliefs” about who is threatening the existence of “European-Americans.” Duke’s thesis was simple: Jews oppose all ethnic solidarity other than their own and “they consistently oppose all organizations seeking to preserve the interests and heritage of Europeans.” In a nutshell, Jews undermine the white race.

In an attempt to present the book as the product of sober academic research instead of rank anti-Semitism, Duke tells readers on the book’s promotional Web page that the tome derives its “real power” from referencing “major sources.” Duke encourages his readers to go to the materials he cites “and check them out for yourself.”

Good advice. But a careful consideration of Duke’s sources finds something interesting. It turns out that many of Duke’s citations of academic works are exactly the same, down to the placement of brackets, dates and periods, as those that appear in the works of Kevin MacDonald, an anti-Semitic professor of psychology at California State University, Long Beach (CSULB), who has long written dire tomes about how Jews threaten Western civilization.

Even Duke’s basic thesis — that Jews work as an unthinkable cabal to undermine white power — is a restatement of

MacDonald’s ideas. MacDonald’s trilogy on “the Jews” — *A People That Shall Dwell Alone: Judaism as a Group Evolutionary Strategy* (1994), *The Culture of Critique: An Evolutionary Analysis of Jewish Involvement in Twentieth-Century Intellectual and Political Movements* (1998) and *Separation and Its Discontents: Toward an Evolutionary Theory of Anti-Semitism* (1998) — made that argument more than a decade ago. Using more scientific language than Duke while peddling the same anti-Semitism, MacDonald maintains that Jews, who have typically been in the minority in countries around the world, are driven by an evolutionary strategy that makes them push for liberal policies, like immigration and diversity, with the intent of weakening the power of the majority that rules them. In other words, Jews work to undermine Christian, white societies in order to make them less threatening for themselves.

An analysis of Duke’s citations finds a remarkable overlap between his book and MacDonald’s trilogy. Duke cites around 200 academic works in *Jewish Supremacism*, of which 130 match sources cited by MacDonald. The footnotes reflect a similar overlap. In all, 232 of Duke’s footnotes are exactly or nearly the same as references cited in MacDonald’s works. More than 80% of the last 50 footnotes in Duke’s book directly match citations from MacDonald’s books, down to the specific reference volume and page numbers. In another instance, on just one page of Duke’s book, there are five citations that all match verbatim citations found on four pages in MacDonald’s *Separation and Its Discontents*. In that case, Duke’s book, using MacDonald’s sources, takes an argument MacDonald made in four pages and shortens it down to one.

The similarities go deeper, with whole sections of Duke’s book mimicking parts of MacDonald’s tomes. For example, Duke’s final chapter is titled “Jewish Evolutionary Strategy,” which is very similar to the chapter in *A People That Shall Dwell Alone* labeled “Judaism as a Group Evolutionary Strategy.” Duke also has a chapter on U.S. immigration policy called, “The Jewish Led Invasion.” In MacDonald’s *The Culture of Critique*, there is a similar chapter titled “Jewish Involvement in Shaping U.S. Immigration Policy.”

It’s not that surprising, given their anti-Semitic views, that both MacDonald and Duke would reference Henry Ford’s early 1920s anti-Semitic classic, *The International Jew: The World’s Foremost Problem*, which is extremely popular in neo-Nazi



RICHARD ELLIS/GETTY IMAGES

DAVID SPRAGUE

and other anti-Semitic circles. But many of the academic works that show up in Duke’s book seem to be sources that only a highly trained specialist in digging for dirt on the Jews — like Kevin MacDonald — would know about. Take for example Duke’s footnote 628, a citation that originally appeared in *A People That Shall Dwell Alone*. It references a 1986 article on “Affinities Between Contemporary And Skeletal Jewish and Non-Jewish Groups Based on Tooth Morphology.” The article reports on the results of an examination of skeletal remains based on “19 dental morphological variables” that uses “smallest space analysis and cluster analysis.” Who would have thought Duke was up on dental archaeology?

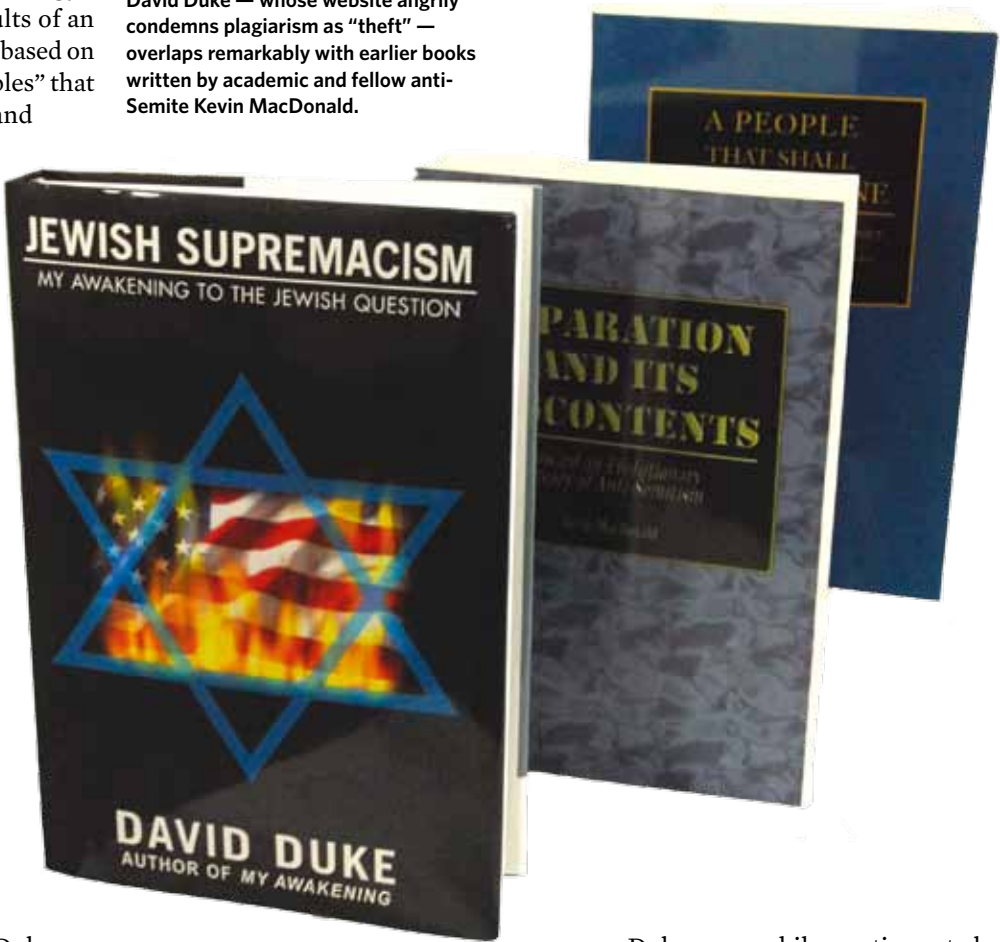
Or consider Duke’s citation of two hard-to-find, centuries-old Spanish histories, *Historia Social, Política y Religiosa de los Judíos de España y Portugal* (1875-76) and *Historia de España y Su Influencia en la Historia Universal* (1918-1936), both of which are cited by MacDonald in *Separation and Its Discontents*. Duke uses these sources to argue that Jews supported the Muslim invasion of Spain during the Inquisition. MacDonald makes the same argument, using the same sources, in *Separation and Its Discontents*.

It’s unclear if MacDonald — who, according to Duke’s longtime assistant Jamie Kelso, had a “business meeting” with Duke in 2006 — assisted Duke with *Jewish Supremacism* or if Duke simply lifted the citations on his own. E-mail requests for comment from both men went unanswered. Whatever the circumstances, it seems rather ungrateful on Duke’s part that he only cites MacDonald directly three times. And Duke doesn’t even get the title of one of MacDonald’s books right, calling his 1994 volume *A People That Shall Dwell Apart* instead of *A People That Shall Dwell Alone*.

Whatever the circumstances, MacDonald might be perfectly content to have his theories mashed into a



The latest book by former Klan leader David Duke — whose website angrily condemns plagiarism as “theft” — overlaps remarkably with earlier books written by academic and fellow anti-Semite Kevin MacDonald.



CliffsNotes version by Duke. Over the course of the last few years, MacDonald has become increasingly more radical, earning him the condemnation of many of his peers, as several departments at CSULB, including his own, have published statements disavowing MacDonald’s work and distancing themselves from him. MacDonald now largely confines himself to publishing his work in white supremacist journals such as *The Occidental Quarterly* and he increasingly advocates for white rights. He was even awarded \$10,000 in 2004 by *The Occidental Quarterly* for his work on the Jews.

Duke, meanwhile, continues to boast of his “Ph.D” — his website, for instance, is now headlined, “The Official Website of Representative David Duke, PhD,” although he hasn’t been a Louisiana state representative for 17 years. As to the Ph.D., well, what Duke actually got at the Ukraine’s Interregional Academy of Personnel Management is a “Kandidat Nauk” degree, which ranks below a full doctorate. It was awarded to Duke for a thesis entitled, “Zionism as a Form of Ethnic Supremacism” and was the second degree given Duke by the university, which had earlier handed the former Klan boss an honorary degree. ▲

BRUCE YOUNG / @REUTERS/CONRIS (DUKE); DAVID SPRAGUE (MACDONALD); SUNNY PAULK (BOOKS)



Behind The Gunfire

A racist murderer says he acted after reading a hate website. The site, based in Estonia, is run by a longtime American neo-Nazi



Craig Cobb promotes terrorist violence and may have influenced accused killer Keith Luke (above).

TIM CORREIA/AP IMAGES (LUKE); FROM YOUTUBE (COBB)

After civil rights pioneer Rosa Parks died in October 2005, she became the first woman and the second African American ever to lie in state in the U.S. Capitol Rotunda, a place of honor usually reserved for presidents and war heroes. More than 50,000 people waited long hours in line to pay their respects to the woman who started the Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1955-56.

Many of them may recall being accosted by a gaunt-faced white man with stringy hair, wearing horn-rimmed glasses, one eye pressed to the viewfinder of a video camera, recording their surprise and anger as he spoke ill of the dead. “Rosa Parks was a shitskin communist,” he said. “I’m here to celebrate her death.”

Though in his mid-50s, Craig Cobb was like a child spouting vulgarities, relishing the shocked faces of the grown-ups around him. Sparking outrage is a favorite pastime for Cobb, a longtime neo-Nazi activist videographer who runs Podblanc, a white supremacist video-sharing website that’s fast becoming an online institution for the white nationalist movement. It’s modeled after YouTube, which Cobb refers to as “Jew Tube” because its operators censor racist and anti-Semitic content.

Podblanc has more than 1,000 channels, each of them directed by a different registered user. The content includes combat handgun training, homemade explosives how-to guides, and a complete audio recording of the infamous race-war fantasy novel, *The Turner Diaries*. One Podblanc video details the security measures at three synagogues in northern California.

The most popular video on the site shows Russian neo-Nazis beheading

considerable following. The number of registered users online at any given time — 100 to 200 during business hours in U.S. time zones, about twice as many at night — is dwarfed by that enjoyed by white nationalist website Stormfront, where the content is considerably toned down by comparison, but it is still sizeable in the world of hate sites.

Although Stormfront has far more guests viewing its content, it was one of Podblanc’s anonymous lurkers who made the news earlier this year by translating the site’s violence-glorifying propaganda into real-world tragedy. Keith Luke, a mentally disturbed young man in Brockton, Mass., allegedly shot to death two black immigrants from Cape Verde and sexually assaulted and attempted to murder a third because, he said, he was “fighting for the white race.” Luke, 22, said he’d developed his views in large part from watching videos on Podblanc (see related interview, p. 50), according to police. His plan, he

involved, not for the brutal violence), Luke might have earned his own Podblanc tribute video, similar to those Cobb has created to honor “lone wolf” spree killers like Benjamin Nathaniel Smith. In July 1999, Smith, a prominent member of the neo-Nazi World Church of the Creator, went on a three-day shooting rampage targeting Jews and non-whites. He killed two people and wounded nine before committing suicide.

For this, in Cobb’s mind, he’s a hero.

Hateful Hijinks

Cobb himself was a quite vocal member of the World Church of the Creator until its virtual collapse following leader Matt Hale’s January 2003 arrest for soliciting the murder of U.S. District Judge Joan Lefkow after Lefkow ruled against the WCOTC and Hale in a trademark dispute. Hale was eventually convicted and sentenced to 40 years in prison.

In retaliation, Cobb distributed Lefkow’s home address and a map to

or two a day, and pushed white supremacist literature on his customers.

Since at least 2004, Cobb has been a prolific distributor of *The Aryan Alternative*, a white supremacist periodical that’s written by Alex Linder, founder of the Vanguard News Network, and published by former White Patriot Party leader Glenn Miller. Podblanc videos document Cobb distributing *The Aryan Alternative* in at least a dozen states, plus the District of Columbia. They show Cobb traveling in cars packed roof-high with bundles. He dons latex gloves to avoid leaving fingerprints before meticulously folding thousands of copies one-by-one into square newsprint projectiles he tosses into driveways and presses into the hands of unsuspecting passersby.

Sometimes, Cobb distributes in white neighborhoods, from working class to wealthy. At others, he travels in minority neighborhoods, stirring up trouble more than recruiting for the



Craig Cobb’s website and videos lionize violent extremists like Benjamin Nathaniel Smith (above), who went on a racist murder spree in 1999; World Church of the Creator chieftain Matt Hale (top, right), a neo-Nazi now serving 40 years for soliciting the murder of a federal judge; and Todd Vanbiber, another neo-Nazi, who went to prison after attempting to bomb the approach to Disney World in Florida.



and shooting Asiatic immigrants. Also popular are montages of skinheads in Russia and eastern European countries punching, kicking and stomping orthodox Jews and non-whites. The victims appear to be selected at random as they ride subways and walk down public streets. In one video, a skinhead wielding a log crushes the head of an African immigrant, obviously killing the man. The faces of the attackers are blurred to protect their identities.

Deadly Inspiration

Since Cobb, an American who divides his time between this country and a house he owns in Estonia, founded Podblanc in April 2007, the site (which is registered in Estonia) has developed a

**“Rosa Parks was a
shitskin communist.
I’m here to celebrate
her death.”**

said, was to kill as many non-whites as possible and then burst into the weekly bingo night at a local Orthodox synagogue with guns blazing.

Had he not allegedly raped one of his victims (which Podblanc users condemned for the interracial “sex”

the location on the Internet. In 2005, a man seeking vengeance on Lefkow in a matter unrelated to the WCOTC case broke into her home and murdered her husband and mother.

Soon after Hale’s incarceration, Cobb, who’s originally from Missouri, turned up in Pocahontas County, W.V., where he operated a small grocery store in the town of Frost, not far from the rural headquarters of the National Alliance, another major neo-Nazi organization. Cobb attended the National Alliance’s invitation-only “leadership conference” at its Hillsboro compound in October 2003. As a shopkeeper, though, Cobb was a bit of a flop. He painted the sides of his store with the website addresses of hate groups, opened for business just an hour

movement. One video shows Cobb fleeing down a residential street in Hawaii as enraged native Hawaiians charge his car and smash its windows with iron rods. It’s titled, “Fun With Pineapple Niggers/Shoulda Brought a Gun.”

Instructing Extremism

On some distribution missions, Cobb travels with Todd Vanbiber, a former National Alliance member and suspected bank robber who was badly injured in April 1997, when one of 14 pipe bombs he was building in a storage unit in Orlando, Fla., exploded in his face. Vanbiber pleaded guilty to weapons and explosives charges in the late 1990s and was sentenced to more than six years in prison.

Podblanc might have saved Vanbiber a lot of pain and a little prison time. Cobb’s video site offers a host of pipe bomb-making videos, along with instructional videos for homemade flamethrowers, videos ticking off recipes for explosives like Thermite, and short films detailing sniper assassination tactics. They compliment hundreds of videos promoting black-on-white crime hysteria, anti-Jewish conspiracy theories, bogus immigrant-bashing statistics and other typical white supremacist fare. One nerve-rattling series displays Cobb’s talking head superimposed on a pulsating 1960s kaleidoscopic backdrop as he drones on about the Holocaust being a hoax.

Cobb’s talky to a fault. When Secret Service agents interrupted his heck-

ling of mourners outside the Rosa Parks ceremony, he mouthed off until they identified themselves as federal agents. Then he apologized. “I’m garrulous. I’m sorry,” he said. “I probably wouldn’t have been so cavalier if I’d known you were Secret Service.”

At a neo-Nazi rally in Kingston, N.J., later that year, Cobb antagonized non-white counter-protesters until carloads of them shouting threats began pursuing the taxi cab he occupied. The cabbie was mortified. “Man, you can’t just say things like that and not expect people to respond,” he said.

But then Cobb is not only expecting a response — he’s begging for one, one he can put up on Podblanc for the world to see. ▲

CHICAGO POLICE DEPARTMENT/AP IMAGES (SMITH); KARI SHUDA/AP IMAGES (HALE); SPECIAL TO THE INTELLIGENCE REPORT (VANBIBER); FROM YOUTUBE (COBB)

From Hate to Hurt

A recent racist killing spree raises a key question: Can Internet propaganda alone drive some people to criminal violence?

INTERVIEWS BY LARRY KELLER

The city of Brockton, Mass. was rocked in January when a 22-year-old woman from the West African archipelago of Cape Verde was raped, shot and wounded in her home. Her sister was shot and killed during the incident, as was a homeless man on the street minutes later. Like the sisters, he was from Cape Verde and was black. Their alleged assailant: a white loner named Keith Luke. He said he was “fighting for a dying race” and “fighting extinction,” police said. Luke, 22, had a history of mental illness and reportedly arrived at his racial views purely through repeated visits over a six-month period to racist websites. “Luke told us that people on these sites spoke the truth about the demise of the white race,” police wrote in a report. One of the sites investigators say that Luke visited was the white nationalist website Podblanc (see related story, p. 47), which celebrates racially motivated murder, along with “lone wolf” domestic terrorism, and features videos of skinheads in several countries beating to death non-white immigrants.

The effect on viewers of depictions of violence in electronic media has long been debated, of course. When 15-year-old Ronnie Zamora was placed on trial in 1977 for murdering and robbing an elderly neighbor in Miami, his attorney argued that Zamora had been insane from “television intoxication.” Zamora was convicted and served nearly 27 years in prison. Zamora’s crime occurred before the advent of vio-



Alleged racist spree killer Keith Luke and some of the loved ones of his victims who included Arlino Goncalves (right, bottom), an elderly homeless man.



TIM CORREIA/AP IMAGES (LUKE AND COURTROOM); MASSACHUSETTS REGISTRY OF MOTOR VEHICLES VIA THE ENTERPRISE/AP IMAGES (GONCALVES)

lent, racist video games and Internet sites, whose content can be far more graphic than anything on television. Indeed, some Internet sites such as Podblanc not only glorify hating and even killing blacks, Jews, Latinos and others — they encourage it. The potential effect that has on young people, in particular, concerns many experts. The American Academy of Pediatrics calls media violence “the single most easily remediable contributing factor” to youth violence. In many countries, including Canada and several European nations, hate speech can be punished with criminal sanctions, but that is not true in the United States, where most speech, even that advocating violence, is protected by the First Amendment.

In separate interviews, the Intelligence Report asked four experts for their take on what the Brockton shootings might explain about hate propaganda and its effects. **Elizabeth Englander** has a doctoral degree in psychology and is director of the Massachusetts Aggression Reduction Center at Bridgewater State College in Massachusetts. **Randy Blazak** has a doctoral degree in sociology, is an associate professor of sociology at Portland State University in Oregon, and wrote *Renegade Kids, Suburban Outlaws: From Youth Culture to Delinquency*. **Phyllis Gerstenfeld** has a doctoral degree in social psychology and is a professor at California State University, Stanislaus, where she is the chair of the criminal justice department; she is also the author of a textbook, *Hate Crimes: Causes, Controls, and Controversies*. **Kathleen Blee** has a doctorate in sociology, is a sociology professor and department chair at the University of Pittsburgh, and has written and edited several books, including *Inside Organized Racism: Women in the Hate Movement*.



Englander



Blazak



Gerstenfeld



Blee

Can reading violent, racist material online make one more prone to commit a violent act? Or is a person who behaves violently after exposure to this kind of material somebody who already has those propensities?
Elizabeth Englander: I think, actually, it goes both ways. We know the kind of influence that violent material has on people depends on what they bring to the plate. People are not blank slates. This is true of children, and it’s true for adults. There are plenty of people who could read these materials and not be particularly affected by them. We know that children are more vulnerable, often, than adults, but not always. A lot of it has to do with issues like how often you’re exposed, how much you’re exposed, what other problems or issues you’re bringing to the table.

Randy Blazak: There’s no solid research that links the viewing of violent images with real-world violence. The danger is in people who are already predisposed to racial violence. They may find the validation and justification for criminal behavior within an online peer group of anonymous hatemongers.

Phyllis Gerstenfeld: I suspect very few people would feel violent by what they read on the Internet. What I think happens is somebody who already has a predisposition, it serves as a justification, or maybe an incentive or incitement more than anything else.

Kathleen Blee: One thing we know from studying hate violence on the Internet and other media is that when people have violent or racist ideas, they are often very vague, very amorphous. What the Internet does is get people to focus, to make their racist and violent ideas much more coherent and much more targeted toward particular kinds of people. If you have somebody who is predisposed toward violence or predisposed toward racism, even vaguely, this can really gel [his or her] ideas. They [racist websites] give people a sense that violence is not only possible for somebody to commit, but laudatory.

Does the enormous reach of the Internet provide people with extremist views contact with like-minded others that wouldn’t have been possible pre-Internet? And does that contact give them an empowering feeling that they aren’t alone, that others share their ideas?
Englander: Absolutely. One of the things they’re always looking for is validation, for evidence they’re right, that their thinking is not crazy. Without the Internet, without global instant communication, you might have a few people in a community with a very extremist view, but there wouldn’t be anybody else who

“The danger is in people who are already predisposed to racial violence. They may find the validation and justification for criminal behavior within an online peer group.”

shared their view. They might come to the conclusion that these extremist views are wrong or incorrect or kooky. With the Internet, they can always find others who share their views. Suddenly there is a community that says, “You’re not crazy, you’re right.” That’s very powerful.

Blazak: Before the Internet, there was a certain risk involved in attending a Klan rally. You had to worry about both your reputation and your safety. Now, someone, especially a sociopathic personality, can be plugged into a fairly extensive community of racists, most who would never attend a Klan rally. It should also be said that the online racists may also provide an outlet for haters, reducing the actual violence. Instead of acting out, they can go to their chat group and kvetch about the Zionist-controlled world. We have anecdotal cases, like

Keith Luke, but it’s not enough to make a causal argument.

Gerstenfeld: The Internet creates the illusion of a larger community than really exists. You don’t know if that chat room consists on one person or 1,000 people. [But i]t can help justify their beliefs or to underscore their beliefs.

Blee: I think clearly it gives people a sense that there are other like-minded people out there. Without the Internet and chat rooms, these people would not really come into contact with racist

activists, and ordinarily would have no idea how to find them.

Keith Luke apparently has a history of mental illness. Do you think persons with certain mental illnesses may be more susceptible to these websites?
Englander: If you have a severe mental illness that leads to delusions, then you could read something on the Internet and say, “That was written to me individually.” It’s a secret message. This is not to suggest that people who commit hate crimes are necessarily associated with mental illness. I certainly think that many people who commit hate crimes don’t fit the criteria for being mentally ill.

Blazak: The overwhelming majority of hate crimes are performed in group settings ... a performance to show off

for others. In the case of lone actors, there is first of all a mental health issue — what we call antisocial personality disorder, what we used to call a sociopath. The world of hate is a great place for a sociopath because you can do what you want without remorse.

Gerstenfeld: There are several types of mental illness that tend to make people believe in conspiracies, become more paranoid. Like schizophrenia. People who are bipolar sometimes get these paranoid fantasies going. Websites can give them the content to put in there. Then, instead of hating the government or something, they hate immigrants.

Blee: One thing people learn from the Internet is a conspiratorial way of thinking that has characteristics of mental illness. But whether people are mentally ill, I'll leave that to the psychologists.

Is violence and racism on the Internet more problematic than that on TV because there is no Federal Communications Commission to censor content?

Englander: I think the point is that the culture that children grow up in, from movies to gaming to the Internet, is saturated with violent imagery. More than that, saturated with abusiveness, which is sort of a gateway to hate crimes. It's only a step from being abusive to other people to deciding you are superior and they are inferior and you are justified in hating them.

Blazak: The impact of violent and racist images is a hard thing to quantify. It only holds up if you live in a laboratory. There is a desensitization that happens that lessens empathy. Most of us empathize. It [violent, racist imagery] can undermine that empathy. We know that people become immune to the shocking nature of violence if they see repeated violent images. Similarly, people become immune to bigotry with increased exposure. We don't want this stuff to just be the normal background noise of society. People need to respond.

Gerstenfeld: I think it is more problematic, but not because of the FCC. I think

“The most important thing to do is to educate people. Not just about the Internet, but about the underlying ideas. Young people are more critical of content if they have another way of understanding what's wrong with that content.”

it's problematic because, at least in my own experience, people are not used to critically evaluating the information they find on the Internet, especially younger people. They see something and assume that it's true. I think people are less likely to do that with television. A lot of these websites try very hard, at least on the surface, to appear mainstream and reasonable. They underplay their violence. They say, “We just love white people.” On the surface, they seem to be concerned about crime and poverty and the economy and that sort of thing.

Blee: I think it is extremely problematic. I'm not saying it [the Internet] should be banned, but it gives people a sense of titillation, some kind of acceptance, some kind of feeling of their own self-importance. My guess is that's particularly true of people who are loners and adolescents.

The Internet and the First Amendment aren't going away. What, if anything, can be done to mitigate the potential

harm these websites might cause?
Englander: We're not teaching children how to use this technology. We're just sort of unleashing it. There is a generation gap, and the people in charge of deciding what should be taught don't really understand how central this issue is to the lives of people. I think the only hope is we are going to produce a generation that recognizes that the management and consumption of information is going to be the skill of the future, and nobody is teaching it right now. Education is critical because I don't think the information is going to go away.

Blazak: Young people are pretty skeptical of things, but too many believe what they see just because it's on a computer. There is so much manipulation of facts and images on the Web. For example, a student may be assigned a paper on the Holocaust. If they use the Internet instead of the library, they may end up writing a paper about how the Holocaust never happened. Teaching youth to think about their sources is very important in today's media-based society.

Gerstenfeld: Critical thinking in general is a difficult thing to teach young people. It's a skill a lot of them don't have, especially on the Internet. It's certainly impossible to police the Internet in general. Look at child pornography. It's illegal, but it's still out there. I think a better thing to do is focus on individuals who may be susceptible to messages on the Internet. There are certain profiles of people who are at risk. People who are spending a lot of time on their computers and who don't have a lot of social ties and may have a history of mental illness. He [Keith Luke] sounds like one of them.

Blee: I think that's absolutely right that young people are very uncritical about the Internet. The most important thing to do is to educate people. Not just about the Internet, but about the underlying ideas. Young people are more critical of content if they have another way of understanding what's wrong with that content. I think trying to educate people, especially young people, about racism is important to help them be a better [Internet] consumer. ▲

Beyond the Bishop

A recent Vatican brouhaha focused attention on the anti-Semitism of a key bishop. But it didn't shed much light on his order

BY HEIDI BEIRICH

DICKINSON, Texas — Twenty miles north of Galveston, at the busy intersection of two once-rural state highways that are now crowded with mini-malls and drugstores, stands the oldest church in the United States belonging to the Society of St. Pius X (SSPX). A peaceful Catholic church with priests in residence, Queen of Angels shows no sign of the international controversy that erupted in January, when Pope Benedict XVI lifted the excommunication of four SSPX bishops.

Most of that controversy has centered on one of the reinstated bishops, Richard Williamson, who is infamous for his Holocaust denial and anti-Semitism. In January, just a few days before the pontiff invited Williamson back into the church, he appeared on a Swedish TV program insisting the Nazis had no gas chambers. “I believe that the historical evidence is strongly against — is hugely against — 6 million Jews having been deliberately gassed in gas chambers as a deliberate policy of Adolf Hitler,” Williamson said. “I believe there were no gas chambers.”

The Vatican said the pope had been unaware of Williamson's views, which provoked a firestorm of criticism, some of it from ranking Catholic officials. By the end of January, the pope had decided Williamson would not be allowed to perform priestly functions unless he recanted his views. In early February, Williamson was also suspended from his post as head of the SSPX seminary in La Reja, Argentina, and SSPX Superior General Bernard Fellay issued an order forbidding Williamson to make “any public statements on political or historical issues.” Later in the month, Argentina expelled the bishop and he returned to his native England.

That wasn't all. Fellay also told the world that Williamson's beliefs “do not in any way reflect the position of our Society.” But the facts do not support him. The truth is that Williamson's thinking reflects much of basic SSPX doctrine.

As the international furor over Williamson grew, SSPX officials rushed to scrub their websites of offending material.



Bishop Richard Williamson's denial of the Holocaust provoked a firestorm of criticism, but almost nothing was said of his controversial order, the Society of St. Pius X.

In February, for instance, a 1997 article by two SSPX priests that called for locking Jews into ghettos because “Jews are known to kill Christians” disappeared. But the makeover was far from complete.

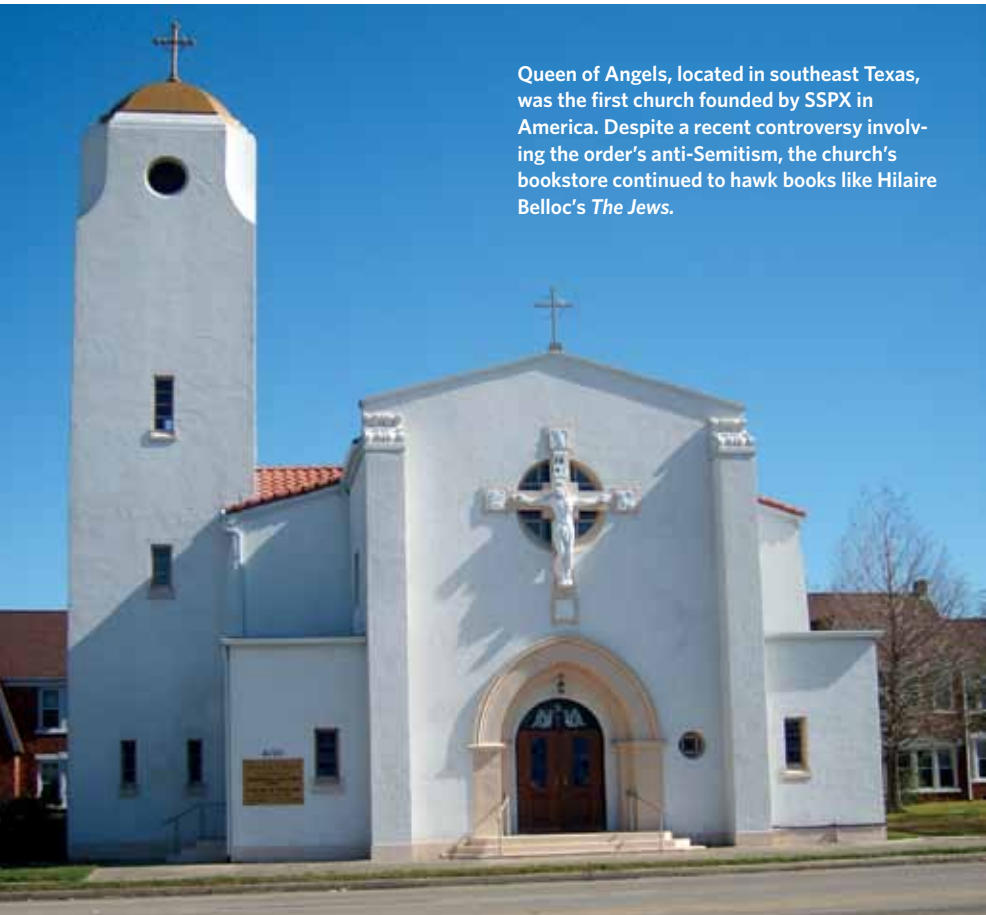
Still on sspx.org at press time was a 1959 letter from a close friend of SSPX's founder. “Money, the media, and international politics are for a large part in the hands of Jews,” Bishop Gerald Sigaud wrote. “Those who have revealed the

atomic secrets of the USA were ... all Jews. The founders of communism were Jews.” And as of early February, the Canadian SSPX website still hosted an archive of Williamson's anti-Semitic letters, one of which complains that “Jews have come closer and closer to fulfilling their ... drive toward world domination.”

SSPX and Queen of Angels

SSPX, which has chapels and schools across the U.S. and worldwide, was founded in 1970 by the late French archbishop, Marcel-François Lefebvre, a hard rightist who supported the pro-Nazi Vichy regime. Though he participated in the Second Vatican Council (1962-65) that enacted several liberalizing reforms within the church, Lefebvre ultimately refused to sign certain of the council's final reports and in 1974 publicly denounced the effort as heretical. He was particularly upset by the adoption of the new Mass, celebrated in local languages instead of the traditional Latin. As a result, then-Pope Paul VI ordered the archbishop to shut down his Swiss seminary, but Lefebvre refused to comply, leading the Vatican to suspend his right to perform priestly functions (a step short of excommunication) in 1976. In 1988, Lefebvre took his most radical step yet, consecrating four bishops, including Williamson, in defiance of the Vatican. Pope John Paul II then excommunicated Lefebvre and his bishops, declaring SSPX in formal schism with the church.

Queen of Angels was the first SSPX church founded in the U.S. and served



Queen of Angels, located in southeast Texas, was the first church founded by SSPX in America. Despite a recent controversy involving the order's anti-Semitism, the church's bookstore continued to hawk books like Hilaire Belloc's *The Jews*.

as the group's headquarters until 1978, when the leadership moved to St. Marys, Kan. Dedicated by Lefebvre in 1977, the property features a pretty white church, set amid dormitories and a shrine to the Virgin Mary, that looks like it was built by Texas' original Spanish settlers. Attached to the front of the church is a big, bronze plaque announcing that it is part of SSPX and that traditional Latin masses are held twice daily. Inside the church itself are an impressive altar, stone sculptures and stained glass windows. Today, the only hint of the recent controversy is a notice on the inner doors of a letter from Superior General Fellay, expressing "our filial gratitude" for the lifting of the excommunications. No mention is made of the Pope's subsequent demand that Williamson recant his Holocaust denial—even though Williamson's views, and the Pope's rejection of them, have been broadcast around the world.

Perhaps there is a reason for why nothing is said of Williamson at Queen of Angels. As the place where the SSPX's Angelus Press first set up shop, the church itself has long been in the busi-

ness of peddling anti-Semitism. Proudly on display in the small and musty one-room Queen of Angels bookstore, which is located behind the church, are all sorts of Catholic materials, from rosaries to advent calendars — plus hate literature, much of it either published or sold by Angelus Press. The history section prominently displays Hilaire Belloc's *The Jews*, which blames Jews for Bolshevism and corrupt financial practices. In a tall turnstile filled with pamphlets are several copies of *Time Bombs of the Second Vatican Council*, where SSPX's former superior general, Rev. Fr. Franz Schmidberger, pontificates on the Vatican Council's evils. Schmidberger denounces Third World immigration into Western countries as "destroying our national identity and, furthermore, the whole of Christianity," and goes on to accuse the Jews collectively of deicide.

Also on hand at Queen of Angels bookstore are dozens of current and back copies of *The Angelus*, a monthly magazine put out by the SSPX that has published several extremists. Found in the pages of *The Angelus* (and carried on the

What the 'H'? Bishop Asks Denier's Help



AFTER BEING EXPELLED from Argentina in February, Holocaust-denying Society of St. Pius X Bishop Richard Williamson returned to his native England, promising to further "study" the history of the Holocaust. And who did Williamson choose to consult with? A respected Holocaust historian, perhaps?

Not a chance. Instead, the much-criticized bishop reached out to Britain's most notorious Holocaust denier, **David Irving**, who served 13 months in an Austrian prison for his ahistorical views. Irving's beliefs are so extreme that in 2000 a British judge in a libel case ruled that he had a "pro-Nazi and anti-Jewish bias" and that his research "deliberately misrepresented and manipulated historical evidence."

Irving told *The New York Times* that Williamson had contacted him asking for assistance in assessing the Holocaust. Irving said Williamson wrote to him through an intermediary, saying that he needed to "conform my mind to the truth." He added that Williamson wrote that his lawyer, who is defending Williamson against possible criminal Holocaust denial charges in Germany, was "convinced" that "the H was more or less for real," referring to the Holocaust.

Irving, who often speaks at events organized by white supremacists and neo-Nazis, responded by telling Irving that "[t]here is much dispute over numbers and methods of killing," but suggesting that the bishop "accept that there were organized mass killings from the spring of 1942 to October 1943" at three sites.

The H-word apparently didn't come up in Irving's interview with *The New York Times*.

— Heidi Beirich



Until a few years ago, SSPX's Angelus Press sold copies of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, a viciously anti-Semitic tome, from its headquarters in St. Marys, Kansas.

SSPX's website) are the writings of the late Father Denis Fahey, whose main topic was the inherent evil of the "Jewish Nation" and who is quoted on a white supremacist site devoted to "1,001 Quotes By and About Jews"; John Vennari, who publishes *Catholic Family News* and has written of a Judeo-Masonic conspiracy to destroy the church; and Robert Sungenis, the leader of a particularly virulent group called Catholic Apologetics International who frequently reminds people that the 1911 edition of the *Catholic Encyclopedia* "predicts the anti-Christ will come from Jewry."

One item that was not on hand at Queen of Angels was the viciously anti-Semitic conspiracy tome, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, which has been sold in the last few years by representatives of Angelus Press at far-right Catholic conferences and, in the past, from its headquarters in St. Marys, Kan. *The Protocols* probably won't surface again — SSPX officials have been cleaning their websites of controversial materials since the Williamson controversy erupted.

The 1997 article that was scrubbed, published by *The Angelus* and written by Michael Crowdy and Kenneth Novak, didn't stop at accusing Jews of murdering Christians. The article also blames Jews for the French Revolution, communism and capitalism; suggests a Judeo-Masonic conspiracy has destroyed the Catholic Church; and says Judaism is "inimical to all nations." The Williamson letters remaining on the Canadian SSPX website also were revealing. In "WTC—The Wage of Sin," Williamson blames the 9/11 terrorist attacks on "the would-be architects of the New World Order" who are clearly Jews, although he is

not explicit. "In the Catholic Middle Ages the Jews were relatively impotent to harm Christendom, but as Catholics have grown over the centuries since then weaker and weaker in the faith, especially since Vatican II, so the Jews have come closer and closer to fulfilling their substitute-Messianic drive towards world dominion," he added.

Assessing SSPX

Williamson is only one of many SSPX leaders who have expressed anti-Semitic views. Also on the Canadian site at press time was a piece by SSPX Rev. Fr. Emmanuel Herkel called "Is the Anti-Christ Coming?" Herkel asserts that Jews are considering rebuilding "the ancient Temple of Jerusalem" which he argues "would fit in with the devil's desire to mock the holy places of God." "If the ancient Temple is rebuilt and is the place where the Antichrist will receive divine worship, it must follow that the Antichrist will be Jewish," Herkel writes. "The devil will not fail to make use of their blindness to foist the Antichrist upon them," he concludes.

Other SSPX officials sound similar. In 1997, French SSPX Bishop Bernard Tissier de Mallerais, one of the four bishops excommunicated by Pope John Paul II, wrote that "Jews are the most active partisans for the coming of the anti-Christ." After the Williamson controversy broke out, Fr. Floriano Abrahamowicz, a pastor and spokesperson for the SSPX in Northern Italy, defended Williamson and said he, too, was unsure if gas chambers were used for anything but disinfection or whether 6 million Jews were really murdered. He called the Jews a "people of deicide."

Not all members of SSPX agree. Father Paul Morgan, the SSPX district superior for Great Britain, issued a statement in late January denouncing Williamson and declaring his division's opposition to "all forms of racism and anti-Semitism." Even so, the anti-Semitism that has been expressed by SSPX leaders, sold by Angelus Press and published on the group's websites makes a mockery of Superior General Fellay's statement that Williamson's beliefs "do not in any way reflect the position of our Society." Williamson is also making a mockery of Fellay's demand that he not "make any public statements on political or historical issues."

In a Feb. 9 interview with the leading German newsmagazine *Der Spiegel*, Williamson, who is being investigated in Germany for having violated that country's criminal laws forbidding Holocaust denial, said he would reevaluate the facts of the Holocaust — including, presumably, his claim that fewer than 300,000 people died in Nazi death camps. But he added that the information available in the 1980s put the existence of the gas chambers and the entire Holocaust in question. Asked if he would visit any concentration camps, he declared, "I will not travel to Auschwitz."

How any of this squares with Pope Benedict XVI's statement on Feb. 12 that the Catholic Church "is profoundly and irrevocably committed to reject all anti-Semitism" is unclear. Meanwhile Rev. Arnaud Sélégny, the general secretary of the SSPX international headquarters in Menzingen, Switzerland, is on record saying that Williamson would certainly be included in any reconciliation between SSPX and the Vatican because "everybody is allowed to have his opinion in the Society." ▲



In memoriam: Mourners honor two Muscovites who were apparently murdered for their anti-fascist work.

RUSSIA

Neo-Nazis Publish ‘Death List,’ Vow to Assassinate Enemies

A Russian neo-Nazi group in February published a “death list” naming dozens of journalists, scholars and human rights activists. Members of the group that calls itself BTO have vowed to murder everyone on the list by the end of the year. “They said they were going to kill me and my colleagues for the work we are doing,” said Galina Kozhevnikova, the head of the SOVA Center for Information and Analysis, a Russian human rights watchdog group.

The death list was posted on Feb. 8 on the Internet and E-mailed to most of BTO’s targets. Kozhevnikova and others told interviewers they’re taking the threats seriously. And they have good reason to do so. In just the single month before the list arrived in their inboxes, 14 people in Russia were murdered in racist hate crimes or assassinated by neo-Nazis for political reasons.

Two of the victims — reporter Anastasiya Baburova, 25, and human rights lawyer Stanislav Markelov, 34 — were shot to death in broad daylight on a busy street in downtown Moscow, less than a mile from the Kremlin. Baburova

was a writer for the magazine *Novaya Gazeta* and specialized in investigating Russian neo-Nazi gangs. Markelov was the publication’s volunteer legal counsel.

Baburova was the fourth journalist working at *Novaya Gazeta* to be killed in recent months. The paper has asked Russian authorities to allow its reporters to carry handguns for self-protection. A message from BTO leaders that accompanied its E-mailed threats said journalists were being targeted because their murders receive the most press coverage.

Online, Russian neo-Nazis celebrated the double murder, calling the killer a hero and saying they would toast the murders with champagne. A week later, *Novaya Gazeta* published information from Russian neo-Nazi websites reflecting the rise of Russian neofascist groups and the impunity with which they operate. In 2008, at least 113 immigrants were murdered in racially motivated attacks.

“In Russia, there is fascism,” the *Novaya Gazeta* editors wrote on Jan. 26, just two weeks before the BTO threats were received. “This is not under-

ground, they are no longer hiding and they openly take to the streets of cities.”

UNITED KINGDOM

Holocaust Denier’s Secret: Hitler ‘Appointed’ Him

David Irving, the notorious British writer and Holocaust revisionist, recently revealed an unexpected secret: “Hitler appointed me his biographer.”

Described by a British judge as “a right-wing, pro-Nazi polemicist” largely because of his claim that Hitler knew nothing of the Holocaust, Irving is no stranger to outlandish statements. But this one amazed even seasoned Irving watchers.

On Jan. 15, British journalist Johann Hari, writing in *The Independent*, reported that Irving told him that while researching a book about Hitler, he tracked down the Führer’s doctors, including one Erwin Geising. When Irving reached him by phone, Geising supposedly told the writer, “I’ve been expecting you.”

Irving says he then traveled to Germany to meet Geising, where the doctor handed Irving a 400-page diary covering the period Geising spent with Hitler. He said the diary included an account of Hitler’s “prophecy.” Geising supposedly said that Hitler, while recuperating from the July 1944 bombing that nearly killed him, whispered to him: “One day, an Englishman will come along and write my biography. But it cannot be an Englishman of the present generation. They won’t be objective. It will have to be an Englishman of the

next generation, and one who is totally familiar with all the German archives.” At the time, Irving was 6.

“You actually think Hitler wanted you to be his



David Irving

ALEXEY SAZONOV/AP/GETTY IMAGES (COURNER); BRUNO VINCENT/GETTY IMAGES (IRVING)

biographer?” Hari asked Irving in the question-and-answer format interview in *The Independent*.

“Yes,” Irving replied, “and I am not ashamed of that. Hitler knew that.”

Irving didn’t say why he sat on his “secret,” as he called it, for more than 30 years. But if Hitler really saw that the young boy then growing up in Britain would one day be his biographer, he couldn’t have been more pleased.

For years, Irving was the world’s best-known World War II revisionist and his books were taken seriously by some real scholars, even as he called Hitler “the best friend the Jews had in the Third Reich.” But when he sued American scholar Deborah Lipstadt in 2000 for calling him a Holocaust denier, he lost badly, with the judge calling him a Nazi sympathizer and experts roundly debunking his claims. He was forced to declare bankruptcy. Five years later, in 2005, he was imprisoned for more than a year in Austria for Holocaust denial.

During the interview, Irving let it be known that when he gives lectures, he wears medals that belonged to the homicidal Ugandan dictator Idi Amin under his clothes. That was apparently too much for Johann Hari.

“This interview isn’t about history,” Hari told Irving. “It’s about pathology.”

CANADA

More Leaders of Racist, Polygamist Cult Arrested

Canadian authorities in Bountiful, British Columbia, arrested two leaders of a racist, polygamist cult that also has a major U.S. presence this January. Winston Blackmore and James Oler pleaded not guilty to charges of polygamy, and both are expected to go to trial later this year.

Both men are leaders in the Fundamentalist Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (FLDS), whose

chief “prophet” was already serving a prison sentence in the U.S. on sex charges and preaches that blacks are descendants of Cain, “cursed with a black skin,” and selected by God to be the “servants of servants.”

Blackmore, who is 52 and has at least 19 wives, is an outspoken defender of polygamy who’s appeared on “Larry King Live” and in other major media. Oler, a 44-year-old mechanic, has at least three wives whom he married as teenagers. The marriages were reportedly arranged by FLDS prophet Warren Jeffs, now serving two five-years-to-life prison terms in Arizona after being convicted in 2007 on two counts of first-degree felony rape, as an accomplice, for arranging child-bride marriages.



Winston Blackmore, who has 19 wives, poses with some of his daughters and grandchildren.

Blackmore and Oler head up rival FLDS splinter factions in southeastern British Columbia, as well as two private FLDS schools which together have received nearly \$1 million from the Canadian government, according to a report by *The [Spokane, Wash.] Spokesman-Review*. Most students are forced to drop out before the eighth grade to work for the church.

Until 2003, Blackmore was an FLDS bishop in line to assume control of all FLDS churches in the U.S. and Canada. But he was ousted in a dispute with Jeffs, while Oler remained loyal to the “prophet.”

Authorities in British Columbia had been investigating the FLDS there since 2005. *The Spokesman-Review* reported that federal law enforcement agents in

both the U.S. and Canada “are watchful for ‘human trafficking’ cases involving teenage girls in the group.” To date, no such arrests have been made.

There are believed to be some 10,000 FLDS members in the U.S., spread out among communities in Hildale, Utah; neighboring Colorado City, Ariz.; Edgemont, S.D.; Eldorado, Tex., and four small Colorado mountain towns. FLDS members believe they are carrying on the original teachings of the Mormon Church, which urge men to take numerous “celestial wives.” The Mormon Church, from which FLDS long ago broke away, has outlawed polygamy since 1890.

UNITED KINGDOM

British National Party Recruiting South Africans

The British National Party, a neofascist group that has advocated expelling non-white immigrants, is actively recruiting white South African expatriates with ties to white supremacist groups, according to a report in the British antifascist magazine *Searchlight*.

“It has clearly not escaped the notice of the BNP leadership that white South Africans who fled black majority rule and now live in the U.K. are potentially a fertile recruiting ground for the racist party,” *Searchlight* reported this February.

South African BNP member Neil McAllister has been networking through a popular pub in London to recruit young South African ex-pats and enlist older South African businessmen as financial backers, the magazine said.

The most prominent South African member of the BNP is Arthur Kemp, a well-known BNP speaker who since 2007 has been in charge of training more than 200 of the party’s top activists. Kemp, who arrived in England 13 years ago, is the author of *March of the*

CONTINUED ON PAGE 64

Attacking Pluralism

A new study examines the conservative movement's roots in a view of America as a white, Protestant nation

White Protestant Nation: The Rise of the American Conservative Movement

By Allan J. Lichtman

New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2008
\$27.50 (hardback)

Allan Lichtman, a veteran journalist and political historian at American University, takes his readers on an in-depth tour of the American conservative movement in *White Protestant Nation: The Rise of the American Conservative Movement*. Starting with the Roaring Twenties, Lichtman traces the twists and turns of the movement's organizations and leaders through the present day. An important aspect of Lichtman's book is its focus on the centrality of anti-pluralism to the movement, from anti-immigrant xenophobia and racism in the early parts of the century to anti-gay beliefs today. His basic thesis is that at the heart of American conservatism is "an antipluralistic ideal of America as a unified, white Protestant nation."

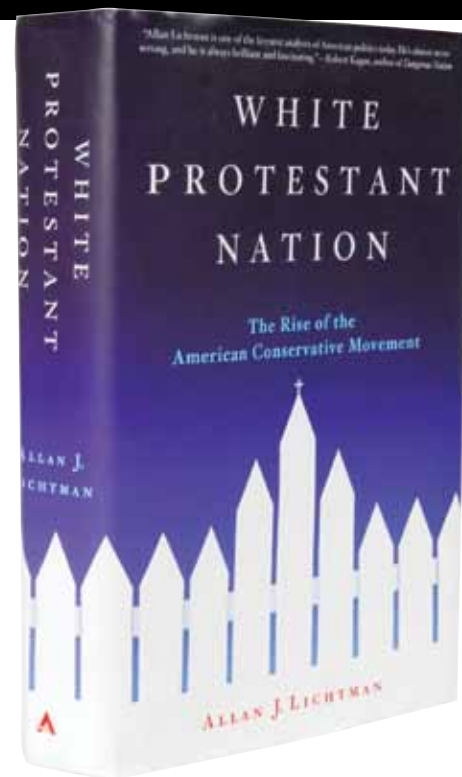
Lichtman argues that the conservative movement arose in the 1920s "out of a widespread concern that pluralistic, cosmopolitan forces threatened America's national identity." The movement was multifaceted but extremely biased, with some sectors specializing in racism or anti-Catholic xenophobia (especially the 1920s Ku Klux Klan) while others were anti-Semitic, attacking Hollywood. Other parts of the movement were entirely focused on economic issues, but willing to work with anti-pluralist groups in exchange for financial benefits.

Lichtman claims that early conservatism was rooted in what today would be called a white nationalist vision: "Both religion and race have mattered

for conservatives who view nationhood as anchored in white, native-stock peoples and their distinctive culture." This vision has repeatedly resulted in prejudicial treatment of non-whites or given rise to extreme antigovernment movements. "Since World War I, conservatives have been cultural, religious and at times racial nationalists, dedicated to protecting America's superior civilization from racially or culturally inferior peoples, foreign ideologies, sexual deviance, ecumenical religion, or the encroachment of a so-called one-world government," writes Lichtman.

Especially useful for readers of the *Intelligence Report*, Lichtman provides a tremendous amount of information on what would now be seen as the disreputable right: thinkers such as Willis Carto, whose anti-Semitic Liberty Lobby had several hundred thousand subscribers until Carto began to push Holocaust denial in the late 1970s, and Lawrence Dennis, a supporter of fascism who was the preeminent political strategist behind opposition to the New Deal (and a hero to the radical right today). Lichtman also delves deeply into the role of the John Birch Society in building up conservative ranks during the Goldwater era and afterwards.

Again and again, Lichtman shows that conservatives have decided to play ball, sometimes quietly, sometimes openly, with extremists (some of whom they personally disagreed with) to build up their ranks. It was not a mistake, he writes, that Ronald Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign, which was marked by the GOP's embrace of the Southern strategy, held its first event in support of "state's rights" in Philadelphia, Miss. Given that that is



where three civil rights workers — Michael Schwerner, James Chaney and Andrew Goodman — were murdered in 1964, Reagan's pandering to the white, Southern vote was clear.

In many ways, the evolution of William F. Buckley, which is covered extensively in *White Protestant Nation*, parallels the conservative movement's shift away from extremism in the past few decades. In the 1950s, Buckley's *National Review* supported segregation and notions of black inferiority. Over time, racist and other anti-pluralist ideas were ditched. In 1997, *National Review* even took a stand against anti-immigrant extremism, cashiering out Peter Brimelow, who wrote the virulently anti-immigrant book, *Alien Nation* (Brimelow, who still writes for *The Wall Street Journal's* MarketWatch, would shortly thereafter set up his own anti-immigrant hate site, VDARE.com), and John O'Sullivan, the editor who encouraged Brimelow's work.

Unfortunately, extremists keep popping up at key moments in the conservative movement. It is still somewhat shocking to think that the man behind most of the dirt dug up by the

CONTINUED ON PAGE 64

Of Race and Roads

Law enforcement traffic stops based on race or ethnicity are not only unconstitutional. They're also remarkably ineffective

BY RHONDA BROWNSTEIN

DRIVING THROUGH ALABAMA WITH A lot of cash is not a crime. But for migrant worker Victor Marquez, it might as well have been.

In May 2008, after a season of harvesting beans in Florida, Marquez was traveling on an Alabama interstate on his way to his hometown in Mexico to start construction of a house on land he had purchased earlier. He carried \$20,000 in cash — his legitimately earned wages and nine years' worth of his and his brother's savings. A Loxley, Ala., police officer stopped the truck in which Marquez was a passenger "for failure to maintain a marked lane." The officer claimed there were reasons to suspect the cash was related to illegal drug activity and, under Alabama's asset forfeiture law, confiscated all of it. There were no drugs in the vehicle, and Marquez was not arrested or charged with any crime.

In Tehana, Texas, near the Texas-Louisiana border, police seized cash and property over a two-year period from almost 200 motorists whom they stopped along a stretch of highway connecting Houston with gambling destinations in Louisiana. Only 50 of those whose property was seized were charged with drug offenses, and a federal lawsuit against the police alleges that most of those stopped were African Americans.

The temptation for law enforcement to stop motorists and seize their cash and other valuables is great: state and federal confiscation programs allow local police and sheriff's departments to keep all or a large portion of the assets they confiscate. U.S. Department of Justice records show that from 2004 to 2008, the amount of assets seized by local law enforcement agencies that

were enrolled in a federal drug enforcement program tripled — from \$567 million to \$1.6 billion. This doesn't include assets kept by these agencies as part of state asset forfeiture programs.



In addition to police stops along the highway, police checkpoints or roadblocks in predominantly Latino areas are becoming increasingly common. These checkpoints can be a lucrative source of revenue for local governments, because many jurisdictions charge substantial fines for driving without a license and immigrants, especially undocumented ones, are more likely than other drivers to lack a driver's license. Fines can range from several hundred dollars to several thousand. Some local ordinances also allow police to confiscate and impound a driver's vehicle and charge the owner for the number of days it sits in a lot.

Compounding the problem for Latinos is a federal law known as "287(g)" that allows local and state police to enter into agreements with the federal government to enforce federal immigration law. A recent report by the federal Government Accountability Office found that, rather than addressing serious crimes by undocumented

persons — as was intended by Congress when it enacted the law — many police agencies were using their 287(g) authority to arrest and deport immigrants who were stopped for traffic and other minor offenses.

In the case of Juana Villegas, an undocumented immigrant from Mexico, a traffic stop in Nashville, Tenn., for a minor offense led to a nightmarish series of events. Nine months pregnant, Villegas was arrested pursuant to the 287(g) program. During her six-day ordeal in the county jail, she gave birth to her son, going through labor as a sheriff's deputy stood guard in her hospital room with one of her feet cuffed to the bed for much of the time. Villegas was barred from seeing or speaking with her husband and was separated from her infant for two days. The jail refused to allow her to take a breast pump with her from the hospital, and she subsequently developed a breast infection.

Racial Profiling

The ability of cash-strapped law enforcement agencies to boost their budgets with confiscations and fines has raised questions about whether some agencies are shifting their focus from seizing drugs and stopping crime to targeting Latinos and African Americans who might be carrying relatively large amounts of cash. Critics of the 287(g) program charge that the program has led to massive racial profiling of people who appear Latino and are then stopped on the pretext of traffic violations in order to actually check their immigration status.

The policy or practice of law enforcement officials using race or eth-

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STEPHEN FOX/GETTY IMAGES

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 2009 (any additional listings may be found on the Intelligence Project’s website at www.intelligenceproject.org.)

ALABAMA

Hartselle • Jan. 19, 2009

A Confederate battle flag was tied to a pole in front of a predominantly black church.

Mobile • Jan. 5, 2009

Thomas Hayward Lewis, 22, was charged with criminal mischief, criminal possession of explosives and possession of a controlled substance after allegedly spray painting swastikas and racist slogans on a Jewish synagogue.

CALIFORNIA

Camarillo • Jan. 5, 2009

Swastikas and anti-Semitic messages were etched on a Jewish preschool for the second time in a week.

East Palo Alto • Feb. 21, 2009

Frisco Tuipulotu, Caroline Evaimalo and Richard Juarez, all 23, and Tuuta Tuipulotu, 20, were charged with suspicion of committing a hate crime for allegedly punching and kicking four people of Indian descent while making racially charged comments.

Los Angeles • Feb. 13, 2009

A group of about 20 Hispanic youths allegedly attacked a black minister and his sons, chasing them into their church and pelting them with rocks.

Malibu • Jan. 16, 2009

Swastikas, sexual symbols and crosses were sprayed on the walls, doors, and windows of a Jewish center and synagogue.

Modesto • March 17, 2009

Swastikas, slurs and anti-Semitic drawings were spray-painted at the entrance of a synagogue.

Palo Alto • Feb. 7, 2009

Miguel Luis Carlson, 31, was arrested on suspicion of attempted murder and a hate crime for alleg-

edly attacking and choking a man in a convenience store while using a racial slur and telling the man to “go back to his country.”

Richmond • Jan. 24, 2009

Four white men, Steve Kinney and Victor Faria, both 18, Andrew Word, 19, and Richard Lange, 20, were charged with assault with a deadly weapon and felony battery after they allegedly used racial slurs and attacked a black man.

Riverside • March 26, 2009

Anti-Semitic graffiti written in German and swastikas were spray-painted on a Jewish community center.

San Jose • Jan. 26, 2009

Scott Pontzious, 28, was charged with suspicion of assault and committing a hate crime for allegedly punching a man who was speaking on a cell phone in Spanish.

Stockton • Jan. 23, 2009

A car owned by a white man and his black wife was set afire, along with his neighbor’s vehicle, and racist graffiti was painted on the sidewalk in front of their residences.

Torrance • Feb. 5, 2009

The word “Nazi” was spray-painted on two cars and the residence of a white man and his Chinese wife. The tires of two of their vehicles were also slashed.

Torrance • March 3, 2009

Joseph Storm, 23, was ordered to take lessons on managing anger and intolerance after serving seven days in jail for using a campaign sign opposing same-sex marriage to attack a gay man in October.

Vallejo • Jan. 2, 2009

Fredrick Martin, 31, was arrested for assault with a deadly weapon and committing a hate crime for

allegedly driving his vehicle at a group of day laborers.

Van Nuys • Jan. 30, 2009

Samuel Apatiga and George Navarro, both 21, and Erik Castaneda, 29, were each charged with three counts of making criminal threats and two counts of assault with a firearm after they allegedly threatened a barber-shop owner and his patrons, all of whom are black. The three men, along with Andy Moran, 18, were also accused of threatening a black man and his girlfriend.

COLORADO

Boulder • Jan. 27, 2009

William Bagosy, 49, pled guilty to third-degree assault and was sentenced to 78 days in jail for shouting racial slurs at a black woman outside a homeless shelter in November.

CONNECTICUT

East Haven • March 7, 2009

Men in fatigues allegedly delivered racist, anti-immigration fliers from North East White Pride to Latino-owned businesses in the city and a church with a growing Latin American congregation in New Haven.

Enfield • Feb. 20, 2009

Jacob Cintron, a 20-year-old white man, was charged with attempted murder, first-degree assault and first-degree intimidation based on bigotry or bias after he allegedly used racial epithets during a confrontation with a black man, then stabbed the man in the chest.

FLORIDA

Bradenton • Jan. 22, 2009

A black man on a bicycle was shot in the calf, allegedly by a man in a car, after the car’s female driver yelled a racial slur at the bicyclist.

Cape Coral • March 23, 2009

Racially motivated slogans and images were found spray-painted by vandals on dozens of homes and a police officer’s cruiser.

Miami • Jan. 1, 2009

An Islamic school was sprayed with bullets.

Miramar Beach • Feb. 26, 2009

Dannie Baker, 60, was charged with two counts of murder after he allegedly killed two people and critically wounded three others, all Latino neighbors of Baker’s.

Valrico • March 29, 2009

A hangman’s noose was hung outside a predominantly black church.

IDAHO

Nampa • Feb. 11, 2009

Michael J. Bullard, Jennifer J. Hartpence, Richard C. Armstrong and James D. Whitewater were indicted on charges that they chased and beat a black man in a store in July while using racial slurs.

ILLINOIS

Chicago • Feb. 4, 2009

A 19-year-old DePaul University student allegedly was attacked by three people who used anti-gay slurs.

Chicago • March 20, 2009

Mohammed Alkaramla, 24, was arrested for allegedly mailing a bomb threat to a Jewish school in December.

Joliet • Jan. 2, 2009

Two 26-year-old white men, Lucas M. Bailey and Jerry Bryant, were charged with aggravated battery, mob action, committing a hate crime and resisting a police officer after they allegedly beat a black man with a garbage can.

Rockford • March 4, 2009

A swastika, an anti-Semitic slur and other hate graffiti were scrawled on a synagogue’s doors.

KANSAS

Wichita • Jan. 3, 2009

A cross and a wheelchair ramp were burned in the front yard of a couple that helps troubled youths.

LOUISIANA

Baton Rouge • Jan. 21, 2009

A noose was found on the desk of a black supervisor and another black employee at the governor’s Office of Homeland Security and Emergency Preparedness.

Baton Rouge • Feb. 23, 2009

Anthony Hatcher, 18, and Dominique Vallier, 17, were charged with attempted first-degree murder, hate crimes and attempted armed robbery after they allegedly shot two Latino men in two separate incidents.

Houma • Jan. 14, 2009

Charles Junius Brunet Jr., 25, was charged with second-degree battery, hate crimes and two counts of failure to appear for his reported involvement in the September 2006, allegedly racially motivated beating of a black offshore worker.

Larose • Jan. 3, 2009

Glenn Wilson Jr. and Spenser Dominique, both 17, were charged with hate crimes after allegedly making threats against a shipyard worker of Romanian descent because of his nationality.

Metairie • March 10, 2009

A sign reading “KKK Klan” was left in a black woman’s front yard.

MARYLAND

LaPlata • Feb. 18, 2009

Ronald Christopher Smythers, 21, and Kenneth Allen Sanders, 19, were charged with five counts of malicious destruction for allegedly spray-painting racial slurs on a church, school, store and sign.

MINNESOTA

Minneapolis • Jan. 22, 2009

A woman was allegedly assaulted by two men who shouted derogatory comments about her sexual orientation.

Rochester • March 22, 2009

A 25-year-old white man was

charged with second-degree assault for allegedly stabbing a black man with a screwdriver while making racial slurs.

MISSISSIPPI

Brookhaven • Jan. 16, 2009

Steven Joseph Christopher, 42, of Wisconsin, was arrested for allegedly threatening over the Internet to assassinate President-elect Barack Obama because Christopher could “no longer allow the Jewish parasites to bully their way into making the American people submit to their evil ways.”

MISSOURI

Kansas City • Jan. 1, 2009

Michael W. McCormick, 56, was charged with unlawful use of a weapon, armed criminal action and possession of a loaded firearm while intoxicated after allegedly yelling racist remarks and firing into his neighbor’s house.

MONTANA

Billings • Jan. 8, 2009

A white supremacist flier was left at a church that supports the gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgendered community. Hate mail was also sent to the church.

NEW JERSEY

Fanwood • Feb. 21, 2009

Fliers from the white supremacist League of American Patriots were left in neighborhoods.

NEW YORK

Buffalo • Feb. 24, 2009

Donald Napierala, 41, pleaded guilty to attempted reckless endangerment as a hate crime and aggravated harassment for burning a cross in front of a Latino man’s residence in July.

New York • Jan. 18, 2009

A 21-year-old Sikh man was beaten and stabbed in his left eye allegedly by three men who taunted him for his traditional beard and pulled his long hair. Two men were arrested in connection with the incident.

Roosevelt • March 8, 2009

Four Latino men were arrested for

allegedly attacking a black man with baseball bats while yelling racial slurs.

Sloatsburg • March 28, 2009

Five white teenagers were charged with assault as a hate crime after they allegedly beat a Latino teen while yelling “white power.”

Staten Island • March 19, 2009

Michael Franklin, a 44-year-old black man, was charged with five counts of reckless endangerment as a hate crime, making a false police report and obstruction of justice after he allegedly called 911 five times boasting he “killed two Mexicans.” Franklin, an unemployed construction worker, allegedly was frustrated he couldn’t find work and that Latino workers were hired instead of him.

NORTH CAROLINA

Moyock • Jan. 10, 2009

Fliers from the National Socialist Movement were left in newspaper boxes in front of several homes.

OHIO

Dayton • March 17, 2009

Earl McLearran, a 39-year-old white man, pled guilty to ethnic intimidation for yelling a racial slur and threatening to burn the house of a black family in July because he didn’t want them living in his neighborhood.

OREGON

Portland • Feb. 24, 2009

Gary Moss and Devan Klausegger pleaded guilty to burning the shape of a cross and the letters “KKK” into the lawn in front of a mixed-race couple’s home in May.

Portland • March 26, 2009

Three Native Americans, a man and two women, were beaten as they waited for a train, allegedly by three men and two women who used anti-Native American slurs.

Seaside • March 22, 2009

Two men were assaulted by three to four people who used anti-gay epithets.

PENNSYLVANIA

Mechanicsburg • Feb. 15, 2009

Fliers from the neo-Nazi Creativity Movement were left at numerous residences.

Pittsburgh • Jan.2, 2009

An Islamic center was vandalized.

Pittsburgh • March 20, 2009

Robert King, 50, was charged with aggravated assault and ethnic intimidation for allegedly shouting an ethnic slur and slashing a man in the face with a knife.

Wildwood • Feb. 11, 2009

The condo of the only black man in a vacation complex was set afire, two weeks after it was spray-painted with racist graffiti.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Spartanburg • Jan. 19, 2009

Racist letters from the white supremacist Racial Nationalist Party of America were wrapped around newspapers and left at residences.

TENNESSEE

Nashville • Feb. 11, 2009

Leaflets from the Ku Klux Klan group the Knights party were wrapped around free newspapers and thrown in driveways of residences.

TEXAS

Galveston • March 1, 2009

Two brothers, Lawrence Henry Lewis III, 20, and Lawrneil Henry Lewis, 18, and their cousin, Alejandro Sam Gray, 17, were charged with felony assault for allegedly hurling large rocks or pieces of concrete at patrons inside a gay bar, injuring two men.

UTAH

Salt Lake City • March 11, 2009

Racist fliers inserted in copies of the University of Utah’s student newspaper were left at residences.

VERMONT

Brattleboro • Feb. 19, 2009

Nicholas Dow, 18, was charged with aggravated assault, possession of a dangerous weapon in a school building and a hate-motivated crime for allegedly

attacking a black student in the school cafeteria.
Burlington • Feb. 24, 2009
 James Cannon, 50, was charged

with disorderly conduct for allegedly targeting his Somali Bantu neighbors with racial slurs and death threats.

INTERNATIONAL BRIEFS CONTINUED FROM PAGE 59

Titans: A History of the White Race. He also wrote a fawning history of AWB, a paramilitary South African neo-Nazi group.

Kemp runs the BNP's website with technical support from another South African, Lambertus "Bep" Nieuwhof. Both men have unsavory pasts in their home country. In the 1980s, Kemp, a former sergeant in the South African Security Police during apartheid, helped draw up a list of anti-apartheid leaders that may have been used in the assassination of an African National Congress leader in 1993. Nieuwhof played a more direct role in a terror campaign as one of three men who tried to set off a bomb in a recently integrated South African school. The bomb failed to explode, and Nieuwhof was caught and sentenced to a year in prison.

Kemp has contacts in the American radical right as well, and spent a good deal of time working with the West Virginia-based National Alliance, a neo-Nazi group, in 2006 and 2007. ▲

ATTACKING PLURALISM CONTINUED FROM PAGE 60

Arkansas Project, which was run by the conservative magazine, *American Spectator*, to sully the Clintons, was Jim Johnson. In his earlier life, Johnson headed the segregationist Little Rock Citizens Council and he is currently listed as serving on the editorial advisory board of the newsletter *Citizens Informer*, put out by the white supremacist Council of Conservative Citizens, the direct descendant of the White Citizens Councils.

But things have changed in the last 10 years as open racism has led to public humiliation and GOP disavowal of prominent conservatives, including former Senators George Allen and Trent Lott. As Lichtman points out, pandering to anti-pluralist views is hard to do "without alienating centrist voters" who are key to electoral victory.

Lichtman's book has been attacked by prominent leaders of the conservative movement, in particular former Bush speechwriter David Frum, for over-emphasizing conservatism's nastier strands. While it is true that moderate conservatives like Frum, who is openly pluralist and advocates a tolerant, big-tent GOP, are a world away from Willis Carto or the conspiracymongers of the John Birch Society, the anti-immigrant outburst seen in the 2008 GOP primaries and the anti-gay rhetoric of the Christian Right — views that have been reiterated by some prominent GOP leaders — show that anti-pluralist beliefs are alive and well in certain sectors of the conservative movement. ▲

— By Heidi Beirich

VIRGINIA

Leesburg • Jan. 22, 2009

Ku Klux Klan fliers were left in driveways.

Norfolk • Jan. 19, 2009

Neo-Nazi fliers questioning the legitimacy of Barack Obama's presidency were left on vehicles.

WASHINGTON

Seattle • Jan. 6, 2009

Letters threatening ricin attacks

OF RACE AND ROADS CONTINUED FROM PAGE 61

nicity as a factor in conducting stops, searches, and other investigative procedures is commonly referred to as racial profiling, and it's unconstitutional. In *Whren v. United States* (1996), the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that "the Constitution prohibits selective enforcement of the law based on considerations such as race," and federal courts have repeatedly held that a police policy of "utiliz[ing] impermissible racial classifications in determining whom to stop, detain, and search" violates the Fourteenth Amendment's Equal Protection Clause. Racial profiling may also violate the Fourth Amendment, which bans unreasonable searches and seizures, and Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which bars recipients of federal funds — like state and local law enforcement agencies — from discriminating on the basis of race, color, or national origin. In 2003, the U.S. Department of Justice issued its *Guidance Regarding the Use of Race by Federal Law Enforcement Agencies*, barring racial profiling by federal law enforcement agencies.

Research shows that racial profiling does not, in fact, help law enforcement officials fight crime. Studies show that "hit rates" — the rate at which contraband or evidence of illegal conduct is discovered — among minorities who are stopped and searched by police are lower than or the same as the hit rates for whites who are similarly stopped and searched. According to a U.S. Department of Justice study of 1999 traffic stops, police found contraband more than twice as often when they searched whites as when they searched African Americans. Likewise, a New York attorney general's report on the NYPD showed that "stop and frisks" of blacks and Latinos in New York City were less likely to yield arrests than stops of whites, although blacks were over six times more likely and Latinos over four times more likely to be stopped than whites.

There is no doubt that law enforcement is a difficult and sometimes dangerous job, and police officers often have to make snap judgments in the heat of the moment that may later prove to be wrong. But racial profiling not only is illegal, it also undermines police legitimacy — making it less likely that civilians will cooperate with the police — and tears at the very fabric of our democratic society. ▲

were sent to 11 gay bars.

WISCONSIN

Fond du Lac • Jan. 8, 2009

Racist cards advertising the Aryan Wear website were left on several car windows of people participating in a diversity event celebrating Latino heritage in the city. ▲

Art for Aryans

He's long agitated on behalf of the master race, but when David Duke turns to photography, his products are no masterpieces

BY LARRY KELLER

IN CASE HIS LETTER SOMEHOW ESCAPED your mailbox, it turns out that David Duke has kept hidden from the public a whole other side of himself. Not surprisingly, given that it's Duke, the revelations came in one of his groveling appeals for money. It turns out that the ex-Klansman and ex-convict who said AIDS is "the only disease that turns fruits into vegetables" is no hatemonger after all. Indeed, "love and beauty inspire all that he does," according to a brochure hawking Duke's photographs.

The guy who once said that "niggers are primitive animals" and decried "Jewish supremacist power"? He's actually a sensitive artist. (Of course, so was Hitler.) In typically modest prose, Duke (see related story, p. 44), or whoever crafted the brochure, wrote: "In addition to his brilliant writing, teaching, speaking and political skills, Dr. Duke has a wonderful photographic and artistic ability."

Perhaps a huge ego or extensive cosmetic surgery causes blurred vision. It's not that Duke's photos of Alpine meadows and streams are terrible. They're simply ordinary and mundane — the kind of postcard pictures your neighbors might insist on showing you, never mind that you're bored out of your mind after 10 minutes. Perhaps recognizing this, Duke chose to tinker with a few of his works of art. His colorization of a cityscape of Salzburg, Austria, and of a print called "Autumn Snow" look like Timothy Leary or Peter Max got hold of them. The ghost of Ansel Adams can rest easy.

Now, Duke is peddling these gems in an effort to raise money. In December, he mailed a letter to supporters on letterhead reading "Representative David Duke" — he hasn't been a Louisiana state representative since 1992 — offering prints for \$99 a pop, or six for \$500. His letter is punctuated by six exclamation points (!), so great is his excitement over his self-perceived genius. Duke

tried to stage a conference. EURO finally found a hotel that would have him — but a "triumph"? The event, scheduled for three days, was reduced to a single day. And while EURO had expected about 300 people to show up, only 75 to 100 did so, according to reporters who attended.

All of that hotel-hopping apparently was costly. Hence the sale of prints of his photographs, which measure about 28 by 39 inches. "Starting with one of his own finely composed photos, he then adds artistic flourish in color, brightness, contrast, composition, line and form to make a truly beautiful photo-artwork that will captivate and inspire you," gushes the brochure offering the masterpieces.

And best of all: Each print is numbered and signed by the renowned neo-Nazi in gold ink. Those inflated prices are but "a fraction of gallery prices," according to the brochure, which claims that Duke's work "has been quietly displayed" in Europe under a pseudonym. (Of course, potential buyers

might want to remember that Duke went to federal prison for more than a year in 2003 after using the mails to defraud his own followers. Money raised for his political work was actually spent on gambling and personal expenses.)

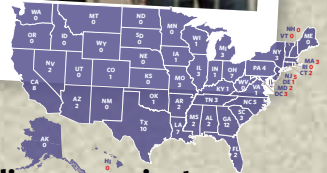
That hyperbole is only exceeded by this purple prose in the brochure: "Preserving the heritage of European Mankind is Dr. David Duke's life task. He sees our people as a beautiful expression of God and Nature, a people of purpose here on the Living Earth and someday even having a destiny in the stars."

That kind of writing makes his photographs look almost artistic by contrast. ▲



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