

**PREJUDICE IN PARADISE** Hate Crimes in Hawaii



# Intelligence Report

PUBLISHED BY  
THE SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER

FALL 2009 | ISSUE 135

**THE SECOND WAVE**

## Return of the Militias

Around the country,  
evidence accumulates  
of a comeback of  
the antigovernment  
'Patriot' movement

**PLUS**

**NATIONAL ALLIANCE**  
Descent Into Thuggery

**PRISONERS OF BELIEF**  
Odinism Behind Bars

# Return of the Militias

BY MARK POTOK, EDITOR

THE 1990S SAW THE RISE AND FALL OF the virulently antigovernment “Patriot” movement, made up of paramilitary militias, tax defiers and so-called “sovereign citizens.” Sparked by a combination



of anger at the federal government and the deaths of political dissenters at Ruby Ridge, Idaho, and Waco, Texas, the movement took off in the middle of the decade and continued to grow even after 168 people were left dead by the 1995 bombing of Oklahoma City’s federal building — an attack, the deadliest ever by domestic U.S. terrorists, carried out by men steeped in the rhetoric and conspiracy theories of the militias.

In the years that followed, a truly remarkable number of criminal plots came out of the movement. But by early this century, the Patriots had largely faded, weakened by systematic prosecutions, aversion to growing violence, and a new, highly conservative president.

As we report in this issue’s cover story, they’re back. Almost a decade after largely disappearing from public view, right-wing militias, ideologically driven tax defiers and sovereign citizens are appearing in large numbers around the country. “Paper terrorism” — the use of property liens and citizens’ “courts” to harass enemies — is on the rise. And once-popular militia conspiracy theories are making the rounds again, this time accompanied by nativist theories about

secret Mexican plans to “reconquer” the American Southwest.

One federal law enforcement agency has found 50 new militia training groups — one of them made up of present and former police officers and soldiers. Authorities around the country are reporting a worrying uptick in Patriot activities and propaganda. “This is the most significant growth we’ve seen in 10 to 12 years,” says one. “All it’s lacking is a spark. I think it’s only a matter of time before you see threats and violence.”

A key difference this time is that the federal government — the entity that almost the entire radical right views as its primary enemy — is headed by a black man. That, coupled with high levels of non-white immigration and a decline in the percentage of whites overall in America, has helped to racialize the Patriot movement, which in the past was not primarily motivated by race hate. One result has been a remarkable rash of domestic terror incidents since the presidential campaign, most of them related to anger over the election of Barack Obama.

At the same time, ostensibly mainstream politicians and media pundits have helped to spread Patriot and related propaganda, from conspiracy theories about a secret network of U.S. concentration camps to wholly unsubstantiated claims about the president’s country of birth.

The latter claims from the so-called “birthers” first gained traction when far-right hard-liners like writer Jerome Corsi, politician Alan Keyes and Watergate felon and radio show host G. Gordon Liddy questioned the validity of the president’s birth certificate. But they have picked up speed thanks to the likes of Lou Dobbs, the CNN and radio host who has repeatedly demanded that Obama “show the documents” proving his citizenship — this despite the fact that the birther claims had been thoroughly

debunked by a guest host of Dobbs’ own CNN show and by many others.

As Chip Berlet, an analyst of the radical right at Political Research Associates, said in a recent report: “The current political environment is awash with seemingly absurd but nonetheless influential conspiracy theories, hyperbolic claims and demonized targets. And this creates a milieu where violence is a likely outcome.”

Fifteen years ago, the Southern Poverty Law Center wrote then-Attorney General Janet Reno to warn about extremists in the militia movement, saying that the “mixture of armed groups and those who hate” was “a recipe for disaster.” Just six months later, Oklahoma City’s federal building was bombed.

Today, the Patriot movement may not have reached the level of white-hot fury that it did in the 1990s. But the movement clearly is growing again, and Americans, in particular law enforcement officers, need to take the dangers it presents seriously. That is equally true for the politicians, pundits and preachers who, through pandering or ignorance, abet the growth of a movement marked by a proven predilection for violence. ▲

**CORRECTION** In 1985, Roberto Fiore was convicted of associating with the Armed Revolutionary Nuclei (ARN) in Italy and sentenced to nine years in prison. While the conviction was upheld, the sentence was eventually reduced, and Fiore did not actually serve any time. The Fall 2008 edition of the *Intelligence Report* erroneously reported that he had served his sentence in connection with a bombing of the Bologna train station. Fiore’s conviction and sentence were for working with the ARN, two members of which were convicted of carrying out the bombing. We regret the error.



ON THE COVER

## 30 The Second Wave

Almost a decade after they seemed to fade from American life, the far-right militias, tax defiers and “sovereign citizens” groups that make up the antigovernment “Patriot” movement are reappearing around the country. Moreover, much of the movement, facing a government headed by a black man, has become increasingly racialized. In the words of one worried law enforcement official, “All it’s lacking is a spark.”



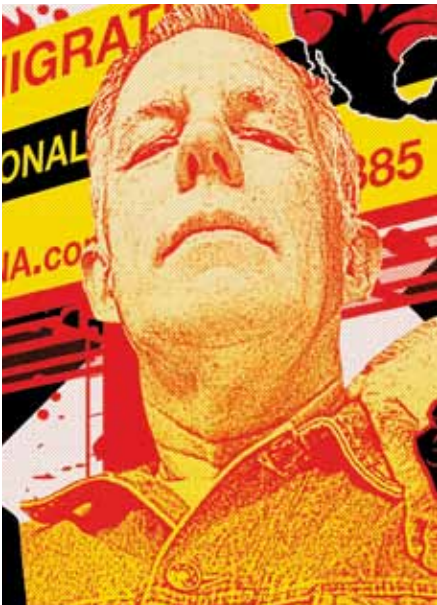
## 24 Prejudice in Paradise

With no known hate groups and a much-trumpeted spirit of aloha or tolerance, few people outside Hawaii realize the state has a racism issue. But despite the weakness of its hate crime reporting, evidence is accumulating of racial rancor directed at non-Native Hawaiians. That’s one reason its 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary will be a muted affair.



## 46 Prisoners of Belief

Ten years ago, most prison officials viewed adherents of Odinism, a revived version of a pre-Christian Norse theology, as racist opportunists seeking to use religion to gain special privileges. In the wake of a key U.S. Supreme Court decision, however, prisons around the country are being forced to accommodate Odinist beliefs.



## 20 Descent Into Thuggery

The National Alliance, once the country’s leading hate group and a shining example of organizational acumen, has become an object of ridicule in the white supremacist movement, with its leader now living in his mother’s basement. At the same time, the group is attracting an increasingly violent criminal class into its ranks.

DAN MCCOMB/AP IMAGES; THE SPOKESMAN-REVIEW (SECOND WAVE); SEAN MCCABE (DESCENT); TWIN NEWHART (PRELUDE); SPECIAL TO THE INTELLIGENCE REPORT (PRISONERS OF BELIEF)

EDITOR/INTELLIGENCE PROJECT DIRECTOR  
Mark Potok

DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH AND SPECIAL PROJECTS  
Heidi Beirich

SENIOR EDITOR  
Rob Waters

STAFF WRITERS  
David Holthouse, Larry Keller, Casey Sanchez, Sonia Scherr

CHIEF INVESTIGATOR  
Joseph Roy Sr.

SENIOR INTELLIGENCE ANALYST  
Laurie Wood

INFORMATION MANAGER  
Michelle Bramblett

RESEARCH ANALYSTS  
Anthony Griggs, Janet Smith

PROGRAM ASSOCIATE  
LaTonya Penn

RESEARCH SPECIALISTS  
Angela Freeman, Karmetriya Jackson

INFORMATION SPECIALISTS  
Angela Foster, Karla Griffin

DESIGN DIRECTOR  
Russell Estes

DESIGNERS  
Valerie Downes, Michelle Leland, Scott Phillips

DESIGN PRODUCTION ASSISTANT  
Sunny Paulk

PRODUCTION MANAGER  
Betty Ruff

WEB PRODUCTION DIRECTOR  
Ryan King

WEB PRODUCTION/COPY EDITOR  
Melissa Henninger

MEDIA AND GENERAL INQUIRIES Mark Potok

LAW ENFORCEMENT INQUIRIES Joseph Roy Sr.

SUBSCRIPTION REQUESTS LaTonya Penn  
Southern Poverty Law Center  
400 Washington Ave. • Montgomery, AL 36104  
(334) 956-8200 • [www.intelligencereport.org](http://www.intelligencereport.org)

PUBLISHED BY  
THE SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER'S  
INTELLIGENCE PROJECT



SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER PRESIDENT  
J. Richard Cohen

SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER FOUNDERS  
Morris Dees  
Joseph J. Levin Jr.

SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER BOARD OF DIRECTORS  
James McElroy, *Chair*  
Julian Bond, Patricia Clark, Lloyd “Vic” Hackley, Alan Howard,  
Marsha Levick, Joseph J. Levin Jr., Howard Mandell,  
Vanzetta McPherson, James Rucker, David Wang

The *Intelligence Report* is published quarterly by the staff of the Intelligence Project of the Southern Poverty Law Center and provided free of charge to law enforcement officials, journalists, scholars and others. The Southern Poverty Law Center is supported entirely by private donations. No government funds are involved. © 2009 Southern Poverty Law Center. All rights reserved.



## 12 Murder at the Museum

A quarter century after failing to make news with a first attack in Washington, D.C., neo-Nazi James von Brunn got his wish.



## 16 Swine Crew

Reports that a pandemic flu originated in Mexico set off a torrent of racist invective, much of it from “mainstream” media personalities.

## 50 Behind the Bull

A key financial publication recently highlighted a newsletter called *The National Investor*. A few interesting facts went missing.

## 52 Measuring the Movement

After a lifetime of research, an analyst of white nationalism assesses the movement and its prospects in America.

## DEPARTMENTS

### 3 Intelligence Briefs

Latino gang members are accused of ethnic cleansing; skins induce birth on Hitler’s birthday; a nativist leader is charged with murder; and other glimpses of extremism.

### 58 International Briefs

The Czech Republic expels David Duke; anti-Roma violence surges in Europe; a South African radical’s son goes public; and Britain bars five U.S. extremists.

### 60 Books on the Right

Two writers take on Holocaust deniers’ claims, one by one.

### 61 Legal Brief

An appeals court recently upheld restrictions on lawsuits against gun sellers, but the ruling does not completely close the door.

### 62 For the Record

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

### 65 The Last Word

A “Confederate” park is dedicated amidst fairy tales about the Civil War.

#### 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.



Printed with inks containing 77.3% renewable resources



RACIST STREET GANGS

## Nearly 150 Latino Gang Members Indicted For Racist Violence

A Latino street gang in a small city in Los Angeles County waged a campaign of racist violence and intimidation that was designed to drive out the city’s African-American residents, according to recently unsealed federal indictments of 147 members and associates of the Varrio Hawaiian Gardens.

Varrio Hawaiian Gardens “gang members take pride in their racism and often refer to the VHG Gang as the ‘Hate Gang;’” the indictment that was unsealed in May states. “VHG gang members have expressed a desire to rid the city of Hawaiian Gardens of all African-Americans and have engaged in a systematic effort to achieve that result by perpetrating crimes against African-Americans.”

The reputed VHG members are charged with 476 “overt acts” of rack-

eteering, such as murder, attempted murder, weapons trafficking and kidnapping. Among the criminal acts detailed in the indictment is one instance where gang members fired bullets into a home occupied by eight people. It’s not clear from the indictment whether anyone was hit.

Additionally, gang members chased a black man while yelling racial epithets and then struck him repeatedly with a garden rake, the indictment alleges. Days later, VHG members allegedly stabbed the same victim several times. He survived.

Sixty-three of the indicted gang members were arrested May 22 in early morning raids. According to U.S. Attorney Thomas O’Brien, the investigation of the Varrio Hawaiian Gardens gang began in 2005, after a Los Angeles

sheriff’s deputy was shot to death while searching for a VHG member charged with shooting an African-American man.

Latinos vastly outnumber African Americans in Hawaiian Gardens. The 2000 census, the most recent data available, shows that while Latinos make up 73% of the city’s 15,000 inhabitants, only 4% are African Americans.

The VHG arrests resulted from the latest in a string of criminal investigations that have found Latino street gangs in Southern California are carrying out organized racist violent targeting African Americans in majority Latino areas.

In late 2006, the *Intelligence Report* revealed that leaders of the Mexican Mafia prison gang were directing Latino street gangs outside prison walls to carry out ethnic cleansing attacks on African Americans in order to establish purely Latino neighborhoods.

Since then, federal prosecutors have charged members of a Latino street

HATE IN THE MAINSTREAM

“Might be a racist joke but it’s still funny.”  
— Subject line of a **Feb. 24** mass E-mail, sent by Burke County (N.C.) School Board member **ROB HAIRFIELD**, that contained an epithet-laden racist joke and racist photo illustrations and resulted in the board censuring Hairfield

“The U.S. Hispanic Chamber of Commerce is effectively an organization that is interested in ... Mexico’s export of drugs and illegal aliens to the United States.”  
—**LOU DOBBS**, on the **March 11** edition of CNN’s “Lou Dobbs Tonight,” in defamatory comments for which he later offered a rare apology

“Those crazies in Montana who say, ‘We’re going to kill ATF agents because the U.N.’s going to take over’ — well, they’re beginning to have a case.”  
— FOX News contributor **DICK MORRIS** criticizing President Obama’s policies during the **March 31** edition of FOX’s “Your World with Neil Cavuto”

“Rather than everyone here having to learn Chinese ... do you think that it would behoove you and your citizens to adopt a name that’s easier for Americans to deal with?”  
— Texas state Rep. **BETTY BROWN** (R-Terrell), in an exchange with Organization of Chinese Americans representative Ramey Ko during an **April 7** House Elections Committee hearing on voter identity legislation

“I was attempting to explain that unlike Sen. Schumer, I believe in traditional values, like we used to see on ‘The Andy Griffith Show.’ ... I don’t have any issue with Jews or Jewish people or whatever the politically correct term they wish to be identified as.”  
— Arkansas state Sen. **KIM HENDREN** (R-Gravette), “apologizing” on **April 14** for calling U.S. Sen. Charles Schumer (D-N.Y.) “that Jew” after Schumer described conservative Republicans as “hard right.”

“[W]e know that that young man was killed in the commitment of robbery. It wasn’t because he was gay. ... [I]t’s really a hoax that continues to be used as an excuse for passing these bills.”  
— U.S. Rep. **VIRGINIA FOXX** (R-N.C.), in an **April 29** speech on the House floor against a proposed federal hate crimes law known as the Matthew Shepard Act, suggesting that police, prosecutors, witnesses and jurors were all wrong about Shepard’s murder

“Poor, without skills, without language, not shar[ing] our culture, not shar[ing] our hygiene. ... It’s millions of leeches from a primitive country, come here to leech off you and, with it, they are ruining the schools, the hospitals, and a lot of life in America.”  
— **JAY SEVERIN**, during the **April 30** edition of his talk radio show on Boston’s WTKK-FM, characterizing Mexican immigrants in a tirade that resulted in his indefinite suspension

“There goes the neighborhood.”  
— Subject line of a mass E-mail depicting a watermelon patch outside the White House that was forwarded by North Carolina Alcoholic Beverage Commission Chairman **DOUGLAS A. FOX**, who also wrote “how true” but was forced to resign **May 5**



Authorities in Los Angeles County said the VH Gang, in addition to a violent campaign against blacks, also ran a large methamphetamine operation. Among the alleged gang members charged with drug crimes were, clockwise from top left: Arturo Flores, his brother Carlos Flores, Fernando Lopez Jimenez and Israel Munoz.

gang in Florence-Firestone, an unincorporated district near the Watts neighborhood in Los Angeles, with conducting a violent campaign targeting African Americans that allegedly resulted in 20 homicides.

Also, four members of The Avenues, a Latino street gang based in Highland Park, a neighborhood located just northeast of downtown Los Angeles, were convicted in 2007 of hate crime murder. They killed a black man as part of an ongoing effort to rid Highland Park of African Americans.

Federal, state and local authorities launched a widespread crackdown on Latino gangs in the Los Angeles metropolitan area after Latino gang members looking for any black person to kill in the Harbor Gateway district of Los Angeles gunned down Cheryl Green, a 14-year-old African-American girl whose murder became a rallying point.

“We have evidence linking inmates who are known as ‘shot callers’ directly to street shootings based entirely on race,” Los Angeles County Sheriff Lee Baca stated after Green’s murder. “The shot caller will often order the gunman to find someone — anyone — who is black or brown and shoot them. ... Gang affiliation does not matter. Only the color of the victim’s skin matters.”

ANTI-ABORTION EXTREMISM

Alleged Assassin of Doctor Tied to Racist Groups

The man accused of fatally shooting Wichita abortion doctor George Tiller this spring has longstanding ties to antigovernment groups and radical anti-abortion activism.

Scott Roeder, 51, was charged with first-degree murder in connection with the May 31 assassination of Tiller, who was shot while serving as an usher at his church. Tiller, who in 1993 was shot in both arms by another anti-abortion protester, ran one of three clinics in the United States that provided late-term abortions.

Roeder was involved during the ’90s with the so-called sovereign citizens movement. Sovereign citizens generally believe the government has no jurisdiction over them and often deluge courts with phony liens and other paperwork. Many of them also believe that only whites can be sovereigns, while blacks and others are mere “14<sup>th</sup> Amendment citizens” who must obey all government rules.

Police stopped Roeder in 1996 because he didn’t have a valid license plate and instead was using a tag that declared he was a “sovereign” citizen who didn’t have to obey the government. During a search of his car, police discovered bomb-making materials including gunpowder and a homemade fuse. He was found guilty of criminal use of explosives, but an appeals court ruled that the car had been improperly searched and overturned the conviction.

Dave Leach told reporters that Roeder had contributed to his newsletter, *Prayer and Action News*, which argues that killing abortion providers is justifiable. A former roommate told CNN that Roeder belonged to the “Army of God,” whose website praises the killings and asserts that Tiller is now in hell. Roeder also



Scott Roeder

made inflammatory posts to Operation Rescue, a Wichita-based group that long had tried to prevent Tiller from providing late-term abortions. In one 2007 post, Roeder wrote: “Tiller is the concentration camp ‘Mengele’ of our day and needs to be stopped before he and those who protect him bring judgment upon our nation.”

Roeder’s family said he has suffered from bouts of mental illness.

Roeder may also have vandalized a Kansas City clinic shortly before he allegedly shot Tiller. A man repeating phrases such as “baby killer” was spotted using super glue to jam a door

lock at the Aid for Women clinic the day before Tiller’s death. He fled in a car with the same license plate as Roeder’s vehicle.

Speaking with The Associated Press after his June arrest, Roeder said: “I know there are many other similar events planned around the country as long as abortion remains legal.” He would not say if he was referring to killings.

Since 1977, eight U.S. abortion providers or their assistants or escorts have

Two days after Dr. Tiller’s murder, a church in Wichita, Kansas, celebrated the event.



been killed, including Tiller, according to the National Abortion Federation. After the latest murder, Tiller’s family said his clinic would not be reopened.

POISONING THE MAINSTREAM

White Supremacist Blogger Spurs Another Kind of Panic

Wild claims from white supremacist blogger and radio host Hal Turner are nothing new. After Hurricane Katrina in 2005, Turner, who’s based in New Jersey, regaled listeners with tales of traveling “down South,” where, he suggested without quite saying so directly, he personally shot and killed 91 African-American looters in New Orleans.

In the week leading up to the inauguration of Barack Obama as the nation’s first non-white president, Turner discussed supposed plans to attack inauguration crowds with drone aircrafts armed with sticks of dynamite. “All the assets ... are now in-place; deep within the security perimeter. Everything is a go,” he bragged in a post to his website. “We have crossed the Rubicon; let history judge us well.”

Nothing happened, of course, adding to Turner’s reputation within the white supremacist movement for being a blowhard. (Not to mention a snitch — last year, the *Intelligence Report* revealed that Turner was then a paid FBI informant even while publicly making violent threats against elected officials. Many experts in police procedure harshly condemned the use of Turner as an informant because of his prominent role in promoting racist violence.)

But when Turner claimed to have obtained the results of the Treasury Department’s “stress tests” of troubled financial institutions on April 27, a full week before their scheduled release date, bank stocks took a nosedive. Financial journalists and investors apparently confused the name of Turner’s website, Turner Radio Network, with Turner Broadcasting System, started by legitimate media mogul Ted Turner (no relation).

The results of the bank tests were “very bad,” according to Hal Turner. Without posting the documents he’d supposedly been leaked or offering any other evidence to support his claim, he “reported” on his blog that 16 of the nation’s 19 top banks were “technically insolvent.”

The Treasury Department was quick to debunk Turner’s purported exposé. “There is no basis for that report,” Treasury spokesman Andrew Williams told reporters. “We do not even have the results yet.” Nevertheless, a blog post on the website of *The Financial Times* linked to Turner’s blog post, which the respected British business newspaper called “something of a scoop.” A follow-up post at the newspaper site noted that Turner is “widely derided as a racist crank.” By then, however, Turner’s claim was echoing throughout the financial blogosphere, and a panicked sell-off was under way.

By the end of the day, financial stocks in Standard & Poor’s 500-stock index had tumbled 11%.

“The broader sell-off in financial stocks after Mr. Turner’s report shows the velocity of news, true or not, in a market where jittery investors are wired to react quickly to information, positive or negative,” *The New York Times* reported.

“It really seemed that they did take it seriously, that this was a leak,” Lou Brien, a marketing strategist at DRW Trading in Chicago, told the newspaper. “The story may have struck a chord with the market as regards to how the tests will look. We reacted for about 20 minutes or a half hour.”

Pressed to release the documents, Turner refused. “I will wait until the government releases whatever they release on or about May 4, then rebut the government ‘spin’ with facts,” he wrote. But when the actual results were released, prompting a stock rally because they showed the major banks to



Hal Turner

be in much better shape than Turner had reported, the racist broadcaster maintained radio silence on the topic, other than posting a bogus news flash about the chief financial officer of Freddie Mac being shot and lynched by a mob outside his home.

“I warned I would incite this!” Turner crowed.

EXTREMISTS IN PRISON

Oklahoma City Conspirator Demands Better Prison Food

Mass murderer Terry Nichols doesn’t like the food in prison. It’s bad, he complains. It makes him suffer “chronic constipation, bleeding and hemorrhoids,” according to a lawsuit filed in April by Nichols, who conspired with Timothy McVeigh in the 1995 bombing of the Oklahoma City federal building, an act of domestic terrorism that killed 168 people, 19 of them children. In the suit, Nichols, who’s serving a life sentence at the Supermax prison in Florence, Colo., contends that “God created mankind to consume unrefined whole foods” that “work in a synergistic way to keep one’s body (i.e. God’s holy temple) in good health to ward off various diseases.”

After describing his bowel movements in cringe-inducing detail, Nichols demands that prison officials be forced to provide him with a high-fiber diet that includes whole grains along with fresh vegetables and fruit daily. He argues that Supermax prison food amounts to cruel and unusual punishment. “Plaintiff is compelled to consume daily those unhealthy dead and refined foods that are abhorrent to plaintiff’s sincerely held religious beliefs, causing him physical, mental and spiritual torment,” Nichols asserts in his self-filed complaint.

As supporting evidence, Nichols includes declarations from six fellow Supermax inmates with digestive com-

plaints, including Eric Robert Rudolph, the abortion clinic and Olympic Park bomber whose four bombings killed two people, including a police officer, and injured more than 150. Rudolph asserts that “refined and highly processed” food causes him “constipation, gas and stomach cramps.”

On April 23, a federal judge denied Nichols’ request for a preliminary injunction. U.S. Magistrate Judge Boyd Boland ruled there was nothing in Nichols’ motion to show that he faces



Terry Nichols

immediate danger of serious injury. Boland also pointed out that Nichols has been at the Supermax prison for four years but is only now expressing his distaste for white bread.

Other issues raised by Nichols in the lawsuit include his treatment by federal Bureau of Prisons staff who, he alleges, have subjected him to “discrimination, prejudice, animosity, vindictiveness and retaliation,” because the media has “stereotyped Mr. Nichols as a terrorist.” “Mr. Nichols is not a terrorist,” the lawsuit declares, despite his conviction on 161 counts of premeditated murder, including one case of fetal homicide, and eight counts of involuntary manslaughter — not to mention conspiracy to use a weapon of mass destruction.

But he is a health nut.

RACIST SKINHEADS

Inland Empire Skinheads Busted In Hitler Birthday Sweep

Seven members of the Inland Empire Skinheads were arrested in a daylong sweep in southern California April 20, including two female gang members who were arrested in hospitals where they had induced labor to ensure their babies would be born on Adolf Hitler’s 120<sup>th</sup> birthday.

San Bernardino County Sheriff Rod Hoops said the arrests were the result of a nine-month investigation that was launched following an attempted murder in Hesperia, Calif., last year. Hoops said the gang has between 30 and 50 members residing in the Inland Empire, a region of southeastern California, and is closely affiliated with the Western Hammerskins, a regional division of the widespread skinhead gang Hammerskin Nation.

Hoops said his department had been tracking the Inland Empire Skinheads since 2002. In those seven years, members of the gang have been involved in murders, attempted murders, murder conspiracies, home invasion robberies, hate crime assaults, and narcotics trafficking, according to the sheriff.

The skinheads arrested this April were charged with a variety of crimes, including conspiracy to commit murder, parole violations, illegal weapons possession, armed robbery, witness intimidation, and dealing methamphetamine. Among those taken into custody was gang leader Raymond Williams, 34, a Perris, Calif., tattoo artist who was arrested at a hospital where his wife was giving birth. Williams is on the national Terrorist Watch List.

Detectives seized crossed battle axes (a symbol of the Hammerskins), swastika banners, framed photographs of Hitler, and other skinhead paraphernalia, along with \$1,000 in cash and numerous firearms, brass knuckles and edged weapons. They also found fliers advertising the gang’s annual barbecue

and a homemade photo album containing pictures of gang members bloodied from fights and guzzling from Viking-style drinking horns. One photo showed a small child holding two handguns.

Three of the skinheads took plea bargains involving significant prison time less than a month after the sweep.

Joseph Mason, 20, pleaded guilty to conspiracy to commit assault and gang activity. He was sentenced to eight years in prison. Joshua Butler, 28, and Carrie Goodwin, 25, both pleaded guilty to conspiracy to commit residential robbery. Butler was sentenced to nine years. Goodwin’s sentencing was pending at press time.

Sheriff Hoops said he expected more arrests to be made in coming weeks, including two more women suspected in robberies and assaults.

ANTI-LATINO CRIME

Nativist Leader Charged in Double Murder, Tied to Aryan Nations

Accused of orchestrating the murder of a 9-year-old Latina girl and her father this spring, Shawna Forde, the leader of the anti-immigrant Minuteman American Defense (MAD), doesn’t even have family left to defend her. The weekend after her June arrest, Forde’s

mother wrote on Facebook, “I am sorry that my child did this horrendous thing.” Her half-brother Merrill Metzger told the *Arizona Daily Star* that when Forde visited him in early May, “She sat right here on my couch and told me that she was going to start an underground militia. This militia was going to start robbing drug cartels, rob them and steal their money or drugs.”



Shawna Forde, top, is accused of planning the home invasion, along with Albert Robert Gaxiola, center, and Jason Eugene Bush, the accused triggerman.



According to the Pima County (Ariz.) Sheriff’s office, Forde and her accomplices — MAD Operations Director Jason Eugene “Gunny” Bush, 34, and Albert Robert Gaxiola, 42, a local MAD member — planned the May 30 home invasion because they thought they would find drugs and cash to fund

their group’s operation. The three allegedly broke into a trailer in the border town of Arivaca and Bush, identified as the triggerman, shot 29-year old Raul Flores, his wife and their daughter Brisenia. Flores’ wife survived and returned fire. “Oh my God,” she can be heard shouting on a 911 tape. “I can’t believe they killed my family.”

Forde, 41, denied the charges against her.

Days after the arrests, Bush was additionally charged with the 1997 stabbing murder of a Latino man in Wenatchee, Wash., behind a convenience store. Police said that Bush had “longstanding ties” to the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations, and Forde’s half-brother told a reporter that she was trying to recruit its members to join her



Brisenia Flores, 9, and her father, Raul, were shot and killed. Although wounded, Brisenia’s mother fired back, driving the home invaders away.

in robbing alleged Latino drug-runners. “She was talking about starting a revolution against the United States government,” Metzger said.

Forde had been involved in other vigilante efforts. In 2007, she told the Redding, Calif., *Record Searchlight* she had 50 people interested in joining a group that would scour the woods of northern California to apprehend illegal immigrants growing marijuana. That same year, Forde’s run for the Everett, Wash., City Council was derailed by her arrest for shoplifting \$3.18 worth of chocolate milk.

Forde’s arrest immediately sent other nativist leaders running for political cover, with several claiming they had stopped working with her long before because of what they described as her erratic ways. Many had, in fact, been skeptical of Forde’s earlier claims

of having been raped by Latino home invaders. Police have dropped their investigation of that claim, saying they had no evidence.

EXTREMIST MEDIA

Anti-Semitism Finds a Home on Left-Leaning Radio Station

As part of the Pacifica Radio network of commercial-free, listener-supported and unabashedly progressive community radio stations, Los Angeles station KPFK might seem like an unlikely forum for naked anti-Semitism.

Yet one of its weekly talk shows is becoming just that. “La Causa” (“The Cause”), a bilingual mix of English and Spanish which airs every Wednesday night, features

callers, most of them Latino, who rant about ZOG [“Zionist Occupied Government”], a term coined by neo-Nazis and other white supremacists.

The show’s hosts, who go by the names Augustín Cebada and Rafael Tlaloc, are more than just passive enablers of anti-Semitic rhetoric. They actively promote conspiracy theories about Jewish control of media and world governments, referring to Ponzi scheme crook Bernie Madoff as “that Jewish scam artist.” Tlaloc said he felt no sympathy for Madoff’s victims, many of whom were Jewish, because they were “shylocks and shysters.”

Also, as the *Jewish Journal of Greater Los Angeles* reported in a major article on “La Causa” published March 18, Cebada frequently attacks Los Angeles Mayor Antonio Villaraigosa for supporting Israel and

THE BLOTTER

Updates on Extremism and The Law

MAR. 6 Four members of the Nevada Lawmen Group for Public Awareness, an antigovernment “sovereign citizens” group, were arrested in Las Vegas on charges of money laundering, tax evasion and illegal weapons possession, capping a three-year probe by the Nevada Joint Terrorism Task Force. Among those arrested were retired FBI agent Jay Lindsey and Samuel Davis, who allegedly orchestrated the laundering of \$1.3 million that he believed was loot from bank heists.

MAR. 19 Seven reputed members of the United Aryan Soldiers were indicted for conspiring to commit home invasion robberies and for selling drugs, guns and ammunition in Omaha, Neb. The defendants were arrested at the conclusion of “Operation Red Swastika,” a lengthy federal undercover investigation by the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives. Authorities seized 10 firearms, more than 5,000 rounds of ammunition, and an unspecified amount of methamphetamine.

MAR. 20 Aryan Circle enforcer Bryan “Bone” Aiken was sentenced to four years for his role in an August 2007 shootout in North Richland Hills, Tex., that erupted when Aiken and three other gunmen showed up at the home of a high-ranking AC member who was rumored to be leaving the gang. Investigators said Aiken was under orders to kill the gang leader, who was injured in the exchange of gunfire but survived.

APR. 2 Atlantic City Skins member Walter Dille was sentenced to life in prison without the possibility of parole for the racially motivated

December 2005 random murder of a 44-year-old black woman in the parking lot of a movie theater in Hamilton Township, N.J. At his sentencing hearing, Dille laughed out loud when one of the victim’s family members read a letter from her parents expressing the hope that Dille’s case would deter others from becoming skinheads.

APR. 28 Billy Lynn Brosowske, whom prison officials have identified as an affiliate of the Nazi Low Riders, a white supremacist skinhead gang, was sentenced to nearly six years in prison for a Jan. 10 racially motivated assault in Eugene, Ore., in which Brosowske bit off the top of an ear of a man of Puerto Rican descent.

APR. 29 William Mark Mize, a longtime Ku Klux Klan member, was put to death by lethal injection for a 1994 murder in Oconee County, Ga. At the time of the killing, Mize, an electrician, was trying to start a white supremacist group called the National Vastilian Aryan Party. A jury found that Mize became so enraged with a prospective member who failed to follow orders to burn down a purported crack house that he killed the recruit with a shotgun blast.

MAY 6 The Texas Court of Criminal Appeals denied the final state-level appeal of condemned white supremacist Tracy Layne Beatty, a member of the prison-based Aryan Circle gang who was sentenced to death for killing his mother in Smith County, Tex., in 2003. The court ordered that Beatty be executed on Aug. 13.

MAY 12 Soldiers of Aryan Culture member Trevor Powell, 28, pleaded no contest to attempted aggravated murder for stabbing a man in Provo, Utah. Powell was sentenced to five years to life, to run concurrently with another five-to-life sentence handed down for his recent conviction for a 2001 aggravated robbery.

MAY 13 Robert King, 29, and Jeremy Davis, 28, both members of Soldiers of Aryan Culture, were arrested and charged with six counts of aggravated kidnapping, aggravated robbery, aggravated burglary and attempted homicide for their alleged roles in a home invasion robbery in Salt Lake City. A third SAC member was shot to death with his own gun during the attack by one of the intended victims.

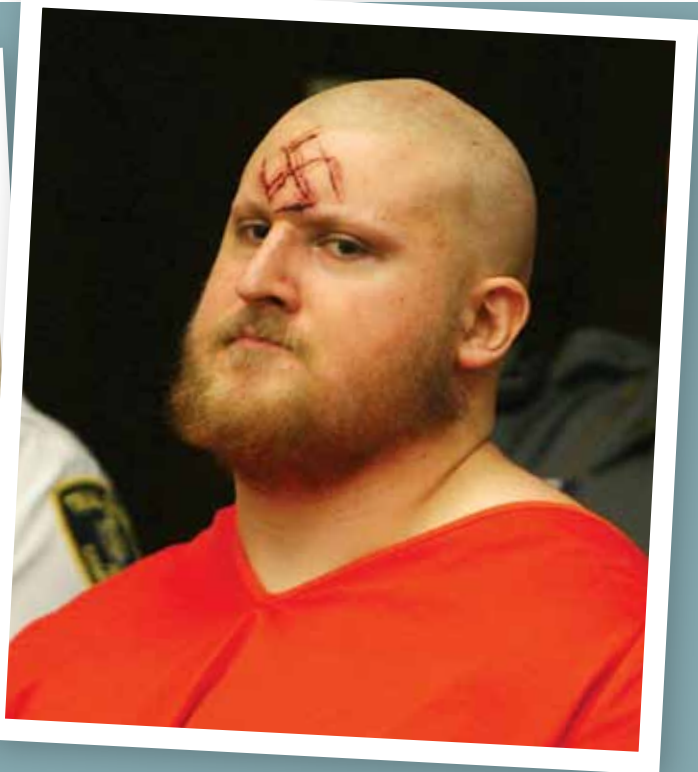
MAY 13 A federal judge in Chicago set August 11 as the opening day for American National Socialist Workers Party commander Bill White to stand trial for using his website to incite violence against the foreman of a federal jury that convicted another neo-Nazi leader of attempting to solicit the murder of a federal judge.

MAY 19 Dale Barton, a member of the white supremacist gang European Kindred, was sentenced to two-and-a-half years in prison for an April burglary in Clackamas County, Ore. The victim caught Barton in the act and told him he should go to church to repent. Barton said he did, found Jesus, and took a plea deal.



MAY 6, 2009 • BROCKTON, MASS.

Keith Luke — the 22-year-old accused of carrying out a racially motivated rape and murder spree in Brockton, Mass., last Jan. 21— shocked court observers by appearing at a pre-trial hearing with a crude swastika freshly carved into his forehead. Luke, seen above shortly after his arrest, apparently used a disposable jailhouse razor, and further altered his appearance by growing a beard and shedding at least 50 pounds after he allegedly shot to death two Cape Verdean immigrants and raped and attempted to murder a third because, as Luke reportedly told police, he was “fighting for a dying race.” Luke also allegedly told authorities after his capture that he had planned to kill as many Jews as he could at a local synagogue that evening. He appeared amused as he pleaded not guilty, reportedly smirking at the judge during the proceedings.



TIM CORREIA/AP IMAGES; TIM CORREIA/THE ENTERPRISE/GATEHOUSE MEDIA (LUKE WITH SWASTIKA)

for “dancing around with a yarmulke on his head,” apparently referring to a 2007 charity telethon where the L.A. mayor danced the horah while wearing a traditional skullcap.

“Cebada, co-host Rafael Tlaloc and their callers draw parallels between Latinos in the United States and Palestinians in the Middle East,” the journal reported. “Just as American descendants of Europeans ‘should go back to Europe,’ so, too, the descendants of European Jews in Israel should leave the Middle East and go live in Europe.”

“La Causa” is tightly linked to La Voz de Aztlán, a rabidly anti-Semitic website based in Whittier, Calif. La Voz de Aztlán has been identified as a hate website by the Southern Poverty Law Center.

“La Causa” hosts and callers often reference La Voz de Aztlán as a credible source of information, and La Voz de Aztlán webmaster Hector Carreon has been interviewed on “La Causa” as a legitimate political analyst. Although a recording of that 2007 interview is no longer available in the KPFFK online archives, Carreon boasts about an ongoing collaboration with “La Causa” on the La Voz de Aztlán website. “La Voz de Aztlán is working with the staff of ‘La Causa’ to create additional radio programming at KPFFK for La Raza,” Carreon wrote. “Anyone interested in this project should contact La Voz de Aztlán.”

KPFFK was founded in 1959. It’s the most powerful public radio station in the Western United States, according to its website, and its programming is normally liberal to left wing. Its official mission statement declares that KPFFK seeks to promote “a lasting understanding between nations and between the individuals of all nations, races, creeds and colors.”

Cebada and Tlaloc did not respond to E-mailed requests for an interview.

EXTREMIST CRIMES

Extremist’s Son  
Convicted of Brutal  
Home-Invasion Murders

The senselessness of the February 2007 home invasion murders of Tracy Kruger and his 13-year-old son Alec shocked the residents of Waseca County, Minn.

The killer, Michael S. Zabawa, then 24, broke into the victims’ home after he drunkenly crashed his truck into a nearby ditch, and then used their SUV in a failed attempt to pull his vehicle back on the road. According to prosecutors, Zabawa, who did not know the Kruger family, killed Alec and Tracy Kruger with shotgun blasts, and shot and critically wounded Hilary Kruger, the wife and mother of the slain, simply because he didn’t want to get in trouble for using their SUV without permission.

A jury convicted Zabawa of murder and attempted murder March 13.

Zabawa’s employer, a local hog farmer, told the media the cold-blooded killer had seemed like a good guy. “You just can’t explain why a good person does evil things,” he said.

Perhaps not. But anyone trying to better understand how Zabawa could have such callous disregard for human life would do well to consider the influence of his father, Donald Zabawa, who

in the 1980s and 1990s was a highly active member of violently anti-Semitic and antigovernment organizations including the Posse Comitatus.

A former prison guard from Minnesota, the elder Zabawa was arrested in the mid-1980s for attacking a GI with nunchuck sticks. He later served time for shooting up a police car. In May 1984, Zabawa told FBI agents that he’d participated in mock attacks on law enforcement officers staged by The Covenant, The Sword and The Arm of the Lord, a radical-right paramilitary group in Arkansas whose members, he said, often expressed their desire to “kill cops for the cause.”

During the same FBI interview, Zabawa outlined his association with the Christian Patriots Defense League, another far-right paramilitary outfit. “They have two fully automatic converted AR-15s and a couple of cases of baseball grenades,” Zabawa said. “I have seen an ammo can full of booby trap mechanisms with blasting caps. [A friend] wants to kill Jews, cops, judges, lawyers and everyone who doesn’t agree with him.” Zabawa also boasted of his friendship with James Wickstrom, a one-time Posse associate who preaches the anti-Semitic theology of Christian Identity. “He [Wickstrom] said to arm myself and prepare for the war between the Posse and the system,” Zabawa told the FBI.

“He said the movement is going to overthrow the government by force.”

Michael Zabawa was just a toddler back then. His trouble with the law started in 2001, at age 18, when he was charged with shoplift-

Michael Zabawa, shown arriving for a court appearance shortly after the 2007 murders, was convicted in March.



JOHN CROSS/ANSA TO FREE PRESS/AP IMAGES

ing. That was followed by a couple of drunken-driving arrests and a 2004 conviction for felony theft and criminal property damage. Then came the Kruger murders.

When *Minneapolis Star-Tribune* columnist Jon Tevlin informed a former sheriff in Kansas who once arrested the elder Zabawa that Donald Zabawa’s son had been arrested for murder, the sheriff said, “I’m not surprised one bit.”

Donald Zabawa wasn’t around to see how his son turned out. He choked to death on his own booze-soaked vomit in 1998, when Michael was 15.

NATIVIST VIOLENCE

All-White Jury Finds  
Teens Not Guilty of  
Immigrant’s Murder

The U.S. Justice Department has opened a civil rights investigation into the case of two white youths acquitted of slaying a Mexican immigrant by an all-white jury in Pennsylvania. Many observers described the verdict as a blatant act of jury nullification, akin to past cases in which all-white juries in the Deep South delivered not guilty verdicts in the murders of civil-rights activists despite what was sometimes incontrovertible evidence.

The Schuylkill County, Pa., jury found high school football stars Brandon Piekarsky and Derrick Donchak not guilty of homicide, ethnic intimidation and aggravated assault in the July 2008 beating death of Luis Ramirez in Shenandoah, Pa., where the Latino population is growing rapidly. Both were convicted of simple assault and could face one- to two-year prison terms.

The jury heard testimony that Ramirez, a 25-year-old father of two, was attacked by six white teenagers who yelled racial epithets as they knocked him to the ground, beat him unconscious and then repeatedly kicked him in the head. Defense attorneys claimed that Ramirez started the fight and that Piekarsky and Donchak had merely fought back in self-defense.

NICK MEYER/THE REPUBLICAN-HERALD/AP IMAGES

But prosecutors said the teens were the aggressors, with Piekarsky delivering the fatal kick to Ramirez.

“Common sense dictates that ... football players were unlikely to have been threatened by Ramirez,” Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF) spokeswoman Gladys Limon told CNN. “Yet it seems prejudice overruled reason in this case, and that the life of a Mexican immigrant who was fatally beaten by white ‘kids’ was deemed subhuman.”

During his closing argument, the prosecutor in the case showed the jury a photograph of Donchak taken at a Halloween party about three months after Ramirez was killed. It shows Donchak dressed up as a U.S. Border Patrol agent. He was mocking Ramirez’s death, the prosecutor argued.



The acquittal of Derrick Donchak (left) and Brandon Piekarsky by an all-white jury evoked memories of the civil rights era in the South.



The jury selection process indicated it was going to be tough to obtain a conviction in Schuylkill County, where the population is 96.6% white and just 1.1% Latino, according to the U.S. Census Bureau. A dozen potential jurors were dismissed after they admitted they couldn’t be impartial in a case involving a Latino immigrant. “If they weren’t here illegally, it wouldn’t have happened,” said one woman who was excused. Asked by the judge what she knew about the case, the woman said, “Some boys picked on a Hispanic man and he was acciden-

tally killed. ... I don’t think they meant to kill him.”

Calling the verdict a “glaring injustice,” MALDEF’s Limon warned of the message it sends: “That Latino immigrants can be brutally beaten without any consequence to those who commit the crimes.”

Ten days after the verdicts, *The New York Times* reported that racial tensions in Shenandoah had intensified after the trial, with threats, vandalism and fights on the rise. Meanwhile, civil rights activists cheered news of the Justice Department’s probe of Ramirez’s death and of the way local authorities handled the case.

“This case is not just about what happened to Luis; it’s about what Latinos nationally are facing,” John Amaya, a staff lawyer with MALDEF, told the newspaper. Amaya pointed to federal statistics that show a 40% increase in hate-motivated attacks on

Latinos between 2003 to 2007.

Though it has received far less media attention, the recent murder of Mexican immigrant Evaristo Ramirez Ventura may be another example of what Limon termed “the wave of hate crimes against Latinos.”

Ventura, 25, was arrested Feb.

26 in Sacramento, Calif., on suspicion of drunk driving. Later that day, he was placed in a holding cell with a man who’d been charged with a racially motivated assault on a Latina woman. Shortly thereafter, Ventura was allegedly beaten and strangled with a T-shirt by the cell’s only other occupant.

“This was a hate crime,” said Al Rojas of the Sacramento Chapter of the Labor Council for Latin American Advancement, which represents the interests of Latino workers. “Had [Ventura] not been an undocumented worker, he would be alive today.” ▲

OUT OF OUR MEMORY... OF THE HOLOCAUST WE  
MUST FORGE AN UNSHAKABLE OATH WITH  
ALL CIVILIZED PEOPLE THAT NEVER AGAIN WILL  
THE WORLD STAND SILENT. NEVER AGAIN  
WILL THE WORLD... FAIL TO ACT IN TIME TO  
PREVENT THIS TERRIBLE CRIME OF GENOCIDE...  
WE MUST HARNESS THE OUTRAGE OF OUR OWN  
MEMORIES TO STAMP OUT OPPRESSION WHEREVER  
IT EXISTS. WE MUST UNDERSTAND THAT HUMAN  
RIGHTS AND HUMAN DIGNITY ARE INDIVISIBLE.

JIMMY CARTER

38TH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

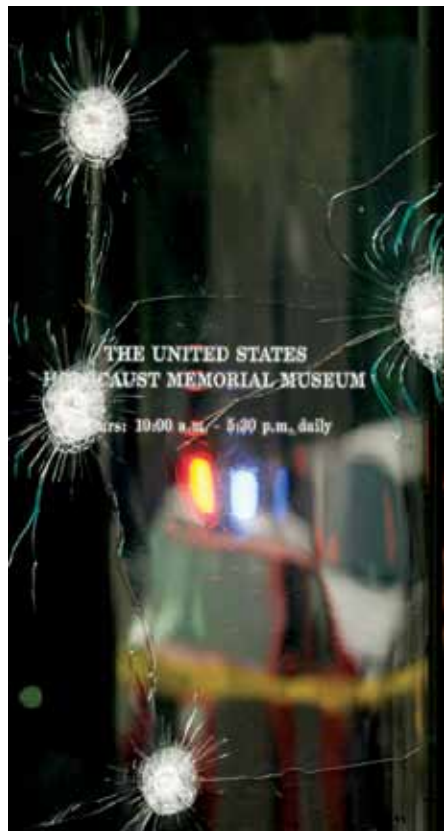
SEPTEMBER 27, 1929

# Murder at the Museum

An aging neo-Nazi, apparently seeking death  
in a blaze of glory, is accused of killing a guard  
at the U.S. Holocaust Museum

BY LARRY KELLER





**"I never would have thought he could do this," said the son of 88-year-old James von Brunn. Security guard Stephen Johns (right) was fatally shot as he opened the museum door.**

If nothing else, neo-Nazi James von Brunn gained one thing from walking into the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C., on June 10, where he allegedly shot and killed a security guard: attention. Even at 88, von Brunn still yearned for an audience for his virulent screeds.

The ardent anti-Semite lamented that his one grand gesture earlier in life — a thwarted 1981 plan to take members of the Federal Reserve Board hostage and make a televised speech — was all but ignored.

"There was no media coverage of my trial," he complained once in a letter to a friend. "I personally visited D.C. newspaper editors and wrote major networks inviting coverage."

Even right-wing ideologues failed to acknowledge his bold move, von Brunn said. He wrote once of calling his "Aryan genius" friend, Ben Klassen, founder of the white supremacist Church of the Creator, only to learn that Klassen was unaware that von Brunn had been in prison the previous 5 1/2 years. Right-wing leaders ignored him as too politically incorrect, he grouched. "My trial was not mentioned in their publications or discussed at their meetings," he wrote.

With his arrest in the murder of security guard Stephen T. Johns, 39, von Brunn finally drew international attention. He had made good on a vow once made to his second ex-wife to go out with his boots on. "I took it to mean that he was going to go out and try to take some people with him," she told the *New York Daily News*. After Johns was shot, other guards immediately fired at von Brunn, who survived a shot to the face. He was charged with murder.

It also was in the nation's capital where von Brunn was arrested in December 1981 after he carried a sawed-off shotgun, a pistol and a hunting knife into the Federal Reserve, where he hoped to make a citizen's arrest of the Board of Governors and "read to the American public my indictment on these treason-

ous liars" on television. He was convicted of attempted kidnapping and other charges by a "Negro jury" and "a Jew judge," he wrote later, and sentenced in April 1983 to a term of up to 11 years in prison. He was released in 1989.

In the ensuing years, von Brunn wrote anti-Semitic diatribes on his website, holywesternempire.org, and self-published a book, *Kill the Best Gentiles!* His hatred of the Federal Reserve and Jews never waned. In a May 2007 posting on the message board of an ultra-right, conspiracy-obsessed message board, von Brunn wrote: "The FED is a JEW controlled, PRIVATE corporation. JEWS create wars to divide and conquer. AMERICA'S MASS MEDIA is in JEW hands. ... JEWS control your mind."

About 12:44 p.m. on June 10, the octogenarian double-parked his 2002 red Hyundai in front of the Holocaust museum, approached the building and allegedly shot Johns as he opened the door for him. Officers searching his car later found .22-caliber ammunition and a notebook with a list of other possible targets that included the White House, the Capitol and the National Cathedral. The notebook, police said, also contained handwritten notations including this one: "You want my weapons — this is how you'll get them. The Holocaust is a lie. Obama was created by Jews. Obama does what his Jew owners tell him to do." Von Brunn also included the address of his website.

At the apartment he shared with his son and the son's fiancée in Annapolis, Md., investigators discovered a painting that appeared to depict Hitler and Jesus, a 30-30 rifle, ammunition and a handwritten will. They also found child pornography in his computer.

Shortly before the museum shooting, von Brunn transferred the domain name of his website to a Michigan man with the E-mail address of steveo1488@hotmail.com. In white supremacist circles, 14 refers to the "14 Words" slogan made popular by the late neo-Nazi David

Lane: "We must secure the existence of our people and a future for White children." The letter H is the eighth letter in the alphabet, and so 88, among neo-Nazis, stands for "Heil Hitler."

In one sense, von Brunn didn't fit the image of a killer. He was, after all, 88 years old. On the other hand, he had expressed his hatred of Jews and blacks for at least four decades. In the early 1970s, he worked briefly for *Noontide Press*, a publishing arm of the anti-Semitic Liberty Lobby, which along with the Holocaust-denying Institute for Historical Review, was founded by Willis Carto. In his own book, von Brunn wrote, "JEWISH strategy was to infiltrate the institutions of Western Culture and destroy them. JEWRY'S primary weapon was money manipulation and USURY."

He was friends with Klassen, a neo-Nazi who also invented the electric can opener, and he painted a portrait of the late John Crommelin, an infamous white supremacist and U.S. Navy admiral. Von Brunn also lived briefly a few years ago in Hayden, Idaho, with a racist activist named Stan Hess, who, among other things, had been involved with the European-American Unity and Rights Organization led by ex-Klansman David Duke.

The son with whom he lived, Erik von Brunn, expressed sorrow for the dead security guard and his family. "The man is 88 years old. I never would have thought he could do this," he said. Von Brunn had another son, who died in 2007.



**Jacqueline Carter, mother of Stephen Johns, holds a flag at the museum guard's funeral.**



**After the shooting, police investigators seek evidence from the car James von Brunn left double-parked outside the museum.**

The Holocaust Museum shooting, along with the murder of abortion physician George Tiller 10 days earlier (see story, p.5), followed an April report by the Department of Homeland Security that had warned of a resurgence of the radical right. That report had been pilloried by right-wing pundits like Rush Limbaugh and the Republican Party as an attack on conservatives, but looked prescient in the aftermath of the killings in Washington and Kansas. That is no doubt why so many right-wing commentators rushed, improbably, to describe von Brunn as a leftist.

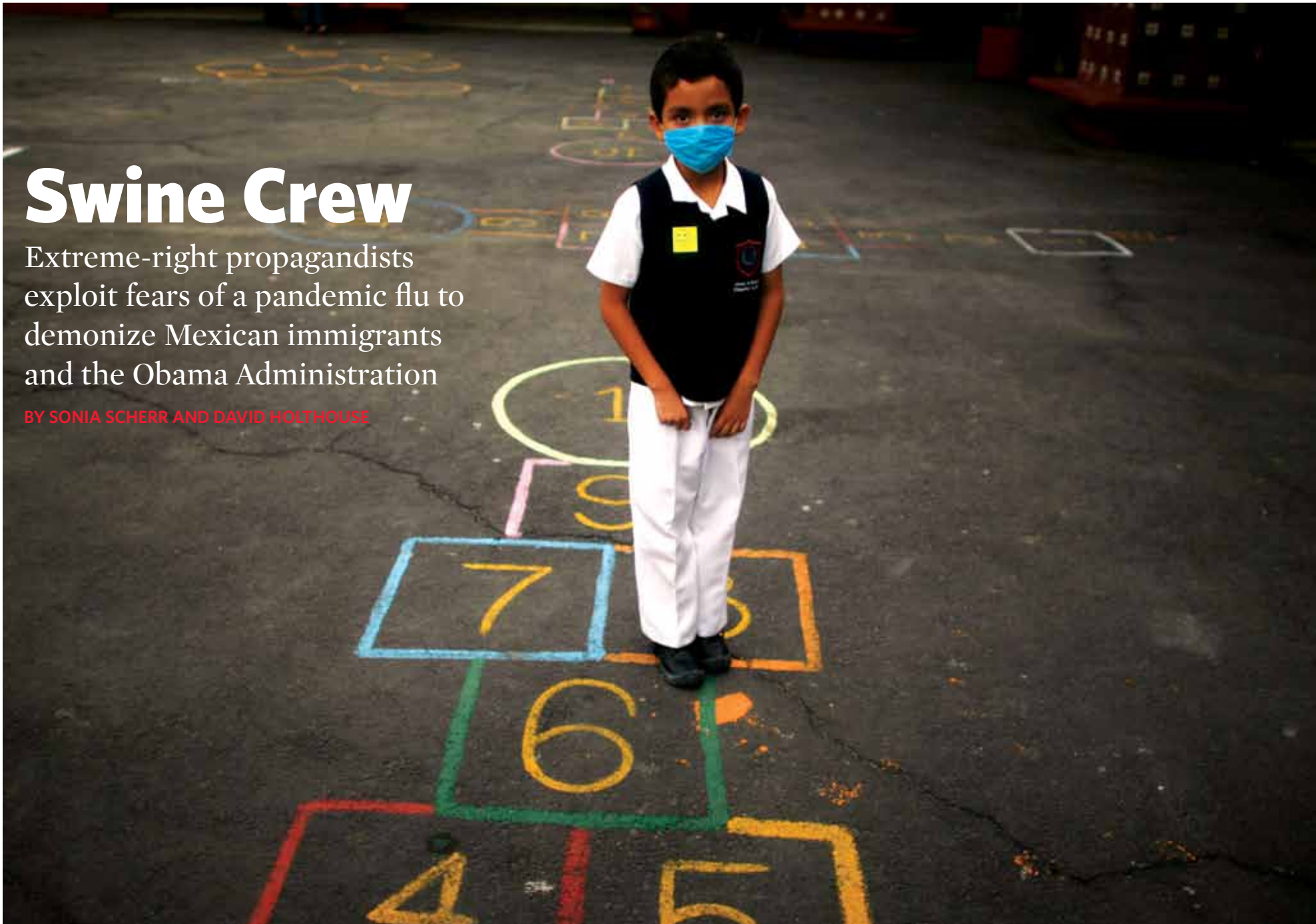
Limbaugh said von Brunn hated both Bushes and neo-cons. "This guy's beliefs, this guy's hate, stems from influence that you find on the left, not on the right." Cliff Kincaid of the far-right Accuracy in Media wrote that von Brunn's "anti-Semitic views are shared by some of the political left, even those backing and very close to Obama himself." Right-wing columnist Michelle Malkin

claimed that von Brunn "railed against Fox News and Rupert Murdoch."

While it seems ludicrous to suggest that von Brunn was a product of the left, he did express contempt for right-wing pontificators. "The American Right-wing with few exceptions is totally Pacifist," he once wrote. "The [right wing] does NOTHING BUT TALK. MORAL: America dies for want of men."

The radical, racist right was kinder to von Brunn. The neo-Nazi Vanguard News Network (VNN) website — whose masthead reads "No Jews. Just Right" — quickly offered up the first six chapters of von Brunn's book free. Podblanc, a particularly violent white supremacist video-sharing website, also posted a link to the book. And while many of his fellow racists said von Brunn had hurt their cause or denounced him for failing to actually murder any Jews, others hailed him as a hero.

"God Bless James von Brunn," wrote "banjo\_billy" on VNN. "He showed us what we all need to be doing everyday. There are lots of Jews out there who require a thrashing and/or a Final Solution." Added "Fiotheth" in the same forum: "Von Brunn is a Freedom Fighter to be Hailed!" ▲



# Swine Crew

Extreme-right propagandists exploit fears of a pandemic flu to demonize Mexican immigrants and the Obama Administration

BY SONIA SCHERR AND DAVID HOLTHOUSE

Mexican schoolchildren, air travelers and city-dwellers donned masks to cope with the swine flu outbreak in April and May. Mexican President Felipe Calderon addressed a “lessons learned” summit in early July; in May, President Obama attended a town hall meeting on the virus. All the while, Frosty Wooldridge and other immigrant-bashers worked themselves into a lather.

It’s no surprise that this spring’s swine flu outbreak provided a bonanza for immigrant bashers eager to exploit fears of a potentially dangerous virus that may have originated in Mexico. But even by nativist standards, the torrent of racist and conspiracy-minded comments was impressive. From anti-immigrant leaders to mainstream talk show hosts, propagandists vilified Mexican immigrants as disease-carriers who were spreading the virus because

of their poor hygiene. Often, the rhetoric got downright ugly. “So now, in addition to venereal disease and the other leading exports of Mexico — women with mustaches and VD — now we have swine flu,” proclaimed right-wing Boston radio host Jay Severin. “We should be, if anything, surprised that Mexico has not visited upon us poxes of more various and serious types already, considering the number of criminaliens [sic] already here.” Severin also called Mexican

immigrants “leeches” and “primitives” and told a caller that emergency rooms have “become essentially condos for Mexicans.” He was suspended indefinitely from his afternoon show on WTKK-FM. And nationally syndicated radio show host Michael Savage told listeners that they’d be risking their lives to eat at a restaurant with undocumented workers, according to Media Matters for America, a monitoring group. “Go ahead, idiot,” he said. “Go ahead, go and eat in a res-

taurant now with illegal aliens all over the kitchen, and you don’t know if they were in Mexico yesterday or two days ago because your wonderful government doesn’t give a rat’s behind who’s in the kitchen or whether they wiped their behind with their hands.” The swine flu rants were the latest onslaught of demonizing rhetoric aimed

Frosty Wooldridge



at immigrants with brown skin — rhetoric that has coincided over the past several years with an apparently dramatic increase in hate crimes targeting Latinos. Although the virus has so far been less deadly than some experts had feared, it showcased just how far nativists were willing to go to blame immigrants for a public health problem.

“This is a pattern we see again and again,” Amy Fairchild, chairwoman of sociomedical sciences at Columbia University’s Mailman School of Public Health in New York City, told MSNBC.com. “It’s ‘the other,’ the group not seen as part of the nation, the one who threatens it in some way, that gets blamed for the disease.”

In fact, as *New Scientist* reported, the kind of swine flu responsible for this spring’s outbreak was first seen in the United States in 1998.

But facts generally didn’t get in the way of the vitriol. “9/11 didn’t convince the open-borders zealots to put down



## “What better way to sneak a virus into the country than give it to Mexicans?”

intestinal parasites arriving with illegal migrants from Mexico daily, every American citizen faces these forms of bio-terrorism,” he wrote. “The Department of Homeland Security presents Americans with color coded ‘alert’ levels from Al Qaeda, but that doesn’t protect us from a mounting invasion from an ‘unarmed army’ of disease carrying illegals that exceed 9/11 in mortality results.” Wooldridge offered no evidence for his mortality claim.

Also jumping on the terrorism bandwagon was talk radio’s Savage, who suggested that Mexican immigrants were being used as biological weapons. “Could this be a terrorist attack through Mexico? Could our dear friends in the radical Islamic countries have concocted this virus and planted it in Mexico

knowing that you, [Homeland Security Secretary] Janet Napolitano, would do nothing to stop the flow of human traffic from Mexico? And they are a perfect mule — perfect mules for bringing this virus into America.”

Not to be outdone, Neal Boortz spouted a similar conspiracy theory on his nationally syndicated radio show, Media Matters reported. “What better way to sneak a virus into this country than give it to Mexicans?” he asked. “So if you want to get that epidemic into this country, get it going real good and hot south of the border. And, you know, then just spread a rumor that there’s construction jobs available somewhere, and here it comes.”

Boortz also called the swine flu the “fajita flu.”

But it’s not just immigrant-bashers who sought to capitalize on swine flu hysteria. The antigovernment conspiracy theorists at InfoWars.com noted ominously that “UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon stoked the fear of a global flu pandemic. He said the Mexican flu outbreak is the ‘first test’ of the ‘pandemic preparedness work undertaken by the international community over the past three years.’”

The obvious conclusion to be drawn?

“Ki-moon, the United Nations, and the globalists, with the participation of the globalist-dominated corporate media and the ruling elite in Mexico, are hyping the flu outbreak as a possible pandemic in order to sell us their scheme for world government.”

It’s all so clear now. ▲



A mother and two children braved the Mexico City subway during the early days of the flu outbreak (above). The virus gave nativist gasbags like Michael Savage (near right photo) and Barbara Coe another reason to demonize immigrants.



their race cards and confront reality,” blogged syndicated columnist Michelle Malkin. “Maybe the threat of their sons or daughters contracting a deadly virus spread from south of the border to their Manhattan prep schools will.” Never mind that officials believe a spring break trip to Cancun led to the infections among high school students in New York City.

Also pointing fingers was Chelene Nightingale, former managing director of the California hate group Save Our State. “Dr. Madelyn [sic] Cosman (resting in peace) was right!!!!” she crowed in an E-mail. The late Madeleine Cosman, who had no medical training, was the immi-

grant-bashing propagandist who at major anti-immigrant conferences referred to Mexican immigrants as pathogen-ridden “deadly time bombs” and rattled off a host of illnesses they’d supposedly brought to the United States. She was the source of a myth about immigrants and leprosy that was presented as fact in 2007 on CNN’s “Lou Dobbs Tonight.”

The leader of the California Coalition for Immigration Reform (CCIR) chimed in with a mass E-mail to her supporters. “As many Christians have often spoken, ‘The Lord Works in Mysterious Ways,’” wrote Barbara Coe, whose CCIR is listed by the Southern Poverty Law Center as a

hate group. “Wouldn’t it be even MORE interesting if some of the anti-American-pro-illegal alien AMNESTY traitors (posing as U.S. elected officials) who just visited Mexico, also contracted the disease and shared it with THEIR loved ones? We wonder if they would still vote for ‘Open Borders?’”

And Jackie Juntti, the self-described “Grassroots Granny” who runs a particularly hard-line nativist E-mail list, called for sealing the border, then took a racist jab at President Obama.

“At this same time we have government refusing to close the borders (how did that Mexican kid get from Mexico to Houston to die this week? — he crossed the border!!!) or to halt all visits to Mexico by Americans. We have [Obama] telling us to cover our mouth if we cough. Someone should cover his lying lips with gorilla glue.”

Anti-immigrant extremist Frosty Wooldridge linked immigrants to terrorism in a rambling column for rightsidenews.com titled “Swine flu: immigration, death, disease, & consequences for Americans.”

“Whether it’s Dengue Fever, now in Florida, Hemorrhagic Fever coming up from Texas border towns or E-coli



The National Alliance, once a neo-Nazi powerhouse, has become the object of ridicule. It's also home to a wide array of criminals

# Descent Into Thuggery

BY DAVID HOLTHOUSE  
ILLUSTRATION BY SEAN MCCABE

**W**hen National Alliance (NA) chairman Erich Gliebe appeared on a list of extremists banned from entering the United Kingdom that was released earlier this year, the online white supremacist world was abuzz with ridicule. It was the first time that Gliebe's name, or that of his deeply troubled and increasingly criminal-infested organization, had surfaced in recent memory.

The consensus among neo-Nazis and other racists posting to a variety of online forums was that the Home Office (roughly the U.K. equivalent of the State Department) had wildly over-represented Gliebe's clout by listing him (see story, p. 59) in the company of suspected Muslim jihadists and more accomplished U.S. extremists, like radio shock jock Michael Savage and Don Black, a former Klan leader and

founder of the dominant racist online forum Stormfront.

According to his many critics on the radical right, Gliebe, a 46-year-old former boxer, has almost single-handedly wrecked what was once America's most influential white supremacist organization. Today, the number of dues-paying National Alliance members is well under 100 — down from more than 1,400 in 2002. Outside of a 2007 Holocaust denial conference, the group has not held any major events or published any significant propaganda in years. The NA headquarters compound in West Virginia is seldom visited by anyone except two part-time staffers who come in a couple of times a week to fill book orders and answer correspondence. Gliebe, who lives in Cleveland, has not been there in months. The buildings are said to be run-down, and the grounds overgrown with weeds.

Meanwhile, Gliebe's personal life is equally in disarray. He separated from his wife and moved back home with his mother in July 2008, then filed for divorce last December. Earlier this year, Gliebe was taunted online for living in his mom's basement and trying to run what is left of the Alliance from a computer at the local library, since his elderly immigrant mother does not have an Internet connection.

An E-mail circulating in response to reports of the Alliance chairman's U.K. travel ban joked that Gliebe was "so broke he couldn't travel to London, Kentucky, let alone London, England."

### On the Skids

If Gliebe could scrape together enough gas money for a drive to Kentucky, he would find what could very well be the last public sign in America of the National Alliance's shrinking presence. In May, the state of Kentucky ordered the removal of a small metal road sign that a local NA member had arranged for the state highway department to install in exchange for members picking up trash along a section of roadway. After consulting with



Sign of the times: Once, the National Alliance had billboards in several cities, including this one advertising its *National Vanguard* magazine in Tampa, Fla. Now, only a small Adopt-A-Highway sign in Kentucky remains, and that could soon be gone, too.

attorneys, however, state officials reconsidered this decision and, for now, the sign remains.

By comparison, at the height of its power, the National Alliance had sufficient funds to purchase advertising space on billboards and buses all over the country. The inflammatory content of those advertisements generated headlines from Las Vegas to St. Louis to Tampa, Fla. Today, all of those billboards are gone, along with the members who paid for them.

Similarly, the National Alliance once could afford to purchase airtime for a weekly radio address that was broadcast on half a dozen powerful AM radio stations across

America. The group also bought airtime each week for its worldwide shortwave radio broadcast of "American Dissident Voices" (ADV).

Today, there are no radio stations carrying the NA message and no global shortwave broadcasts. Instead, once a week, Gliebe drives to a friend's house in Parma, Ohio, where he reads and records his notoriously dull, 10-to-15 minute ADV monologues, which are then "broadcast" on the NA website.

### Crime and Punishment

Although the National Alliance under Erich Gliebe is smaller, has far less money and is dramatically less effective in promoting racist ideology, there is growing evidence the group is nevertheless attracting an increasingly volatile and violent criminal class into its ranks.

Since the July 2002 death of Alliance founder and longtime leader William Pierce, Alliance members and former members have been charged with a number of serious violent crimes, including kidnapping, armed robbery, aggravated assault and at least seven murders. They include:

- A former National Alliance headquarters staff employee, Jason Samuel McGhee, who's awaiting trial for the 2006 shooting and stabbing murders of four young people in Georgia. If convicted, McGhee would face the death



In the years since the 2002 death of National Alliance founder William Pierce (top), the group has seen many of its key partisans arrested or sent to prison. They include (clockwise from bottom left) Jason McGhee, Chester Doles, Shaun Walker and Kevin Strom.

penalty. (McGhee and another Alliance member had previously been arrested for shouting racist slurs and firing guns in front of a school bus full of Latino children in September 2001.)

- National Alliance Maryland state coordinator Craig Jackson, who in late 2002 was charged with smuggling contraband into a state prison where he worked as a guard. In February 2003, Jackson crashed his truck into a tree

while driving to a plea hearing. He died almost instantly. Police investigators at the scene noted the absence of skid marks and said there was no explanation for the crash, leading to speculation that Jackson may have caused his own death to avoid prison. If so, he wasn't the only senior NA member to die by his own hand. In October 2003, NA compound security guard Kenneth Springer, 23, shot and killed himself with one of William Pierce's handguns.

- National Alliance Georgia state coordinator Chester James Doles, who was sentenced to federal prison on weapons charges in March 2004.

- Another former NA staff employee, Thomas Martin, who was arrested by the FBI in 2007 and charged with kidnapping and robbing several Florida drug dealers. Officials say Martin and an accomplice posed as police officers in the robberies. They're awaiting trial in Orlando.

- NA Florida unit member and Army Special Forces soldier David Kellerman, who was indicted in October 2006 after allegedly attempting to smuggle automatic weapons and a large amount of explosives into the U.S. from Afghanistan.

- NA New York state organizer James Leshkevich, who beat and strangled his wife to death before hanging himself in his garage in 2007.

- Former NA Media Director Kevin Alfred Strom, who was convicted of possession of child pornography and sentenced to federal prison in April 2008.

- Former NA chairman Shaun A. Walker, who's serving a seven-year federal prison term for targeting and assaulting minorities in Salt Lake City along with that city's NA unit leader, Travis D. Massey, who's serving four-and-a-half years for the same offenses. Among other crimes, Walker, Massey and a third NA member dragged a Hispanic bartender outside and beat him unconscious after he ordered them to leave an establishment where they were distributing NA literature.

### The Alliance Today

In addition to the prominent NA members who have been arrested or convicted of committing serious crimes since he

took over the organization, Gliebe has recently promoted into positions of authority within the organization several NA members with criminal records and histories of violence that predate the death of William Pierce. They include:

- The leader of the NA Boston unit, a skinhead who goes by the name of Scott Clarke. Clarke also uses the monikers "Berserkr," "Hedge" and "85475" online in racist forums like Vanguard News Network, where he brags about how tough he was in prison a few years ago. He writes that he was serving time for striking and killing an elderly pedestrian with his car while fleeing the scene of an armed robbery several years ago. Clarke, who claims to be affiliated with the violent Aryan Brotherhood prison gang, is also a moderator on Resistance.com, an official National Alliance online discussion forum.

- National Alliance Las Vegas organizer Aaron Trumbo, who stabbed a young Latino man to death after a confrontation at a public lake in 1995.

- South Carolina unit leader Ian S. Gale, 70, a notorious convicted burglar who went to prison in the 1980s for robbing more than \$700,000 from homes in the state. Gale published a book on his cat burglar exploits in the 1990s. Today, he writes for the NA's propaganda magazine, *National Vanguard*. Gale is also registered as a lobbyist for the National Alliance in South Carolina.

From a public safety perspective, the good news is that infighting, corruption and incompetence seem to be causing what's left of the National Alliance to gradually fall apart. The downside is that while the NA no longer publishes books or generates much income or attention, it's become a magnet for outcasts, convicts and sociopaths, many of whom, like Gliebe, have been almost universally rejected by the established white supremacist subculture.

The era of polite, well-dressed young men circulating National Alliance literature at gun shows and other public events is long gone and shows no signs of coming back. It's been replaced by the era of skinhead thugs, career criminals and spastic violence, apparently operating with little top-down leadership. More unstable than ever before, the NA is also more dangerous. It has little left to lose. ▲



# Prejudice in Paradise

For years, Hawaiians have avoided talk of race and hate crimes. That doesn't mean the island state doesn't have a problem

BY LARRY KELLER

Celia Padron went on a Hawaiian vacation last year, lured by the prospect of beautiful beaches and friendly people. She, her husband and two teenage daughters enjoyed the black sand beach at Makena State Park on Maui. But a Hawaiian girl accosted her two teenage daughters, saying, “Go back to the mainland” and “Take your white ass off our beaches,” says Padron, a pediatric gastroenterologist in New Jersey.

When her husband, 68 at the time, stepped between the girls, three young Hawaiian men slammed him against a vehicle, cutting his ear, and choked and punched him, Padron says. Police officers persuaded the Padrons not to press charges, saying it would be expensive for them to return for court appearances and a Hawaiian judge would side with the Hawaiian assailants, the doctor contends.

“There is no doubt in my mind [the attack] was racially motivated,” she adds.

With no known hate groups and a much-trumpeted spirit of aloha or tolerance, few people outside Hawaii realize the state has a racism issue. One reason: The tourism-dependent state barely acknowledges hate crimes. That makes it hard to know how often racial violence is directed at Caucasians, who comprise about 25% of the ethnically diverse state's 1.3 million residents. Those who identify themselves as Native Hawaiian — most residents are of mixed race — account for nearly 20%.

Hawaii has collected hate crimes data since 2002 (most states began doing so a decade earlier). In the first six years, the state reported only 12 hate crimes, and half of those were in 2006. (All other things being equal, the state would be expected to have more than 800 such crimes annually, given the size of its population, according to a federal government study of hate crimes.) There was anti-white bias in eight of those incidents. But that doesn't begin to reflect the extent of racial ran-

TVAIN NEWHART

cor directed at non-Native Hawaiians in the Aloha State, especially in schools. For example:

- The last day of school has long been unofficially designated “Beat Haole Day,” with white students singled out for harassment and violence. (Haole — pronounced how-lee — is slang for a foreigner, usually white, and sometimes is used as a racial slur.)

- A non-Native Hawaiian student who challenged the Hawaiian-preference admission policy at a wealthy private

The gorgeous beaches of the Hawaiian archipelago have drawn visitors from the mainland for decades — tourists who bring vital dollars to the local economy. But beyond the sunsets and palm trees, racial rancor and hate crimes directed at whites reflect a less idyllic reality.

school received a \$7 million settlement this year.

- A 12-year-old white girl new to Hawaii from New York City needed 10 surgical staples to close a gash in her head incurred when she was beaten in 2007 by a Native Hawaiian girl who called her a “fucking haole.”

- A vocal segment of Native Hawaiians is pushing for independence to end the “prolonged occupation” by the United States and governance by natives.

- Demonstrators shouting racial epithets at whites disrupted a statehood celebration in 2006.

Anti-white sentiments such as these have been more than 200 years in the

**“Racism exists in Hawaii. My whole life I've never really felt welcome here.”**

making (see story, p. 27). The pivotal event occurred when American and European businessmen, backed by U.S. military forces, overthrew Hawaii's monarch in 1893 and placed her under house arrest two years later. The United States annexed the islands as a territory in 1898, and they became a state in 1959.

Little wonder then that as Hawaii prepares to observe the 50th anniversary of becoming the 50th state on Aug. 21, it will a muted celebration, devoid of parades or fireworks.

## Classroom Warfare

Tina Mohr has lived in Hawaii for 25 years. She has Native Hawaiian friends. But in the 2003-04 school year, her twin blond-haired daughters, aged 11 at the time, began getting harassed by Native Hawaiian kids at their school on the Big Island. “Our daughters would come home with bruises and cuts,” she tells the *Intelligence Report*.



One of her girls was assaulted twice in the same day. In one scuffle, she had her head slammed into a wall, and her attacker continued to threaten her. Her daughter suffered a dislocated jaw and had headaches for five weeks, Mohr says.

The torment continued in the summer between 5th and 6th grades. Native Hawaiian girls stalked and threatened her daughters and yelled “fucking haole” at them. Midway through the 6th grade, Mohr began to home-school her daughters.

She filed a complaint with the civil rights division of the U.S. Department of Education in 2004. It was only recently, on Dec. 31, 2008, that the division finally released its report. The report concluded there was “substantial evidence that students experienced racially and sexually derogatory name-calling on nearly a daily basis on school buses, at school bus stops, in school hallways and other areas of the school” that Mohr’s children attended.

The epithets included names such as “f\*\*\*\*\*g haole,” “haole c\*\*t” and “haole whore,” according to the report. Students were told “go home” and “you don’t belong here.” Most of the slurs were directed by “local” or non-white students at Caucasians, especially those who were younger, smaller, light-skinned and blond.

The report also concluded that school officials responded inadequately or not at all when students complained of racial harassment. Students who did complain were retaliated against by their antagonists. “They learned not to report this stuff,” Mohr says of her own daughters.

The Hawaii Department of Education settled Mohr’s complaint with a lengthy agreement in which educators promised to take various steps to improve the reporting, investigating and eliminating of student harassment in the future.

Today, Mohr’s daughters are again attending the school where they used to have trouble. They haven’t been assaulted, but one was threatened on a school bus earlier this year.

### Racial Legacies

The resentment some Native Hawaiians feels toward whites today can be chalked up in part to “ancestral memory,” says Jon Matsuoka, dean of the School of Social Work at the University of Hawaii. “That trauma is qualitatively different than other ethnic groups in America. It’s more akin to American Indians” because



The blond-haired daughters of Hawaii resident Tina Mohr (below) suffered through years of racial harassment and assaults at school. University dean Jon Matsuoka (left) says such racial violence is deplorable but minor compared to longstanding Native Hawaiian grievances.

Hawaiians had their homeland invaded, were exposed to diseases for which they had no immunity, and had an alien culture forced upon them, he says. Stories about the theft of their lands and culture have been passed down from one generation to the next, Matsuoka adds. (One difference now, of course, is that Native Hawaiians in Hawaii are far more numerous than American Indians are in their own ancestral regions, where the Indians remain politically weak and largely marginalized by the far larger white population.)

Racial violence directed at whites in Hawaii, while deplorable, is minor compared to the larger issues underlying it, Matsuoka says. The Hawaiian spirit of aloha “is pervasive, but you have to earn aloha. You don’t necessarily trust outsiders, because outsiders [historically] come and have taken what you have. It’s an incredibly giving and warm and generous place, but you have to earn it,” he says.

Further fueling the resentment that some Native Hawaiians feel for outsiders are attempts by the latter to usurp entitlement programs given the former to redress previous wrongs. In recent years, non-native residents have used the courts to try and rescind these entitlements on grounds that they are racially discriminatory and violate the U.S. Constitution.

Retired professor and “anti-sovereign” white activist Kenneth Conklin and others prevailed in a lawsuit in 2000 that challenged a requirement that trustees of the Office of Hawaiian Affairs — OHA — be of Native Hawaiian descent. OHA oversees huge tracts of lands that the United States took from Hawaii when it annexed the islands as a territory, and collects revenues from them for programs that benefit Native Hawaiians.

The state government was going to sell 1.2 million acres of these lands to developers for two state-sponsored affordable housing projects when OHA and four Native Hawaiian plaintiffs sued to stop the deal. A state court sided with the government, but the Hawaii Supreme

# Hawaii and the U.S.: A History of Racial Conflict

CONFLICTS BETWEEN THE POLYNESIANS who settled in Hawaii and whites began as early as 1779, when the locals clashed with English explorer Capt. James Cook and his crew. Cook became the first European to set foot on the islands the previous year, naming them the Sandwich Islands. On a return voyage, he and his men got into a dispute with the Hawaiians, who stabbed Cook to death in the surf.



LEONARD MCCOMB/GETTY IMAGES (STATEHOOD); ANFAR DAYAL/GETTY IMAGES (MAP); MPI/GETTY IMAGES (QUEEN LILIUOKALANI); RISC HOLTZ/GETTY IMAGES (CAPT. COOK)

In 1810, Kamehameha I became Hawaii’s first king, and 10 years later missionaries from New England arrived. This time, white people came to stay, although Hawaii remained mostly autonomous in the ensuing decades. When Queen Liliuokalani ascended to the throne in 1891, she drafted a new constitution that would strengthen the monarchy’s authority.

American and European businessmen then formed something called the Committee of Safety and sought U.S. military assistance to deal with a purported “imminent threat to American lives and property.” U.S. Marines and sailors were deployed and the queen relinquished her throne. President Grover Cleveland ordered an investigation. A report by former congressman James Henderson Blount concluded that the United States had abused its authority. Cleveland ordered the queen’s reinstatement, but provisional government president Sanford Dole, older cousin of the pineapple magnate James Dole, refused.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee conducted its own probe

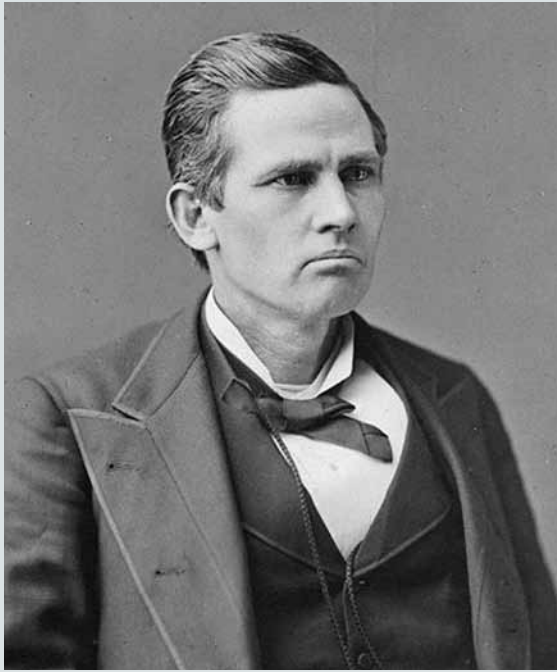


and came to the opposite conclusion as Blount. The Republic of Hawaii was then established in 1894, with Dole as president. An attempt the following year to overthrow the republic was quashed, and Queen Liliuokalani was convicted and imprisoned for a year in Iolani Palace. In 1898, the United States annexed the islands. Hawaii became a territory.

Six decades later, President Dwight Eisenhower signed a bill allowing Hawaiian statehood, and 94% of residents voted on Aug. 21, 1959, in favor of it. Even so, there are today many sovereignty groups in Hawaii. One of them, the Hawaiian Kingdom Government, maintains that



Conflicts between whites and Native Hawaiians date back to 1779, when Capt. James Cook got into a deadly dispute on the islands’ beaches. In 1893, Queen Liliuokalani gave up her throne under pressure from U.S. and European businessmen, leading to Hawaii’s becoming a U.S. territory and later, in 1959, the 50th U.S. state.



At the behest of President Grover Cleveland (right), former congressman James Henderson Blount (above) conducted an investigation that concluded that Hawaii's queen had been wrongfully dethroned — a finding ignored by provisional government president Sanford Dole (top, right). A century later, U.S. Sen. Daniel Akaka began regularly introducing a bill to recognize Native Hawaiians as a sovereign group.



Hawaii has been “under prolonged occupation” by the United States and even filed an unsuccessful complaint with the United Nations Security Council in 2001.

On the 100th anniversary of the overthrow of Hawaii's monarchy in 1993, Congress passed what became known as “The Apology Resolution,” expressing regret for the “suppression of the inherent sovereignty of the Native Hawaiian people.” President Bill Clinton signed the measure. It was about that time that “we started seeing more [Native Hawaiian] activism,” says state Sen. Sam Slom.

Hawaii Sen. Daniel Akaka later began regularly introducing a controversial bill that would recognize people of Native Hawaiian ancestry as a sovereign group, similar to Native American tribes. If passed, the bill would create a native-run government that would negotiate with the U.S. government for things like the transfer of lands. The legislation is pending before Congress.



Even pro-sovereignty advocates are divided over the bill, with opponents contending it would leave Hawaii still beholden to the U.S. government and hamper their efforts to restore the islands as an independent nation controlled by natives. Others, however, see the establishment of an independent Native Hawaiian government as a first step toward eventual independence.

— Larry Keller

Court reversed in favor of the plaintiffs. This March 31, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled unanimously that the Hawaii high court erred and sent the case back for further action.

There also was an unsuccessful legal challenge to the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, passed by Congress in 1921. The act allows a Hawaiian agency to make 99-year leases at \$1 per year to Native Hawaiians (but not other residents) for authorized uses on lands ceded to the United States when it annexed Hawaii. More than 200,000 acres of land were designated for uses such as homes and ranches.

One of the more protracted legal battles involved a lawsuit filed in 2003 by a non-Native Hawaiian student against the hugely wealthy and influential private Kamehameha Schools. Kamehameha operates three campuses for the benefit of children of Hawaiian ancestry. The student's attorneys contended that violates civil rights laws. As the U.S. Supreme Court was about to announce last year whether it would hear the case, Kamehameha paid \$7 million to settle it out of court.

#### ‘A Hateful Place’

A violent incident with racial overtones in 2007 near Pearl Harbor prompted a good deal of soul searching about race in Hawaii. A Native Hawaiian man and his teenage son brutally pummeled and kicked a Caucasian soldier and his wife near Pearl Harbor after the soldier's SUV struck the other man's parked car. The son shouted “fucking haole” while attacking the soldier. The husband and wife suffered broken noses, facial fractures and concussions. A prosecutor said the assault was a road-rage incident, not a hate crime. But it generated much debate on newspaper websites and blogs about the use of the word haole and whether whites are the targets of racism in Hawaii.

“It is a hateful place to live if you are white,” wrote a woman on one Hawaii website's comments section. A Hawaii native who is white wrote, “Racism exists in Hawaii. My whole life I've never really felt welcome here.” A sailor stationed at Pearl Harbor added that “this island is the most racist place I have ever been in my life.”



Other white residents, however, wrote that they had had no such experiences. And many people maintained that arrogant mainlanders are the most likely to incur natives' wrath. It's their “cultural inability to be humble [that] is a huge contributing factor in a lot of violence against them,” one person wrote. “There is a high degree of arrogance and lack of respect that mainlanders exhibit,” added another.

A Hawaiian Studies professor at the University of Hawaii, Haunani-Kay Trask, is one of the most caustic critics of whites in the islands. In her 1999 book, *From A Native Daughter*, Trask wrote: “Just as ... all exploited peoples are justified in feeling hostile and resentful toward those who exploit them, so we Hawaiians are justified in such feelings toward the haole. This is the legacy of racism, of colonialism.”

In a poem titled, “Racist White Woman,” Trask wrote: “I could kick/Your face, puncture/Both eyes./ You deserve this kind/Of violence./No more vicious/ Tongues, obscene/Lies./Just a knife/Slitting your tight/ Little heart.”

Trask's opposite number is Conklin, the “anti-sovereignty” white activist who has lived on Oahu for 17 years and says he loves Hawaii's culture, spirituality and history, but is labeled a racist by some of his detractors. He wrote a book entitled *Hawaiian Apartheid*:

State Sen. Sam Slom says pro-sovereignty activism picked up after a 1993 “Apology Resolution” expressed regret for white colonialism in Hawaii.

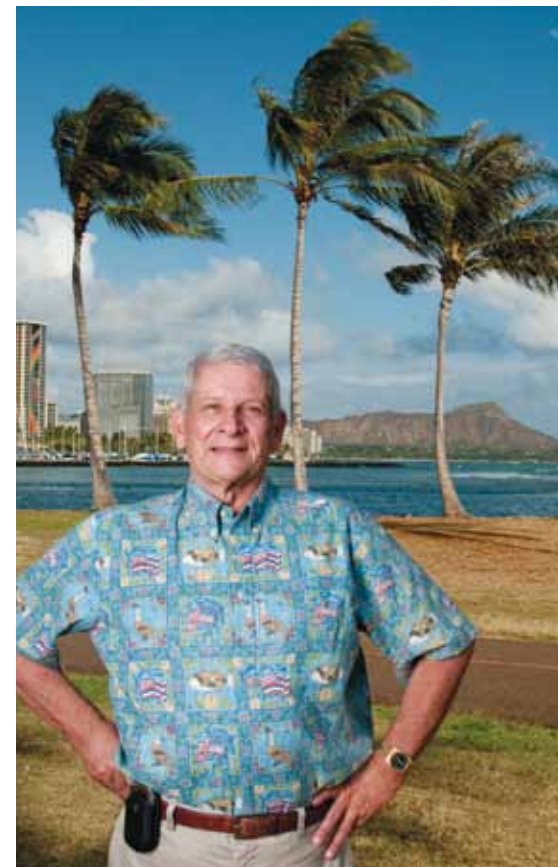


#### Racial Separatism and Ethnic Nationalism in the Aloha State.

“Here in Hawaii, there is no compulsion to speak out on racist attacks. There are all these hate crimes and violent things happening to white people and you don't hear sovereignty activists speaking out against it,” says Conklin, who manages a massive website on Hawaiian issues. “The violence has been going on for years and it's always been hush-hush.”

#### State and Race

It's against this backdrop that Hawaii approaches its 50th anniversary of statehood. The non-celebration will consist largely of educational events



Opposite numbers: Retired professor Kenneth Conklin is an “anti-sovereign” white activist in Hawaii who has been labeled a racist by his detractors. The same is true of professor Haunani-Kay Trask, who says Native Hawaiians have every right to feel hostile toward whites.

at various venues. Iolani Palace won't be one of them. Once home to Hawaii's monarchy and where the last monarch was imprisoned after her government was overthrown, the palace is a potent symbol of anti-statehood — and anti-white — sentiment.

Republican state Sen. Sam Slom learned that the hard way. Although Statehood Day is a holiday in Hawaii, there were no celebrations for about 10 years, until he organized one in 2006 at the palace. He and others were confronted by demonstrators shouting racial epithets. Slom, who is Caucasian and has

## “The violence has been going on for years and it's always been hush-hush.”

lived in Hawaii since 1960, said the 30 to 40 “hard-core” protesters intimidated a high school band, which left early, as well as some spectators.

The 50-year anniversary events figure to be “soft celebrations” aimed at defusing sovereignty passions, Slom says. “It is a divisive wedge that some people have exploited,” he says. “There are people who have made it a racial thing. [But] the vast, overwhelming majority are proud to be United States citizens.”

Still, a statehood commission planning commemorative events opted not to re-enact the phone call to the Territorial House of Representatives meeting at Iolani Palace in 1959 informing representatives that Congress had voted in favor of Hawaiian statehood. Commission member Donald Cataluna strongly opposed a reenactment, according to the *Honolulu Advertiser*, saying he “didn't want any blood to spill.”

That won't completely mollify sovereignty activists, Slom predicts. “There will be protests, there's no question about it.” ▲



# The Second Wave

Around the country, evidence accumulates of a return of the militias and the larger antigovernment 'Patriot' movement

BY LARRY KELLER

DAN MCComb/AP IMAGES/THE SPOKESMAN-REVIEW (MULTI)

In Pensacola, Fla., retired FBI agent Ted Gunderson tells a gathering of antigovernment “Patriots” that the federal government has set up 1,000 internment camps across the country and is storing 30,000 guillotines and a half-million caskets in Atlanta. They’re there for the day the government finally declares martial law and moves in to round up or kill American dissenters, he says. “They’re going to keep track of all of us, folks,” Gunderson warns.

Outside Atlanta, a so-called “American Grand Jury” issues an “indictment” of Barack Obama for fraud and treason because, the panel concludes, he wasn’t born in the United States and is illegally occupying the office of president. Other sham “grand juries” around the country follow suit.

And on the site in Lexington, Mass., where the opening shots of the Revolutionary War were fired in 1775, members of Oath Keepers, a newly formed group of law enforcement officers, military men and veterans, “muster” on April 19 to reaffirm their pledge to defend the U.S. Constitution. “We’re in perilous times ... perhaps far more perilous than in 1775,” says the man administering the oath. April 19 is the anniversary not only of the battle of Lexington Green, but also of the 1993 conflagration at the Branch Davidian compound in Waco, Texas, and the lethal bombing two years later of the Oklahoma City federal building — seminal events in the lore of the extreme right, in particular the antigovernment Patriot movement.

Almost 10 years after it seemed to disappear from American life, there are unmistakable signs of a revival of what in the 1990s was commonly called the militia movement. From Idaho to New Jersey and Michigan to Florida, men in khaki and camouflage are back in the woods, gathering to practice the paramilitary

skills they believe will be needed to fend off the socialistic troops of the “New World Order.”

One big difference from the militia movement of the 1990s is that the face of the federal government — the enemy that almost all parts of the extreme right see as the primary threat to freedom — is now black. And the fact that the president is an African American has injected a strong racial element into even those parts of the radical right, like the militias, that in the past were not primarily motivated by race hate. Contributing to the racial animus have been fears on the far right about the consequences of Latino immigration.

Militia rhetoric is being heard widely once more, often from a second generation of ideologues, and conspiracy theories are being energetically revived or invented anew. “Paper terrorism” — the use of property liens, bogus legal documents and “citizens’ grand juries” to attack enemies and, sometimes, reap illegal fortunes — is again proliferating, to the point where the government has set up special efforts to rein in so-called “tax defiers” and to track threats against judges. What’s more, Patriot fears about the government are being amplified by a loud new group of ostensibly mainstream media commentators and politicians.

It’s not 1996 all over again, or 1997 or 1998. Although there has been a remark-

able rash of domestic terrorist incidents since Obama’s election in November, it has not reached the level of criminal violence, attempted terrorist attacks and white-hot language that marked the militia movement at its peak. But militia training events, huge numbers of which are now viewable on YouTube videos, are spreading. One federal agency estimates that 50 new militia training groups have sprung up in less than two years. Sales of guns and ammunition have skyrocketed amid fears of new gun control laws, much as they did in the 1990s.

The situation has many authorities worried. Militiamen, white supremacists, anti-Semites, nativists, tax protesters and a range of other activists of the radical right are cross-pollinating and may even be coalescing. In the words of a February report from law enforcement officials in Missouri, a variety of factors have combined recently to create “a lush environment for militia activity.”

“You’re seeing the bubbling [of antigovernment sentiment] right now,” says Bart McEntire, who has infiltrated racist hate groups and now is the supervisory special agent for the U.S. Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives in Roanoke, Va. “You see people buying into what they’re saying. It’s primed to grow. The only thing you don’t have to set it on fire is a Waco or Ruby Ridge.”

Another federal law enforcement official knowledgeable about militia groups agrees. He asked not to be identified because he is not authorized to speak publicly about them. “They’re not at the level we saw in ’94-’95,” he says. “But this is the most significant growth we’ve seen in 10 to 12 years. All it’s lacking is a spark. I think it’s only a matter of time before you see threats and violence.”

#### Shots, Plots and ‘Sovereigns’

In fact, threats and violence from the radical right already are accelerating. In recent months, men with antigovernment, racist, anti-Semitic or pro-militia views have allegedly committed a series of high-profile murders — including the killings of six law enforcement officers since April.



The first wave: Among the seminal events shaping the militia movement of the 1990s were the 1992 standoff between federal agents and a white supremacist family in Idaho; the 1993 burning of the Branch Davidian compound in Texas; and the bombing of the Oklahoma City federal building in 1995.

Most of these recent murders and plots (for details, see story, p. 40) seem to have been at least partially prompted by Obama’s election. One man “very upset” with the election of America’s first black president was building a radioactive “dirty bomb”; another, a Marine, was planning to assassinate Obama, as were two racist skinheads in Tennessee; still another angry at the election and said to be interested in joining a militia killed two sheriff’s deputies in Florida. A man in Pittsburgh who feared Jews and gun confiscations murdered three police officers. Near Boston, a white man angered by the alleged “genocide” of his race shot to death two African immigrants and intended to murder as many Jews as possible. An 88-year-old neo-Nazi killed a guard at the Holocaust Museum in Washington, D.C. And an abortion physician in Kansas was murdered by a man steeped in the ideology of the “sovereign citizens” movement.

So-called sovereign citizens are people who subscribe to an ideology, originated by the anti-Semitic Posse Comitatus of the 1980s, that claims that whites are a higher kind of citizen — subject only to “common law,” not the dictates of the government — while blacks are mere “14<sup>th</sup> Amendment citizens” who must obey their government masters. Although not all sovereigns subscribe to or even know about the theory’s racist basis, most contend that they do not have to pay taxes, are not subject to most laws, and are not citizens of the United States.

Authorities and anecdotal evidence suggest that sovereign citizens — who, along with tax protesters and militia members, form the larger Patriot movement — may make up the most dramatically reenergized sector of the radical right. In February, the FBI launched a national operation targeting

Due to a spike in “inappropriate communications,” including many from sovereign citizens, the U.S. Marshals Service has opened a clearinghouse in suburban Washington, D.C., for assessing risks to court personnel. The incidents include telephone and written threats against federal judges and prosecutors, as well as bomb threats and biochemical incidents. In fiscal 2008, there were 1,278 threats and harassing communications — more than double the number of six years earlier. The number of such incidents is on pace to increase again in fiscal 2009. Sovereign citizens account for a small percentage of the cases, but theirs are more complex and generally require

## FALL 2009 35



easiest solutions is to depend on local officials, especially the sheriff, to stand against federal intervention and federal criminality.”

Mack’s views echo those of the Posse Comitatus, which believed that sheriffs are the highest law enforcement authorities in America. “I pray for the day that a sheriff in this country will arrest an IRS agent for trespassing or attempting

to victimize citizens in that particular sheriff’s county,” Mack said in a video he made for Oath Keepers.

#### Why the Return?

Why are militias and the larger Patriot movement making a comeback?

The original militia movement took off in the mid-1990s, with the first large militias appearing in 1994 and growth

**This spring, members of the Arizona Citizens Militia joined an outfit called Alpie Omega Training for “Liberty Venture” training on such military skills as “Resistance to Interrogation.” That particular class even included the waterboarding of several militia volunteers.**

continuing over the next several years. The movement reflected widespread anger over what was seen as the meddling of a relatively liberal administration

in Washington — from gun control to environmental laws to a variety of other federal mandates. But what really ignited the movement was the bloodshed in Ruby Ridge, Idaho, and Waco, Texas. In 1992, during a standoff between white supremacist Randy Weaver’s family in Idaho and federal agents — a confrontation that began with Weaver’s sale of an illegal weapon — Weaver’s son and wife were killed, along with a U.S. marshal. The following year, some 80 members of the gun-loving Branch Davidian cult died in a fire that ended a 52-day standoff with federal agents in Texas. Thousands of Americans saw these events as proof that the federal government was prepared to murder its own citizens in order to enforce a kind of liberal orthodoxy — a so-called “New World Order” (NWO) that reflected the economic and political globalization that militia backers felt was robbing their country of its independence and unique culture.

The movement was animated by a welter of conspiracy theories, the bulk of them decrying NWO plots that were said to be aimed at imposing socialism on the United States, sending patriotic Americans to prison camps, destroying farmers with secret weather machines, and so on. Most militia enthusiasts also blamed the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing on the government — it was a “false flag” operation carried out by the Clinton Administration, they contended, and designed to soften up the American public to accept draconian anti-terrorism legislation.

But the movement of the ’90s ultimately wound down, almost petering out after the turn of the millennium. That was for a variety of reasons, including the arrests of many militia backers in terrorist plots, the jailing of hundreds of others on weapons violations, and the violence the movement continued to produce even after 168 people, including 19 children, were murdered in Oklahoma City by men steeped in the ideology of both militias and racist hate groups. The failure of any of the many dire Patriot predictions or conspiracy theories to come true also hurt the movement, as did the 2000 election of a conservative president, which

had the effect of defusing militia backers’ anger. Apocalyptic warnings from militia leaders about an expected “Y2K” collapse on Jan. 1, 2000, also turned out to be entirely without merit, becoming a kind of final nail in the coffin of the movement.

Now, it seems, they are back. Every month, there are militia trainings announced around the country — and untold numbers that are not publicized. The Internet teems with training videos, information about meetings and rallies, far-fetched rumors and conspiracy theories. Joining 1990s militia stalwarts like Gunderson and Mack is a new generation of activists, as exemplified in the case of Edward Koernke. Koernke’s father, Mark Koernke, was a prominent ’90s militia propagandist known as “Mark from Michigan.” The elder Koernke served nearly six years in prison on charges that included assaulting police. Today, his son hosts an Internet radio show devoted to all things militia.

The current resurgence has several apparent causes. In the largest sense, it is again a response to real societal stresses and strains, from the seemingly inevitable rise of multiculturalism to the faltering economy to another liberal administration, this one headed by a black man. Similar factors have driven the number of race-based hate groups, as distinct from Patriot groups, from 602 in 2000 to 926 in 2008, according to research by the Southern Poverty Law Center.

“This frequently happens when elections favor the political left and the society is seen as moving toward greater social equality or away from traditional societal hierarchies,” Chip Berlet, a long-time analyst of the radical right at Political Research Associates, said in a June newsletter. “In this scenario, it is easier for right-wing demagogues to successfully demonize liberals,” immigrants and others.

In fact, the anti-immigration movement is both fueling and helping to racialize the antigovernment Patriot resurgence. More and more, members of nativist groups like the Minutemen are adopting core militia ideas and fears (see story, p. 42). And they have contributed

their own conspiracy theories — about the secret Mexican “Plan de Aztlan” to reconquer the American Southwest, and another involving the secretly arranged merger of the United States, Mexico and Canada into a “North American Union” — to the long list of nefarious plots already identified by the Patriot movement.

Far-right fears of conspiracies have come from other quarters, as well, most notably from the so-called “birthers” who have filed a series of lawsuits making the claim that Obama is not a U.S. citizen.



**Like father, like son:** Mark “Mark From Michigan” Koernke (above) was a key militia propagandist of the 1990s, but went to prison on charges that included assaulting police. Today, his son, Edward Koernke, has taken up where his father left off with a radio show devoted to the reborn militia movement.

zen. These spurious claims first gained traction when prominent extremists like writer Jerome Corsi, politician Alan Keyes and Watergate felon and radio show host G. Gordon Liddy questioned the validity of the president’s birth certificate. Many Patriots have also adopted conspiracy theories about secret government involvement in events like the Sept. 11, 2001, terrorist attacks and the crash of TWA Flight 800 in 1996.

“The current political environment is awash with seemingly absurd but nonetheless influential conspiracy theories,



**Birth of a conspiracy theory:** Prominent extremists like (from left) writer Jerome Corsi, politician Alan Keyes and Watergate felon G. Gordon Liddy gave an early boost to the baseless claim that Barack Obama was not born in the United States.

hyperbolic claims and demonized targets,” Berlet concluded. “And this creates a milieu where violence is a likely outcome.”

#### Going Mainstream

A remarkable aspect of the current anti-government movement is the extent to which it has gained support from elected officials and mainstream media outlets (see quote box, p. 34). Lawmakers complaining about the intrusiveness of the federal government have introduced 10<sup>th</sup> Amendment resolutions (reasserting that those powers not granted to the federal government remain with the states) in about three dozen states. In Texas, Gov.

Rick Perry raised the prospect of secession several months after Obama’s inauguration — a notion first brought up there in the ’90s by the militia-like Republic of Texas. U.S. Rep. Michele Bachmann (R-Minn.) said she feared that the president was planning “reeducation camps for young people,” while U.S. Rep. Spencer Bachus (R-Ala.), evoking memories of the discredited communist-hunter Sen. Joseph McCarthy, warned of 17 “socialists” in Congress. Fox News host Glenn Beck, who has called Obama a fascist, a Nazi and a Marxist, even re-floated militia conspiracy theories of the 1990s alleging a secret network of government-run concentration camps.



The original movement also had its mainstream backers, but they were largely confined to talk radio; today, Beck is just one of the well-known cable TV news personalities to air fictitious conspiracies and other unlikely Patriot ideas. CNN’s Lou Dobbs has treated the so-called Aztlan conspiracy as a bona fide concern and questioned the validity of Obama’s birth certificate despite his own network’s definitive debunking of that claim. On MSNBC, commentator Pat Buchanan suggested recently that white Americans are now suffering “exactly what was done to black folks.” On FOX News, regular contributor Dick Morris said, “Those crazies in Montana who say, ‘We’re going to kill ATF agents because the U.N.’s going to take over’ — well, they’re beginning to have a case.”

At the same time, players like the National Rifle Association, which in the 1990s publicly attacked federal law enforcement agents as “jackbooted thugs,” are back at it. Two months before the election last fall, firearms manufacturers joined forces to promote NRA membership

**Conspiracies via cable:** MSNBC’s Pat Buchanan (from left), CNN’s Lou Dobbs, and Fox News’ Glenn Beck have all contributed conspiracy theories or bigoted commentary to the American political scene.



MATTHEW CANAVAN/GETTY IMAGES (CORSI); JASOS KANOPOLIS/GETTY IMAGES (KEYES); FREDIE LEE/GETTY IMAGES/FOX NEWS (LIDDY); VIRGINIA SHERWOOD/NBC NEWSWIRE (BUCHANAN); KAREN BLER/ATP/GETTY IMAGES (DOBBS); MICHAEL CAULFIELD/WIREIMAGE (BECK)

in a national campaign ominously dubbed “Prepare for the Storm in 2008.”

Gun shows, too, are back as major venues for militia-like ideology. In a video produced in April by Max Blumenthal, senior writer at the online news site The Daily Beast, one man interviewed at a show said, “If Obama tries to get rid of our guns, it’s just a step away from trying to take away everything else.” Another said show attendees were “preparing for the worst.”

Patriot ideology also has crept into the anti-tax “tea parties” that were staged by conservatives around the country in April and July. In addition to protesting government spending and taxation, some demonstrators called for the sovereignty of the states, abolition of the Federal Reserve (a long-time bogeyman of the radical right), and an end to “socialism” in Washington. At the Jacksonville, Fla., July tea party, some protesters carried signs that compared President Obama to Adolf Hitler.

Once again, fearful Patriots are scurrying to prepare for what they see as the coming societal meltdown, stockpiling not only weaponry but food and an array of other items. Newsletter publisher Lee Bellinger, for instance, peddles *Social Chaos Survival Guide: Smart, Savvy Precautions to Make You Self-Reliant in These Dangerous Times* and warns of “impending national social chaos.” The book, he says, is “for people who want to stand their ground without attracting a whole lot of attention — either from the authorities” or “mobs of desperate fellow citizens.”

The recent Department of Homeland Security report also pointed to the role of the Internet in the current movement: “Unlike the earlier period, the advent of the Internet and other information-age technologies since the 1990s has given domestic extremists greater access to information related to bomb-making, weapons training and tactics, as well as targeting of individuals, organizations and facilities, potentially making ... the consequences of their violence more severe.”

#### Whither the Militia Movement?

Evidence that angry Americans are arming themselves for action is growing. In



**Politics and propaganda:** Among the Republican politicians who have hepled boost militia ideals are Texas Gov. Rick Perry, who raised the possibility of his state’s secession after the presidential election; U.S. Rep. Michele Bachmann, who voiced fears of political reeducation camps; and U.S. Rep. Spencer Bachus, who thinks the Congress contains 17 “socialists.”

March, for instance, a Spokane, Wash., man pleaded guilty to illegally possessing two grenade launchers, 54 grenades, 37 machine guns, eight silencers and a variety of explosives in a storage unit. The man had an “End the Fed” bumper sticker on his vehicle. In May, another Washington resident was charged with keeping an illegal cache of weapons that included an M-16 machine gun, four silencers, and two guns made by a local gunsmith and inscribed with “Christian warrior” and “NOObama.”

In Nebraska, a jury convicted Allison Klanecky for possession of unregistered grenade components. Prosecutors said that a search of Klanecky’s barn and an underground bunker turned up dozens of containers of explosive powder, fuses and other components that could be used to make up to 93 grenades, plus an unregistered 12-gauge military shotgun called a “Streetsweeper.” Klanecky was involved in an end-times group called The Prophecy Club that sells conspiracy books and DVDs on everything from the New World Order to globalism and the 9/11 attacks.

A good illustration of antigovernment Patriot movement paranoia was the reaction to a National Guard exercise planned for April in the little town of Arcadia, Iowa. The guardsmen had intended to conduct a four-day mock search for an arms dealer that would include patrolling the town’s streets, distributing photos of the fictional bad guy and knocking on doors of residents who agreed to participate in the drill.

Alex Jones, the radio host and conspiracy theorist, got wind of the plans and interviewed a National Guard official, setting off an avalanche of angry calls and visits to his website from people who feared the exercise was really about imposing a dictatorship or martial law on the country. “Tell them that ANY violation of your rights will result in a ‘Live Fire Exercise,’” one such person wrote on Jones’ Infowars.com website. “If they come, come loaded for war!”

That incident showed how quickly militia enthusiasts now mobilize, thanks to the Internet. The National Guard rapidly scaled back its planned exercise, although it denied that the deluge of complaints had anything to do with its decision.

The sounds of violence are growing louder. The Idaho Citizens Constitutional Militia recently posted an opening for a “field sniper.” Around the same time, an Ohio Militia member, face hidden by a bandana and voice distorted electronically, posted a video to YouTube. “People need to wake up and start buying some of these,” he said as he displayed a semi-automatic rifle. “Things are real bad, and they’re going to get a lot worse.” ▲

# Terror From The Right

In the wake of Barack Obama's election, murders and planned political violence continue to emanate from the radical right

BY DAVID HOLTHOUSE

**L**ess than a month after a right-wing extremist allegedly shot to death three police officers in Pittsburgh, a National Guard soldier whose wife said he was "severely disturbed" by the election of Barack Obama killed two Okaloosa County, Fla., sheriff's deputies in a shoot-out. The April 25 double murder marked yet another deadly incident in a nationwide flurry of right-wing extremist violence and plots in the months leading up to and following the election of the nation's first non-white president.

Okaloosa County Sheriff Edward Spooner said the two deputies, Warren "Skip" York and Burt Lopez, both 45-year-old fathers, were gunned down by Joshua Cartwright, 28, after they attempted to arrest him on domestic violence charges at a shooting range. Cartwright then fled the scene and led police on a high-speed chase that culminated in a raging firefight, during which Cartwright was himself shot to death by law enforcement officers.

Sheriff Spooner said that Cartwright was interested in militia groups and believed the U.S. government was conspiring against him.

Cartwright had that in common with the accused Pittsburgh cop killer, 22-year-old Richard Poplawski, who posted messages to various antigovernment conspiracy websites as well as white supremacist forums like Stormfront in the days before he allegedly donned a bulletproof vest and then ambushed and killed three officers with his AK-47. The deputies were killed as they responded to a domestic disturbance involving Poplawski and his mother.

Allegheny County District Attorney Stephen A. Zappala Jr. announced in

April that he plans to seek the death penalty for Poplawski.

Meanwhile, more details have emerged about a neo-Nazi whose wife shot him to death last December as he was apparently preparing to build a radioactive "dirty bomb." Investigators

time neo-Nazi who began talking about carrying out a domestic terrorist attack after Obama was elected.

Two contractors who performed extensive work on the Cummings home last summer told investigators and reporters that Cummings talked inces-



**Rage on the right:** Among those accused of right-wing terrorism in recent months is (from left) David Adkisson, who allegedly targeted "liberals" in Tennessee; Daniel Cowart, said to be part of a plot to kill Barack Obama; Joshua Cartwright, who murdered two Florida sheriff's deputies; and Richard Poplawski, charged with the killing of three Pittsburgh police officers.

found a cache of radioactive materials and detailed instructions for making a dirty bomb in the Belfast, Maine, home of James G. Cummings II and his wife, Amber, who told police she killed her husband in self-defense after years of physical and mental abuse. Amber Cummings said her husband was a long-

santly about firearms and his fascination with Adolf Hitler. They also said he frequently ridiculed and insulted his wife.

House painter Mike Robbins said that Cummings walked around the house wearing a cowboy hat and a long black leather coat, even in hot weather, and that Cummings expressed reverence for



KNOXVILLE POLICE DEPT./AP IMAGES (ADKISSON); PHOTOGRAPHER UNKNOWN/ FROM MYSPACE.COM (COWART)

Hitler and claimed to have an extensive collection of Nazi memorabilia, including pieces of Hitler's personal silverware and place settings.

Cummings had more than enough money to acquire such a collection, not to mention expensive dirty bomb components. After his death, it came to light that he was the son of a well-known California real estate mogul and philanthropist who was murdered by a disgruntled former employee in 1997, leaving behind a trust fund that generates \$10 million a year in interest alone.

New information also surfaced recently in the case of two racist skinheads who allegedly planned to go on

NICK TOMMECK/AP IMAGES/NORTHWEST FLORIDA DAILY NEWS (DEPUTIES)

a multi-state robbery and killing spree before attempting to assassinate then-Democratic presidential nominee Obama.

Daniel Cowart, 20, and Paul Schlesselman, 18, were arrested last October and charged with conspiracy, unlawful possession of a sawed-off shotgun and threatening to kill and inflict bodily harm upon a major presidential candidate, among other crimes.

According to recently released four-page written statements the skinheads gave to federal agents, Cowart was intro-

duced to Schlesselman through a friend when he was trying to sell a rifle. "Our convo's [conversations] quickly came to talking about general racist stuff," Schlesselman stated. "As our trust grew we talked about more extremist type things like killing people. I talk about this



shit all the time but talken [sic] to daniel [sic] it seemed like we could do it."

The two cruised around Bells, Ark., for a couple of days, plotting gun store robberies, chalking swastikas and other hate symbols onto Cowart's car, and shooting out the window of a black church. Gradually, their elaborate plot took shape. "Our intentions were to go from state to state on a killing spree and robbery," Cowart wrote. "Paul had mentioned killing a total of 88 people and beheading 14 of them. The final thing

we had discussed was dressing in white tuxs [tuxedos] with a top hat and trying to assassinate Obama. We did not plan on living past that day. One day, while riding in my car, Paul told me that he wanted to go to a predominately [predominantly] black school and kill as many as he could." (The number 88 is neo-Nazi code for "Heil Hitler," and 14 refers to the "14 words," a white nationalist catchphrase coined by the late domestic terrorist David Lane.)

Cowart and Schlesselman were arrested after a friend of theirs informed the Secret Service of their intentions.

Unfortunately, nothing like that happened to avert a mass killing plot carried out last July by unemployed truck driver



Jim David Adkisson, who opened fire in a Unitarian church in Knoxville, Tenn., because, he said, it harbored gays and multiracial families. Armed with a shotgun, Adkisson killed two people and seriously wounded six before being tackled and held for police.

In March, law enforcement authorities released a suicide note that Adkisson, whose lawyer recently announced plans to enter a guilty plea, left in his car outside the church. In it, he describes the attack as "a hate crime," "a political protest" and "a symbolic killing."

"I'd like to encourage other like-minded people to do what I've done," he concluded. "If life ain't worth living anymore don't just kill yourself. Do something for your country before you go. Go kill liberals." ▲

# Nativists To ‘Patriots’

As evidence of a militia resurgence mounts, nativist vigilantes are increasingly adopting the ideas of the ‘Patriot’ movement

BY DAVID HOLTHOUSE

**C**AMP VIGILANCE, Calif. — A call to arms from ResistNet blares through this makeshift camp near the small community of Boulevard: “We all know what happens when you back an animal into a corner — it fights back. The way I see it, that’s exactly the direction this country is heading. They’re backing us into a corner. It’s getting to be time to fight back.”

Located two-and-a-half miles north of Mexico in the high, rugged desert of unincorporated eastern San Diego County, Camp Vigilance, known colloquially as “Camp V,” is a sizable Minuteman border vigilante compound situated amidst 170 privately owned acres.

Adjacent to active human and narcotics smuggling corridors, Camp V consists of roughly 100 tent camping sites, a half dozen or so full RV docking bays, a bunkhouse, a radio communications center, a mess hall and meeting grounds, all within a gated and well-guarded security perimeter.

On this night in late May, a dozen or so Minutemen are checking their weapons, testing batteries in their night-vision goggles and thermal-vision scopes, donning body armor and making other preparations for sundown-to-sunup reconnaissance patrols. A public address system plugged into a massive RV amplifies ResistNet, an Internet radio program broadcast by the Patriot Network, which promotes conspiracy theories and right-wing antigovernment militancy. Since the beginning of this year, ResistNet and other Patriot Network programs have become quite popular at Camp V, as well as other remote Minuteman outposts in southern California and Arizona.

The broadcast continues: “I can see the true American patriots are being backed into a corner. They’re getting ready to

strike back at their captors, the greedy, evil vipers in the high offices of this land.”

Such exhortations have little to do with border security or undocumented immigration, the issues that launched the original Minuteman Project in 2005 and inspired its many spin-offs, imitators and splinter factions. Instead, the antigovernment screed ringing through Camp V represents a significant, ongoing shift in the nativist vigilante subculture, as major elements of various Minuteman organizations appear to be morphing into a new paramilitary wing of the resurgent antigovernment “Patriot” movement (see related story, p. 30).

Increasingly, Minutemen are giving credence to the sort of fringe conspiracy theories that have long typified militia and other so-called Patriot groups. Although the Minuteman movement from its inception has been permeated with the Aztlán or “reconquista” conspiracy theory — which holds that the Mexican government is driving illegal immigration into the U.S. as part of a covert effort to “reconquer” the American Southwest — the conspiracy theories that are now taking root in the movement have little or nothing to do with border security or immigration. They include the belief that a massive cover-up has been conducted regarding Barack Obama’s birth certificate, which supposedly shows that he was born in Africa and is therefore ineligible to serve as president of the United States.

At several eastern San Diego County vigilante camps in mid-May, there were serious discussions about the global banking system being controlled by an ancient secret society called the Illuminati. Another theory floated involved a cult devoted to the Egyptian

god of the afterlife, Osiris, operating within the NASA space agency and perhaps arranging with extraterrestrials for a hostile takeover of Earth.

Further indicating the nativist-to-Patriot drift of the Minutemen is the fact that in recent months a number of Minuteman factions have begun promoting the ideology of so-called “sovereign citizens,” a bizarre pseudo-legal philosophy whose adherents claim they’re not U.S. citizens and are not subject to federal or state laws, only to “common law courts” — a sort of people’s tribunal with no judges or lawyers. The most notorious advocates of sovereign citizens ideology include Oklahoma City bombing conspirator Terry Nichols and members of the now defunct Montana Freeman, a violent militia outfit. The larger Patriot movement is made up of tax protesters, militia members and sovereign citizens.

Accompanying the rise of conspiracy theories and sovereign citizen ideology within the Minuteman movement has been a spike in online and campfire chatter about the potential need for armed insurrection in the near future. This trend toward contemplated violence was most graphically illustrated by the May 30 home invasion murders of a Latino man and his 9-year-old daughter in Arivaca, Ariz., that were allegedly orchestrated by the leader of Minutemen American Defense to fund her group’s vigilante activities (see story, p. 7).

All of these disturbing nativist-to-Patriot trends have taken shape during a period in which, by all indications, the number of Latino immigrants attempting to cross the U.S. border has dropped to record lows, due in large part to the country’s faltering economy. According to a June report by the U.S. Department



TODD BREGLOW



Waterboarding for the movement: In a recent exercise, militia members and others trained in resisting interrogation.

of Homeland Security, the number of U.S. Border Patrol apprehensions fell to 724,000 last year. That marked the lowest level since 1973 and a decline of more than 50% from 2000, when apprehensions peaked at 1.67 million.

Despite this marked drop in undocumented border crossings, however, the number of Minuteman border operations, paramilitary training exercises and rallies continues to increase, and new Minuteman groups continue to form. What's changed is that instead of focusing exclusively on undocumented immigration, growing numbers of Minutemen and their fellow travelers now perceive immigration as merely a glaring symptom of a much broader problem. The larger problem, they believe, involves shadowy conspiracies threatening American sovereignty, unwelcome demographic changes polluting American culture, and a potentially totalitarian government, driven by an illegitimate president, bent on seizing all firearms, trampling the Constitution and imposing a fascist-socialist system on a pathetically docile citizenry.

"We're still concerned about the border intruders, but since this all started we've become aware of the fact that border intruders are just pawns in the big game," says "Jawbone," a member of the Campo Minutemen, a particularly hard-core faction based a few miles east of Camp V. "Stopping the border intruders isn't going to keep the shit from hitting the fan. If and when it does, we'll be ready. All this [Minuteman border operations] is just a dress rehearsal for the big dance."

One of the leaders of the Campo Minutemen, Britt "Kingfish" Craig, recently appeared on "Patriot's Pipeline Radio Show" along with co-guest Lloyd Marcus, the singer-songwriter responsible for "Tea Party Anthem," a protest ditty written for the "tea party" tax protests that took place across the country April 15.

"Tea Party Anthem" has become the Campo Minutemen fight song. Most of its members know at least the first verse by heart: "Mr. President! Your stimulus is sure to bust./It's just a socialist scheme./The only thing it will do/Is kill the American Dream."

As part of their campaign to stop President Obama from killing the American Dream, various Minuteman groups, including the Campo Minutemen, are distributing a sovereign citizen "criminal complaint petition" demanding that Obama appear before an "American Grand Jury" to answer charges of treason.

Hundreds of Minutemen signed the petition at a large Minuteman "muster," or rally, in Cochise County, Ariz., in late May. More than a dozen Minuteman organizations were represented at the rally, along with members of the Arizona Citizens Militia, a traditional Patriot militia that regularly conducts armed survivalist training exercises in the mountains and woods of northern Arizona. During one recent exercise, members were "waterboarded" by a "professional interrogator."

Also present at the Cochise County muster were members of Minuteman American Defense (MAD), the Everett, Wash.-based group led by Shawna Forde,

who was arrested less than a month later in the May 30 double murder in Arivaca, Ariz. Also arrested were MAD Operations Director Jason Bush and a third MAD member. According to law enforcement authorities, the three believed the man they killed was a narcotics trafficker who kept large sums of money in his trailer.

Forde's half-brother, Merrill Metzger, told the *Arizona Daily Star* that shortly before the murders Forde started talking about forming an "underground militia" that would be funded by robbing drug dealers. "She was talking about starting a revolution against the United States government," he said.

Following her arrest, Forde was denounced by key Minuteman leaders including Jeff Schwilk, head of the San Diego Minutemen, a hard-line group with a well-deserved reputation for confrontational tactics. The fact that a hothead like Schwilk has become a de facto spokesman for the Minuteman movement indicates how radicalized the movement has become since its early days of media-friendly publicity stunts involving retirees sitting in lawn chairs armed only with binoculars.

In a mid-April mass E-mail to followers, Schwilk linked his group's resistance to "the invasion from Mexico" with the greater cause of thwarting the "socialist takeover" of America. In the same E-mail, Schwilk announced the formation of the Patriot Coalition, made up of 23 organizations including Minuteman factions, tax-protest groups, pro-gun rights groups and two anti-immigration outfits listed as hate groups by the Southern Poverty Law Center. A subsequent press release described the common cause of the groups under the motto, "Secure Borders, Constitution and Rule of Law." It stated that "Patriotic and Constitutional American grassroots groups" had come together to "fight the growing threats to our region and to the taxpaying American citizens."

It used to be that Minutemen declared their vigilance against foreign invaders. Now they're taking a stand against perceived enemies both foreign and domestic. "Revolution is brewing!" Schwilk declared. ▲

# Sovereign Squatters

## Using the language of the antigovernment 'Patriot' movement, some Californians have been squatting in houses they don't own

BY CASEY SANCHEZ

If earthquakes, wildfires and foreclosures weren't enough, a new threat to California real estate has emerged in recent months: squatters who invoke the tactics of a radical antigovernment movement to occupy vacant homes. Describing their brazen takeovers as "home adoptions," groups in Sacramento, San Diego and Riverside counties have filed bogus deeds to claim ownership of luxury homes, justifying their actions with a mix of "common-law" theory, so-called sovereign immunity and references to the Old Testament.

Vacant homes have always appealed to squatters in dire economic times, but these groups rationalize their takeovers with tactics lifted from the "sovereign citizens" movement, a far-right antigovernment ideology that embraces the idea — usually wrapped in rambling, mystical legal terminology — that people can declare themselves beyond the reach of police and the courts.

"I was in tears," insurance executive Christina Suggett told a reporter for *The San Diego Union-Tribune* last November. She had just purchased a new \$800,000 home in Chula Vista only to find the locks changed and a sham deed posted in the window accompanied by a sign that read "Spiritual Sanctuary" and "No Trespass." Police said the two men behind the takeover signed their names to the deed as Maurice Simmons, 32, and King Solomon II, otherwise known as Terry Lee Herron, 43, who has a felony conviction for auto theft. The men said they constituted a religious order called Solomon Brothers Archbishop Corporation Sole — which, they claimed, was immune to prosecution. "I can do

this under common law," Simmons told reporters. "Sovereign Solomon Brothers operates under common law, not judicial law."

The "common law" cited by Simmons and thousands of people in the larger antigovernment "Patriot" movement refers to a fictitious body of law under which the government supposedly cannot impose regulations on "sovereign citizens." Scams involving common-law documents, none of them with any real legal meaning, were prevalent in the militia movement of the 1990s.

Authorities said Simmons and Herron used similar methods to take over five other properties late last year. In a pretrial hearing on May 21, San Diego District Attorney investigator James Motz said Simmons insisted at his arrest that his actions were legal, arguing that "if these were fraudulent documents I filed, the county would have returned them." Neither Simmons nor Herron replied to messages left by the *Intelligence Report*. They were arraigned June 4 on counts of conspiracy, filing false documents and forging documents; Simmons faces additional extortion charges.

In Sacramento, 500 miles to the north, another group operated with a similar ideology but didn't bother with phony deeds. The squatters simply moved into unoccupied properties, posting notices that declared the seized houses to be a sovereign republic and threatening violence against anyone who entered. In the gated neighborhood of West Natomas, home to the owner of the Sacramento Kings basketball team and some of the city's civic and business leaders, a middle-aged couple moved in early February

into a vacant 3,361-square-foot home. The house, which had sold for \$850,000 in 2006, had four bedrooms, four baths, a swimming pool and a hot tub. The new occupants turned the lights on and posted a sign in the window that said, "Private Property of sovereign Woman of republic and California" and "Do Not Disturb Individuals who have possession of the property!" The sign also said any federal and state employees attempting to visit would be seen as trespassers and face the wrath of the occupants and their right to "Self-Preservation — Right To Repel Force By Force — Self Defense — Justifiable Homicide."

When Sacramento Detective Mike Wood showed up to interview the tenants on Feb. 3, they pulled out a contract showing how they were paying \$1,500 a month for the house, less than half the going rental rate. The name on the contract was Sacramento real estate agent Phillis Powers, who operates the Midian Group. On its MySpace page, the Midian group describes itself as a "home adoption program" and as a nonprofit corporation "committed to delivering unequalled value to homeowners and local communities."

According to real estate records, the house had actually been purchased at auction on Jan. 29 by Aurora Loan services, whose representative told *The Sacramento Bee* that they did not know real estate agent Powers and did not realize that anyone was living in the building. Powers, 54, and the couple found in the house were arraigned on March 19 on charges of criminal trespass. Messages left at Powers' home and business were not returned. Detective Wood told reporters he was familiar with Powers from another case in Elk Grove, a Sacramento suburb, where she is also under investigation for renting a home to someone without having any legal connection to the property. Wood has questioned Powers before in a previous case and said she interpreted property law on her own whims. "She doesn't recognize the Constitution," Wood said. "She has her own constitution." ▲



# Prisoners of Belief

Correctional officials around the country struggle with a court ruling accommodating Odinism, a sometimes racist religion

BY CASEY SANCHEZ

Each month, Laurel Owen leaves her home in Arkansas and drives to prisons as far away as Texas and Kentucky, where she is paid to teach inmates the rituals of a Norse pagan religion known as Odinism or Asatru. Owen, who heads a support group called the Prison Affairs Bureau of the Odinic Rite, says many inmates she meets have suffered for their beliefs. “Most of the guys you encounter inside will have spent time in the hole and been labeled a Security Threat just for being Odinist,” she writes. “They have fought to be who they are.”

As practiced by Owen and others outside prison, Odinism tends to be a benign form of paganism, tolerant of others and close to nature. Behind the walls, however, it is likely to take on a more sinister cast, and many prison wardens have long regarded Odinism as the religious arm of white supremacist prison gangs. The U.S. Supreme Court has nonetheless ruled that Odinist inmates have certain rights

that prisons must recognize. So while a decade ago a pagan volunteer like Owen would have been dismissed as a kook or, at worst, a gang liaison, Odinist inmates today can wear Thor’s Hammer pendants under their jumpsuits and request visits from outside leaders.

The Supreme Court ruling in 2005 involved a case brought by a band of Satanist, Odinist and white supremacist Church of Jesus Christ Christian inmates, including some who are serving time for racially motivated killings. The justices ruled that prisons must accommodate these unusual faiths. Four years and several inmate lawsuits later, more than 15 state prisons now recruit non-inmate Odinists to develop policy, write scripts for rituals and lead ceremonies behind bars. Along with this new wave of religious rights has come a raft of litigation from inmates seeking to build fire pits in their cells, from convicted hate crime perpetrators joining class-action lawsuits to take 60 Odinist holidays off work, and from white supremacists

demanding the right to read literature exhorting followers to wage wars of race purification. As security-screened, non-racist Asatru volunteers like Owen stream into the system, they face suspicion from prison chaplains and competition from better-established racist Odinist groups with clout among inmates.

## The Devil’s Advocate

Asatru and Odinism have had inmate adherents since the mid-1980s. (Among believers, Asatru is sometimes used interchangeably with Odinism, and at other times it designates an Icelandic sect that venerates a separate family of gods.) While some prisoners have embraced a non-racial Asatru as a faith whose warrior ethos speaks to them in a hostile environment, white nationalist inmates have imported a Nordic racial paganism from the racist-right subculture of the early 1990s.

Both types of inmates got a boost from the 2005 U.S. Supreme Court case, *Cutter*

# Odinism in Court

## A sampling of some recent cases

### ALABAMA • OCT. 2, 2007

The 11th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals rules that Kilby Correctional Facility inmate Tony Lee Smith’s constitutional rights were not violated when state prison officials refused to let him build a small pine wood fire pit in the prison to conduct Odinist rituals. Officials told Smith that they feared Odinism had possible connections to neo-Nazi and white supremacist groups and denied him worship space in the prison’s common area out of security concerns. He was, however, granted a private place to worship and provided with a candle in lieu of a fire pit.

### UTAH • DEC. 18, 2007

Utah State Prison inmate Michael Polk files suit seeking \$10,000 in damages after prison officials denied him a mead horn (an animal horn used to drink beverages) and a drum made of boar skin. Polk said both were necessary to conduct the rituals of his Asatru religion. A judge noted that inmates are allowed only one religious symbol and that Polk already has a Thor’s Hammer pendant, often worn by adherents of Asatru and Odinism. The case had not yet come to trial at press time.

### SOUTH DAKOTA • APRIL 1, 2008

A U.S. District Court judge rejects murderer Darrell Hoadley’s suit seeking to obtain a two-foot plastic sword that he says he needs to prac-

tice Asatru. Hoadley, an inmate at the South Dakota State Penitentiary, also sought access to an outside area with a tree and a sauna, a ritual drinking horn and a wooden wand; he acknowledged that his security status as a dangerous inmate precluded him from participating in group religious services.

### MAINE • MAY 22, 2008

A federal judge sides with authorities at the Maine State Prison who ordered the facility’s Asatru group disbanded after finding pictures of Hitler, Aryan Nations logos, swastikas and the Ten Commandments of “Wotansvolk Wisdom for Aryan Man” in the group’s religious locker. In court proceedings, inmate Dale Wood, the group’s “gothi,” or leader, did not deny the violent and racist nature of the material.

### INDIANA • JUNE 19, 2008

A U.S. District Court judge orders Indiana’s Department of Corrections to create a policy to accommodate Odinist inmates within 60 days. The ruling comes in a suit by Miami Correctional Facility inmate Kevin Hummel, a self-described former white supremacist who sought the right to hold Odinist group worship. Prison officials argued that Hummel’s group might be infiltrated by violent white supremacists. But the court said that concern could be applied to any prison religious group.

### VIRGINIA • JULY 29, 2008

A U.S. District Court judge rules that Stacy A. Griffin, an inmate at Virginia’s Patrick Henry Correctional Unit, did not have his rights violated when the state prison labeled him a neo-Nazi Aryan Nations gang member based on his tattoos. Griffin argued that the markings are Scandinavian runes signifying his Asatru beliefs and that the gang-membership label would impede his chances for early release.

### TEXAS • OCT. 27, 2008

A U.S. District Court judge cuts short a trial between Hughes Unit inmate Darren Mayfield and the Texas Department of Criminal Justice, telling the parties to settle out of court. Mayfield sued the Texas Department of Criminal Justice for barring Odinist prisoners from possessing rune stones (stones with inscriptions in the runic alphabet used by pre-Christian Norsemen and others) and refusing to allow prison services without an outside volunteer. In December 2008, Texas agrees to allow the supervised use of rune stones and creates a policy for admitting outside Odinist volunteers.

### OREGON • FEB. 25, 2009

A federal judge throws out the suit of inmate Andrew Grasmick, who claimed he “was ostracized by his own race and threatened” after being assigned to a cell for three days with a black inmate. Grasmick described himself as an Odinist, but prison officials at the Federal Correctional Institute in Sheridan countered that he was a member of European Kindred, a white supremacist prison gang.

v. *Wilkinson*, brought by incarcerated Asatrues, Satanists, Wiccans and adherents of the Aryan Nations church, who sought the right to worship in a group, wear religious medallions and read literature from their faith. An Ohio prison had denied their requests, arguing that their religion was just a front for gang activity. The inmates filed the original case in 2000, only months after President Bill Clinton signed into law the Religious Land Use and Institutionalized Persons Act (RLUIPA), which placed pris-

ons that restricted religious expression under heavy legal scrutiny.

The Ohio inmates’ violence and racism were so objectionable, however, that in 2005, the Department of Justice under President George W. Bush, which otherwise supported RLUIPA, urged the court to take a different case on the same issue. In a brief urging the court to allow restrictions on Odinist practices, Ohio’s attorney general noted that the plaintiff in one suit “was convicted for conspir-

ing to bomb the school attended by the daughter of a judge presiding over a desegregation case,” and that most plaintiffs in a second suit “have documented affiliations with prison gangs, including the Aryan Brotherhood, the Ku Klux Klan, and skin-head groups” and that “several have been involved in racially motivated killings or assaults, some since this case began.”

Nonetheless, the Supreme Court ruled in favor of the inmates, noting that for more than a decade the Federal Bureau

of Prisons “has managed the largest correctional system in the nation under the same heightened scrutiny standard as RLUIPA without compromising prison security, public safety, or the constitutional rights of other prisoners.” Since the ruling, the prison systems of Indiana, Michigan and Texas have settled lawsuits with Odinist inmates and rewritten their religion policies, although similar suits brought by inmates in Alabama, Maine, Montana, Oregon, Utah and Virginia have been shot down by state courts.

At latest count, 15 states allow some form of group Asatru or Odinist worship. In a 2007 affidavit for a Utah prisoner suing for damages after being denied the right to use ceremonial altar cloths and drink mead from a bull horn in an Asatru ceremony, a fellow inmate stated: “Every prison I’ve been to has a Asatru/Odinist program. While in Federal custody in Colorado we won a Federal legal proceeding for our own outdoor area similar to the Native Americans. Our sponsor was actually one of the prison’s correctional officers.”

Not all correctional officers are so sympathetic to Odinism. In a 2004 report, the National Gang Crime Research Center surveyed prison officials in 49 states and found that Odinists, Asatruers and Wotansvolk were the most common “white racist extremist religious front groups proselytizing American prison inmates today.”

One chilling example of Odinism in prison gone haywire is the case in Virginia of Michael Lenz, a self-described high priest of Asatru. In 2000, he and five Asatruer inmates met around a makeshift altar for a “blot,” in which followers make an offering of food and drink to the gods. As Lenz would later testify, he became convinced that inmate Brent Parker was not taking the ceremony seriously and had to die to protect the honor of the gods. Lenz and another inmate, Jeffrey Remington, stabbed Parker 68 times with a makeshift knife. Lenz was executed for the murder in 2006; Remington committed suicide in 2004 while on death row.

### Aryan Prisoners of War

Odinism’s most violent prison strain was cooked up in the Colorado Supermax cell of lifer inmate David Lane. Lane drove the getaway car for The Order, the right-wing terrorist group that in the 1980s



Odinist inmate tattoos incorporate symbols derived from the runic alphabet of ancient Scandinavia.

netted more than \$4 million in robberies of armored cars and murdered liberal talk-show host Alan Berg in his Denver driveway. In 1995, Lane, along with wife Katja and business partner Ron McVan, created Wotansvolk, a religion that refers to the Christian New Testament as “the Ten Commandments for racial suicide” and offers in its place Wotanism, which Lane described as religion that “preaches war, plunder and sex.” Lane noted that Wotan, in addition to being the Germanized spelling of Odin, is also the acronym of “Will Of The Aryan Nation.”

“Wotansvolk’s name-recognition is high among the Aryan prison population,” writes Swedish scholar Mattias Gardell, a leading authority on racist Nordic paganism. “Katja Lane’s campaigning has contributed to the fact that all states now permit the wearing of a Thor’s hammer as a religious medallion.” In 2001, at the height of its popularity, Wotansvolk boasted a membership of 5,000 inmates. Today the organization is defunct, but its lavishly illustrated books remain in print and in demand among prisoners who have brought state suits to possess them. In contrast with their Asatru kin, however, the Wotanists’ claims have been uniformly rejected by the courts, as judges say violence advocated by the religion’s texts outweigh its free speech merits in a prison setting.

Lane remains a mythic hero in white power circles and was, until his 2007 death, the top “Aryan Prisoner of War,” noted for coining the “14 words” that serve as a rallying cry for militant white nationalists: “We must secure the existence of our people and a future for White Children.” Lane’s devotion to Odinism lives on among dozens of other

so-called Aryan Prisoners of War, white inmates lionized by the white power movement for their racist activism.

“Odinists represent a significant subgroup of white supremacists in prison known as the Aryan Prisoners of War,” says Randy Blazak, a sociologist at Portland State University in Oregon who studies prison Odinism. For his research, Blazak has interviewed dozens of Aryan Prisoners of War, including Lane before he died and other members of The Order. “The growth of the religion of Odinism among racist inmates has significant implications for the spread of hate crimes, domestic terrorism, racial divisiveness and the destabilization of prison populations,” he says, noting that frequently “the racist Odinist ideology follows inmates upon release.”

Some Aryan POWs, Blazak says, embrace Odinism not as religion but as a consoling ideology in support of their view that the white race is being “assaulted and emasculated by social forces.” As one inmate wrote in response to the study, “I’m of the subset of that community that do not believe in literal Vikings in the sky, but do think the values embodied in the Odinist ‘God-sense’ are especially pertinent for imprisoned Caucasians. Most prisoners are victims of religious intolerance; they’re convicted of ‘offenses against [the idea of] the United States.’”

Aryan POWs represent racist Odinism’s violent fringe, but many jailhouse conversions to neo-pagan faiths are, in fact, more benign. “Some prisoners see the appeal of prison Odinism as an avenue to win prison privileges such as time for religious ceremonies, as well as a way to cope with prison life and society in general,” Blazak writes. “However, those recognized as

‘Aryan POWs’ by the white supremacist community identify with the need for aggressive racist activism. ... The question that remains is which end of the spectrum attracts more inmates?”

How many Odinist inmates subscribe to racial supremacy is a question that generates more heat than light. Valgard Murray, an Asatru leader and consultant to the Federal Bureau of Prisons, contends that “less than ten percent are racial fanatics.” But in Texas, which boasts the largest prison system in the country, security threat group coordinator Sigifredo Sanchez says 90% of Odinist inmates are classified as belonging to white supremacist gangs. They, like all other gang members, are relocated to separate wings of the prison where they cannot access group religious services. “It’s been my experience that legitimate groups will carry some of these more racist members because it swells numbers,” said Blazak. “Among them there’s a real serious dislike of racist pagans, but at the same time, numbers count in prison.”

Between the racist and non-racist believers are a large number of “Odinists until release” who join in meetings and make offerings to the gods at blots less for spirituality than to break up the boredom and isolation of prison life. “They’ve got plenty of time on their hands. There’s also the practicality of it. It gets you out of [your] cell, there may be food and drink available,” says Blazak.

Sanchez, the Texas prisons’ security coordinator, adds, “We have had Odinists for quite awhile. You have to look at the historical basis. Aryan groups are looking for anything that would be beneficial and a place where no one will stop them from meeting. They’ve always tried to use a religion that somebody can bond with.”

### Rune Stones or Gang Signs?

After a two-year lawsuit, the Texas Department of Corrections is negotiating with an inmate who is seeking the right to lead his own Asatru group service and use rune stones, a set of 24 small blocks or stones carved with ancient symbols that make up an alphabet. Sanchez is wary of both developments. “Not all of our officers are trained to look at runic codes,” he says. “We had a guy out there who was ABT, Aryan Brotherhood of

Texas – that’s what he had in runic type writing on a tattoo. The guy was able to make it out there in general population [and not be segregated as a gang member] because the officer did not recognize the runic symbols.” Prisons that use the rune-stone-as-gang-sign policy to deny access to Odinists have had little sway with courts, most of whom cite the large presence of Muslim, Jewish and Latino inmates who use Arabic, Hebrew and Spanish in their services.

Donald Rothstein, who has spent more than 20 years investigating security-threat groups for the Minnesota corrections system, said that Odinist religious services, just like any religious group meeting, provide an opportunity for him and his colleagues to gain intelligence on security threats. Asatru or Odinist inmates are allowed to meet for group worship in four of the state’s prison facilities, and they are monitored when they do. “If for some reason white supremacist inmates are having an action [and] fifty of them show up – say that’s five times the normal service — we know something is going on.” Rothstein says Minnesota inmates are observed based on behavior, not for gang or religious affiliation.

Not all racist forms of Asatru are so difficult to decode. In Maine, inmate Dale Wood, who referred to himself as the “gothi,” or leader, of his Asatru group, sued the state’s prison system after his group was disbanded by correctional officers. While inspecting the group’s religious lockers, authorities found pictures of Hitler, swastikas and the Ten Commandments from “Wotansvolk Wisdom for Aryan Man,” a violently racist revision of Jesus’ parables whose fifth commandment reads: “Cut off ZOG’s head and feed it to the dogs. Government beyond the consent of the governed is tyranny and theft; obedience to tyranny is slavery.”

“Prior to this time, I and the other prison staff thought that the prison Asatru group was religious group,” said a corrections sergeant in a court affidavit. “I determined that the Asatru group at the facility was really a white supremacist gang.”

### Odinist vs. Odinist

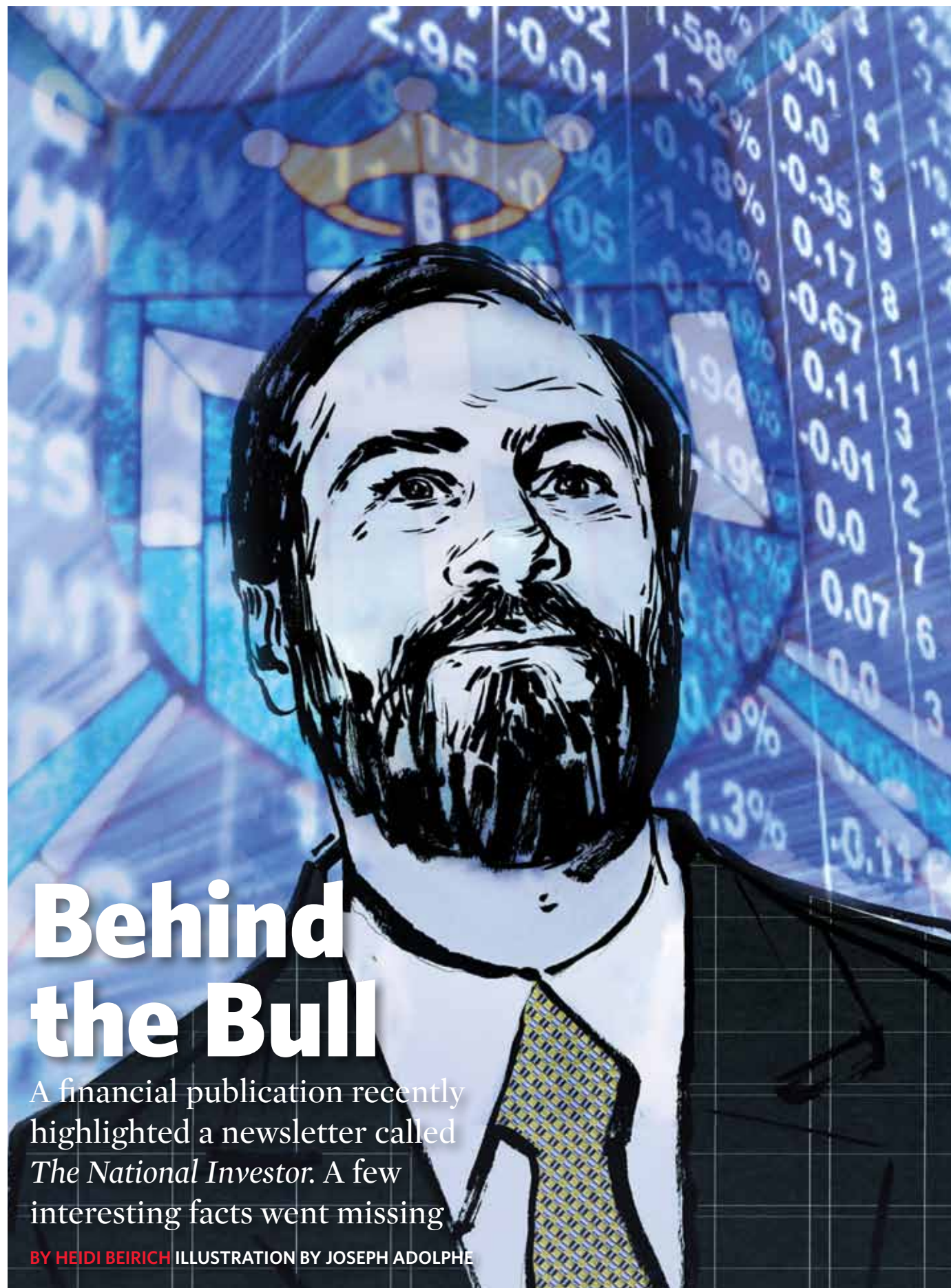
Correctional officers aren’t the only ones motivated to expose sham Odinist groups. In 2007, Murray, the Asatru leader who consults for the federal prison system,

took the unusual step of testifying against Odinist inmates as a paid witness for the State of Ohio. The case, which is still in litigation, involves four members of the Caucasian Cartel gang who claim their religious meeting was unfairly broken up for being a security threat. One member of the gang helped initiate the lawsuit in 2002 while serving time for the bludgeoning of a black college student with an ax handle while shouting racist and anti-gay slurs. Released in 2004, he returned in 2006 on a 30-year sentence for murder and joined a class action suit led by an Odinist adherent who believes his faith entitles him to more than 60 days a year off work.

“It’s a frivolous lawsuit,” Murray told the *Intelligence Report*. “I’ve written the runic calendar for the federal Bureau of Prisons. There are only 12 recognized holidays.” Other neo-pagan groups have called Murray a traitor for his action. Laurel Owen, the Odinist prison volunteer from the Arkansas Ozarks, writes in a how-to guide for outside Odinist volunteers that there are real dangers involved in teaching Odinism to inmates. “Rival gang members will compete for your attention and for a place of leadership. ... You may even be asked to join a gang.” She adds, “The first day you go in, tell your group that gang affiliations are not your business and that you don’t want to know. Tell them the important thing is this: You are there for spiritual reasons, not to front for a gang.” Owen believes Odinism is a positive force in inmates’ lives and she has even developed an Odinist alternative to Alcoholics Anonymous that is in use at two Texas prisons.

But the questionable motives of Odinist inmates are part of the reason why Murray, for example, now refuses to certify convicts, past or present, as gothis or leaders of Asatru groups. Instead, he is focused on certifying counselors to respond to the growing demand for Asatru and Odinist religious volunteers inside prison.

In Texas, the prison wardens are adapting as well. “We’re not looking at Odinists as a group anymore, but we can monitor individuals for gang activity,” says Sanchez. “That’s important. An Odinist who is a gang member, who monopolizes that religion, he can become a charismatic leader and bond that group and make it a gang. It’s important that we stop that before it happens.” ▲



# Behind the Bull

A financial publication recently highlighted a newsletter called *The National Investor*. A few interesting facts went missing

BY HEIDI BEIRICH ILLUSTRATION BY JOSEPH ADOLPHE

**T**he *Hulbert Financial Digest* (HFD), owned by Dow Jones & Company's Marketwatch, is the leading publication rating which financial newsletters do best at beating the market. Edited by Mark Hulbert, a respected market analyst who also writes a weekly column on investments for *The New York Times*' Sunday business section and whose opinions are regularly published on the Marketwatch website, HFD is described by its Marketwatch parent as "a completely independent, impartial and authoritative rating service" that helps its readers know "which newsletter to trust."

All of that may well be true. But HFD's information about one of the newsletters it rates is missing a few facts that might interest its readers.

In the May 2009 issue, HFD highlighted *The National Investor*, a financial newsletter published by a man named Chris Temple. Temple was pleased with what HFD had to say. In an E-mail blast to his own subscribers, Temple praised what he called HFD's "complimentary profile of *The National Investor*." Temple pointed out that HFD had ranked *The National Investor* as having the "FOURTH BEST TRACK RECORD over the past 5 years" of all the newsletters HFD tracks. And Temple added that he was particularly proud of this achievement because, during that period, "we were not operating at 100% of our potential."

Indeed, HFD did credit Temple's investment advice, explaining in its May digest that Temple's approach combines "fundamental and technical analysis." HFD even produced a two-page special report on the newsletter. But the publication left out a couple of fascinating details — including the explanation for why Temple hasn't been, as he wrote, operating at his full potential.

Chris Temple just emerged from federal prison this past May, released to a halfway house in Eau Claire, Wisc. During the five years that HFD analyzed for its recent profile of *The National Investor*, Temple was producing his newsletter from behind bars.

Temple is a long-time white supremacist and an adherent of a viciously

anti-Semitic religion, Christian Identity. What may be more interesting to investors, however, is the fact that he was sentenced to six years in prison for mail fraud and money laundering in a financial scam. Temple had run a Ponzi scheme that bilked investors through his now defunct partnership, Phoenix-Millennium Partners. In 2004, investigators charged that Temple stole \$1.6 million from investors between 1998 and 2003, using the money to publish his newsletter, remodel his home, and pay off earlier investors. Temple also was sued by one of his investors, Donald Eldon, for over \$130,000. Eldon's lawsuit claimed Temple duped his customers, exerting "unauthorized control" over their money and promising big returns. In August 2003, Eldon was awarded \$393,230.

Temple doesn't hide his criminal past. On his personal website, he admits that he used his partnership to "raise money from new investors to pay off old ones."

Since the 1980s, Temple has been a prominent member of the radical right. He was "ballot access coordinator" in 1988 for the Populist Party when former Klansman David Duke ran for president on the party's ticket. He worked closely with Holocaust denier Willis Carto, writing for Carto's tabloid *The Spotlight*; in the mid-1990s, he became the newspaper's financial writer. (According to Temple, he and Carto formed a partnership where the newsletter now touted

**In a Hulbert Financial Digest "complimentary profile," *The National Investor* was ranked as having the "Fourth Best Track Record Over the Past 5 Years."**

by HFD would be half-owned by Carto and receive promotions in *The Spotlight* in return. That arrangement fell apart after Temple accused Carto of draining \$70,000 from their newsletter operation. But Temple did not definitively break with Carto and *The Spotlight* until 1999.)

That's not all. Temple has marched alongside neo-Nazis and quoted Hitler approvingly in his writings. He was once a close friend of Louis Beam, a former Texas Klan leader who was at one point on the FBI's Ten Most Wanted List. He has spoken at several gatherings of the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations and, starting in 1990, began to write for a radical-right newspaper called *The Jubilee*. Temple reportedly even once described himself as "very much a National Socialist."

Until his imprisonment, Temple was a popular source in the financial press, with his words quoted by *Barron's Online*, *Gold News Weekly* and other business publications. Forbes.com even published a special "Adviser" feature about him entitled "The Sage of Spooner" (Temple was living in Spooner, Wisc., at the time). But since his arrest and imprisonment — and the widespread revelation of his political views — Temple hasn't gotten much press.

Temple isn't the only white nationalist who has found good fortune at Marketwatch. Peter Brimelow, who runs the anti-immigrant hate site VDARE.com, serves as a financial columnist at Marketwatch. VDARE, named after Virginia Dare, the first English (read white) child born in the New World, regularly publishes the work of white nationalists and anti-Semites. In June, for instance, VDARE posted an essay by Kevin MacDonald, an anti-Semitic professor in California, who wrote about how "the rise of Jews to elite status in the United States" and their support of immigration were "necessary conditions" to the demise of "WASP America."

Brimelow writes several columns a week on investment for Marketwatch, where there is no mention of VDARE or his other ties to white nationalists. Earlier this decade, Brimelow penned several columns praising Temple's investing advice. But Brimelow quit writing about Temple once he was sent to prison. ▲



# Measuring the Movement

After a lifetime of research, a leading analyst of white nationalism discusses his findings and the prospects for a multiracial America

INTERVIEW BY MARK POTOK PHOTOGRAPHY BY STEFAN HESTER

*For almost 30 years, Leonard Zeskind has been researching and writing about the white nationalist movement in America. After years of working in heavy industry and simultaneously organizing white workers and youths against racism, Zeskind in 1985 became the research director of the Anti-Klan Network, an Atlanta-based organization that was later renamed the Center for Democratic Renewal, where he worked to battle a resurgence of the Klan and white nationalism generally. In the years since then, he has continued researching as an independent scholar whose work has been recognized with a 1998 “genius” fellowship from the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation and other awards. Sixteen years ago, Zeskind began work on what became an authoritative book on the last 30 years of the white nationalist movement. This May, the book — Blood and Politics: The History of the White Nationalist Movement from the Margins to the Mainstream — was published and received a series of good reviews. Not long before publication, Zeskind sat down with the Intelligence Report to discuss some of the views he has developed over the course of a lifetime observing the American radical right.*

**You’ve spent decades doing anti-racist work and tracking the white nationalist movement. How did you get started in this, Lenny?**

While I was studying in a bar mitzvah class, we read *Black Like Me* [a 1961 book by John Howard Griffin detailing

his harrowing experiences as a white man disguised as a black man], and the local NAACP president spoke at the synagogue the Friday before my bar mitzvah. So it was part of my life in the Jewish community.

Eventually, I came to understand

that white people needed to address the problem of racism in other white people. So I got involved in trying to organize the younger white people in the working-class neighborhood I was living in. I spent 13 years in heavy industry, working as a grassroots organizer.

I started paying attention to the resurgence of white supremacist activity in the 1970s, around ’77, ’78. I started reading racist publications and helped put out a little magazine with a small group in Kansas City starting in 1982. But the real moment of transformation for me was in 1984 when I found a picture of Bob Weems as chairman of the Populist Party [a far-right party started by anti-Semite Willis Carto and others that year]; at the same time, I was looking at another picture of Weems leading a meeting of the Klan. The following year, I became a paid professional in the field [at the Anti-Klan Network], rather than an unpaid volunteer.

**Before we get into some of the details, how is your book different than others that have traced much of the same history?**

I tried to write about the white nationalist world as a movement in which the organizations meant less as individual organizations and more as springboards for the interaction of all these groups’ different tendencies and ideologies. I tried to describe how the movement developed a political identity and self-consciousness. To the extent that it does that, it grows.

One of the things that became evident to me is that much of the language and many of the concepts we tend to use have lost whatever analytical power they once had. One idea that isn't helpful is the untested assumption that economic distress, direct and unmediated, drives the tendency towards racism and white supremacist organizing. If you look at the votes [former Klan leader] David Duke got in 1990 and 1991, they came from ordinary middle-class white people — not just those who were the most poverty-stricken. More, the concepts of left and right have lost a lot of their explanatory power. Who's on the left, who's on the right, in Russia and Eastern Europe today? I can't tell.

**You suggest the white nationalist movement started to develop the political self-consciousness you just mentioned in the 1970s, and that two major tendencies, “mainstreamers” and revolutionary “vanguardists,” emerged from that.**

Almost from the moment it became a resurgent movement in the late 1970s, white nationalism started to define itself. Wilmot Robertson's book, *The Dispossessed Majority*, is important in this. People in the movement saw themselves as dispossessed — they had to explain to themselves how they had lost the battle over civil rights in the 1960s.

That's an important piece. White nationalists were no longer defending the status quo, because the status quo had changed. They saw themselves as an oppressed group, and they began to develop a movement with characteristics of that type. They saw themselves at odds with society and, to varying degrees, with the majority of white people who were supposedly their constituency.

The “vanguardists” looked at white people and saw a bunch of cowards with their brains lost to “Jewish” TV. But the “mainstreamers” still thought there was a possibility of winning a majority following.



Here's the trick about spotting the transformation into a white revolutionary movement: The piece that makes them the most revolutionary is anti-Semitism, because it creates for them a ruling class. The invention of a fake ruling class transformed a reform-oriented conservative movement into a revolutionary movement.

Jared Taylor [editor of the white nationalist journal *American Renaissance*], for example, does not embrace the anti-Semitic theories that William Pierce [late leader of the neo-Nazi National Alliance] did. Taylor apparently worked in international finance at one point, and he doesn't see himself as separate from that, despite the people railing at the banks and the Federal Reserve.

It would be a mistake to call vanguard-

ists and mainstreamers factions; they're ideological tendencies, and they can both exist within a single organization.

**How did those two tendencies play out?**

In the early 1980s, the vanguardist wing of the movement started to develop an organizational face and a cohesive argument. [Hard-line leaders] Bob Miles and Louis Beam were crucial to that development, through their jointly produced *Inter-Klan Newsletter* and *Survival Alert* and with Beam's *Essays of a Klansman*. Then came the formation of The Order [a racist terrorist group that assassinated a Jewish talk show host and robbed more than \$4 million in armored car heists] in the fall of 1983. The Order was built upon the notion that the majority of white people are inept and won't make a revolution without being

**After losing the battle over civil rights in the 1960s, “White nationalists were no longer defending the status quo, because the status quo had changed. They saw themselves as an oppressed group.”**

dragged along kicking and screaming. They wanted to push the entire society into a ditch and start a race war, with the result that black people and white people would be forced to choose sides based upon their skin color.

After the sedition trial [the unsuccessful 1987 federal prosecution in Arkansas of 14 major white supremacist leaders, including Beam and Miles], however, the vanguardist wing started to lose steam. Multiple arrests and trials simply took their toll on them.

**How did the mainstreamers become ascendant?**

I think that the January 1987 events in Forsyth County [Ga.] marked a turning point, along with Howard Beach. [Editor's note: In December 1986, a large group of white teens attacked three black men in Howard Beach, a neighborhood of New York City, leaving one of them dead. Authorities

compared the attack to a lynching.] In Georgia, 400 white people threw rocks at a small, interracial group of so-called brotherhood marchers. There were some Klansmen there, maybe 40, but they weren't the 400. So it had a mass character to it; it was a mainstream event. I can remember the difficulty we had in North Georgia getting Methodist ministers to speak out against the white mob without condemning the interracial brotherhood marchers [as provocateurs] in the same breath.

David Duke, who had been laying low for some six years after leaving the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, actually understood the significance of the events in Forsyth and Howard Beach. He understood that something was happening among white people, that there was a growing insurgency among a sector of white people that would carry him into his Louisiana campaigns. [Editor's note: Although Duke had run for office before, and was elected to the Louisiana House in 1989, he astonished the nation by winning more than 600,000 votes in both 1990 and 1991 during unsuccessful campaigns for U.S. senator and governor.] Now, everybody in the movement wanted to run for public office. A half dozen characters associated themselves with the Duke phenomenon, because it looked like the going thing.

What happened, as I write in the book, was that Duke opened the door and, in 1992, [long-time television commentator and white nationalist] Pat Buchanan walked through it. People remember Buchanan as running [for president on the GOP ticket] because he was mad about [the first President] Bush breaking his “No New Taxes” pledge. But Buchanan ran on a platform of America-first nationalism, anti-war isolationism, and nativism. It wasn't exactly a David Duke platform — Buchanan's not a national

socialist like Duke — but his 1992 and 1996 presidential campaigns did carry Duke's banner.

**But the 1990s, when the militia movement appeared, experienced a real resurgence of the violent vanguardists, didn't they?**

After 1992, you have the development of vanguardists and mainstreamers both at the same time. The militias, for example, had within them the bombers and bank robbers, the vanguardists; but they also had people who were mainstreamers, interested in pursuing gun disobedience without robbing banks. The militia movement as a whole was primarily a revolt against what they believed was an erosion of national sovereignty. So it was basically a nationalist, a white nationalist, movement.

The vanguardists were busy creating their little enclaves — the Republic of Texas, the Militia of Montana, the Montana Freeman and so forth. They separated themselves from most white people and started to create their own little white, Christian enclaves. It looked like the vanguardists were the biggest things on the block, but that wasn't true. You also had the Buchanan candidacy, all this stuff going on inside the Republican Party. And, after the [1995] Oklahoma City bombing, the government did an intensive roundup that hurt the most violent vanguardists.

In the years since the 1990s, I think the biggest failure of the mainstreamers was in 2000, when Buchanan [making his third bid for the presidency, this time on the Reform Party ticket] failed to make good use of the federal money [almost \$13 million] the Reform Party got for his campaign. White nationalists put a lot of energy into that campaign, and they came out of it with very little. Buchanan gave them Ezola Foster [a black woman with extreme-right views who ran for vice president on the Buchanan ticket]

and people like Jared Taylor were saying, “Why is this? Why are we going to support this?”

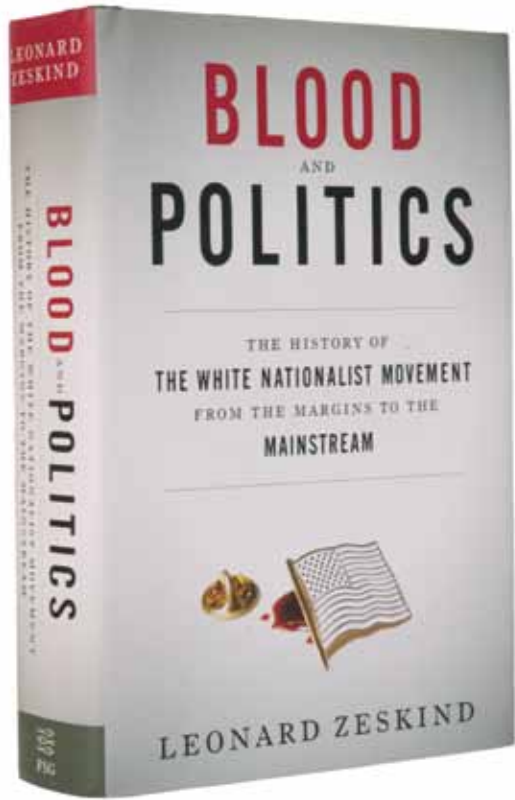
At that point, the mainstreamers were in trouble, and the National Alliance looked like the biggest kid on the block. It was growing like topsy.

**Wasn't a key part of National Alliance leader William Pierce's importance at the time his intellectual leadership?**

Ideas explain the world to people. They pull people together in a collective fashion around a common view of the way the world works. Pierce created a whole white ethic. By the time he died [in 2002], he had created a more or less complete ideology in terms of explaining the world. It's important to remember that this movement doesn't exist in a vacuum. These ideas explain the world to people where other explanations don't work for them, or aren't available.

Of course, after Pierce dies, the National Alliance crashes on the rocks. And then you have a series of other events that amount to political defeats. The Liberty Lobby [long America's leading anti-Semitic organization] finally does itself in [after losing an extended court battle with former colleagues]. There's the David Irving trial [in which the world's leading Holocaust denier was labeled “pro-Nazi” by a British judge in a major libel battle], and then, after 9/11, comes the outbreak of the “War on Terror.” (By the way, I do not think that the events of 2001 changed the dynamic of nationalism seeing itself in opposition to globalism.)

At least for that moment, the vanguardist wing was essentially put out of business by the war on terror. In a world



After years of anti-racist activism, Leonard Zeskind started work on *Blood and Politics* 16 years ago. It was published in May.

in which the dominant discourse is a war on terror, robbing a bank or blowing up a building probably isn't going to get you many friends.

**In the last 10 years or so, both mainstreamers and vanguardists have focused on non-white immigration as their key issue, with some real success. But now we're in a changing situation, with the election of a black president and the crash of the economy. How do you see the coming years?**

I'm skittish about making predictions. A part of the reason is that it doesn't only depend on what white nationalists do — there are larger social forces out there and there are significant numbers of white people who have signed onto multiracialism and the Obama vision of American life. The white nationalist vision of an exclusively white, Christian country has not disappeared, but it's made much more tenuous by the fact

that we have a black president who a lot of white people voted for. That's not easily explained as just the Jews brain-washing everybody.

I think the future depends on whether or not the economic crisis that we're in becomes a political crisis, a crisis in confidence in the government. It's at that point that the white nationalists will have their greatest chance. And that, in part, depends on whether the core inside the southern, white section of the Republican Party manages to mount any kind of successful opposition. If that happens, I think you'll see fast growth in the movement. But if they want to take advantage of the economy, they also need to find their own programmatic plank — sort of like in Europe, where some of the organizations created their own councils of the unemployed.

I do not believe that the economic crisis alone, or the Obama campaign, or the demographic process [which is expected to lead to a loss of a national white majority by about 2042], is driving a fast-growth movement. If you look at actual events and compare them to the past, the violence this year is not as great as the violence was in 1987, for example. The Obama presidency might prove to be an organizing opportunity for white nationalists. But it's not just a raw opportunity. It's mediated through political frames.

**What can we examine to get a fuller sense of the future?**

I think it's best to look at indicators such as housing segregation. If housing segregation remains at the high levels that it is now, then the possibilities for white enclaves to emerge politically increase. We have a long-term tendency where the natural constituency of white nationalists will, over time, separate themselves from the multiracialists among white people, and tend to lock themselves into politically and territorially gated communities. And these gated communities may try to



assume more and more civic powers. Remember that 5% of the white voting public last year told a pollster they would not vote for a black president. That's millions of people. That's white nationalists' natural constituency.

It's also useful to look at opinion poll data on young people's attitude toward the separate-but-equal doctrine, which has some support among the young. That's a place to look. Another is particular bellwether political races, whether they're anti-immigrant referenda or candidacies. If a defined group of white voters seems to stay intact, that's another indicator. What white nationalists will do as the political terrain changes is look for a base. And it will be in these kinds of places.

As the demographics change at a national level [with whites dipping as

a proportion of the population], the chance for a white nationalist revival obviously becomes more problematic as long as voting rights remain intact. So another of the things we should also look for is an assault on those rights. If violence becomes an expression of a piece of the political movement, rather than just an expression of an individual's disenchantment, that's important, too.

**What about the role of political parties in the near term?**

I've had conversations with people who think the Republican Party is going to have to develop more [non-white] leaders like [Republican National Committee chief] Michael Steele and [Louisiana Gov.] Bobby Jindal. But so far, that hasn't worked out too well. I would bet even money that the hard

**“The future depends on whether or not the economic crisis that we're in becomes a political crisis, a crisis in confidence in the government. It's at that point that the white nationalists will have their greatest chance.”**

core of the Republican Party will start to congeal itself and that we'll see a resurgence of anti-immigrant activity when comprehensive immigration reform gets introduced this fall. Unlike in other years, they're geared up. So that may be their opening bid.

The problem for white nationalists right now is they don't have an independent third party [like, for example, the Populist Party of the 1980s and 1990s]. They don't have a [far-right party like the] British National Party, or a Front National [in France], or an NDP [in Germany]. They're totally dependent electorally on the Republicans. And the Republicans are fickle friends.

The question before us, then, is, “What proportion of the population are the ones for whom Obama's election is an abomination, rather than a plus? Are they cohesive? Do they learn to think and act together?” If they don't, they'll lose traction and history will move forward without them. But as we know from our own terrible history with the collapse of [post-Civil War] Reconstruction, we've always taken a step forward and then fallen back again. ▲



Relatives attended the funeral of Jenő Koka, a Roma, or Gypsy, man shot dead April 29 as he left his home in Tiszalöc, Hungary.

HUNGARY/CZECH REPUBLIC

# Anti-Roma Violence Surging Across Central Europe

At least seven Roma have been murdered and dozens of Roma homes firebombed in a wave of ethnically motivated violence sweeping across Central Europe, law enforcement officials and international human rights organizations are reporting.

Far-right political leaders in countries like Hungary and the Czech Republic have fostered an increasingly hostile atmosphere toward Roma by using them as scapegoats in a time of rising economic turmoil. Anti-Roma propaganda capitalizes on age-old stereotypes of Roma — a widely oppressed minority group commonly known as Gypsies — as itinerant petty criminals and parasites on social welfare systems.

Last April 4, a march by about 100 racist skinheads through a Roma neighborhood in Prerov, a town in the Olomouc region of the Czech Republic, erupted into bloodshed when the skinheads clashed with police and Roma counter-demonstrators.

The following day, about 20 members of the National Party, a right-wing extremist group in the Czech Republic,

gathered outside a former World War II-era labor camp where 3,000 Roma perished during the Holocaust to celebrate the publication of a Roma-bashing book by National Party member Jiří Gaudin. Titled *The Final Solution of the Gypsy Question in Czech Lands*, the book calls for the Czech government to cut welfare programs for Roma citizens and use the money saved to fund the forced deportation of all Roma to India.

Less than a week after the National Party rally, a small Roma child and her parents were severely burned when assailants firebombed their home in the Czech town of Vitkov.

The worst anti-Roma violence, however, has taken place in Hungary, where at least 30 Roma homes have been attacked with Molotov cocktails in recent months. The attackers usually wait outside to spray their victims with gunfire as they flee the burning structures. Last February, for example, a Roma man and his 4-year-old son were gunned down as they tried to escape from the flames consuming a home in Tatarszentgyörgy, a small town south of Budapest.

The Hungarian Guard, a paramilitary group associated with the far-right Hungarian political party Jobbik, routinely holds marches to protest “Gypsy crime” in Roma neighborhoods where homes have recently been firebombed. Experts fear that if unemployment continues to rise, anti-Roma violence will intensify. As Lajos Korözs, a specialist in Roma issues for the government of Hungary, told *The New York Times*: “One thing to remember, the Holocaust did not start at the gas chambers.”

UNITED KINGDOM/SOUTH AFRICA

## Transnational White Supremacist Slammed By Son Online

South African white supremacist Arthur Kemp may cringe whenever he turns on his computer these days. Kemp, a key player in both the far-right British National Party (BNP) and the U.S. neo-Nazi group National Alliance (see related story, p. 20), has become the target of two ongoing Internet campaigns, one by his South African son and ex-wife, the other by American neo-Nazi leader Tom Metzger.

It began last September, when Kemp’s 16-year-old son, Stephan Kemp, described his dad as a “racist ass” on the United Kingdom anti-racist blog Lancaster United. “I remember almost every night when we would ask for a bedtime story ... he would instead tell us stories about how the white race was all supreme,” Stephan Kemp wrote in the first of several harsh posts.

This spring, Kemp’s ex-wife, Karen Mills, piled on by circulating E-mails to her ex-husband detailing his unfaithfulness and many shortcomings as a father. “You have no idea how bitter, resentful and hurt the children are,” Mills wrote in one E-mail. “I suspect that will be forever. ... You have always alienated everyone that you come into contact with. Look at all the right wing groups in SA [South Africa] and the U.S. which are also posting ugly things about you.”

Metzger is posting ugly things about Kemp as part of a larger attack on the BNP, whose leaders, including Kemp, angered Metzger by declaring their party to be non-racist and toning down their anti-Semitism prior to June elections in England. “Since you are changing attitudes on Israel and the Jews and declaring yourself not to be racist you have become an enemy not a friend,” Metzger declared.

Although Kemp has not publicly responded to his ex-wife and son, he was quick to fire back at Metzger with an open letter posted to a BNP website that contained more than a bit of truth: “The American pro-white politicians (and this includes you) have utterly failed to make any impact at all on the political process precisely because they have always been mired in a necrophilia-type obsession with Nazi Germany and the Civil War.”

UNITED KINGDOM

## London Bars American Extremists, Including Radio Shock Jock

The government of the United Kingdom has banned five American right-wing radicals, including a radio show host with a weekly audience of more than 8 million people, from entering the country, citing their well-known reputations for “fostering extremism and hatred.”

According to a list released by the Home Office, the U.K. governmental

department that oversees immigration and visas, the banned U.S. citizens and the specific reasons they’re not allowed into the U.K. are:

**Stephen Donald Black**, a.k.a. Don Black, former Alabama Klan leader and creator of the white nationalist online forum Stormfront, banned for “promoting serious criminal activity and fostering hatred that might lead to intercommunity violence in the UK.”

**Erich Gliebe**, chairman of the National Alliance (see related story, p. 20), a neo-Nazi hate group, banned for “engaging in unacceptable behaviour by justifying terrorist violence, provoking others to commit serious crime and fostering racial hatred.”

**Fred Phelps Sr.** and daughter Shirley Phelps Roper, leaders of the “God Hates Fags” Westboro Baptist Church, banned for “picket[ing] the funerals of Aids victims and [claiming] the deaths of American soldiers are a punishment for U.S. tolerance of homosexuality.”

**Michael Alan Weiner**, a.k.a. Michael Savage, talk radio shock jock, banned for “seeking to provoke others to serious criminal acts and fostering hatred.” The Home Office also noted that Savage’s “views on immigration, Islam, rape and autism have caused great offence in the U.S.” Savage, whose show is syndicated nationally by Talk Radio Network, has the third largest audience of any American radio show host.

The list of banned individuals also named Islamic clerics accused of promoting terrorism, a Jewish militant and two Russian skinhead gang leaders.

Shortly after the list was made public in April, *The Daily Mirror*, a major London newspaper, published a photo of Don Black rubbing shoulders with Nick Griffin, head of the far-right British National Party (BNP), at a white supremacist conference in Washington, D.C., in 2007. Also present were BNP publicity chief Mark Collett and field organizer Martin Reynolds.

Rather than downplay his party’s relationship with the ex-convict who once tried to overthrow the government of a small Caribbean island by force of arms, Griffin responded by insisting that Black should be allowed into the U.K. “The only people who can be kept out are those who inflict violence, which Don Black has not,” he stated.

Home Secretary Jacqui Smith, though, is showing no signs of reversing her decision.

“Coming to the U.K. is a privilege, and I refuse to extend that privilege to individuals who abuse our standards and values to undermine our way of life,” Smith said. “Therefore, I do not hesitate to name and shame those who foster extremist views as I want them to know that they are not welcome here.”

CZECH REPUBLIC/AUSTRIA

## David Duke Arrested in Prague for Holocaust Denial

Last April 24, more than two dozen masked police commandos surrounded the Black Eagle, a restaurant in Prague, the capital of the Czech Republic. Inside, globe-trotting white supremacist David Duke was chatting with about 10 supporters. The conversation was cut short when the commandos charged in and arrested Duke, who’d arrived in the country earlier that day, on suspicion of denying the Holocaust and promoting the neo-Nazi movement, crimes punishable by up to three years in prison in the Czech Republic.

Duke was in the country at the invitation of the Czech radical-right



David Duke



Fred Phelps Sr.

# Tackling the Deniers

Two writers take on Holocaust deniers in a point-by-point rebuttal. Sadly, 66 years after the war, their book is needed

**Denying History: Who Says the Holocaust Never Happened and Why Do They Say It?**

By Michael Shermer and Alex Grobman  
Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009  
\$18.95 (paperback)

Michael Shermer and Alex Grobman spent years interviewing dozens of Holocaust deniers — not so much to depict them as lunatics or neo-Nazi shills, as many historians and others have already done, as to engage them in a point-by-point discussion of their claims. Immersing themselves in the literature and conferences of the deniers, the authors write, was to enter “a looking-glass world where black is white, up is down and the normal rules of reason no longer apply.”

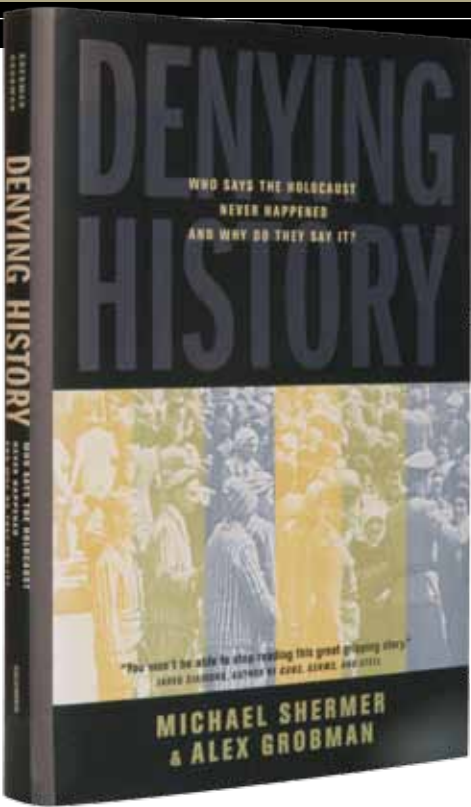
Denial of the Holocaust — the Nazis’ use of gas chambers, crematoria and other methods to systematically murder as many as 6 million Jews during World War II — began, the authors write, only months after the war’s end. In late 1945, Alexander Ratcliffe, then leader of the British Protestant League, ran articles in *Vanguard*, his self-published magazine, claiming that “concentration camps were inventions of the Jewish mind” and that newsreel footage had been “faked in Jewish cinemas.” Over the next 60 years, the deniers elaborated — Jewish losses were wildly exaggerated to extract monetary reparations from the Germans; Hitler did not order the Jews’ death at all, and in fact tried to defend the hapless Jews; Jews died, but mostly from disease and other unavoidable effects of a major war.

The authors note that not all deniers start out as anti-Semites — some are

honestly taken in by the arguments of previous deniers, which typically focus on minutiae of the Holocaust. That is why they wrote their book: “Most Holocaust deniers are very knowledgeable about very specific aspects of the Holocaust — a gas chamber door that cannot lock, the temperature at which Zyklon-B evaporates or the lack of a metal grid over the peephole on a gas chamber — so that anyone who is not versed in these specifics cannot properly question and answer their claims.”

Shermer and Grobman — respectively, the founding publisher of *Skeptical American*, and the president of the Institute for Contemporary Jewish Life — know that it may seem insulting to acknowledge the deniers’ arguments, even if just to refute them. But they believe they must. And, given the contemporary spread of denial, they are right. They cite the example of a student who reads a newspaper ad claiming that gas chambers were used only for delousing clothing, not mass murder. The professor who responds only by pointing out that the ad was run by anti-Semites deprives that student of a real answer. The student, the authors write, “may begin to wonder if there is something to the claims she has read because her teacher did not (could not?) provide answers.”

“Deniers claim that no extermination camp victim has given eyewitness testimony of gassings,” write Shermer and Grobman before going on to cite dozens of eyewitness accounts of the murderous gassings from SS officials, Nazi doctors and members of the Sonderkommandos, concentration



camp prisoner teams forced to help run the crematoria. They examined official records, aerial photographs and snapshots smuggled out of Auschwitz. Not content to rely purely on archives, the writers traveled to the extermination camp sites of Dachau, Auschwitz, Treblinka, and Mauthausen, among others, to flesh out their investigative work.

Shermer and Grobman argue that no single line of evidence alone proves that gas chambers and crematoria were used for genocide — “rather we are arguing that these lines of evidence converge on this conclusion.” It’s an important rebuke to deniers, who focus on what the authors call a “snapshot fallacy,” picking a historical document or fact and stripping it of its historical context.

Mainstream historians, for example, “have searched in vain for a signed document by Hitler authorizing the Final Solution,” and deniers seize upon this to “prove” the Holocaust never happened. But Shermer and Grobman note that Hitler signed a 1939 letter on his personal stationery authorizing the extermination of handicapped German citizens, a move that provoked a German bishop to raise a public outcry

CONTINUED ON PAGE 64

# Guns & Accountability

An appeals court upholds restrictions on suits against gun makers and sellers. But the ruling does not completely close the door

BY JOSHUA RUBY

WHEN HATE CRIMINALS AND OTHERS who shouldn’t have guns get their hands on them, it puts everyone at risk.

That’s what happened in 1999 when Buford Furrow, an ex-convict and avowed white supremacist, went on a racially motivated shooting spree across Los Angeles. Furrow murdered a Filipino-American postal worker and wounded five people at a Jewish community center. And it’s what happened again this June, when neo-Nazi ex-felon James von Brunn used a hunting rifle to murder a black security guard at the U.S. Holocaust Museum (see story, p. 12).

Keeping guns away from hate-fueled ex-cons like Furrow and von Brunn makes everyone safer. Gun control legislation that limits the sale of firearms is one way to do it. Another way is to encourage the manufacturers and sellers of firearms to take more care about who ends up with their merchandise by holding them liable for harmful acts by criminals who use illegal guns. Although Congress has passed a law that restricts so-called third-party lawsuits against makers and sellers of guns, and although a federal appeals court recently upheld that law, gun makers and sellers can still be held accountable under certain circumstances.

After Furrow’s rampage, questions arose about how this ex-convict had illegally amassed so many deadly weapons: seven firearms, including an Uzi sub-machine gun, and hand grenades and plenty of ammunition. The legal restrictions on gun possession by ex-convicts had clearly failed to stop Furrow from amassing an arsenal.

Meanwhile, lawsuits against gun makers and sellers were on the rise. The logic behind the lawsuits went like this: First, firearm manufacturers system-

atically overproduce weapons, more than the legitimate market can absorb. Second, distributors and sellers look the other way and sell arms to the illegal market. Finally, because the makers and sellers ignore the risk that their products will end up in the illegal market, criminals have guns at their disposal, and victims get hurt. As a result, the argument goes, the gun makers and sellers in such cases should have to pay for the harm to the victims of gun violence.



If the plaintiffs could prove their cases, the manufacturers and distributors of guns could have faced huge monetary awards. In the 1990s, gun victims and their families began testing this legal theory in the courts. Large cities like Chicago and New York joined them, arguing that the costs of policing, health care costs for gun-related injuries, and the disruption of the public safety entitled them to damage awards alongside the victims. In 2001, the victims of Furrow’s hate crime brought a lawsuit against the makers, distributors, and sellers of the firearms that Furrow used during his 1999 rampage.

In response to the success of lawsuits like that one, Congress acted in 2005 to shield firearms manufacturers

and distributors from liability by passing the Protection of Lawful Commerce in Arms Act (PLCAA). In fact, several members of Congress specifically mentioned the Furrow case as an example of the kind of lawsuit that should be prohibited. The PLCAA bars most lawsuits against federally licensed gun makers and sellers that are based on the “criminal or unlawful misuse of a [firearm] by [a] person or a third party” 15 U.S.C. § 7903(5)(A).

That means that in order for a lawsuit against a gun manufacturer or distributor to go forward, a victim has to show something more — that, for instance, the maker or seller broke a federal or state law or failed to exercise reasonable caution in selling a firearm to a particularly unfit individual.

There are other exceptions to the ban on third-party lawsuits. Victims can pursue any type of case against makers and sellers who lack federal licenses; Congress determined that they have to abide by fewer rules and therefore need the added deterrent of lawsuits to police their conduct. The law also leaves in place suits against makers and sellers that are based on a breach of contract or on an allegation that a weapon is defective.

After passage of the PLCAA, the federal appeals court in the Furrow case revisited the claims brought by Furrow’s victims and also considered a challenge to the PLCAA’s constitutionality.

The court upheld the legislation as constitutional. It then considered whether any of the victims’ claims fell into the statute’s exceptions. Because the victims did not argue that any of the makers and sellers violated a law, failed to exercise enough caution in sell-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 64

INCIDENTS OF APPARENT HATE CRIMES AND HATE GROUP ACTIVITIES LISTED IN FOR THE RECORD ARE drawn primarily from media sources. These incidents include only a fraction of the approximately 191,000 reported and unreported hate crimes that a 2005 government report estimated occur annually. This listing carries a selection of incidents from the second quarter of 2009 (any additional listings may be found on the Intelligence Project’s website at [www.intelligenceproject.org](http://www.intelligenceproject.org).)

ALABAMA

Ozark • May 8, 2009

A cross was burned in a field next to the entrance to a black neighborhood.

ARKANSAS

Donaldson • April 28, 2009

Jacob Wingo, 20; Dustin Nix, 21; Clayton Morrison, 29; Darren McKim, 38; and Richard Robins, 42, were all indicted on suspicion of burning a cross in a woman’s yard because they allegedly suspected she associated with black men.

Marked Tree • May 1, 2009

Twin brothers Michael Foster and Matthew Foster, both 30, were charged with attempted first-degree murder for allegedly firing shots at a group of five black men while making racial remarks.

CALIFORNIA

Bakersfield • May 30, 2009

Reported members of a gang called the Oildale Peckerwoods allegedly shouted racial epithets and white supremacist slogans at a group of Latino people in a park, then approached a group of Latinos and whites, hitting one Latino and striking another member of the group with a bottle. Jonathan Charles Harrelson, 23, pleaded no contest to violation of civil rights causing violent injury, and was sentenced to two years in prison. Jacob Daniel Thomas, 24, was sentenced to 16 months in prison and Ronald Burt, 47, pleaded no contest to misdemeanor assault and was released with time served.

Cypress • June 4, 2009

Slurs and epithets, including the words “we will kill you all,” were spray-painted on a mosque.

Duarte • May 8, 2009

Racial slurs and gang signs were spray-painted throughout a black woman’s vandalized residence.

Los Alamitos • April 8, 2009

Swastikas, racial epithets and the initials NWOC, which reportedly stand for the racist skinhead gang Northwest Orange County Skins, were spray-painted on a car owned by a white woman with four black children.

Los Angeles • June 1, 2009

Aaron Mark Duggan was found guilty of attempted voluntary manslaughter for the April 2008 hate crime stabbing of a Korean man at a junior high school track in San Dimas.

Pasadena • April 20, 2009

Patrick Mason, 42, and Steven Sumner, 45, were charged with first-degree murder and a hate crime for allegedly killing a black man.

Pasadena • May 22, 2009

Two 17-year-old black gang members were found guilty of four counts of assault after they were part of a larger group that shouted racial slurs and attacked four Latino students at a park.

Riverside • May 21, 2009

Admitted gang member Ricardo Ruiz, 26, was sentenced to life in prison without the possibility of parole for fatally shooting a 13-year-old black boy in a 2002 racially motivated attack. Ruiz was convicted in April of first-degree murder, two counts of attempted murder, multiple hate crime allegations, gang activity and shooting into an occupied vehicle.

COLORADO

Boulder • April 27, 2009

Two 13-year-old boys were

arrested on suspicion of harassment and a bias- motivated crime for allegedly threatening to rape and kill a 12-year-old girl because of her Asian-American ethnicity.

Denver • April 23, 2009

Allen Andrade, 32, was convicted of first-degree murder and a hate crime and sentenced to life in prison for the summer 2008 slaying of Angie Zapata, a transgender teen he met on an online social networking site. The jury’s decision reportedly marked the first time a state hate crime statute resulted in a conviction in a transgender person’s murder.

CONNECTICUT

Bridgeport • May 4, 2009

Lawrence Mammone Jr., a 64-year-old white man, was charged with intimidation based on bigotry or bias, first-degree reckless endangerment, unlawful discharge of a weapon, threatening, breach of peace and possession of a firearm without a permit after he allegedly shouted racial slurs and fired a shot at a group of black people across from his residence.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Washington • June 1, 2009

Marcus Epstein, executive director for former Rep. Tom Tancredo’s group Team America PAC, pleaded guilty to uttering racial slurs before karate-chopping a black woman in the head in July 2007.

FLORIDA

Fort Lauderdale • April 14, 2009

Two gay men were allegedly assaulted by a group of men in two separate incidents.

Miami Beach • May 14, 2009

Eggs were thrown on a rabbi’s

residence and feces smeared on his door.

Miami Beach • May 21, 2009

An Orthodox synagogue was set afire. Mike Baracamonte, 49, was charged with burglary and arson.

Naples • June 16, 2009

Swastikas were painted on the garage of a woman who wrote an article about an event held by a gay and lesbian support group.

IOWA

Des Moines • April 13, 2009

The first and only openly gay legislator in Iowa said he received a telephone death threat.

Des Moines • June 17, 2009

Randy Dean Dempsey, 25, was charged with assault with a weapon as a hate crime for allegedly calling a man a racial epithet and then confronting him with a baseball bat and later a knife.

Mason City • April 27, 2009

Justin Hanson, 21, pleaded guilty to federal charges of interfering with housing rights after he erected a racist, threatening sign outside a black family’s residence and later shot out a window of their home.

KANSAS

Wichita • May 31, 2009

Scott Roeder, 51, an anti-abortion extremist who was involved with the antigovernment “freemen” movement in the 1990s, was charged with first-degree murder and aggravated assault for allegedly shooting to death abortion provider Dr. George Tiller.

KENTUCKY

Mount Washington • June 8, 2009

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

MARYLAND

Port Deposit • June 8, 2009

A man and two teenagers were charged with allegedly spray-painting racial slurs and satanic references on a predominantly black church in May.

MASSACHUSETTS

Gloucester • April 11, 2009

Jonathan Chadwick, 23, and his brother William, 21, were charged with aggravated assault and battery and assault and battery with a dangerous weapon after they allegedly yelled anti-gay slurs and beat a man outside a bar.

Medford • April 9, 2009

A white Tufts University student allegedly made racist and anti-gay remarks and threatened to kill several members of the Korean Students Association during an altercation in a student lounge.

Provincetown • May 23, 2009

Eric Patten, 20, was charged with assault and battery with a dangerous weapon, assault and battery under the state hate crime statute, wanton destruction of property, disorderly conduct, assault and battery on a police officer and resisting arrest for allegedly yelling anti-gay epithets and assaulting two women.

MISSOURI

Cape Girardeau • May 31, 2009

An Islamic center was vandalized. Nicholas Proffit, 31, was charged with two counts of felony property damage under the state hate crime law.

NEW JERSEY

Flemington • May 8, 2009

Brian J. Blair, a white 32-year-old man, pleaded not guilty to charges of attempted murder, bias intimidation, aggravated assault, and weapons possession for allegedly kicking in a black woman’s door, attacking her with a box cutter and kicking her in the head.

Union City • April 22, 2009

A fire was set at a Jewish school for girls.

NEW MEXICO

Grants • June 9, 2009

Five homeless Native American men were allegedly attacked in four separate beatings by a group of Latino men who used racial epithets.

NEW YORK

Buffalo • April 22, 2009

Donald R. Napierala, 41, was sentenced to three and a half to seven years in prison for burning a cross on an interracial couple’s lawn in July 2008.

Central Islip • June 19, 2009

Wenzola Rountree, 31, was charged with assault as a hate crime and aggravated harassment for allegedly yelling anti-gay epithets at three men, assaulting two of them.

New York • June 25, 2009

A 15-year-old Asian teen and a 16-year-old black teen were charged with aggravated harassment, criminal mischief and reckless endangerment after they allegedly scrawled swastikas and anti-Semitic slurs on a Jewish center and a synagogue and later threw eggs at the synagogue.

New York • June 27, 2009

Several men allegedly used an anti-gay slur and robbed and pistol-whipped a man during Gay Pride weekend.

NORTH CAROLINA

Burnsville • May 22, 2009

A swastika and the words “All Will Die” were spray-painted on a wall inside the residence of an interracial family.

China Grove • May 1, 2009

Andrew Steven Clark, 18, was charged with ethnic intimidation and assault with a deadly weapon for allegedly holding a knife to a girl’s face and threatening her because of her race.

OHIO

Mason City • June 23, 2009

Sarah Goldsberry, 23 and Tammy Lingle, 25, were charged with assault and obstructing official business after they and two

others allegedly attacked a gay man in a bar. Jeremy Ballard, 24, and Timothy Roberts, 25, face assault charges.

Mount Vernon • June 17, 2009

An 18-year-old male was remanded to serve a 10-day jail term after pleading no contest to one count of ethnic intimidation for his participation in a May 30 incident where a group of people allegedly put a noose around a half-Latino teen’s neck and dragged him while using racial slurs.

OREGON

Alsea • May 9, 2009

A cross was burned on the lawn of a white woman who has a black adopted son.

Eugene • April 28, 2009

Billy Lynn Brosowske, 35, pled guilty to second-degree and third-degree assault for biting off the top of a Puerto Rican man’s ear in a racially motivated assault and was sentenced to almost six years in prison.

Eugene • June 16, 2009

David Gary Moss, 37, was sentenced to 41 months in prison for burning the letters “KKK” and the shape of a cross on an interracial couple’s lawn in May 2008. Devan Klausegger, 30, was sentenced to 51 months in federal prison in connection with the incident.

Troutdale • June 17, 2009

Timothy Charles Feininger, 18, was sentenced to 90 days in jail for spray-painting swastikas, the letters “KKK” and racial slurs on two churches, tombstones in a Jewish cemetery and parked cars in February. Brendan Scott Mackey, also 18, was sentenced to 30 days in connection with the incident.

PENNSYLVANIA

Lancaster • April 19, 2009

Two Asian students at Franklin & Marshall College were allegedly punched and called racial epithets by several people.

Pittsburgh • June 15, 2009

A blackface doll that had been split

apart, covered with ketchup stains and had the initials of a black teen on it was hung by a noose on the car of the teen’s mother.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Sumter • April 22, 2009

Swastikas and racial slurs were spray-painted on a predominantly black church.

TENNESSEE

Heiskell • April 27, 2009

Steven D. Archer, 49, was indicted on charges of willfully interfering with a couple’s federal housing rights because of their race by burning a cross outside their residence in July 2008.

Memphis • May 29, 2009

Terron Taylor was arrested for allegedly shooting a transgender woman after learning the woman was a biological male.

TEXAS

Bedford • May 4, 2009

Racial slurs, a swastika and the word “die” were spray-painted on the window of a church van parked next to a black pastor’s house.

Irving • May 16, 2009

A racial slur and the words “you will die” were written on a black family’s residence.

Magnolia • April 17, 2009

Reported Aryan Brotherhood of Texas member James Stallings was convicted of capital murder in the September 2007 shooting death of Gregory Wilkomm, a 52-year-old disabled man.

VERMONT

Burlington • May 6, 2009

James Cannon, 50, was sentenced to 30 days in jail after yelling racial epithets at a Somali family in 2008.

VIRGINIA

Albemarle • May 21, 2009

Copies of the white supremacist newsletter “The Aryan Alternative” were left at residences.

Charlottesville • April 4, 2009

A University of Virginia male student and his male guest were allegedly attacked on campus by five white males who yelled anti-gay slurs.

Windsor ■ June 5, 2009

Copies of the white supremacist newsletter “The Aryan Alternative” were left at residences.

WASHINGTON

Magnolia ■ June 5, 2009

A 19-year-old Haitian Special Olympic medalist was allegedly beaten unconscious by two white men who made disparaging remarks about her race and disability.

Seattle ■ June 6, 2009

A group of teens allegedly used anti-gay slurs and attacked and attempted to rob a transgender woman. A 13-year-old was charged with felony malicious harassment and attempted robbery.

Vancouver ■ June 20, 2009

References to the Ku Klux Klan,

swastikas and racial slurs were spray-painted around a black family’s house and neighborhood.

WEST VIRGINIA

Charleston ■ April 20, 2009

Daryl Lee Fierce, 69, pled guilty to civil rights charges after admitting he set fire to a woman’s home in July 2007 because she associated with blacks.

WISCONSIN

Appleton ■ April 25, 2009

Self-proclaimed white supremacist Michael J. Verhaagh, 33, was sentenced to a month in jail and two years of probation for attacking a black man in a bar.

Madison ■ April 18, 2009

Christopher P. Fritzler, 41, was charged with disorderly conduct

as a hate crime after he allegedly used a racial epithet and threatened three black men and a 7-year-old boy.

St. Croix ■ May 29, 2009

Dustan Charles Warren, 27, was convicted of attempted second-degree sexual assault, aggravated

battery, second-degree reckless endangerment, false imprisonment and misdemeanor bail jumping after he attacked a lesbian woman who resisted his advances, holding her at knifepoint while making slurs about her sexual orientation and threatening to kill her. ▲

TACKLING THE DENIERS CONTINUED FROM PAGE 60

over the program, which forced Hitler to mostly abandon the operation. As a result, Hitler would have avoided attaching his signature to any similar document. “There is no written order from Hitler to start the war either,” the authors add.

*Denying History* was originally published in 2000, but a revised and expanded edition was printed this April to examine new threads of Holocaust revisionism that have found mainstream outlets. Those include Pat Buchanan’s 2008 book *Churchill, Hitler and the Unnecessary War*, in which the MSNBC commentator and three-time presidential candidate suggests the war was an act of imperial aggression by England and the United States. Mark Weber, whose Institute for Historical Review is a major purveyor of Holocaust denial literature, now cites Buchanan’s book as an example of “revisionism gone mainstream.” Shermer and Grobman rightly attack the notion that the murder of the Jews was merely “the unfortunate by-product of war, or collateral damage amidst the larger carnage.” As they point out, “years before the war even started, Hitler went after the Jewish people with a vengeance.”

“We can no longer ignore the deniers, calling them names and hoping they will go away,” the writers conclude. “They are not going to go away. They are highly motivated, reasonably well financed and often well versed in Holocaust studies.” That sad fact was underlined this June, when a man steeped in the theories of Holocaust deniers attacked the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C., convinced that “the Jews” were engaged in a plot to destroy America. ▲

— By Casey Sanchez

GUNS & ACCOUNTABILITY CONTINUED FROM PAGE 61

ing to a particular unfit individual, broke a contract, or made a faulty product, the court dismissed all of the claims against the federally licensed parties. It allowed the lawsuit against an unlicensed foreign defendant to go forward.

As a result of the PLCAA, unlicensed gun makers and sellers today have a strong incentive to bring themselves into the federal licensing and regulatory fold. Federally licensed makers and sellers also have a strong incentive to ensure that they comply with all the applicable restrictions. Nevertheless, millions of firearms remain in circulation in this country. And in too many cases, the Buford Furrows and James von Brunns of the world remain armed to the teeth. ▲

# Propaganda Park

## In Florida, a ‘Confederate Memorial Park’ is inaugurated with an appeal to black Americans and fairy tales about the Civil War

BY SONIA SCHERR

HILLSBOROUGH COUNTY, FLA. — Nineteenth-century scenes of Dixie met contemporary pop culture at the opening of a park near Tampa that’s now home to the world’s largest known Confederate flag. Women in hoop skirts boogied to Lynyrd Skynyrd’s unapologetic ode to Southern pride, “Sweet Home Alabama.” Grey-uniformed reenactors fired cannons as men in biker attire looked on. Families joined in singing “Dixie” while others — already decked out in Confederate flag-adorned accessories — shopped for more at a Dixie Outfitters booth.

So went the April 25 dedication of Confederate Memorial Park, where the main event was the hoisting of a Confederate flag just off Martin Luther King Boulevard. At 2,100 square feet, the flag is nearly as large as the average American home and visible to travelers on two interstates. It’s also the third Confederate flag erected by the Florida Division of the Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV) as part of its “Flags Across Florida” project.

“This is not our last site,” John W. Adams, a leader of the Florida SCV, told the crowd of several hundred. “We’re going to be putting these up like toothpicks across the state of Florida.”

Adams had previously distinguished himself in the world of neo-Confederate activism by signing up an *Intelligence Report* writer for an array of interracial and other Internet porn in 2003. Adams, who subsequently lost two leadership posts in the SCV, was upset about the *Report’s* coverage of an internal rift as moderates fought racial extremists for control of the 113-year-old SCV.

This time around, however, Adams seemed to be with the racial moderates.

SCV member Marion Lambert, who bought the land for the SCV park site, presented a plaque honoring black Confederates to Nelson Winbush, one of the SCV’s rare African-American members. (H.K. Edgerton, a black neo-Confederate who has spoken at past SCV events, was struck from the program after Florida SCV leaders spotted a photo of him with an “Obama battle flag.”) “Thirty percent of you should not be white,” Lambert told spectators. “You should be of color.”



As an honor guard fires a salute, re-enactors raise an enormous Confederate flag.

Yet most blacks would likely be troubled by the SCV’s version of the Civil War. According to several speakers, it was about states’ rights, not slavery.

“None other than Karl Marx was the first person who championed the idea that the Confederate flag was the flag of slavery,” proclaimed Walter Donald Kennedy, co-author of *The South was Right!* Not only that, he said, but Abraham Lincoln had something in

common with Adolf Hitler: They both loved big government.

Other speakers included Dan Gonzales, chairman of the far-right Constitution Party of Florida, who complained that undocumented immigrants are overrunning America. He also noted that his Democratic and Republican counterparts hadn’t made an appearance.

A mainstream group that did show up was the Boy Scouts. The mothers of Troop 120 held a bake sale to raise money to send Scouts to camp. For sale alongside sno-cones and chocolate chip

cookies were gingerbread cookies frosted to look like Confederate flags.

At another booth, a talk radio show host in a rebel baseball cap interviewed attendees, from the quirky (a father and son from Akron, Ohio, who were both named Robert E. Lee) to the radical (Adrian Krieg of Bradenton, Fla., a prominent member of the neo-secessionist League of the South).

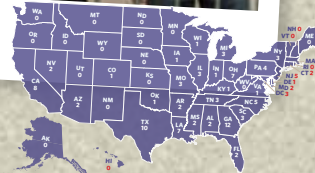
The host also spoke to a 9-year-old girl and her grandmother, Wendy Boyette. Boyette said she and her husband, Dan, of the North Carolina SCV, had been teach-

ing the girl about the Confederacy for years. “If you say ‘the Civil War’ in front of her, she’ll say, ‘No, it’s the War Between the States,’” she said.

The SCV has spent over \$110,000 on the still unfinished park and has big plans for the future. According to the dedication program, items slated for completion include Web cameras “that will let all view the flag and park 24/7 over the Internet.” ▲

## THE INTELLIGENCE PROJECT

# We're More Than a Magazine...



### TRAINING PROGRAMS

The Intelligence Project conducts **FREE trainings** for local, state and federal law enforcement agencies by request. Our sessions...

- Focus on the background and activities of far-right extremists in the U.S.;
- Typically last two to six hours; and
- Are tailored to the agency's needs.

For more information, E-mail us at [training@splcenter.org](mailto:training@splcenter.org) or call (334) 956-8200 and ask for the Law Enforcement Training Department.

### INVESTIGATIVE SERVICES

The Intelligence Project has been tracking hate groups and domestic extremists for more than 25 years. Law enforcement officials seeking **investigative support in criminal cases involving extremism** may call us during normal business hours at (334) 956-8200 and ask for Joseph Roy Sr.

### WEBSITE

**[www.intelligenceproject.org](http://www.intelligenceproject.org)**

The Intelligence Project's website offers **FREE resources**, including...

- An interactive map of hate groups operating in the U.S.;
- Electronic archives of the *Intelligence Report*, 1998-present; and
- Hatewatch Weekly, an electronic newsletter carrying news stories about hate group activity and hate crimes.

"I have many magazines in my classroom, but yours is the most read."

-- Criminal justice (gangs) professor, Georgia

\*\*\*

"Your session was extremely informative and will genuinely aid law enforcement in working toward the goal of a sound and safer America."

-- Sergeant, Sheriff's Department, California

\*\*\*

"Thank you for all the wonderful information you make available."

-- University security officer, Oregon

\*\*\*