

CHILDREN OF HATE Three Who Fought Back



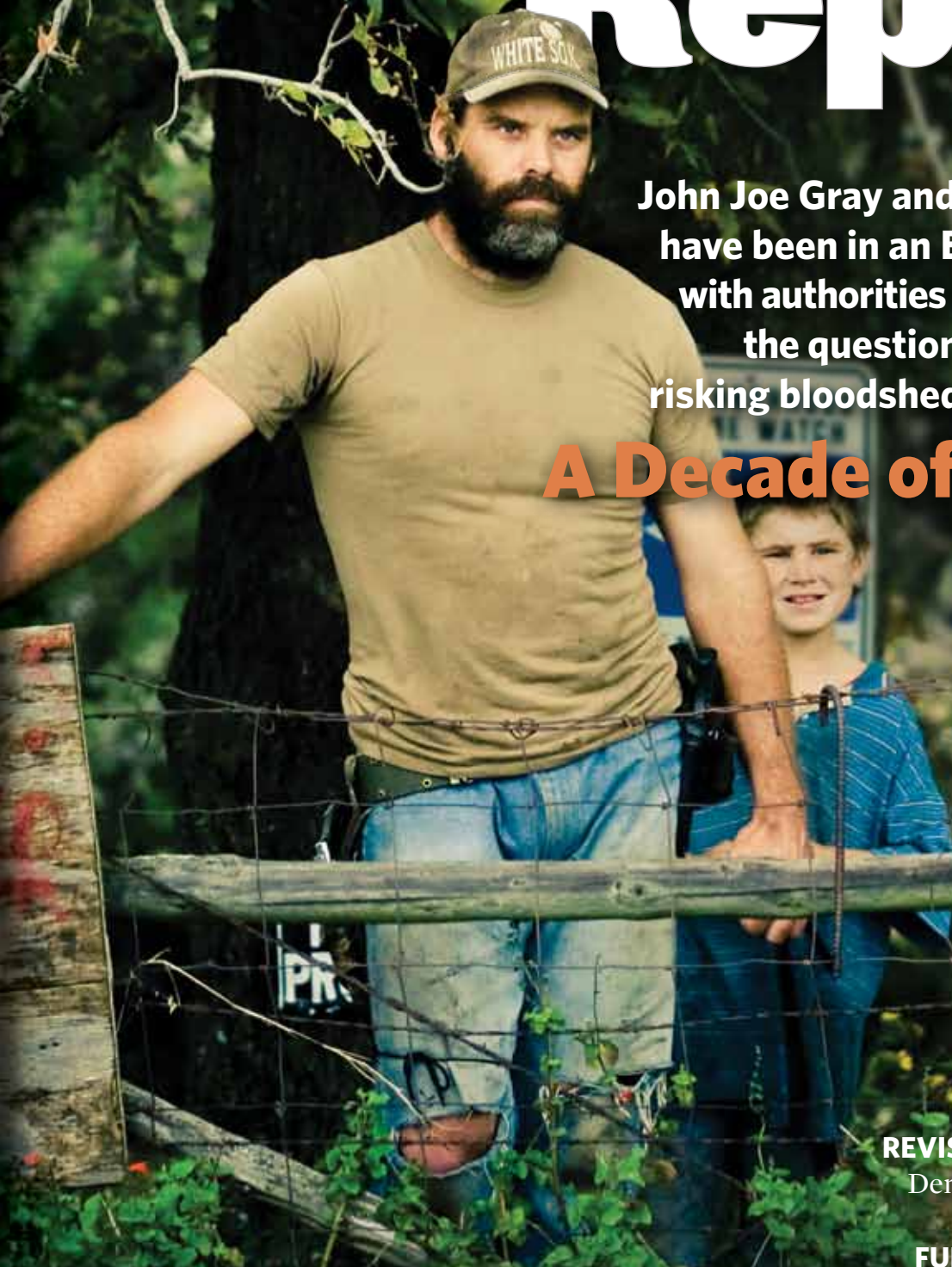
Intelligence Report

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John Joe Gray and much of his family
have been in an East Texas standoff
with authorities for 10 years, raising
the question of when it's worth
risking bloodshed to enforce the law

A Decade of Defiance



Jonathan Gray, on sentry duty
at his father's compound

PLUS

REVISIONISM, INTERRUPTED
Denialist Controversy Erupts

FUNDING THE MOVEMENT
Money and Hate Groups

Gathering Storm

BY MARK POTOK, EDITOR

When they finally found Bill Sparkman, his naked body was hanging by the neck, his feet touching the ground, his hands bound with duct tape. The 51-year-old Census Bureau worker, who suffocated as he dangled from a tree in a remote forest of Clay County, Ky., also had a single word scrawled across his chest: “FED.”



It’s not clear if Sparkman was a victim of antigovernment extremists, although the Census Bureau did suspend door-to-door interviews in Clay County until the investigation is complete. Authorities said in November that they remained unsure if the death discovered Sept. 12 was a murder, a suicide, or even an accident. But it would hardly be surprising if it does turn out to have been a politically motivated killing, given the rancid political atmosphere now engulfing America.

In recent months, as the right-wing clamor over health care and President Obama’s leadership seemed to reach new heights, commentators from across the political spectrum increasingly began to warn of the possibility of violence.

House Speaker Nancy Pelosi, a liberal Democrat, recalled the anti-gay rhetoric that led up to the murder of two San Francisco politicians in 1978, saying it had “created a climate in which violence took place.” Thomas Friedman, a centrist *New York Times* columnist, compared today’s situation to the “poisonous political environment” in Israel that preceded the 1995 assassination of

Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. And Joe Scarborough, an MSNBC host and former Republican congressman, sharply criticized FOX News’ Glenn Beck for calling Obama a racist and warned that using such language “could have very deadly consequences.”

Former Secret Service agent Ronald Williams, interviewed by a writer at Politico.com, put it like this: “When there are vitriolic comments, acrimonious commentary and anger, the likelihood of violence escalates.”

There has been no shortage of the kind of talk that Williams refers to. Radio commentator Rush Limbaugh, for example, blamed Obama for an incident in which black students attacked white kids, saying it was par for the course “in Obama’s America.” CNN’s Lou Dobbs, joining the outermost fringe, questioned Obama’s citizenship against all the evidence. Newsmax columnist John L. Perry suggested that the president is likely to provoke a military coup. U.S. Rep. Joe Wilson (R-S.C.) notoriously shouted out “You lie!” during a major Obama speech on health care to Congress. And Confederate flags and racist depictions of Obama are now staples of the town hall and “tea party” protests against a public health care option.

In September, Public Policy Polling released the stunning results of a survey designed to measure extremism in the mainstream. Among other things, the poll found that 21% of Americans believe that Obama is the Antichrist or may be. Among Republicans, 34% believe the president is or may be the Antichrist, while 64% of that party’s voters say he is not or may not be an American citizen.

All this has been accompanied by a resurgence of hate groups, antigovernment militias and other “Patriot” groups, and nativist vigilante groups.

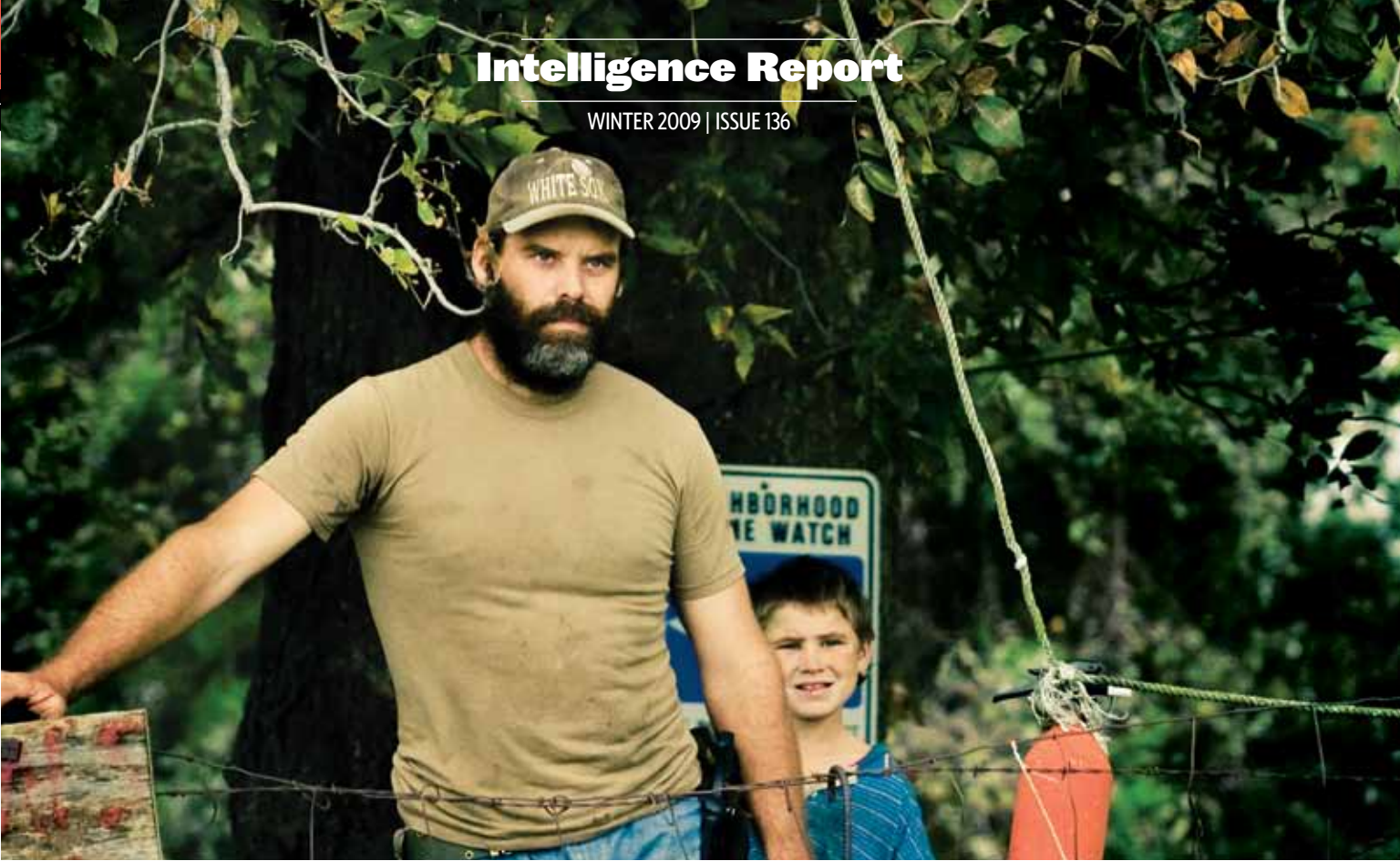
In addition, there has been a spate of domestic terror from people enraged by Obama’s election.

The last time the political scene seemed this overheated was in 1995, when years of antigovernment rhetoric culminated in the bombing carried out by right-wing antigovernment extremists in Oklahoma City. In the days after the deaths of 168 people there, a *USA Today* poll found that fully 39% of Americans agreed with the proposition that the federal government had become “so large and powerful that it poses an immediate threat to the rights and freedoms of ordinary citizens.”

Whether or not today’s rage on the right is motivated chiefly by racism — and whether or not the death of Bill Sparkman is a symptom of that rage — it seems obvious that violent rhetoric leads to violent action. Words have consequences.

“The far right is displaying a pattern of inflammatory rhetoric and astonishingly few leaders ... are standing up to it,” said Michael B. Keegan, president of the liberal People for the American Way, as he released a November report on the explosion of far-right-wing rhetoric. “That’s a reckless strategy, and members of both political parties need to stand up and put a stop to it.” ▲

CLARIFICATION In the Fall 2009 issue of the *Intelligence Report*, a brief news item reported that Los Angeles radio station KPFK, part of the Pacifica Radio network, was airing a weekly show that provided a forum for anti-Semitic conspiracy theories. In fact, between the time when the news item was prepared and its publication, KPFK indefinitely suspended “La Causa” because the show “facilitated hate speech.” We applaud the station’s decision.



ON THE COVER

12 A Decade of Defiance

This March, antigovernment extremist John Joe Gray will mark the 10th anniversary of his continuing standoff with law enforcement officials in the rolling hills of rural East Texas. Gray, who has outlasted four Henderson County sheriffs so far, poses a quandary for authorities: How do you arrest a heavily armed zealot who promises to resist with force? Is it better to wait? Or to risk bloodshed to enforce the law?



18 Night at the Museum

Marek Chodakiewicz is a Polish-born history professor with controversial views — at least one leading historian calls him an anti-Semite — who has suggested that the killings of Jews by Poles during and after World War II were mostly not motivated by hatred of Jews. He also helps oversee the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum.



22 Children of Hate

Although many children of white supremacists and other extremists adopt their parents’ views of the world, a surprising number do not. The stories of three people whose fathers were deeply involved in racial extremism help throw light on how each of them was damaged by, but ultimately resisted, the hatred around them.



33 Doing ‘Right’ in Vegas

Unknown to the world, a Las Vegas man named James Edward McCrink has been quietly funding groups like the Holocaust-denying Institute for Historical Review and the racist New Century Foundation. McCrink’s Do Right Foundation once even backed a group led by a one-time principal of the American Nazi Party.

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A leading philanthropist has long supported environmental organizations. Now, Robert W. Wilson is ponying up for a harshly anti-immigrant group.



35 Revisionism, Interrupted

The leading figure in American Holocaust denial calls the movement a "hindrance," setting off a storm among his former comrades.

37 Crossing the Line

Former Congresswoman Cynthia McKinney has often courted controversy. But now she is flirting with anti-Semites.



39 A Jew in Prison

An inmate describes his life in a prison brimming with anti-Semites, and ponders what the experience has taught him.

DEPARTMENTS

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A radical Muslim is accused of murdering a soldier; neo-Nazis are arrested in a mail bombing; a tax protester draws a stiff sentence; and other glimpses of extremism.

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A new musical sister act is underwhelming the white supremacist world.

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.





Final salute: Mourners see Army recruiter William Long to his grave.

DOMESTIC TERRORISM

Gunman Kills Army Recruiter Outside Arkansas Station

A 23-year-old gunman angered by the deaths of Muslims in Iraq and Afghanistan opened fire outside a military recruiting center on June 1, killing one soldier and seriously wounding another, according to law enforcement authorities in Little Rock, Ark.

Police said that Abdulhakim Mujahid Muhammad pulled up in a black SUV outside the Army-Navy Career Center in a strip mall while Army recruiters William Long, 24, and Quinton Ezeagwula, 18, were outside smoking. Muhammad allegedly fired at least 30 rounds from a Russian-made SKS assault rifle from inside his vehicle.

Witnesses told police that Long fell, fatally wounded, on the spot. Ezeagwula, bleeding from a head wound, crawled to cover as the black SUV sped away. Muhammad was

apprehended on a highway 15 minutes later. Police found the SKS in his vehicle, along with a handgun, a .22-caliber rifle and hundreds of rounds of ammunition.

Little Rock Police Chief Stuart Thomas said Muhammad acted alone and the shootings were not believed to be part of a broader terrorist plot. Thomas said Muhammad was familiar with the recruiting station because it was just a mile and a half from his apartment.

Muhammad, previously known as Carlos Bledsoe, is a U.S. citizen who converted to Islam as a teenager. Federal records show that he traveled to Yemen in September 2007 and lived in the port city of Aden after obtaining a work visa to teach English. In November 2008 he was arrested for overstaying his visa, and he was deported through the



Authorities say Carlos Bledsoe, who later took the name Abdulhakim Mujahid Muhammad, was radicalized after converting to Islam and visiting Yemen.

American Embassy in Sana, the Yemeni capital, on Jan. 29, 2009.

Muhammad had lived in Memphis and Nashville before moving to Little Rock a few weeks before the shootings.

In a jailhouse telephone interview a week after his arrest, Muhammad told The Associated Press that his actions were justified because the U.S. military has targeted Muslims in the Middle East.

"If there had been more recruits out there at the time he would have

HATE IN THE MAINSTREAM

“La Raza ... is a Latino KKK without the hoods or the nooses.”
— Former U.S. Rep. **TOM TANCREDO** (R-Colo.), criticizing Supreme Court nominee Sonia Sotomayor on **May 28** for her past membership in the human rights group

“They are freaks. They are abnormal. Not because they’re girls trapped in boys’ bodies, but because they have a mental disorder.”
— **ROB WILLIAMS**, co-host of the syndicated radio show “Rob, Arnie & Dawn in the Morning,” during a **May 28** discussion of civil rights for transgender persons

“I’m sure it’s just one of Michelle Obama’s ancestors.”
— **RUSTY DePASS**, former South Carolina State Election Commission Chairman and ex-chairman of the Richland County Republican Party, in a **June 12** Facebook comment about a gorilla’s escape from a local zoo

“The Swedes have pure genes, because they marry other Swedes. ... Finns marry other Finns, so they have a pure society. In America, we ... keep marrying other species and other ethnics.”
— “Fox & Friends” co-host **BRIAN KILMEADE**, on the **July 8** edition of the FOX News show, discussing scientific findings that marriage increases longevity

“Whatever happened to the good old word ‘wetback’? What was wrong with that?”
— Austin, Tex., KLBJ-AM radio host **DON PRYOR**, in **July 14** comments that resulted in his suspension and apology

“Maybe the people who work for a living didn’t want to swim with a bunch of ghetto monkey faces.”
— **ANONYMOUS** comment about 60 mostly black children with advance reservations being turned away from a private Philadelphia pool that was posted **July 15** on Domelights.com, a message board run by and for Philadelphia police officers that was later suspended

“This has been a country built basically by white folks.”
— MSNBC political commentator **PAT BUCHANAN** on the **July 16** edition of MSNBC’s “The Rachel Maddow Show”

“If I was the officer he verbally assaulted like a banana-eating jungle monkey, I would have sprayed him in the face with [pepper spray].”
— Boston police officer **JUSTIN BARRETT**, who was later suspended, in a **July 27** mass E-mail about black Harvard University professor Henry Louis Gates Jr.’s arrest in his own home by a white officer after a neighbor reported a possible break-in there

“This president has exposed himself as a guy, over and over and over again, who has a deep-seated hatred for white people or the white culture.”
— FOX News host **GLENN BECK** on the **July 28** edition of “Fox & Friends,” attacking Obama’s criticism of the arresting officer in the Gates case

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killed more of them, or tried to,” Pulaski County prosecutor Larry Jegley told the *Arkansas Democrat-Gazette*. “It’s my understanding that after his conversion to Islam he decided that he had a bone to pick with the military officers because of what he perceived to be mistreatment of Muslims around world.”
Muhammad was charged with first-degree murder, first-degree attempted murder and 15 counts of committing a terrorist act, the latter counts resulting from the gunfire at a busy shopping center. He is being held without bail.
Prosecutors said they intend to seek the death penalty.

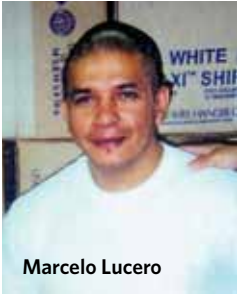
HATE CRIMES
DOJ Probes ‘Discriminatory Policing’ in New York County

The U.S. Justice Department (DOJ) has begun an investigation into allegations of “discriminatory policing” in the Suffolk County, N.Y., police department’s treatment of crimes reported against Latinos.
The investigation, announced Oct. 5, will be conducted by the Justice Department’s civil rights division and the local U.S. attorney’s office. It comes about nine months after the agencies began looking into a complaint that the Suffolk police force failed to adequately investigate crimes against Latinos and discouraged victims from seeking assistance. The complaint was filed shortly after the November 2008 killing of Marcelo Lucero, an Ecuadorian immigrant fatally stabbed in the town of Patchogue.
The announcement also follows by one month the release of a Southern Poverty Law Center Report, “Climate of Fear: Latino Immigrants in Suffolk County, N.Y.,” which examined a decade of violence and abuse directed at Latino immigrants in the county that occupies the eastern portion of Long Island.
In a statement, DOJ spokesman Alejandro Miyar said the investigation “will seek to determine whether



Suffolk County police officers confer near the scene of Marcelo Lucero’s murder in Patchogue, N.Y.

there are systemic violations of the Constitution or federal law by members of the SCPD.”
Suffolk County Police Commissioner Richard Dormer told *The New York Times* that he welcomed the federal inquiry. It “gives us a chance to dispel the myths that we didn’t investigate thoroughly and completely any complaints that have come to our attention.”
Dormer acknowledged that his force may have missed a pattern of racially motivated crime against Latinos in recent years, but said that was because some crimes were apparently not reported to the police.



Marcelo Lucero

LatinoJustice PRLDEF, the Manhattan-based national advocacy group that filed the initial complaint, cheered the news of the investigation. “Hopefully they can find out what’s gone wrong and determine why there seems to be a failure by police ... and Latinos will be able to walk the streets again with confidence that the police are treating them fairly,” Foster Maer, a senior staff attorney for the organization, told *Newsday*.
Elsewhere in the country, however, sometimes shocking hate crime violence targeting Latino immigrants continued. A sampling:
In **Lynn, Mass.**, a city 10 miles

northeast of Boston, six boys aged 11 to 14 were charged in September with severely beating a Guatemalan immigrant with bricks, bottles and rocks as he slept near railroad tracks. The victim, 30-year-old Damian Merida, was hospitalized for a month with head injuries. His brother said the attack caused permanent brain damage.
Police said the boys targeted Merida because of his ethnicity. Human

rights activists reported that several other Guatemalan immigrants were attacked around the same time in Lynn, but didn’t report the beatings to police because they’re undocumented. A police spokesman said investigators were looking into “the possibility that the attack was not the first perpetrated by these youths.”
In mid-June, three men in **Staten Island, N.Y.**, beat a Latino immigrant with a baseball bat, splitting his head open.

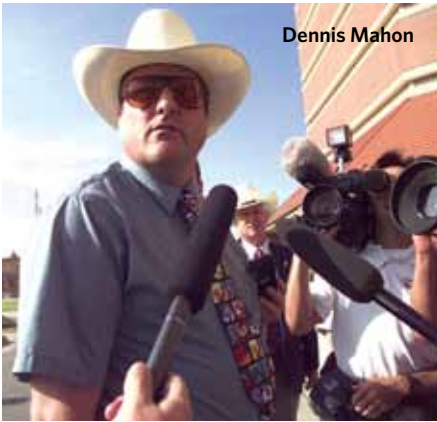
In **Huntington Beach, Calif.**, four white supremacist gang members were indicted in September for attempted murder after they allegedly stabbed, punched and kicked a Mexican immigrant in a predominantly Latino neighborhood where, according to prosecutors, they went hunting for a “non-white” on July 3.
The day after the Huntington Beach attack, a 45-year-old Latina working as a custodian in a gated community in **Ladera Ranch, Calif.**, reported to police that she was stabbed and robbed by two men who yelled racial epithets.

“They told me I wasn’t worth anything,” Maria Guadarrama told *The Orange County Register*. “They said they didn’t like me and they didn’t like Mexicans.”
The attack occurred while Guadarrama was emptying trash outside

the gated community’s clubhouse. One of the men reportedly had a swastika tattooed on his shoulder.

DOMESTIC TERRORISM
White Supremacists Arrested in 2004 Mail Bombing

Twin brothers with long histories in the white supremacist movement were arrested this summer for allegedly constructing and sending a mail bomb that blew up in the hands of a black official in Scottsdale, Ariz., in 2004, injuring him and two others.
A federal indictment charges Dennis and Daniel Mahon, both 59, with conspiracy to damage buildings and property with an explosive.
The brothers were taken into custody in a June 25 raid of their home in Davis Junction, Ill. Agents from the U.S. Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms & Explosives (ATF) and the U.S. Postal Inspection Service carried out a search, which yielded assault rifles, bulletproof vests, two improvised explosive devices and a large assortment of white supremacist literature and other racist paraphernalia.



Dennis Mahon

A taping of the Mahon brothers’ conversation inside a law enforcement vehicle shortly after their arrest revealed Dennis Mahon saying that if authorities had arrived at 3 a.m. instead of 6 a.m. they would have needed body bags. “We should have had a shootout,” he said. Daniel Mahon agreed.

In a simultaneous raid, federal agents searched the Kosciusko County, Ind., home of White Aryan Resistance (WAR) founder and former Klan leader Tom Metzger. The Mahon brothers are longtime supporters of WAR, and the federal indictment accuses them of carrying out the mail bombing to “promote racial discord” on behalf of Metzger’s organization.

ATF spokespersons confirmed that the search of Metzger’s home was connected to the investigation of the 2004 bombing. Metzger was not arrested.



Tom Metzger

A third raid by federal agents that day turned up more than a dozen firearms, along with blasting caps, gunpowder and fuses, at the rural McDonald County, Mo., property of yet another longtime white supremacist organizer, Robert Joos.

Joos was not charged with participating in the 2004 bombing, but was held without bond on federal weapons charges, including one for being a felon in possession of firearms. According to prosecutors, Joos’ property has long served as a training ground for underground white supremacists. They also alleged that the first phone call one of the Mahons made after the bomb detonated was to Joos.

On Aug. 11, a federal judge reversed an Illinois federal magistrate’s order to release Daniel Mahon on a \$50,000 cash bond. “No conditions of release would reasonably ensure the safety of the community,” U.S. District Judge David Campbell wrote. “Daniel has described himself as a domestic terrorist and has espoused views against not only minority groups but the government generally.”

“This individual represents hate, and that hate is a danger to the community,” Logan said. “That someone would come to Arizona and launch an attack simply because my skin color is different from theirs, simply because of hate ... is unconscionable.”

RACIST SKINHEADS

Vinlander Probate Charged in Double Murder

A white supremacist who worked as a prison guard in Pennsylvania is facing murder charges and a possible death penalty for allegedly shooting to death his girlfriend and their 18-month-old son in a fit of jealous rage.

Michael John Parrish, 23, told police that he confronted his girlfriend, 21-year-old Victoria Adams, after she returned to the couple’s Effort, Pa., apartment around 11 p.m. on July 6, apparently after a night of partying with other men. According to court testimony, Parrish said he initially fired a shot into the ceiling of his son’s bedroom while Adams held their child in her arms, and then fired at her chest, striking both Adams and the boy.

Parrish told police he then continued shooting the mother and child as they lay on the floor, unloading the remaining 14 bullets in his semi-automatic handgun.

At the time of the shootings, Parrish was a “probate,” or prospective member, of the Vinlander Social Club, a racist skinhead gang with a propensity for violence. Despite his multiple racist tattoos,

including a swastika and the word “HITLER!” in block lettering on his left forearm, Parrish was employed as a correctional officer at the Monroe County Correctional Facility.

Prison officials said Parrish had cleared a background check and was nearing the end of his one-year probationary period after being hired in August 2008. Officials said the only tattoos visible during his interview process were on his neck, and they were deemed acceptable after Parrish described them as “Celtic pride” symbols.

A search of the apartment where the slayings occurred turned up a large cache of neo-Nazi memorabilia, several firearms and sculptures of twigs and branches fashioned into a life rune, a character from a pre-Christian Germanic alphabet that’s popular with neo-Nazis.

Luis Gonzales, the boyfriend of Adams’ mother Kim Adams, told police that Parrish began stockpiling ammunition, guns and food after Barack Obama was elected president. “He was a real fanatic,” Gonzales said, “a real racist.”

Victoria Adams apparently was also part of the white supremacist movement, despite being part Puerto Rican, a fact that her family says Parrish did



Michael Parrish, seen here in a videotape court appearance, was a prison guard despite having “HITLER!” tattooed on his forearm. He allegedly murdered his girlfriend and their toddler in a fit of jealous rage.

not know. One of several videos Adams posted online was titled “Sorry mon-key scum we hate you.” Another depicts Adams showing off a swastika tattooed on her right arm as she thrusts it skyward in a “sieg heil” salute.

The day after the shootings, Parrish was arrested in New Hampshire along with a fellow racist skinhead, Conrad Jankowski, 23. Parrish was armed with a .357 Glock pistol and had two full clips of ammunition. Police did not say if it was the gun used in the killings.

Jankowski, who has a swastika tattooed on his chest, was charged with hindering apprehension and was being held in lieu of \$100,000 bail (later reduced to \$75,000).

Parrish, jailed without bond, wrote a four-page letter to his victims’ mother and grandmother, expressing guilt and pleading for her forgiveness. “Whatever punishment I receive will never be enough!” Parrish wrote in the letter, dated Aug. 4. “Taking Victoria and Sydney’s life is unforgivable. The fact that I am alive is a sin.”

BLACK SEPARATISTS

Feds Investigate Decision to Drop Case Against Panthers

The Department of Justice has launched an internal investigation into the dismissal of voter intimidation charges against members of the racist New Black Panther Party who positioned themselves outside a Philadelphia polling place on Election Day last November. They wore military-style fatigues and berets and one of them brandished a police-style baton.

The New Black Panther Party (NBPP) — which despite its name has no connection with the original Black Panther Party — is a black separatist organization. The Southern Poverty Law Center identifies the NBPP as a hate group based on the anti-white, anti-gay and anti-Semitic views its leaders have repeatedly expressed.

NBPP members were present outside polling places in at least six major

U.S. cities last Nov. 4. The group claimed they were providing voter information and protecting the rights and safety of black voters.

Only in Philadelphia were any members visibly armed. The Philadelphia incident was captured on videotape and posted on YouTube, where it attracted national attention. A voter intimidation complaint was filed against the NBPP members in January during the waning days of the Bush administration.

In April, acting Civil Rights Division chief Loretta King recommended dismissing most of the complaint, provoking an outcry from right-wing bloggers and commentators, including Rush Limbaugh, who repeatedly condemned the decision on his radio show.

Several prominent Republican lawmakers took up the cause and blasted the Justice Department. Loudest among them was U.S. Rep. Lamar Smith of Texas, the top Republican on the House Judiciary Committee.

In July, Assistant Attorney General for Legislative Affairs Ron Weich wrote to Smith, saying the Justice Department had concluded that the evidence did not support the allegation that the New Black Panther Party had directed its members to block polling places across the country. “[F]actual contentions in the complaint did not have sufficient evidentiary support,” Weich said.

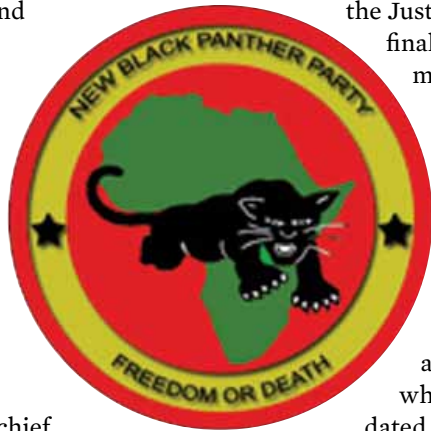
Smith responded by calling on Senate Republicans to block the nomination of President Obama’s choice to head the DOJ’s Civil Rights Division, Tom Perez (despite that, Perez was confirmed in October). Then, in late August, Smith received a letter from Mary Patrice Brown, chief counsel of the Office of Professional Responsibility, the DOJ’s internal ethics

watchdog. The letter said Brown’s office was conducting an “inquiry,” a preliminary step that indicates the office found more grounds to explore the complaint, while stopping short of opening a more formal investigation.

“I am pleased that someone at the Justice Department is finally taking the dismissal of the New Black Panther Party case seriously,” Smith stated in a September news release. “The Justice Department’s decision to drop a case against political allies who allegedly intimidated voters on Election Day 2008 reeks of political interference. The Justice Department’s refusal to provide Congress with an explanation for the dismissal only further raises concerns that political favoritism played a role in this case. ... I look forward to seeing the results of the Department’s investigation.”

Meanwhile, the national leadership of the New Black Panther Party has suspended the group’s Philadelphia chapter indefinitely. “The New Black Panther Party has never, and never will, condone or promote the carrying of nightsticks or any kind of weapon at any polling place,” reads a “Public Notice” on the group’s website. “It is true that volunteers in the New Black Panther Party successfully served as poll watchers all over the country and helped get the Black vote out. We were incident free. We are intelligent enough to understand that a polling place is a sensitive site and all actions must be carried out in a civilized and lawful manner.”

The Justice Department has obtained an injunction against the man shown in the video wielding the nightstick, King Samir Shabazz. It prohibits him from brandishing any weapon outside a polling place through Nov. 15, 2012.



MEDIA EXTREMISM

Dobbs Touts Conspiracy-Monger as Immigration Expert

Immigrant-bashing CNN host Lou Dobbs lurched one step further into the far-right fringe in September. That’s when he starred at “Hold Their Feet to the Fire,” the annual talk radio blitz in Washington, D.C., organized by the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR).

During his Sept. 15 show, which was broadcast live from the event, Dobbs introduced conspiracy hound Jerome Corsi as a guest on his program. “We’re going to be talking about, obviously, illegal immigration,” Dobbs said. “We’re going to be talking about border security. And ... Jerome Corsi is a pretty good guy to talk to about all of that.”

Whether or not Corsi is a “pretty good guy” to talk to is open for debate. For starters, he’s a prominent figure in the so-called birther movement, which embraces the thoroughly debunked notion that President Barack Obama was not born in the United States and therefore is ineligible to hold the nation’s highest office. In addition to proclaiming on talk shows that Obama’s birth certificate is phony, Corsi announced last fall that he was traveling to Hawaii to investigate the matter and predicted that “there’s gonna be something damaging on the birth certificate.” (Dobbs himself repeatedly questioned the authenticity of Obama’s birth certificate on air in July, falsely claiming that the document hadn’t been released.) Corsi also traveled to Kenya in October 2008 to look into Obama’s background. That trip didn’t go too well — he was detained by Kenyan

immigration authorities soon after arriving, then put on a plane back home.

Corsi is perhaps best known for his error-riddled books, including *Unfit for Command*, about 2004 presidential candidate John Kerry, and *The Obama Nation: Leftist Politics and the Cult of Personality*. The latter book “includes lines that some might consider racially insensitive,” according to

Dobbs’ own CNN colleague Jessica Yellin. Among them is this



Lou Dobbs

KAREN BLEIER/AP/GETTY IMAGES

THE BLOTTER

Updates on Extremism and The Law

MAY 2 A member of the national racist skinhead group **Hammerskin Nation** was arrested in **Endwell, N.Y.**, for violating parole. Paul Huss, 38, had been released from prison in September 2008 after serving six years for a 2001 bank robbery and assault. Huss, who authorities say also belongs to a motorcycle gang called the **Chosen Few**, was sought for questioning after 19 of his associates were arrested in western New York for possession of illegal automatic rifles and hand grenades.

JUNE 3 Byron O’Neal Willenberg, a member of the racist **European Kindred** gang, was convicted in **Multnomah County, Ore.**, of multiple counts of rape, sodomy and burglary stemming from his December 2008 sexual assault of a female acquaintance. Prosecutors intend to ask for an above-the-guidelines sentence because of Willenberg’s criminal history and the fact that his victim’s ordeal lasted 48 hours.

JUNE 15 **Inland Empire Skinheads** member Mark Goslyn pleaded guilty to conspiracy to commit robbery and was sentenced to 25 years to life under California’s “three strikes” law. Goslyn was one of eight members arrested during a mass sweep of racist skinheads in **San Bernardino** and **Riverside, Calif.** Two others had already pleaded guilty to conspiracy, including a woman trying to induce labor when she was arrested on April 20 so her child could be born on Adolf Hitler’s birthday.

JUNE 30 A judge ruled that prosecutors could move forward with their case against **Westboro Baptist Church**

member Shirley Phelps-Roper, who was charged with violating a state flag-desecration law in 2007 by encouraging her 10-year-old son to stomp on an American flag outside the funeral of a National Guardsman in **Bellevue, Neb.** Church members regularly picket military funerals, among others, claiming God is killing soldiers because America is a “fag-enabling” nation.

JULY 22 A federal judge reduced the sentences of two top members of the neo-Nazi **National Alliance** who were convicted in 2007 of conspiracy to terrorize minorities into staying off the streets of **Salt Lake City**. Former group chairman Shaun Walker was re-sentenced to 37 months, down from 87, while spokesman Travis Massey’s sentence was cut to 30 months from 57. The re-sentencing became necessary when an appeals court ruled in April that the government had not proved that a beating victim suffered “serious bodily injury as opposed to bodily injury.”

JULY 23 Federal agents arrested Edward Eugene Harper, 63, who claimed to have been a member of the defunct antigovernment “Patriot” group called the **Montana Freeman** and who had been on the run since being indicted in 1994 for allegedly molesting two girls, aged 3 and 8, in Hernando, Miss. Harper, who reportedly spent his years in hid-



A Kansas member of a viciously anti-gay group faces charges of pushing her son to trample on a U.S. flag during a National Guardsman’s funeral.

ing as a nomadic worker, was found living in a tiny camper in Wyoming’s Big Horn Mountains.

JULY 29 Robert Fox, leader of the antigovernment **House of Israel**, was found not guilty of drug-possession charges stemming from a spring 2008 search of the group’s headquarters in **Jacksonville, Texas**, that turned up a cache of prescription medications

along with a large collection of propaganda hailing Oklahoma City bombers Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols as patriots. Felony charges of tampering with governmental records were still pending against Fox.

AUG. 3 A Louisiana judge ruled that Random Hines, 28, the “Imperial Knight Hawk” (in charge of weapons) of the **Bogalusa, La.-based Dixie Knights**, a Klan group, could retrieve guns, ammunition and a black robe and hood seized during a 2008 probe of the murder of a group initiate. The ruling followed a grand jury’s decision not to indict Hines for alleged obstruction of justice in the case.

AUG. 3 Allen Michael Goff, 17, reportedly a member of the neo-Nazi **Creativity Movement**, was charged as an adult with felony assault with a deadly weapon after allegedly shooting a Latino teenager in the knee during a July 27 altercation outside a shopping mall in **Billings, Mont.** Officers who searched Goff at the scene found a 9mm pistol and a patch for **Montana Front**, another white supremacist group.



AUG. 29, 2009 • GREENSBORO, N.C.

Skinheads slam danced at a party following the neo-Nazi National Socialist Movement’s Southeast Regional Conference in Greensboro, N.C. Providing musical entertainment for the NSM gathering was the skinhead band Empire Falls, which includes members of the Old Glory Skinheads. The red suspenders worn by the man above are part of the standard racist skinhead uniform, along with steel-toed boots. Skins prepared for the party by hanging a “White Power” flag (top right), while white teddy bears gave the Nazi salute on an NSM merchandise table (right). Besides red suspenders, the teddy bears sport red laces in their boots — a skinhead symbol indicating the wearer has spilled blood for the movement. The NSM claimed that roughly 70 members attended the daylong conference at a Greensboro motel. As the neo-Nazis received training aimed at expanding the NSM, some 200 people protested the group at a downtown street corner. The NSM is the largest neo-Nazi group in the United States, with 70 chapters in 30 states.



PAT VASQUEZ/CUNNINGHAM/AP IMAGES

gem about Obama's stepfather: "Obama's mother chose another Third World prospect for her second husband, a second man of color, to be her mate." CNN's Campbell Brown called *Obama Nation* a "discredited" book that's "riddled with pretty much every unsubstantiated rumor you've ever heard about Obama."

Corsi also co-authored a white-washed account of the anti-immigration vigilante movement called *Minutemen: Battle to Secure America's Borders*. In July, he appeared on "The Political Cesspool," an overtly racist, anti-Semitic radio show hosted by avowed white nationalist James Edwards.

At last year's "Hold Their Feet to the Fire," FAIR presented Dobbs with its "We The People" media award. The recipient this year was none other than FOX News host Glenn Beck, who said in July that Obama was "a racist" who has a "deep-seated hatred for white people or the white culture."

The Southern Poverty Law Center lists FAIR as a hate group, in part, because of its acceptance of \$1.2 million from a racist foundation; its hiring as key officials men who also joined white supremacist groups; board members who also write regularly for hate publications; and its promotion of racist conspiracy theories.

EXTREMIST CRIMES

Criminal Threat Trials Draw Near For Key Neo-Nazis

The criminal justice system took a pair of threat-happy neo-Nazi loudmouths for quite a ride this year.

In unrelated but similar cases, both Hal Tuner and Bill White have been jailed, released and then jailed again, as well as thrown for a series of loops by felony charges in far-flung jurisdictions.

The fun began for neo-Nazi

Two important cases against neo-Nazis who made Internet threats — Bill White (left) and Hal Turner — will test the limits of the First Amendment.

webmaster Turner on June 3, when he was arrested in his home state of New Jersey after urging readers of his Turner Radio Network blog to "take up arms" against two Connecticut lawmakers and a member of the state ethics office.

Although Turner is notorious for advocating the assassination of judges and elected officials in rants on broad topics like gun control and hate crimes legislation, the Internet call for violence that finally got him arrested dealt with a relatively obscure topic: legislation that would shift control of Roman Catholic Church affairs in Connecticut from the church to lay members.

"It is our intent to foment direct action against these individuals personally," Turner wrote. "These beastly government officials should be made an example of as a warning to others in government: Obey the Constitution or die."

He added this warning: "If any state attorney, police department or court thinks they're going to get uppity with us about this, I suspect we have enough bullets to put them down, too."

State Capitol Police in Connecticut charged Turner with inciting injury to person or property, punishable by one to 10 years in prison and a fine of up to \$10,000. Vowing to fight extradition to Connecticut, Turner was

released from jail in New Jersey on June 10 after posting \$25,000 bond.

Two weeks later, though, he was arrested by FBI agents on federal charges that he threatened over the Internet to assault and murder three federal judges in retaliation for a ruling upholding handgun bans in the Chicago area.

"Let me be the first to say this plainly: These Judges deserve to be killed," Turner had written in a June 3 post that included photographs, phone numbers, work addresses and office room numbers of the judges, along with a photo of the building in which they work and a map of its location.

If convicted of the federal charges, Turner faces a maximum sentence of 10 years in prison and a \$250,000 fine. He was denied bail for almost two months before a federal judge released him Sept. 15 under strict conditions, including electronic monitoring and a prohibition against using the Internet or speaking to the media. His federal trial is scheduled for Nov. 30. The Connecticut state charges are still pending.

Eight days after Turner was released, Bill White, the commander of the neo-Nazi American National

Socialist Workers Party, found himself a free man after spending 11 months in federal custody awaiting trials in two states for making implied or explicit threats on the Internet.

White was first arrested and transferred to federal custody in Illinois on charges of obstructing justice after publishing personal information on his website about the foreman of the jury that convicted neo-Nazi leader Matt Hale in 2004 of soliciting the murder of a federal judge.

After that arrest, White was held without bail. While in custody, he was indicted in Roanoke, Va., for threatening a newspaper columnist and other perceived enemies. After a judge dismissed the Chicago case in July on First Amendment grounds, the neo-Nazi leader was transferred to a holding facility in Roanoke to await trial in the Virginia case.

On Sept. 18, a federal judge granted White a \$25,000 bond on the condition that he stay off the Internet. Five days later, however, a three-judge appellate panel in Richmond ordered White back to jail at the request of federal prosecutors.

His trial is scheduled to begin Dec. 9.

TAX PROTESTERS

Elaine Brown Sentenced To 35 Years in Standoff

A New Hampshire dentist, tax protester and longtime militia activist who participated with her husband in a lengthy standoff with federal agents was sentenced to 35 years in prison Oct. 2 after being convicted of federal weapons and conspiracy charges.

The sentence amounts to a life term for 68-year-old Elaine Brown, who aided her husband, one-time militia leader Ed Brown, in accumulating a vast arsenal of explosives and weapons, including booby traps and .50-caliber sniper rifles, after they refused to surrender to serve prison time for their 2007 convictions for tax-related felonies.



It took authorities nine months to end a standoff with radical tax protesters in New Hampshire. But now, prosecutors are coming down hard on Elaine and Ed Brown.

The Browns avoided capture for almost nine months by holing up in their fortified concrete home in the town of Plainfield. They became celebrities in the antigovernment "Patriot" and tax-protest movements.

During the standoff, the Browns threatened violence if law enforcement agents tried to arrest them. They portrayed their resistance as a political protest against an unjust federal government and invalid tax laws. Supporters from across the country brought them food, walkie-talkies, guns, night-vision gear, ammunition and material to build improvised explosive devices.

The standoff ended with their arrest when a small team of U.S. marshals infiltrated the house-turned-compound by posing as admirers.

Although the sentence handed down by Judge George Singal was shorter than federal sentencing guidelines recommended, he condemned the Browns' conduct, which he said ruined the lives of several of their supporters and could have resulted in multiple deaths.

"Mr. and Mrs. Brown did not engage in a principled dissent against laws they felt to be unjust," Singal said. "Let us not be fooled. The conduct engaged in by Mrs. Brown was purely criminal."

Addressing the court at the sentencing, Assistant U.S. Attorney Arnold

Huftalen accused Brown of recruiting and mentoring impressionable young supporters, four of whom are either serving lengthy prison terms or facing sentencing. For instance, Jason Gerhard, who was 20 years old when he met the Browns, is serving a 20-year sentence for aiding the Browns during the standoff. Another supporter, Daniel Riley, is serving 36 years.

"Her impact on other peoples' lives has been far-reaching, in a negative way," Huftalen said.

At the time of her arrest, Elaine Brown was carrying a Glock pistol with a high-capacity magazine. One of the undercover U.S. marshals who arrested Brown testified that she pointed that gun at members of his team while she debated whether she could trust them.

Huftalen emphasized the size — and deadliness — of the arsenal the Browns possessed by the end of the standoff. It included 22 pipe bombs, gunpowder grenades and exploding rifle targets, along with dozens of firearms and more than 50,000 rounds of ammunition stored in a hidden bunker.

"This is a house you could not believe unless you had been in there — this is a house where when you walk in, you say, 'Holy expletive deleted,'" Huftalen said. "This was her house."

Elaine Brown used her opportunity to address the court to compare herself to Moses and the authors of the U.S. Constitution. "I do not submit and I will never submit," she said.

Her statement drew a smattering of applause from a small group of supporters. One of them, Alan Kiser of Warren, Pa., wearing a necktie bearing the words of the Declaration of Independence, called the Browns heroes.

"They're our George Washingtons, our Thomas Jeffersons, our Benjamin Franklins, standing up for the American dream," he told the *Concord Monitor*.

Ed Brown's sentencing, originally scheduled for early October, was postponed so he could undergo psychological testing; his lawyer contended that Brown is "delusional." Like his wife, he faces what is an effective life sentence. ▲



CASEY TEMPLETON/THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX (WHITE); JESSICA HILL/ANIMAGES (TURNER)

JIM COLE/AP IMAGES



Famous standoffs between authorities and extremists have lasted up to 81 days. But in Texas, one man is going for a new record

A Decade of Defiance

BY LARRY KELLER

TRINIDAD, Texas — It was Christmas Eve 1999, but John Joe Gray wasn't consumed with the holiday spirit. When the car in which he was a passenger was pulled over for speeding by two Texas state troopers near Palestine, in Anderson County, he was packing a loaded handgun in a shoulder holster. He had no permit for it. ¶ One of the troopers ordered Gray out of the car. He either refused or was slow to respond. When the troopers tried to remove him, Gray resisted, was handcuffed and a scuffle ensued. The cops said he bit one of them and tried to grab the other's gun.

"Somehow, his hand got in my mouth," Gray said in a radio interview eight months later. "I bit down and I wouldn't let go. They sprayed me with the pepper spray three times." He was arrested and jailed.

Two weeks later at a bail hearing, Gray promised the judge he would appear at future court hearings if he bonded out of jail. He denied or downplayed the prosecutor's questions about his purported involvement in antigovernment militias and a plot to bomb a Texas interstate highway. "I'm a member of the body of the Lord Jesus Christ, king of kings and lord of lords," he said.

Judge Jim Parsons granted the lower bail, but with conditions. One was that neither Gray nor anyone in his family keep firearms on their 47-acre rural compound alongside the Trinity River just outside the town of Trinidad in Henderson County, the next county north of Anderson. "I don't want these officers to go out there and have to arrest him at this compound and be confronted by a bunch of firearms," the judge said.

Gray posted bail and went home. Two months later, the father of six with no prior criminal record sent a letter to authorities: If your deputies come onto my property, bring body bags. Gray had



perhaps 16 other people, including several grandchildren, living at his modest home and outbuildings at the time. Armed family members, including Gray's wife, Alicia, took turns patrolling the property. That worried authorities — so much so that even when Gray began skipping court appearances, they didn't go arrest him.

"They were pretty well fixed up with weapons," recalls Howard "Slick" Alfred, the Henderson County sheriff at the time. "They had better weapons than we had. There was children in there. He was kind of hiding behind those kids. I didn't want another Waco kind of deal." And it's not as if Gray was a threat to the community, Alfred adds. "He's not hurting anybody over there."

Now approaching 10 years of self-imposed house arrest, Gray, 60, and

various family members remain secluded in the verdant countryside outside this town of 1,100 in the undulating terrain of East Texas. The family has no electricity, no phone, no running water, and hasn't had for nearly a decade. Instead, they get by with wood-burning heaters, a generator, kerosene lamps, water drawn from the river — and occasional handouts from friends and sympathizers.

Not only has Gray escaped prosecution on a felony charge, he may also have helped a daughter defy a court order giving custody of her two children to her ex-husband. Gray's oldest son avoided a misdemeanor prosecution for hitting and kicking that ex-husband's truck, so fearful are authorities of a confrontation with the Gray clan. Gray also is several years delinquent on property taxes. The county has sued for payment and conceivably could sell his land to recover the money owed — but the sheriff's office finally quit trying to serve court papers on him after three attempts last year.

Gray poses a quandary for authorities: How do you arrest a heavily armed, government-hating religious zealot when trying to do so might cause a bloodbath? And what sort of message does it convey to not apprehend an accused lawbreaker?

LARRY KELLER (LIVE FREE SIGN); PHOTOGRAPHER UNKNOWN / FROM BASS OF THE AVENUE (COMICRAY)



Signs like this one, along with several that are more threatening, mark the perimeter of John Joe Gray's 47 acres in Henderson County, Tex. Many militia enthusiasts fear that vaccines are part of a murderous government conspiracy.

While tax-dodging, money-laundering “sovereign-citizen” extremists claiming they are subject only to God’s laws are imprisoned across the nation, John Joe Gray remains free. He has thwarted four Henderson County sheriffs so far. “I see no reason right at this minute to storm a compound where officers could get killed,” says the current sheriff, Ray Nutt. “My position is to sit and wait.”

Shades of Gray

Even before his arrest and indictment on charges that included assaulting a trooper, Gray, who was a self-employed carpenter, was known as a fervently religious, far-right militiaman. He hosted gatherings of the Texas Constitutional Militia, an outfit formed on the first anniversary of the conclusion of the 52-day standoff between federal agents and heavily armed members of the Branch Davidian religious sect in Waco 78 miles away, which ended catastrophically in 1993 with 80 men, women and children dying in an inferno. He was involved with the secessionist group, Republic of Texas, which had its own seven-day standoff with Texas Rangers in 1997, after its leader and several followers kidnapped a neighbor couple at gunpoint. Gray left the group, he said at his 2000 bail hearing, because “they was not of God. They did not go of God’s ways.”

At that hearing, Anderson County District Attorney Doug Lowe asked Gray about documents found in the car he was riding in that included plans to make a bomb and place it on a Dallas interstate, as well as instructions on urban survival, including the use of terrorist bombs and booby traps. It belonged to the car’s driver, Gray maintained. Lowe asked about him being arrested on the grounds of the Capitol in Austin for carrying a weapon. Didn’t happen, Gray said. And those phone calls threatening an attack on the jail unless he was released? Somebody, Gray claimed, “is trying to set me up.”

Gray also was affiliated with the Oregon-based Embassy of Heaven, which describes itself as a group of “peculiar people” who are citizens of heaven obeying the government of God, not secular authorities. The church opposes divorce and remarriage, lawyers and court-

rooms. It shuns politics and elections and believes that the United States is a “pervert nation.” The church issues business and driver’s licenses, passports and license plates to be used instead of those offered by government. They aren’t legal, of course, and before his felony arrest, Gray was cited for attempting to use an Embassy of Heaven driver’s license and

gation to pay taxes or obey federal laws. Famous examples of such “sovereigns” include the Montana Freemen, who had their own 81-day standoff with federal authorities in 1996.) When he holed up on his land, Gray had lots of food stored. He began stockpiling earlier in 1999, Tarkington says, because like many in the militia movement, Gray believed that



Henderson County Sheriff Ray Nutt says the risk of bloodshed is too high to hazard a storming of the Gray family compound. All three of Nutt’s predecessors have agreed.

tag. He failed to show up for his court appearance on that, too. At the time of his arrest, neither he nor his wife, Alicia, had valid driver’s licenses, his attorney told the judge in his criminal case.

Harold Colvin has been a barber in Trinidad for 51 years, and, before the dust-up with the law, John Joe Gray was one of his customers. He remembers a humorless man who grew increasingly odd. “At one time he was an average Joe Blow,” says Colvin, an affable man with a full head of white hair who charges \$7 for a haircut. “He had funny ideas. His were mostly religious. He said he wasn’t going to pay any taxes ... regardless of what the law said.”

Gray’s former son-in-law, Keith Tarkington, recalls Gray and other family members cutting up their Social Security cards and mailing the pieces to the Social Security Administration, advising that they no longer wanted to be part of the system. (So-called sovereign citizens, radical antigovernment activists, similarly claim to have no obli-

“Y2K” — the changeover of millennia on Jan. 1, 2000 — would produce cataclysmic events.

Today, Gray continues to stiff Henderson County on property taxes. He has been delinquent since 2004 on taxes on his home and land on Old River Road, which has a market value of \$151,690, according to records. As of November 2008, he owed \$10,149, according to the tax assessor’s office. He also hasn’t paid taxes since 1995 on an undeveloped parcel he owns elsewhere in the county, even though the bill is less than \$6 a year. He is \$176 in arrears, records show.

“He’s just a different kind of person,” says former sheriff Alfred, 76, who retired in 2000. “He’s got an entirely different philosophy than most of us.”

No Regrets

In recent years, Gray and his family have lived in obscurity. It wasn’t always so. In August 2000, Austin, Texas-based radio host and conspiracy theorist Alex Jones



Like many towns in rural East Texas, Trinidad, a former industrial and agricultural center, has seen better days. Its two-block business district is all but dead, with only a government center and a barber’s shed still functioning.



told his audience he had received a tip that federal agents were preparing to attack Gray’s compound in armored vehicles. Reporters from *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post* and other media outlets descended on tiny Trinidad for a confrontation that never came.

That same month, three armed men ventured into a neighboring pasture at dusk and destroyed a surveillance camera and video transmitter that authorities had placed in a horse trailer, before retreating to the Gray property. And later that year, Chuck Norris, martial artist, actor, right-wing Christian book author and fellow Texan, met with Gray at his ranch and offered to get him free legal representation in an attempt to end the standoff. “There’s two people that family looks up to: Mel Gibson and Chuck,” an intermediary said. But even Norris couldn’t resolve the impasse.

“God’s word is the sole guide for our family,” Alicia Gray said in a press release in 2000. “Our faith in God is strong and unbending ... [O]ur resolve is without compromise.”

Her husband seconded those thoughts. “The Lord teaches to protect my property and family with every means I can, and that is what I will do,” he told an interviewer.

Citing the Waco fiasco, Alfred opted to wait Gray out. “What I hope is, we get a call either from him or somebody close to him, saying he wants to surrender,” his chief deputy, Ronny Brownlow, said at the time. “Time is on our side.” Brownlow succeeded Alfred as sheriff, and now he, too, has retired.

So Gray is left alone. “I feel like everyone should abide by the same law,” says Colvin, his former barber. “I don’t like what the law has let him get away with. I could do the same thing. But most of us wouldn’t go that far.”

Doug Lowe, the district attorney, says he isn’t concerned that the hands-off approach will encourage other anti-government diehards to follow Gray’s example. “I don’t regret not having a Waco,” he says. Authorities have declined to make a martyr of Gray in the eyes of other antigovernment zealots, he notes. “They get more press when police make the siege. Eventually, the law catches up to these people.”



Stealing the Children

That approach has embittered Tarkington, who was married to one of Gray’s daughters. Lisa Gray left Tarkington after less than four years of marriage and took their sons, aged 2 and 4 at the time, to her father’s compound. “When we was dating, I knew he [Gray] was a little bit different,” Tarkington, 43, says. “It took him two years to convince my wife she was better off living with him than me.”

Tarkington visited the Gray compound in 1999 trying in vain to talk to his wife and see his sons. “Don’t you worry about your wife and kids. We’ll take care of them,” he quotes his former father-in-law as telling him. During one visit in October 1999, John Joe Gray’s eldest child, Jonathan, or “Bubba,” vandalized his truck, Tarkington says. Jonathan Gray was charged with criminal mischief, a misdemeanor. But the charge was dropped nearly three years later. The reason given by the prosecutor? He couldn’t obtain identifying information about Jonathan Gray such as his birth date and driver’s license number. The court file, however, includes a document with Jonathan Gray’s birth date.

Tarkington filed for divorce and got a court order for custody of the boys. There was one problem. With no proof that his children were living at the Gray compound, he couldn’t get the Henderson County Sheriff’s Department to serve the document authorizing them to remove

the boys from their mother’s custody. Since it was a civil matter, they couldn’t go on Gray’s land. They left the paperwork on a fence post.

Alfred, the former sheriff, says people friendly to law enforcement visited the Gray compound back then, but told authorities that they didn’t see the children. “Nobody could ever find out if those kids were there,” he says. The current sheriff, Ray Nutt, says he has no information of the whereabouts of Tarkington’s boys.

Tarkington spends much of his time nowadays at his parents’ home in Gun Barrel City, 16 miles from the Gray family compound, pestering law enforcement agencies to arrest Gray. “A troop of Boy Scouts could do a better job,” he says with disgust. “The police have done everything they can to protect John Joe Gray.” He and others believe that his ex-wife and sons are now likely living in another state.

Sheriff Nutt says he sympathizes. But he also implies that Tarkington has become obsessed with Gray. “Sometimes his focus is more on Joe Gray than his children,” he says. “He wants someone to assault that compound.”

‘We Are Militia’

Old River Road deteriorates from asphalt to hard sand and rocks as you draw nearer to John Joe Gray’s home. Pastures of tall grass behind barbed-wire fences line each side. Cattle graze, and a lone gray horse ambles homeward. A couple

Keith Tarkington lost his two sons, then aged 2 and 4, when his estranged wife Lisa Gray snatched them and took them to her father’s compound in early 2000. Tarkington, who has never seen his boys since, is bitter about law enforcement’s failure to raid the compound, saying, “A troop of Boy Scouts could do a better job.”



of dreary old trailers squat in the grass, and a red barn stands nearby. Gray’s property is just ahead. Perhaps 20 goats belonging to him mill about the road, momentarily blocking a car’s progress. Jonathan Gray, 37, is on sentry duty, sitting in a pasture near the road, keeping an eye out for any unwelcome visitors one day late in August. It is 100 degrees.

Soon, he comes down the road to investigate why somebody has stopped outside the entrance to the compound. He’s wearing a baseball cap, gray T-shirt and jeans. A pistol — in violation of the nearly 10-year-old court order — is strapped to one hip, a knife hugs the other. With his beard and mustache and hazel eyes, he resembles his father. Minutes later, a brother, Timothy, 32, and a young woman appear at the fence to stare at the stranger.

Near the driveway leading to the house hidden beyond a grove of trees, are handmade signs: “We Are Militia And Will Live Free Or You’ll Die,” reads one. “Militias are the people,” Jonathan Gray explains. “Thomas Jefferson said every 75 years the people need to rise up and straighten the government out.”

Other signs proclaim: “Disobedience to Tyranny is Obedience to God!” and “Vaccinations Equal Annihilation.” Hanging from a tree is a noose and yet another sign: “Solution To Tyranny.”

Day after day, month after month, this is where John Joe Gray, his wife and others have hunkered down. Property records show that the two-story, three-bedroom main house contains about 1,300 square feet. There are two tiny residential out-buildings, and a barn with two add-ons.

Jonathan Gray declines to say how many people live on the property. (Sheriff Nutt’s estimate is 10 or 11.) Nor will he say if his sister, Lisa, or her children are among those living on the property.

The Law Enforcement Conundrum

Although only John Joe Gray faces an outstanding felony charge, Jonathan Gray says no one in the family ventures off their land. He suggests they might be arrested and charged with aiding and abetting the family patriarch if they did. Some folks in these parts are skeptical — they suspect that John Joe Gray probably sneaks away from time to time. “He can cross the river and be in a different county,” Tarkington says.

In fact, it probably would be easy for anybody to leave the compound to buy fuel, clothing or medicines. Sheriff Nutt says that since he took office in January, his deputies have not conducted surveillance on the property.

Not that there is much to entice Gray into Trinidad anyway. The two-block “business district” is all but dead. The bank — gone. Billie’s Fried Pies — closed. Trinidad General Store, John D’s T.V., Food Mart — all empty. Not much is left



other than the tiny City Hall and adjacent police department, plus Harold Colvin’s barber shop, which is nothing more than a modest aluminum shed. If Gray got to craving a meal in a restaurant, the Dairy Queen on the highway would be the only game in town.

All but about 15 of the Grays’ 47 acres flood from time to time, says Jonathan Gray between spits of tobacco juice. “We grow what we can.” Two donkeys grazing nearby are used to plow what tillable land there is, he says. The family also has plenty of game to shoot — deer, rabbits and squirrels. And from time to time, he says, friends and sympathizers drop off food and other supplies.

If living without central heat and air or a modern home-entertainment system is a hardship, Jonathan Gray — a father of four — isn’t admitting it. “Your body can get used to anything,” he says. He and his brother Timothy seem surprised when asked what they do for fun. “What do you mean by fun?” Timothy asks. They do play an occasional game of dominos, Jonathan says. “Dad does a lot of listening to the shortwave,” he adds.

The family does not miss attending church, or need to do so, Jonathan Gray says. “What is a church but a building? What do they do in church? Pray. That’s all we gotta do here, is read the Word. We go by the Bible.”

When the visitor asks to speak with John Joe Gray, Timothy Gray walks up the driveway and returns minutes later. His father would not talk, he says, because the *Intelligence Report* wrote in 2000 that the family members were terrorists. (This is untrue.) He also ordered his sons to say no more. But does John Joe Gray intend to live out his remaining years in isolation here? “For now,” Jonathan says cryptically.

So the wait goes on. Sheriff Nutt concedes that perhaps Gray should have been nabbed early on. Alfred, the sheriff when the stalemate began, isn’t so sure.

“I was in law enforcement for 42 years, and I always tried to do the right thing,” he says. “His case has always been a snag on me. At the time, it just didn’t seem the right thing to do because of the [potential] useless waste of life. I don’t know if it was the right thing to do. I feel like it was.” ▲



Marek Jan Chodakiewicz was one of several new appointees to the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council who were sworn in in 2005.

Night at the Museum

A historian with unusual views — some call them anti-Semitic — helps oversee a key institution memorializing the Holocaust

BY LARRY KELLER

It's estimated that almost 3 million Jews living in Poland were killed by the Germans during World War II. But that wasn't the end of their ordeal. After the war, the murders of Jews continued, committed not by Germans, but by Polish nationalists who shot, stoned and beat them to death.

In Marek Jan Chodakiewicz's view, this killing of Jewish survivors returning to their homeland probably wasn't anti-Semitism. In his opinion, many Jews did things, such as collaborating with Soviet Communists who occupied eastern Poland at the start of the war, that provoked the violence. Chodakiewicz argues that Jews were more likely to kill Poles after World War II than vice versa.

These are not views shared widely outside of Chodakiewicz's native Poland, where much anger has been generated in recent years over scholarly dissections of Christian anti-Semitism. Many historians see these opinions as a minimizing of the

Holocaust and, in particular, the violent anti-Semitism of many Polish Catholics.

Chodakiewicz (pronounced hod-a-KAY-vich) is no obscure ideologue writing on an Internet hate site, but a history professor and member of the oversight board of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C., appointed by President George W. Bush in 2005. The museum has been visited by more than 28 million people since it opened in 1993. In June, long-time neo-Nazi James von Brunn shot and killed security guard Stephen T. Johns at the museum's entrance.

Chodakiewicz, a naturalized U.S. citizen, is a prominent voice in his native Poland. He is an ardent defender of his homeland who has repeatedly maintained that scholarly and other accounts of his countrymen killing Jews in anti-Semitic pogroms or massacres during and after the war are exaggerated or untrue. Sure, Jews were killed by Polish Christians, he says, but not usually out of ethnic hatred. The Jews were communists. The killers were bandits. Or they acted in self-defense or for other reasons. Much of what Chodakiewicz has written and said about the treatment of Jews by Poles has appeared in far-right Polish publications and has escaped notice in the United States. His term on the museum board is coming to an end in January, but his tenure at the highly regarded institution will be a feather in his academic cap for years to come.

Chodakiewicz, who describes himself as "a Christian conservative of Polish ancestry," has written favorably about Francisco Franco, the late anti-Communist dictator known for his brutal suppression of the Spanish left. He is an admirer of the late shah of Iran, Reza Pahlavi, an autocratic leader who criticized American Jews for "controlling" U.S. media and finance. He sees gay rights as a threat to society, has linked President Barack Obama to communists and domestic terrorists, and is a voluble critic of what he sees as Western "political correctness."

But it is Poles' killing of Jews during and after the war, and Poland's image as a result, that commands much of Chodakiewicz's attention. "You have to remember that in the West,

the Holocaust is considered the worst crime in the modern history of the world," Chodakiewicz wrote this June in a conservative Polish newspaper, *Rzeczpospolita* (*The Republic*). Therefore, the accusation that Christian Polish peasants killed Jews "puts contemporary Poland in a terrible spot." Research on Polish-Jewish relations was left to post-communist historians and scholars who carelessly repeat theses heard in the West, Chodakiewicz complained. "In the best-case scenario, they dare to softly argue with the extreme Western opinions."



Marek Chodakiewicz has written favorably about Spain's longtime dictator Francisco Franco, who he says "prevented the Communist takeover of Spain."

What's needed, he maintained, are more historians with the guts to buck what he claims is political correctness that stifles open discourse. "Many historians don't know a lot about the Polish-Jewish relations," he wrote. "Some others prefer to be silent in order not to be in any trouble, not to create any controversies or — God forbid! — accusations of anti-Semitism."

Other Historians Weigh In

Some of Chodakiewicz's fellow historians contend that his views make him a terrible and inexplicable choice to serve on the museum board, known formally as the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum

Council. And some do accuse him of anti-Semitism or, at the least, a dislike of Jews.

"The guy is an ideologist of the radical right," says Jan T. Gross, a Princeton University history professor and the Polish-born author of two acclaimed books about the Poles' murder of Jews during and after World War II — books that sparked a political firestorm in Poland because they suggested a high level of Catholic anti-Semitism. "I don't have any doubts that he's anti-Semitic."

University of Toronto Polish history professor Piotr Wróbel is less blunt. Chodakiewicz, he says, "has spent almost

30 years in the states — he would never use a phrase or adjective that would clearly identify him as an anti-Semite." But, he adds, "There is no doubt whatsoever that he doesn't like the Jews."

Chodakiewicz flatly denies these criticisms. The allegation that he is an anti-Semite is "baseless," Chodakiewicz adds in an E-mail interview. "Through empirical research I strengthen the truth about the horror of the Jewish extermination. Further, I propagate knowledge of the Holocaust here and in Poland. I teach a seminar on 'Genocide and Genocide Prevention' and the work of the [Holocaust Museum] is very helpful, if not indispensable, for me. I agreed to

serve on the Council because I believed that it was important to have a Christian conservative of Polish ancestry on its board.”

In fact, Chodakiewicz says, he’s working in a key area of scholarship. “There have not been enough studies on the Christian predicament — indeed Christian suffering and death on a mass scale — during the contemporaneous period. To research, analyze and raise consciousness about such things is not to denigrate the suffering and genocide of the Jews.” It’s estimated that at least 2 million non-Jewish Poles, nearly all of them Catholics, were killed under the Nazi occupation. The Nazis’ plan for Poland, according to the Holocaust Museum website, was to reduce the population to a huge labor pool serving the German master race.

Gross, however, says that Chodakiewicz’s membership on the board, which has 68 members (55 of them presidential appointees) and approves the museum’s annual budget, is “scandalous.” Other historians felt the same way when he was appointed, but thought it fruitless to make an issue of, he adds.

“Surprised? I was shocked,” says Wróbel, who was born and raised in Poland.

A museum spokesman, Andrew Hollinger, declined to say if officials received complaints about Chodakiewicz’s appointment.

Chodakiewicz counters that he was appointed after a review by a selection committee, “who, after a thorough review of my academic accomplishments, considered me to be qualified for the position.”

Presidential appointees such as Chodakiewicz are vetted by the White House, not the museum. “The museum has no say,” says Deborah Lipstadt, a professor of Modern Jewish and Holocaust Studies at Emory University in Atlanta who was famously sued by Holocaust denier and Third Reich “historian” David Irving for allegedly ruining his reputation in a 1994 book. (Lipstadt prevailed in that 2000 libel case.) Lipstadt should know: She was appointed by President Bill Clinton to two terms on the museum board.

‘Twisted Views’

Marek Chodakiewicz, 47, was born in Warsaw but moved to the United States



Princeton professor Jan T. Gross, a Polish-born expert on Polish-Jewish relations during and after World War II, says Marek Chodakiewicz’s appointment to the Holocaust Museum’s board is “scandalous.”

in 1982 and became a U.S. citizen. He earned master’s and doctoral degrees from Columbia University and taught two years at the University of Virginia. Today, he is academic dean and a history professor at the Institute of World Politics, a boutique graduate school for future and current diplomats, intelligence officers and defense specialists. Its faculty has a “center-right to neo-con or very hard-core conservative” bent, says Gordon Adams, professor of international relations at American University’s School of International Service. On his Facebook page, Chodakiewicz says he is a fan of Ron Paul — the libertarian Republican congressman from Texas for whom he voted for president in 2008 — and the late shah of Iran. He admires the Digital Network Army, an anti-gay marriage “traditional values” group.

But it is his views on Jews and anti-Semitism that critics say make him a baffling choice for the Holocaust Museum board.

Many of Chodakiewicz’s controversial writings about Jews predate his appointment to the museum board. In a 2003 book, *After the Holocaust: Polish Jewish Relations in the Wake of World War II*, he argued that postwar violence directed at Jews in Poland was seldom due to anti-Semitism. Instead, he cited other factors: Poles’ resistance to Jewish communists;

self-defense against Jews who wanted to murder Poles who had collaborated with the Nazis; and thwarting efforts by Jews to reclaim property seized by the Nazis and later taken by Poles.

Chodakiewicz also maintained in the book that 400 to 700 Jews were murdered in Poland after the war; other estimates place the toll at 1,500 or higher. And he argued that Jewish communists killed more Poles after the war than vice versa.

In an article about Chodakiewicz’s book for a newspaper in Israel, Laurence Weinbaum, a historian, one-time Fulbright scholar and executive director of the Jerusalem-based World Jewish Congress Research Institute and the Israel Council of Foreign Relations, wrote that Chodakiewicz and “like-minded historians ... are hard at work explaining why the murdered — not the murderers — are guilty.” Chodakiewicz, Weinbaum added, is a historian with “twisted views.”

Chodakiewicz also wrote a later book challenging the conclusions of Gross, the Princeton professor, in Gross’ book, *Neighbors: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland*, that was published in English and Polish in 2001. *Neighbors* reconstructed the 1941 slaughter of nearly all the estimated 1,600 Jewish residents of the Polish town of Jedwabne in a single day. His depiction of the Jews being murdered by their Christian Polish neighbors, and not the German occupiers, as previously assumed, stirred much soul-searching among Poles who had thought of themselves as World War II victims, not perpetrators. “When the book appeared, it was like an electric shock,” recalls Wróbel, the Toronto professor.

Chodakiewicz insisted in his own book, *The Massacre in Jedwabne, July 10, 1941: Before, During, After*, that Gross’ methodology, sources and conclusions were suspect, and that the slaughter in Jedwabne was initiated by the Germans. But Gross’ conclusions were largely corroborated by a historical commission and ultimately endorsed by the Polish government. And in the United States, *Neighbors* was a finalist for a prestigious National Book Award.

Still, to Chodakiewicz, it was “propaganda.”

“I live in the American Empire that

imposes [on] the world its culture and lifestyle,” he said in a 2001 interview with a newspaper published by Radio Maryja, a popular, staunchly Catholic, Polish radio station that is widely regarded as being anti-Semitic, in response to a question about Gross’ book. “That’s why I knew beforehand how these matters will develop in Poland and which arguments you’d need to use and what you need to look into in your historical research. My friends in Poland have neglected my opinion. Now they can see that I was right.”

In the same interview, Chodakiewicz said that Polish-Jewish clashes were a result of petty and ideological disputes. He described Jews as murderous in those conflicts, saying that Soviet and Jewish partisans shot 128 Poles in a town in 1943 and killed as many as 300 others the following year in another region. “And the Jewish memoirists even brag about these crimes as commendable actions,” he added. “The Polish side needs to accept that not everything on our side was nice, and the Jewish side needs to take a similar stand.”

Writing for the Right

Chodakiewicz is a frequent contributor to several Polish publications, such as the weekly *Najwyższy Czas!* (The Time is Now!). That’s the magazine of the Real Politics Union party, a fringe, pro-life, anti-gay marriage, pro-property rights, anti-income tax group. It often uses anti-Semitic stereotypes on its pages, according to a Tel Aviv University global “Anti-Semitism Survey.” It was in this magazine, in November 2007, that he wrote critically about gays. “If everything is equal, if there is no difference, for example, between Christianity and cannibalism, then — according to the argument of those who have an interest in it — homosexuals should be treated as a norm, so they should have equal rights. In reality it is not about equal rights, but about special privileges. The biological norm is about prolonging the species. A deviation from the norm can not be a norm.”

Indeed, he said, the gay-rights movement threatens society. “The progress never stops, unless it is smashed by the hammer of counterrevolution.”

He elaborated on those views to the *Intelligence Report*. “If you are homosexual, that’s your business,” he says.

“However, I oppose any ideology — whether gay or straight — that denies the existence or necessity of sexual mores and that seeks to revolutionize our traditional society by imposing its paradigm on us. Hence, a cultural counterrevolution is needed to check this destructive project.”

Between 5,000 and 15,000 homosexuals were interned in Nazi concentration camps, according to the Holocaust Museum on whose board Chodakiewicz sits.

“Many historians prefer to be silent in order not to be in any trouble, not to create controversies or — God forbid! — accusations of anti-Semitism.”

In 2003, Chodakiewicz was awarded Poland’s Jozef Mackiewicz Literary Prize, named for an anti-communist writer who was accused of collaborating with the Nazi-controlled media during World War II. The prize was for a two-volume work that argued that the October 1944 killing of Jews by Polish anti-Soviet partisans in the town of Ejszyski was accidental.

The secretary to the committee that awards the literary prizes is Stanislaw Michalkiewicz. He caused a stir in 2006 when, speaking on Radio Maryja, he claimed that “Jews are trying to force a ransom from our government which they covertly call restitution.” He added that Poland was being “humiliated” by Jews at the site of the former death camp at Auschwitz. He was quoted a month later in a Polish newspaper as having said that the World Jewish Congress is “a main firm in the Holocaust Industry.” One member of the jury that awards the prizes resigned in 2006 over what he said was Michalkiewicz’s anti-Semitism.

Mackiewicz, who died in 1985, often

declared that no subject should be off limits, including “uncomfortable truths.” Chodakiewicz sees himself in the same mold. He told an interviewer in 2007 that his interests “are in topics which scholars generally avoid because of the terror of political correctness.”

That seemed particularly obvious in July 2008, when he wrote in *Najwyższy Czas!* about then-presidential candidate Barack Obama, who he claimed was at one time a Muslim, a radical, and a friend and protégé of communists whose mother was a “feminist, social-liberal, hippie and a fan of F.D. Roosevelt.”

‘Bizarre’ Appointment

Chodakiewicz’s assertions about Obama, however, aren’t what concern critics of his appointment to the museum. His membership on the board insulates him from accusations of insensitivity or bias toward Jews, they say. “He uses this as a very strong argument,” Wróbel says.

Chodakiewicz’s inclusion on the museum’s board is “bizarre,” Weinbaum adds, “because his views seem to be in stark contrast with the mission of the museum — at least as I understand it.”

Wróbel agrees. “I couldn’t understand it. I don’t understand it.”

Chodakiewicz’s critics contend that he seems far more concerned about the “Christian predicament” than the plight of Jews, who were targeted for complete annihilation.

In a 2007 interview with the *Journal of Polish American Affairs*, Chodakiewicz had this take on his experience serving on the Holocaust Museum board: “It teaches one that an ethnic group of American citizens can organize itself to prevail on the Congress and the federal government to fund and propagate the teaching of the greatest tragedy that befell upon this particular ethno-religious minority thousands of miles away from the United States.” Then he suggested that perhaps Polish Americans could also “organize themselves to such a commendable end.” ▲

Rafal Pankowski, an official of the Polish anti-racist organization Never Again and the author of a book on the Polish racial right to be published by Routledge next year, contributed research for this article.



Children of Hate

Not all those who are born to professional racists become haters themselves. Here are the stories of three who didn't

BY SONIA SCHERR
PHOTOGRAPHY BY HANNELIE COETZEE
AND STEFAN HESTER

Shortly after white supremacist James von Brunn's fatal shooting attack this spring at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C., his 32-year-old son issued a statement to ABC News in which he denounced his father's ideology and described the devastating impact it had had on his family.

"My father's beliefs have been a constant source of verbal and mental abuse my family has had to suffer with for many years," he said. "His views consumed him, and in doing so, not only destroyed his life, but destroyed our family and ruined our lives as well."

Erik von Brunn's repudiation of his father's bigotry runs counter to the conventional wisdom that virulent racists will produce children like themselves. Indeed, the movement has its share of parent-child notables, including neo-Nazi leaders Tom and John Metzger, white supremacists Don and Derek Black, and Klan/skinhead organizers Ron and Steven Edwards. But the younger von Brunn is hardly alone in rejecting a parent's beliefs — and experts say that's no surprise.

“Overall, there’s not a lot of evidence that, at least in the long term, kids get their prejudice from their parents,” said Charles Stangor, who runs the Laboratory for the Study of Social Stereotyping and Prejudice at the University of Maryland. “I would call it more of a community effect than a parental effect. The community fosters tolerance or prejudice.”

That community includes peers and other adults, such as teachers, coaches and clergy, said Frances Aboud, a psychology professor at McGill University in Montreal, Canada, who studies the development of racial prejudice in children. “There are so many other influences in a child’s life [besides parents], particularly once they start kindergarten.”

Children of racial extremists may have to contend with other effects of their parents’ bigotry, Aboud said. “I think [they] probably become sensitive to that type of adult; other kids might not be aware that there’s that kind of extreme emotional hate toward people,” she said. “[Children of racial extremists] might have lived with more fear. They might have felt vulnerable themselves to that kind of hate: What if I cross my parents in some way — am I going to get that hate directed at me?”

To take a closer look at the experience of growing up in a climate of hate, the *Intelligence Report* spoke with three people whose fathers were deeply involved in racial extremism: the co-founder of a civil rights group who drove her father to Klan meetings when she was a teenager in Arkansas in the 1960s; a former nurse whose father was among the most powerful Klan leaders during the civil rights movement; and a teenager who had to cast aside his entire way of thinking about the world after renouncing his white nationalist father.

Their stories reveal how they developed their own views about race and sense of identity. They also show how bigotry’s ill effects often extend beyond its intended targets.

As the daughter of the Arkansas Klansman said: “We are all victims of this type of hate.”

Taking on the Klan

One summer night in 1965, 12-year-old Carolyn Wagner watched as Klansmen



Defining moment: When she was just 12, Carolyn Wagner cut loose a black man who her father and other Klansmen had whipped and then tied to nearby railroad tracks. Her decision more than four decades ago set the course of her life.

bound a young black man to a tree in her father’s field, accused him of violating the “sundown” rules in nearby Booneville, Ark., that forbade blacks from staying in town after dark, and lashed him a few times with a bullwhip as he cried out in pain and fear.

It was no different from beatings at other Klan gatherings her father had attended, but what happened next remains vivid in her memory: the Klansmen decided to tie the man to the railroad tracks below the pasture. When

they were done, they ambled back to the field to discuss crops and politics. Wagner, a reluctant witness to her father’s Klan meetings, couldn’t stand it anymore. She stole down to the tracks, used a knife she kept in her boot to slash the rope that bound the man, and told him he could follow the tracks to Fort Smith, the nearest large town.

“That was a turning point,” recalled Wagner, now 56 and living in Tulsa, Okla. “I felt like I had made a difference when I was able to cut that man free. I real-

ized I can make a choice to be a passive observer or I can become involved to diminish the harm that they’re doing. And that’s what I did from that night on, and that’s what I’m still doing.”

After years working for civil rights and children’s organizations, Wagner co-founded Families United Against Hate, a nonprofit group that helps people affected by bias incidents. Her experience growing up with a father in the Klan made her determined and fearless in her fight against hate. “That image of my dad

and those men, and even the smells, are still with me, and they’ll always be with me. And it was very important that my children never know the world I knew when I was growing up.”

It was a world where Wagner’s father, Edward Greenwood, and his acquaintances gathered at least once a month at each other’s farms for Klan meetings, often bringing their children and grandkids. Because her father, then in his late 50s, couldn’t see well enough to drive at night, Wagner ferried him to meetings in

a 1951 Chevy pickup. (Back then in rural Arkansas, it wasn’t unusual for children as young as 12 to drive on country roads.) The men — including lawyers, judges, cops and pastors — would begin their gatherings with a prayer and eschew alcohol. “They felt like they were doing God’s work,” Wagner said.

Sometimes, the gatherings would feature a beating like the one Wagner witnessed at her family’s farm. The victims were usually young men who’d been picked up on a pretext, such as paying too much attention to a white woman. “We would hear terms like ‘coon’ hunting,” she said. “My father would say, ‘I’m going ‘coon’ hunting.’”

But more often, the men would talk big, complaining about Presidents John F. Kennedy or Lyndon B. Johnson or even threatening to blow up the Supreme Court building. They’d eat bologna sandwiches that Wagner had prepared. Campfire smoke would mingle with the sweet-sour odor of Brylcreem, sweat and Old Spice. It was the one place where her father seemed happy. “I don’t remember seeing him smile or laugh unless he was with those goons,” she said.

Six feet tall, skinny, and with an olive complexion and horn-rimmed glasses, Edward Greenwood had worked as a sheriff’s deputy before World War II and received disability checks for an injury related to his Army service. He believed that women have their place and that children — he had five, including Wagner, the second youngest — are to be seen and not heard. He was abusive toward his family, once burning Wagner with a heated metal bar. She has no memory of liking him or looking up to him. “I never felt in any way that he was correct or behaving in a socially acceptable or a Christian manner.”

But her father probably would not have found a home in the Klan if his comrades had known about his heritage. “We knew there was this dirty secret in the family,” Wagner said.

In fact, her father’s great-great-great grandmother, Elizabeth Greenwood, was part Cherokee and part black, a former slave who’d settled in Arkansas when it was still part of France’s Louisiana Territory, according to family lore. Her father had cousins who identified as

black, though he would have nothing to do with them. Wagner believes part of his racism stemmed from shame about his origins.

Wagner’s mother didn’t share her husband’s views about race, but she felt powerless to oppose him. Divorce was taboo in her family; resources for victims of domestic abuse were nearly nonexistent. “Mother never asked what he did [at Klan meetings],” Wagner said. “It was like she couldn’t bear to know.”

Wagner did receive support from her maternal grandparents, who passionately disliked her father. After Wagner secretly untied the black man from the railroad tracks, her maternal grandfather taught her how to use a 12-gauge double-barrel shotgun. She cut away the springs in the seat of the pickup to create a compartment where she hid the weapon, loaded and wrapped in a blanket. Though she never used it, she says she would have done so to defend herself or to help a potential Klan victim.

It wasn’t the last time she would defy all that her father represented. In April 1968, Wagner drove him to Memphis to take part in a Klan protest during the sanitation workers strike made famous by the appearance of Martin Luther King Jr. She was there when the civil rights leader was assassinated. In a Memphis newspaper, she read that the Department of Justice was planning a crackdown on the perpetrators of civil-rights era violence. After the assassination of Robert Kennedy two months later, Wagner, then 15, wrote a letter to the FBI accompanied by a list of names and addresses she’d copied from her father’s Klan directory. She wanted to get them all arrested. “I included my dad on that list,” she said.

Wagner, who used her maternal grandparents’ home as the return address, never heard back from the FBI.

She left home the day she finished high school and at 19 eloped with Bill Wagner, now her husband of 37 years. Her father died in 1980 when she was pregnant with her younger child, William. “I am so grateful that my children will have no memory of him or his politics,” she said.

But her own memories of her father came back strongly on William’s 14th birthday, the day he told his parents that he was gay. That day she and her husband’s big-

gest concern was for their son’s safety. “I had a very clear understanding of who the hatemongers were,” she said. They decided to move from their farm in tiny Booneville, a conservative town where homosexuality was widely condemned, to the more liberal university town of Fayetteville, some 120 miles away.

Still, they couldn’t protect their son from hate. Harassment at school culminated in a brutal assault in 1996. William, then 16, left school with friends to get lunch at a nearby convenience store when six teenagers shouted anti-gay slurs. They knocked him off his feet, then kicked him as he lay bleeding on the ground. “I thought about how easily that could have been my father’s group,” Wagner recalled. “And I wasn’t there.”

Two of the attackers were convicted of assault. After the Wagners filed a complaint on behalf of their son under Title IX, the federal anti-discrimination law, Fayetteville became the first public school district in the nation to enter into an agreement with the Department of Education’s Office of Civil Rights that required it to protect all students, including gays and lesbians, from harassment. The Wagners continue to advocate for young people who are targeted because of their actual or perceived sexual orientation.

Looking back on her childhood, Wagner remembers reading novels by Pearl S. Buck and biographies about women such as Harriet Tubman and Florence Nightingale. She wanted to learn about people who had survived difficult circumstances to help others, because she was determined to do the same.

“I found ways to survive,” she said. “I found ways to more than survive — to endure, to become stronger and to make our little corner of the world in the South a little better.”

Her Father’s Daughter

Cindy Foster will never forget the face in the window.

She woke up in the middle of the night, sat up in bed, and saw a man — she believes it was a white man — peering through her bedroom window. It was the early 1960s in a small Alabama city, and her family had just received a bomb threat from the Black Panthers because

of her father’s notoriety as a Klan leader.

Foster, then about 6, tried to scream for help but her voice failed. Then the face disappeared. She later found out it was probably an FBI agent checking on her family’s safety.

The midnight memory is just one example of how her late father’s Klan activities cast an uneasy shadow over her childhood. The family received other threats; she recalls long stretches of wariness punctuated by moments of fear. That legacy continued to haunt her as an adult. She suffered from nightmares, was constantly vigilant, and didn’t easily trust others. She saw a therapist for

“You have no idea what I went through at school because of you, you twisted my mind and made my entire childhood a horrible misery.”

several years and was diagnosed with post-traumatic stress disorder, an anxiety condition that can develop after frightening events. And she struggled to assert her own identity in the hometown where nearly everyone knew who her father was and assumed she shared his views about race.

“I just wanted to be me — not my father’s daughter,” said Foster, who now lives in northern Florida. (The *Intelligence Report* agreed not to identify her father, who died in 2003, to protect Foster’s privacy.)

In fact, Foster held beliefs very different from her father’s — a phenomenon she attributes partly to her faith. As a child of about 4 attending Sunday school in her family’s Methodist Church, she sang that Christ’s love is colorblind: “Jesus loves the little children/all the children of the world/black and yellow, red and white/They’re all precious in his sight.”

“I realized at a very young age that



you either had to believe what the church taught or what my father stood for,” she said. “And what I saw my father doing was wrong.”

He didn’t try to change her thinking. “He never pushed his opinion on us. He let us make up our mind. He didn’t like it, but he believed it was our right to believe as we believed.”

Because their father was so often away at Klan rallies, Foster and her two younger siblings were raised mostly by their mother and paternal grandfather. Sometimes, the children would join their father at a Klan event. When Foster was five, her mother reluctantly took them to a large rally in her hometown. As Foster played jacks with her younger sister,

Klansmen burned three crosses, including one that had toppled over before it was set on fire, injuring a Klansman. Mostly Foster remembers hundreds of men in white robes. “I was terrified,” she said. “They looked like ghosts.”

Occasionally, her father enlisted Foster and her siblings to help with mailings of his Klan newsletter. Though their mother didn’t like her children taking part in Klan activities, she lived in an era when women were expected to obey their husbands. “She stood by him. I never could understand why she didn’t divorce him and get us out of that situation. [But] she came from a very religiously strict family. Once you married, you stayed married.”

Sixteen-year-old Stephan Mills rejected his father’s racism despite years of indoctrination. Psychologists say that is more common than many people think.

Her father’s motivations were more of a puzzle. He’d served as a pilot in the Air Force and had taken law classes at the University of Alabama. “My dad was a very intelligent man, and he could have gone so far in politics or anything he’d chosen to do. And I never got a chance to ask him why — why did he hate blacks so much? That’s something I’ll carry to my grave.

“I think it’s a shame he didn’t use his talents in other ways, because he could sway people so easily — a perfect salesman.”

Foster became a nurse, married and raised two children. For several years she volunteered as a Girl Scout leader, often working with black children from poor families. “I wanted to go out and do something for humanity and show that I believed differently than he did,” she said.

Yet she felt guilty when she once took the girls to her home, because she knew it bothered her father, who lived next door. It was part of what she describes as a love-hate relationship with the man whose racism haunted her childhood.

“I hated what he did,” she said, “but I loved him as a father.”

The Price of Hate

When Stephan Mills was 10 or 11, his father sat him and his older sister down after supper one night and told them that if they ever became emotionally involved with someone of color, he would kill them.

“I just nodded in agreement,” said Stephan, now 16.

The incident seemed normal to a boy who for years had been steeped in his father’s bigotry. Arthur Kemp, a South African white supremacist who has ties to British and American hate groups, indoctrinated his children with racist and anti-Semitic beliefs from the time they were very young. Stephan mostly adopted those views as his own. Several years ago, however, he rejected all that his father stood for. The experience would radically change his life and lead to his ongoing estrangement from his father,



After years of listening silently to his South African father's white supremacist propaganda, Stephan Mills finally spoke out angrily — and publicly — about Arthur Kemp. Stephan's mother says that thanks to her ex-husband, Stephan "had to relearn [how] to be a civilized human."

who's now divorced from his mother and believed to be living in England.

"Stephan's resentment toward his father is based partly on the fact that, in his sister's words, he had to relearn to be a civilized human," said his mother, Karen Mills. (Karen and Stephan Mills live near Johannesburg, South Africa, and the *Intelligence Report* interviewed them by phone and E-mail).

There was a lot to relearn. Arthur Kemp "was a very involved and doting father" when his children were small, Karen Mills said. He read to them often, carefully choosing books he felt would reinforce his ideology. Among them were the original "Noddy" series, English children's books that featured Golliwogs, dark-skinned caricatures that were later removed from the text because they were deemed racist. In one of Kemp's favorite Noddy books, the Golliwogs steal Noddy's car. Kemp enjoyed telling his children that the Golliwogs' theft of the

car amounted to typical behavior for blacks.

But it wasn't only in books that Kemp found justification for his racism; post-apartheid South Africa offered plenty for him to complain about. "He tried to imprint on the children how bad Africa and everything here was," Karen Mills wrote. After striking workers toppled trashcans, for instance, "Arthur took the children into the main streets of the town and made them walk among the rubbish."

He also forbade socializing with non-white children. If they arrived at a friend's party to find that a black child had also been invited, Kemp made his children go home. When Stephan was six, his father reluctantly took him and his sister to swimming lessons at a public pool where one of the children turned out to be black. "He told us to get out and that we were leaving," said Stephan, who now uses his mother's maiden name. "I was still pretty young so I didn't really

understand what was going on."

Kemp's attitude didn't change even when his children's health was at stake. When the family was living in Britain, he plucked his 6-year-old daughter, Joanne, from the dentist's chair rather than allow her to be treated by an Indian dentist, Karen Mills said. As a result, she suffered for three days with a tooth abscess.

When his children grew older, he allowed them to listen only to "white resistance" bands. Rap, especially, was prohibited. Although baseball caps, sneakers, baggy pants and big T-shirts were in fashion, he considered these items "ghetto nigger" clothing and wouldn't let his children wear them.

He also relished showing them articles and statistics that purported to prove that blacks were inferior. He contended that blacks could never be race car drivers because they have poor depth perception, that they cannot swim because their bones are too dense, that

they are not as intelligent because their brains are smaller.

"The children were actively encouraged to be vocal about their views and to challenge their peers," Karen Mills wrote. "In Stephan's case in particular, this resulted in him being ostracized and made an outcast as he followed his father's lead."

Stephan said he had few friends until his first year of high school. At times, he suffered from depression because his father's brainwashing had so alienated him from his peers, his mother said.

"I wasn't really someone that people wanted to hang around with," Stephan said. "They regarded me as weird because I was constantly talking about Hitler."

Karen Mills said she initially went along with her husband's views to please him, but the marriage grew troubled as he devoted himself increasingly to far-right politics. She refused to read his opus on white superiority, *March of the*

Titans: A History of the White Race, and criticized him in front of their children.

With his marriage collapsing, Arthur Kemp became violent, especially toward Stephan, Karen Mills said. Once, when Stephan was about eight, he hit his son's face until his nose bled and blood spattered on the bedroom wall, she said. He stopped only when the maid's screams brought Karen rushing into the room and she pulled Kemp off Stephan. Later, Kemp allegedly beat Stephan while his mother was at work. The backs of Stephan's legs were so swollen that he could not bend them to get into his bath. "If you ever hit my child again," she told Kemp, "I'll kill you."

Still, she did not report the incidents to the police. "You try to block it out because maybe it's more than you can deal with," said Mills, a lawyer who now works for the South African government. "You hope that it'll resolve itself and turn a blind eye."

Kemp dismissed the allegations from his former wife in an E-mail to the *Intelligence Report*. "It is all a pack of lies from a mentally ill person," he wrote. "I am disappointed that you would stoop to exploiting a person with severe psychological problems in this way." Karen Mills responded that Kemp has always claimed she's mentally ill simply because she disagrees with him.

Mills still feels guilty for allowing her children to suffer what she now sees as both physical and emotional abuse. "Why couldn't I do something?" she asked. "I just never stood up to him."

Kemp's persistence in forcing his beliefs on his children — along with his disengagement from their lives as he immersed himself in white nationalism — led them to question their father and the values he espoused, Karen Mills said. In a September 2008 post on the anti-racist site Lancaster Unity, Stephan called his father a "racist ass" and said he should be deported to South Africa. He wrote: "I remember almost every night when we would ask for a bedtime story (when most NORMAL fathers would read their children a normal book) he would instead tell us stories about how the white race was all supreme and then read us chapters from his horrible book "March of the White Titans" [sic]. Well

dad if you ever read this or even hear about it I just wanted to let you know that I HATE YOU!! You have no idea what i went through at school because of you, you twisted my mind and made my entire childhood a horrible misery."

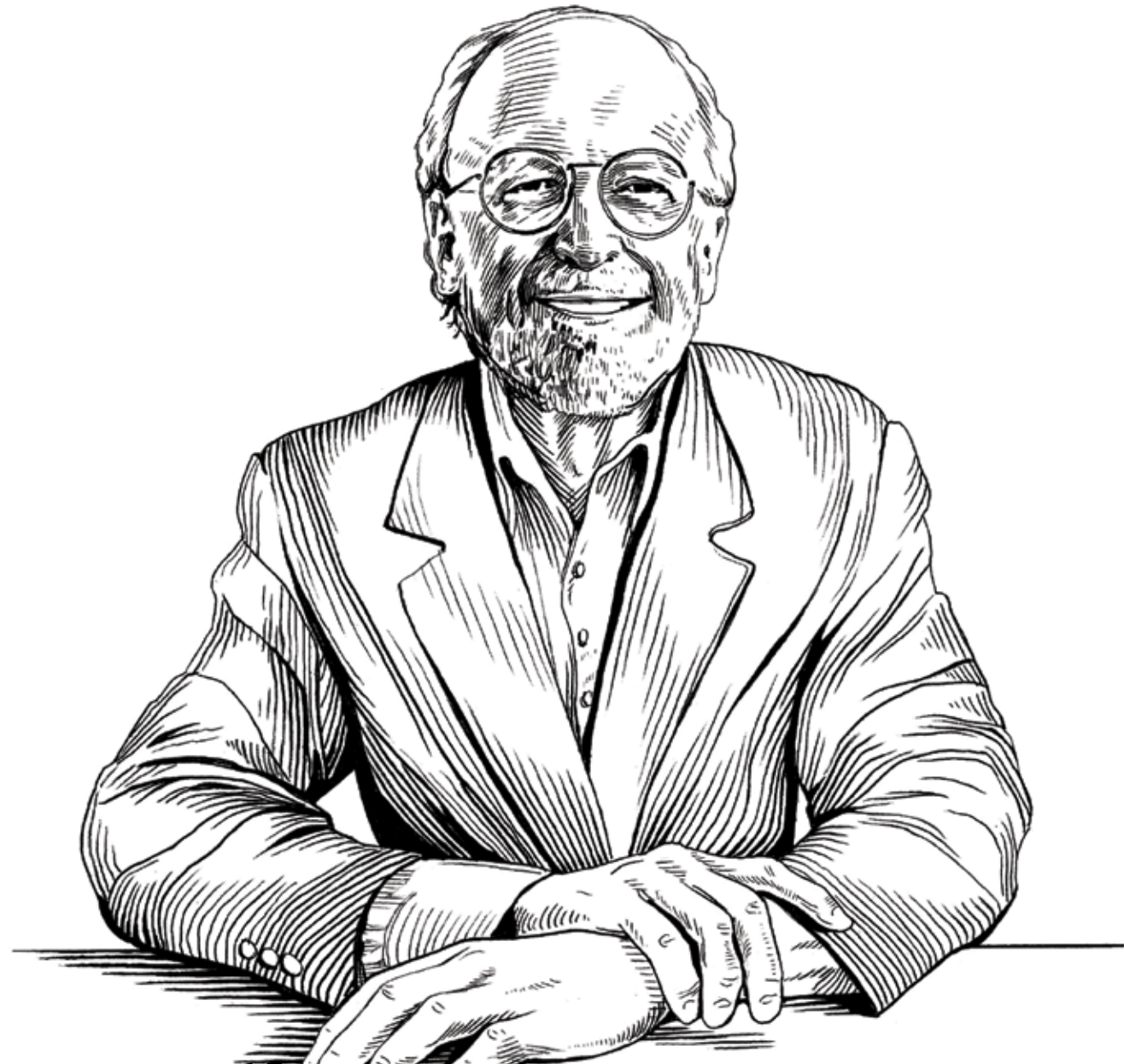
As his wife and children lost respect for him, Kemp withdrew further from the family. Karen Mills believes that's because they no longer fit his image of the model right-wing family that would help him achieve his political goals. "His political beliefs are the absolute be-all and end-all of his life," she said. "I think the reason why he's cut the children off is they don't conform to his political beliefs and aspirations."

Instead, "he began to seek out people who admired him and particularly his book," she recalled. "The admiration, and in particular the view of him as this great right-wing academic, became his main driving force."

He left the family in November 2006. "Picture this situation," Stephan wrote in November 2008 on Lancaster Unity. "I am fast asleep on thursday morning and when i wake i find that he is gone and then i receive a phone call from him telling me he is on a flight to London... THIS ASSHOLE DIDNT EVEN HAVE THE MANNERS TO SAY GOODBYE TO MY FACE!! I have not seen my father in now [a]bout two and [a] bit years."

Karen Mills said Kemp has had almost no contact with his children since the divorce. "I don't think there's any way that Arthur could fix the broken relationship with Stephan," she said. Nonetheless, "Stephan has gone through something of a catharsis." In addition to his posts on Lancaster Unity, he chose to discuss his father when he was assigned to give a school speech on someone who had influenced him — only he said his father's influence had been entirely negative. Now, his social life is improving, and he has resolved to be as unlike his father as possible. "I am stuck with some of his traits and characteristics — Mom used to joke with me that I have the Kemp laziness gene — but definitely not his political views," he said.

Yet there's no bringing back the years he lost to his father's hate. "You," he wrote to him in the September 2008 Lancaster Unity post, "will never understand what you have done to me." ▲



Funding FAIR

A major philanthropist has long supported environmental groups. Now, Robert Wilson is backing a different kind of organization

BY ROB WATERS ILLUSTRATION BY JOE MCKENDRY

When Robert W. Wilson's name appears in print, the label "philanthropist" often accompanies it. Wilson, now in his early 80s, made a fortune on Wall Street, and he plans to give most of it away before he dies. His net worth was estimated at \$800 million in 2000, and, according to *Business Week*, he gave away or pledged to give \$512 million from 2004 through 2008.

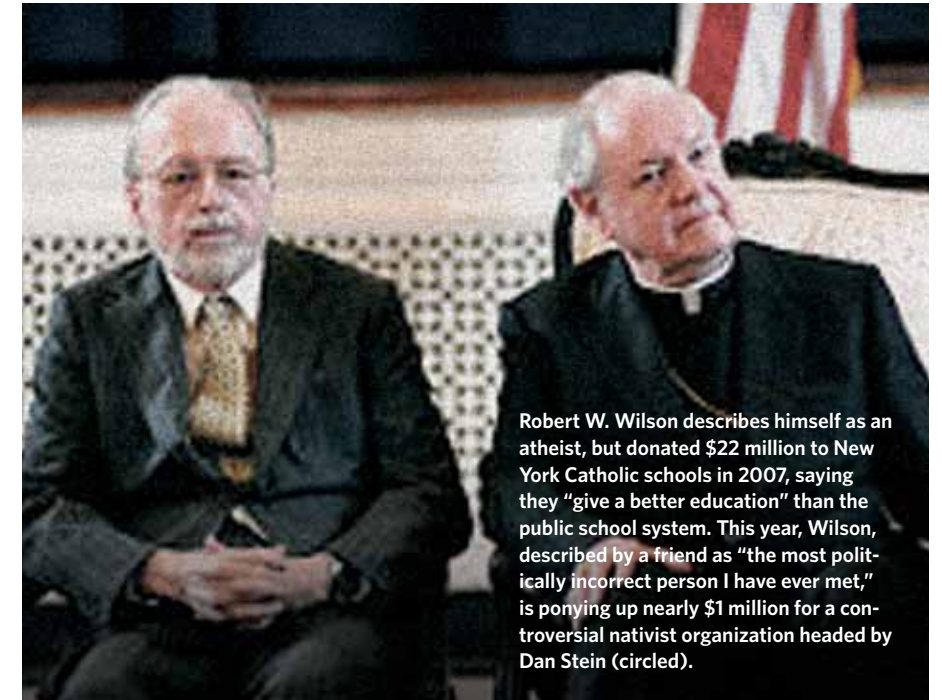
Conservation and environmental causes are Wilson's biggest beneficiaries. Early in this decade, he pledged more than \$100 million each in matching funds to the Nature Conservancy, the Environmental Defense Fund and the Wildlife Conservation Society. He made a similar promise to the World Monuments

"Mr. Wilson has committed nearly one million dollars over the next three years to match every dollar that current members give above their previous year's giving level."

Fund, which protects endangered works of art and architecture. He also supports music, arts and cultural institutions in New York City, where he lives, particularly the New York Public Library and the Metropolitan Opera. Wilson says he's an atheist, but he gave \$22 million in 2007 to provide scholarships for low-income children at Catholic elementary schools in New York because, he told an interviewer, Catholic schools "give a better education to their students than public schools do."

Of all the groups that Wilson supports, one stands out as unlike all the rest: the Federation for American Immigration Reform. FAIR, as it is commonly known, is the most important organization fueling the backlash against immigration and stands to gain almost \$1 million from Wilson's largesse.

FAIR was founded 30 years ago by John Tanton, patriarch of the modern nativist movement and a FAIR board member to this day. Tanton has fretted about the "educability" of Latinos, warned of whites being outbred by others, said that "a European-American majority" is required to maintain American culture, and compared immigrants to "bacteria." He's corresponded with Holocaust deniers, former Klan lawyers, and key white nationalist thinkers for decades. He introduced top FAIR leaders to the president of the Pioneer Fund, a foundation created to encourage "race betterment" that funds studies of race and intelligence. He once wrote a



Robert W. Wilson describes himself as an atheist, but donated \$22 million to New York Catholic schools in 2007, saying they "give a better education" than the public school system. This year, Wilson, described by a friend as "the most politically incorrect person I have ever met," is ponying up nearly \$1 million for a controversial nativist organization headed by Dan Stein (circled).



major FAIR funder to encourage her to read the work of a radical anti-Semitic professor — to "give you a new understanding of the Jewish outlook on life" — and suggested the FAIR board ponder the professor's theories.

FAIR portrays itself as an authority on immigration issues. Its leaders have testified frequently before Congress and are often quoted in the news media. But the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), which publishes this magazine,

began listing the organization as a hate group in late 2007, saying its position on immigration was "rooted more in its anti-Latino and anti-Catholic beliefs than in policy concerns." The SPLC highlighted Tanton's role at FAIR and also noted that the organization has employed members of white supremacist groups in key positions; that some FAIR board members write for hate publications; that FAIR has promoted racist conspiracy theories about Mexico's secret designs



From its headquarters office in Washington, D.C., the Federation for American Immigration Reform regularly sends emissaries to testify on Capitol Hill. Recently, however, some politicians have worked to distance themselves from the organization.

on the American Southwest; and that it accepted \$1.2 million from the Pioneer Fund.

FAIR is delighted with Wilson’s pledge, of course. In a fundraising appeal to supporters earlier this year, it said: “The Generous Support of Robert Wilson, one of the United States’ most enlightened philanthropists ... is providing you with an unprecedented opportunity to help FAIR build the muscle to stop the opposition in its tracks. After eight years of beating back relentless ‘amnesty talk,’ we now face a new administration fully committed to ignoring all opposition to mass amnesty and limitless immigration. ... Mr. Wilson has committed nearly one million dollars over the next three years to match every dollar that current members give above their previous year’s giving level.



New contributions over \$100 will also be matched dollar for dollar.”

Wilson did not reply to messages left at his New York office requesting an interview to discuss his pledge to FAIR, and he did not respond to an earlier letter from SPLC President Richard Cohen on the same topic.

His support for the organization may seem surprising, considering the liberal recipients of some of his other contributions. Although most of the groups he supports have no obvious political agenda, Wilson has given generously to

the ACLU Foundation (\$2.3 million in 2006 alone) and the Drug Policy Alliance (\$800,000 in 2007), which advocates for an end to the “War on Drugs,” improved drug-treatment and education programs, and an easing or repeal of drug laws, especially those governing marijuana. A friend, Roger Hertog, was quoted in a recent *Journal of Philanthropy* profile describing Wilson as “the most politically incorrect person I have ever met.”

Apparently, Wilson’s interest in FAIR is based on the view that the supposed environmental benefits of ending immigration outweigh any negatives associated with FAIR and its founder. In fact, Tanton came to the immigration restriction movement via very similar concerns about population and the environment (he was an early activist with the Sierra Club and strongly supported Planned Parenthood). In addition, FAIR has run advertisements in recent years — many of them in “progressive” publications aimed at the political left — suggesting that halting immigration is the best way to conserve the environment. ▲

PHOTOGRAPHER UNKNOWN (FAIR HQ); FROM CAMPAIGN/REUNITEDAMERICA.ORG/PHOTOGRAPHER UNKNOWN (TANTON)

Doing ‘Right’ in Vegas

From the place long known as ‘Sin City,’ a wealthy benefactor has been quietly funding a series of radical-right organizations **BY ROB WATERS**



The Institute for Historical Review, the Holocaust-denying hate group created in 1978 by anti-Semitic patriarch Willis Carto, has had a few better friends over the past decade than a Las Vegas resident named James Edward McCrink. A foundation created and controlled by McCrink gave the institute at least \$10,000 a year from 2001 through 2007 — \$137,000 altogether, according to the foundation’s annual reports to the Internal Revenue Service. McCrink, who typically distributes \$125,000 to \$200,000 each year

to various causes through his Do Right Foundation, is a low-profile bankroller of more than a dozen far-right organizations, including several that, like the Institute for Historical Review, are in hate-group territory. Since 2001, his foundation has also given \$37,000 to the white nationalist New Century Foundation, whose leader, Jared Taylor, wrote recently: “When blacks are left entirely to their own devices, Western civilization — any kind of civilization — disappears.” With assets of \$3.8 million in its latest filing to the IRS, McCrink’s foundation is

not a huge player in the nonprofit world. But many of the organizations it supports are small enough for Do Right’s contributions to account for a significant chunk of their income. In the case of the Institute for Historical Review, for example, McCrink’s 2005 contribution of \$25,000 accounted for 8.6% of the group’s total revenue (\$290,332) for the year. McCrink’s IRS reports also indicate that he cut off his giving to certain extremist groups after supporting them for a year or two. In 2001 and 2002, he gave a total of \$25,000 to Louisiana’s New Christian Crusade Church, whose

pastor, James K. Warner, helped found the American Nazi Party and had close ties with KKK leader David Duke. The church embraced a theology known as Christian Identity, whose adherents believe that whites of European descent can be traced back to the biblical lost tribes of Israel; that Jews are the literal offspring of Eve and Satan; and that non-whites are soulless “mud people” created as “beasts of the field.” The Do Right Foundation’s reports show no contributions to the church since 2002.

The foundation also made a one-time 2006 contribution of \$1,000 to the white nationalist Council of Conservative Citizens, a St. Louis-based group that says in its Statement of Principles that it “oppose[s] all efforts to mix the races of mankind,” has described blacks as a “retrograde species of humanity,” and once ran a photographic comparison of pop singer Michael Jackson and a chimpanzee.

Reached by phone at his home, McCrink, 60, told the *Intelligence Report* that he has soured on the Institute for Historical Review and the New Century Foundation, which publishes the racist *American Renaissance* magazine. “I don’t support them much anymore,” he said. “They no longer fit into the Do Right Foundation’s plan.” When told that the Southern Poverty Law Center lists them both as hate groups — the Institute for Historical Review for its Holocaust denial and anti-Semitism and New Century Foundation for its racism — McCrink said, “I came to the same conclusion. Some of the things they do I don’t think it best for the Do Right Foundation to support.”

The interview was brief. McCrink said that he values his privacy and that it was “not pertinent” to discuss how he made his money or how he chooses which organizations to support. “That’s apparent on our website,” he said. Do Right Foundation’s reports for 2008 and the current year are not yet available, so it was not possible to determine how much, if at all, McCrink has actually scaled back his support of the two groups. McCrink did not volunteer details.

The foundation’s mission statement, found on its website doright.org, says its goal is to “help mankind create a more

James McCrink says a Holocaust-denial and a white supremacist group “no longer fit into the Do Right Foundation’s plan.”

joyful society. ... We promote respect for God and all His creations; family unity; limited government; private property; free enterprise and the rule of righteous law.” Among its aims, it says, is “championing that which was intended by the anti-Federalist, Christian founders of our country.”

Where the mission statement is only suggestive of McCrink’s interests, the list of recipients of Do Right’s money makes matters clearer. A few are charities that serve the needy — the Salvation Army, a group that helps homeless youth in Chicago, another that helps paralyzed veterans, and several devoted to multiple sclerosis treatment and research. The majority, however, are engaged in legal, political or religious activities associated with the far right. They include:

- **The Southern Legal Resource Center** (\$42,000), a legal champion of neo-Confederate causes with a particular interest in cases involving the display of the Confederate flag. Based in Black Mountain, N.C., it is led by a lawyer named Kirk Lyons, who has described Adolf Hitler as “probably the most misunderstood man in German history” and whose 1990 marriage took place at the compound of the notorious neo-Nazi group Aryan Nations.

- **The Fully Informed Jury Association** (\$69,000), a Montana-based group that encourages jurors to ignore laws that they consider unjust, a doctrine often referred to as “jury nullification.” The group was popular with antigovernment “Patriot” and militia groups in the 1990s.

- **The American Family Association** (\$25,500), a major Christian Right organization noted for its boycotts and letter-writing campaigns aimed at battling what it terms “the homosexual agenda.” The organization has repeatedly lied about a federal hate crime bill that this fall was signed by President Obama, falsely claiming that it “would criminalize negative comments concerning homosexuality.”

- **The Ludwig von Mises Institute** (\$116,000 since 2000), a think tank based in Auburn, Ala. It publishes journals and books promoting radical libertarian political theory and free-market economics. Its leader, Llewelyn Rockwell, has argued that the Civil War “transformed the American regime from a federalist system based on freedom to a centralized state that circumscribed liberty in the name of public order.” He added that desegregation resulted in the “involuntary servitude” of presumably white business owners.

The foundation has also given sizeable chunks of money to more mainstream conservative organizations like the Pacific Legal Foundation, the Alliance Defense Fund, the Catholic Family and Human Rights Institute, and Liberty Counsel.

Do Right’s most recent filings suggest that McCrink is targeting a new foe: science. He has begun giving — \$11,000 in 2006 and 2007 — to the Discovery Institute, a think tank that promotes the teaching of “intelligent design” in schools. Intelligent design is the religious right’s latest challenge to evolution, the theory all but universally accepted by scientists that plants and animals developed from earlier life forms. The American Association for the Advancement of Science and the National Science Teachers Association dismiss intelligent design as “pseudo-science.” The Discovery Institute, *The New York Times* reported in 2005, is “the ideological and strategic backbone behind the eruption of skirmishes over science in school districts and state capitals across the country.” Do Right also gave \$13,000 in 2006 and 2007 to Access Research Network, another intelligent design advocate. ▲

Revisionism, Interrupted

A key figure in the world of Holocaust denial calls the movement a ‘hindrance,’ setting off a storm among former comrades

BY HEIDI BEIRICH ILLUSTRATIONS BY MATTHEW WOODSON

The small, bizarre world of Holocaust denial — where anti-Semites use shoddy science and tortured historical analyses to try to undermine what they sarcastically call the “Holohoax” — is in an uproar. The brouhaha was set off in January, when Mark Weber, who heads the Institute for Historical Review (IHR), the oldest and for decades the most important American denial outfit, published an explosive essay asking “How Relevant Is Holocaust Revisionism?”

Weber’s unexpected conclusion: not very.

Weber’s essay argues that the decades-long “Holocaust revisionist” effort been “as much a hindrance as a help” in fighting what he has now decided is the real enemy — “Jewish-Zionist power.” Weber advocates a shift in the movement toward “the real world struggle” against Jewish power. For Weber, debating the existence of the World War II Holocaust of European Jewry has become a waste of time.

Weber’s recent speeches have reinforced his move from Holocaust denial — a sort of once-removed assault on the Jews — to a more direct attack on Jews and also Israel. At a July IHR meeting held in Costa Mesa, Calif., Weber hauled out plainly anti-Semitic conspiracy theories, complaining about those “who control political and cultural life, including the education system and the mass media.” From the looks of his audience, Weber has ditched his usually professorial-looking denier allies for hard-core anti-Semites, neo-Nazis and heavily tattooed racist skinheads.

Weber did not respond to repeated requests for comment.

Weber’s indictment of Holocaust denial as a lost and ultimately unimportant battle has fractured the denialist community and put Weber’s future at IHR in doubt. Since its founding in 1978, IHR has been the leading American purveyor of denial propaganda. Created by veteran anti-Semite Willis Carto, IHR published the premier periodical on the topic, *The Journal of Historical Review*, with the look and feel of a real academic publication but without any of the usual academic standards. In 1993, Weber



Mark Weber now says that fellow anti-Semites should concentrate on fighting “Jewish-Zionist power,” rather than casting doubt on the Holocaust.

helped wrest IHR away from Carto in a nasty legal battle that even featured a standoff at the group’s then-headquarters in Newport Beach, Calif.

Until Weber took over, IHR was known predominantly for two things: the *Journal* and, starting in 1979, nearly annual Holocaust denial conferences that included prominent movement figures and featured anti-Semites like Wolf Rudiger Hess, son of Hitler deputy Rudolf Hess, and Maj. Gen. Otto Ernst Remer, an officer under Hitler whose anti-Semitic activities resulted in his 1986 conviction under German hate-crime laws.

Both efforts would fall by the wayside once Weber took over IHR as its director in 1995. In 2002, Weber stopped publishing the *Journal* because of a “lack of staff and funding.” IHR now has been reduced to little more than publishing Web commentary on news articles and various posts from Weber, who also gives a few speeches each year. And the group has held only two conferences since 1994.

Though Weber’s failure to bring IHR’s journal back from the dead had been criticized, most notably in a 2002 essay by imprisoned denier Germar Rudolf, most of Weber’s fellow travelers kept their concerns private. Most importantly, IHR’s board stood by him. But Weber’s January essay changed that.

In the essay, Weber wrote that the movement had achieved “little success in convincing people that the familiar Holocaust story is defective.” He berated denialists for being of little use in defeating the more serious problem facing the world — “a phenomenal increase in Jewish influence and power.” Noting that IHR’s sales of materials related to the Holocaust were in steady decline while requests for interviews and materials on “the role of Jews in society” were on the rise, Weber argued that denial no longer played “a central role” in the battle against Jewish influence, which should now focus on fighting “Jewish-Zionist power.”

Perhaps more heretically, Weber’s essay went on to affirm that at least some of the Holocaust actually occurred. Citing Nazi Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels, Weber wrote, “Jews in Europe were, in fact, singled out during the war years for especially severe treatment.” Weber concludes that Jews in Europe

were “wiped out” and, when the war ended in 1945, most of them “were gone.”

The Counterattack

Days after Weber posted his essay, the former editor of IHR’s *Journal*, Theodore O’Keefe, mocked Weber for turning his back on “breakthroughs” — the result of years of hard work by deniers — in exchange for “a few more radio interviews and speaking invitations.” O’Keefe assailed Weber for abandoning the truth for a “Halfocaust.” He said Weber deserved no sympathy after “the responsibility that he has shirked, and the trust he has betrayed in his striving to replace veracity with expediency.”

O’Keefe’s sentiments were reiterated by many other deniers, including Arthur Butz, a well-known Holocaust denier who teaches engineering at Northwestern University and is the author of *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century: The Case Against the Presumed Extermination of European Jewry*. Butz wrote that “Weber is not a revisionist” and “not one of us.” Richard Widmann, webmaster of the denialist Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust (CODOH), said IHR “is no longer part of our struggle. The time has come to move on.” And French denier Serge Thion reacted viscerally to Weber’s use of the word “hindrance” to describe Holocaust denial. “A Hindrance? Certainly not,” Thion wrote, adding that denial was a “hammer for many anvils.”

In February, a more personal attack came from the wife of Ernst Zundel, a man who is a prolific neo-Nazi publisher and propagandist now serving time in Germany for Holocaust denial. The Zundels had been close to Weber, whom they at one time employed as a spokesman. Saddened by it all, Ingrid Rimland Zundel slammed Weber in her newsletter, *Power: Personal Opinions of Ingrid Zundel*. Under the title “‘Friendly Fire’ from unexpected quarters,” Rimland Zundel denounced Weber for his “act of duplicity,” “perplexing” views, and “having run IHR right into the ground.” She also reproduced excerpts of several other attacks on Weber.

Rimland Zundel declined to comment on the conflict, telling the *Intelligence Report* that it was “a family quarrel.”

The clearest condemnation of all came from Robert Faurisson, a French Holocaust denier who was fined for defa-



Family feud: Holocaust deniers (from left) Arthur Butz of Illinois, Ingrid Zundel of Tennessee, and Robert Faurisson of France have each furiously denounced Mark Weber as a traitor to their cause. But Weber has hardly abandoned his attacks on Jews, who he now says control politics, culture, education and the mass media.

mation by a French court in 1983 when his revisionist writings were found to violate hate-speech laws. In the March edition of CODOH’s *Smith’s Report*, Faurisson wrote a lengthy attack on Weber entitled “Mark Weber Must Resign from the Institute for Historical Review.”

Faurisson demanded that Weber leave IHR and create a different institution to fight “Jewish-Zionist power.” Faurisson implied that a cowardly Weber was leaving the movement for fear of being jailed, writing that Weber is “fully aware that it’s always highly dangerous” to question the Holocaust. Faurisson’s conclusion was that Weber “disgraced himself” and “must therefore resign.”

By June, a new website had appeared under the title of “Mark Weber Must Go.” That same month, both Weber and Bradley Smith, the American denier who founded and runs CODOH, were interviewed for a four-part story that ran in the pages of *Tablet*, a liberal online magazine of Jewish news, ideas and culture. Most of the story consisted of each man calling the other a fraud. Weber denounced Smith and Faurisson as having “their identities tied to Holocaust revisionism in a way that isn’t healthy.” The *Tablet* article did confirm, after years of rumors, that Weber indeed has a sister who converted to Judaism.

Weber & Friends

Though hot and heavy in the Holocaust denial community, the controversy over Weber’s views didn’t even come up at his July speech in Costa Mesa, Calif., where he spoke about the non-Jewish victims of World War II, or what he called “the unknown Holocaust of non-Jews,” along with Jewish

control of such things as the media. Weber also told the audience that California now has a “third-world population” due to immigration from Latin America.

That seemed to suit the audience just fine and none of them asked him about his January essay denouncing Holocaust denial. That’s probably because the hotel conference room where Weber spoke was filled with extremists who would certainly agree that the Jews in general are a better target than the Holocaust. A particularly notable audience member was Kevin MacDonald, the California State, Long Beach, professor who says that Jews are genetically driven to undermine white society by pushing liberal policies such as non-white immigration. Also there was white nationalist activist Jamie Kelso, who for years worked for former Klansman David Duke and, more recently, as a moderator of the racist website Stormfront.org.

The other speaker on the bill that day was David Irving, probably the best-known Holocaust denier in the world. Irving started his talk by alleging that the numbers of dead in the Allied bombing of Dresden, Germany, were severely undercounted. He then described a bizarre conspiracy involving Enigma coding machines and a massive British spy operation after the war that gave Britain access to the secret message traffic of several small nations in the Southern hemisphere. Telling the audience “many people in this room will not want to hear this,” Irving, like Weber, admitted that more than 1.2 million Jews were killed at several camps. But he added that he thought this was all the work of Heinrich Himmler. Hitler, he said, merely wanted “to move Jews to Madagascar.” ▲

Crossing The Line

A former congresswoman and Green Party presidential candidate who has long criticized Israel is now flirting with anti-Semites

BY ROB WATERS

Critics of Cynthia McKinney may dismiss her as a loose cannon and a rabble-rouser, but to her supporters, the former Georgia congresswoman is someone with the courage to challenge convention and speak the truth. McKinney, 54, represented an Atlanta-area district as a Democrat from 1993-2003 and 2005-07. A vigorous critic of President George W. Bush, she gave voice to a theory, widely circulated on the political fringes, that Bush knew in advance of the Sept. 11 attacks but allowed them to happen because they would prove profitable to the global investment firm his father was associated with. In her final term, she introduced bills to impeach Bush, Vice President Dick Cheney and Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice.

An advocate of peace and international human rights, she opposed the first Gulf War in 1991 while still a state legislator, and was an early and vocal critic of the Iraq war as well. In Congress, she was a rarity in American politics for her willingness to criticize Israel’s treatment of Palestinians.

Along the way, however, she has given off hints that her distaste for Israel’s policies contained elements of anti-Semitism — and that has caused her trouble. She was defeated in the 2002 Democratic primary by an opponent who drew financial backing from supporters of Israel and opponents of McKinney’s radical statements. The night before the primary, her father, a Georgia state legislator, declared on Atlanta television that “Jews

have bought everybody. Jews. J-E-W-S.”

McKinney returned to Congress two years later for one more eventful term before being bounced by voters yet again in the 2006 primary. (In August 2009, she said that “Zionists” were “successful in kicking me out of Congress two times.”) She quit the Democratic Party in 2007. But for all her baggage, she remains respected in certain quarters as an effective progressive voice. In fact, the left-liberal Green Party picked her as its presidential candidate in 2008.

That the Green Party chose McKinney was no big surprise, because she and the Greens see eye to eye on many issues. In particular, McKinney’s critical view of Israel and sympathy for the Palestinians is in line with a platform adopted by the Green Party in 2004. The platform rejects “[t]he U.S.’ unbalanced financial and military support of Israel while Israel occupies Palestinian lands.” It upholds the right of Palestinian refugees who were displaced when Israel was created in 1948 to return to their homes. It calls for a withdrawal by Israel to its 1967 boundaries and a “complete dismantling of the Israeli separation wall in the occupied West Bank.”

In her antagonism toward Israel, however, McKinney may be taking the Green Party further than it cares to go. In March of this year, she

attended a conference in London on the Gaza crisis organized by a foundation established by Mahathir Mohamad, who was prime minister of Malaysia from 1981 to 2003 and has a long history of anti-Jewish rhetoric. In a 1970 book, Mahathir wrote that “Jewish stinginess and financial wizardry gained them financial control of Europe” and that Jews “are not merely hook-nosed, but understand money instinctively.” In a 2003 speech at an international summit of Islamic leaders, he said: “Today, the Jews rule the world by proxy. They get others to fight and die for them. They invented socialism, communism, human rights and democracy to avoid persecution and gain ... control of the most powerful countries.”

McKinney commented about the London conference in two postings on the Green Party’s website in which she praised Mahathir (“one of my heroes”) and also a man named David Pidcock, whom she called “my London friend.” A British-born convert to Islam, Pidcock is the author of an extensive collection of conspiracy-laden anti-Semitic works, including the 1992 work *Satanic Voices Ancient & Modern*, which blames most of the world’s current and ancient problems on a centuries-old conspiracy whose participants include Freemasons, Illuminati, “Luciferian Zionists,” the Rockefeller family, big oil companies and the Council on Foreign Relations. The principal Internet outlet for Pidcock’s writings is the website iamthewitness.com, which is devoted to fascist and anti-Semitic writings, prominently featuring *The International Jew* published by Henry Ford.

At the conference, McKinney was photographed with Pidcock and Michele Renouf, a former model and socialite who is considered one of Britain’s leading Holocaust-denial activists.

On April 20, McKinney posted another commentary on the Green Party site, this time focusing on

Employing phrases like “one-world government” and “shadow money-lenders,” former Georgia Democratic Congresswoman Cynthia McKinney has increasingly taken up with open anti-Semites and Holocaust deniers.



the international economy. The essay essentially accused financier George Soros and former Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan (both of whom are Jewish) of participating in a plot to destabilize the world economy to pave the way for “one-world government.” She used a term from a writer named Matthias Chang to describe the principals of this conspiracy — “the Shadow Money-Lenders” — that also is the title of Chang’s latest book. She praised the book and quoted from it extensively.

Matthias Chang is a Malaysian lawyer, a Catholic of Chinese ancestry, who served as an adviser to former Prime Minister Mahathir and remains his close associate. In *The Shadow Money-Lenders*, Chang avoids the rhetorical excesses of the less subtle Jew-haters. But his



Ex-Congresswoman Cynthia McKinney poses in London with “my London friend” David Pidcock, a prolific anti-Semitic writer, and another acquaintance, well-known Holocaust denier Lady Michele Renouf.

description of the financial conspiracy is well salted with names of various Jewish bankers past and present (Kuhn, Loeb, Warburg, and so on). Chang’s sentiments were clearer in 2006, when he submitted remarks to be read to a “Free Speech” conference in Washington, D.C., organized jointly by *The Barnes Review* and *American Free Press*.

The Barnes Review, whose website homepage promotes Chang’s books, is a journal specializing in Holocaust denial started in 1994 by long-time white supremacist and anti-Semite Willis Carto; the *American Free Press*, which began publishing in 2001, was also started by Carto and specializes in anti-Semitic material and conspiracy theories. Chang was unable to attend in person, so his remarks were read by Michael

Collins Piper, a writer and contributor to the *American Free Press* whose main claim to fame is his theory that Israeli spies were behind the assassination of President John F. Kennedy.

Chang’s remarks, which are posted on his website, included a shout-out to a remarkable group of haters, Holocaust deniers and conspiracy theorists: “American Free Press, The Barnes Review, The Spotlight, and the truth seekers that I have long admired, Harry Elmer Barnes, Willis Carto, Michael Collins Piper, Christopher Petherick [and] Eustace Mullins (whose life-long persecution by the Police State is a disgrace to the Constitution).” Some of those names are more familiar than others, but take Mullins, for example. Among his writings over the years are declarations

that Jews are literally descended from Satan and that they “drink the blood of an innocent gentile child” in religious ceremonies.

Are Matthias Chang’s views in line with the U.S. Green Party’s positions? Yes, many of them are, said Scott McLarty, the party’s media coordinator. “We’re very critical of the power of banks and their manipulation of the international economy.”

But McLarty said it is unfair and simply wrong to assume that McKinney agrees with Chang, Mahathir or Pidcock across the board just because she quotes them or praises some of their ideas. “This is a guilt-by-association accusation,” McLarty said. “It would be like accusing anyone who said nice things about or associated with Henry Ford of anti-Semitism.”

Nor does Chang’s phrase “shadow money-lenders” necessarily equate to Jews, McLarty said, and an “assumed equation of banks with Jews is also fallacious — banks are run by people of many different ethnicities. Wealth trumps religion, race and nationality.”

McKinney’s April 20 essay on the Green Party site is enthusiastic in its praise for Chang, and it, too, makes reference to bankers and financiers past and present — George Soros, Alan Greenspan, the Rothschilds — who are Jews or of Jewish descent. McLarty said he would relay to McKinney a request for an interview to discuss this directly, but she did not respond.

The U.S. Green Party held its 2009 annual national meeting in late July in Durham, N.C. McKinney, scheduled as a featured speaker, was unable to attend in person but she spoke briefly via a video hookup from California, where she now lives. Perhaps mindful that she had drawn some criticism for some of the company she had been keeping, she offered a standard disavowal of anti-Semitism. “Judaism is not Zionism,” she said. “Zionism is a political trick being played on a lot of people.”

About 80 party members of the Green Party listened, politely applauding when she said American policy needs to “restrict money for the Israeli killing machine.”

The sparse turnout served as a reminder that the Green Party faces an uphill fight in its effort to become a factor in American politics. The party might have made a breakthrough in 2000, when Ralph Nader drew almost 3 million votes for president, far more than any Green candidate before or since. Instead, many liberals blamed Nader and the Greens for swinging the electoral vote in Florida and New Hampshire to Bush, and held the Green Party at least partly responsible for all that followed. Nader further damaged the party with his flagrant lack of remorse, souring voters who might otherwise have been receptive to the Green Party’s program of peace, environmentalism and international cooperation.

Last Nov. 4, McKinney and the Green Party were on the ballot in 31 states and the District of Columbia. She got just 161,000 votes, slightly more than one-tenth of 1% of the total, and did not affect the outcome of the general election; three other minor-party candidates finished ahead of her. But McKinney does seem to have one thing in common with Nader: In the months since the election, she may have followed his course of inflicting political damage on the Green Party. ▲

FROM WWW.BIRCHDAN.CO.UK/PHOTOGRAPHER UNKNOWN

A Jew in Prison

An inmate describes how he survives the rigors of anti-Semitism on the yard, and ponders where the experience has brought him

David Arenberg *had everything going for him.*

He was smart, the son of a research scientist and a teacher. He graduated in 1980 from the elite University of Chicago with a degree in psychology, and went on to become a left-wing tenants’ rights organizer in New York City for seven years. But in 1987, he suffered a “personal tragedy” and a “political defeat” that he doesn’t want to discuss but that prompted him to leave his organizing work. Always a moderate drug user, he says, he began abusing cocaine and “generally living a seedy life.” His brother tried to rescue him by recruiting him to run a small trucking company in a western state, and for a time Arenberg did all right. But despite that work, and later taking up tenants’ rights once more, he continued his drug use and also adopted a new line of work — using computers to engage in sophisticated financial ripoffs. Arenberg was arrested and jailed briefly for forgery in 1996, but only became an even more active con man when he was released. Finally, in 2001, he was arrested for driving under the influence. The arrest led to more serious charges of fraud, forgery, identity theft and vehicle theft, culminating in consecutive sentences totaling more than 13 years. Today, with about four years left to serve, Arenberg, 53, is trying to sort his life out. He sent the Intelligence Report the following account of his experiences as a Jew in a state prison — a harrowing tale of surviving severe prejudice in an unforgiving environment, but also the story of a remarkable journey of self-discovery.



I am always the last person to eat. It’s part of a compromise I worked out with the skinheads who run the western state prison complex where I am incarcerated. Under this compromise, I’m allowed to sit at the whites’ tables, but only after the “heads,” and then the “woods,” and then the “lames” have eaten. I am lower on the totem pole than all of them, the untouchable. I should feel lucky I’m allowed to eat at the whites’ tables at all.

Not that there’s anywhere else I could eat. The prison yard is broken down into five distinct racial categories and segregation is strictly enforced. There are the “woods” (short for peckerwoods) that encompass the whites, the “kinfolk” (blacks), the “Raza” (American-born people of Mexican descent), the “paisas” (Mexico-born Mexicans), and the “chiefs” (American Indians). Under the strict rules that govern interracial relations, different races are allowed to play on the same sports teams but not play individual games (e.g., chess) together; they may be in each others’ cubicles together if the situation warrants but not sit on each others’ beds

or watch each others’ televisions. They may go to the same church services but not pray together. But if you accidentally break one of these rules, the consequences are usually pretty mild: you might get a talking to by one of the heads (who, of course, claims exemption from this rule himself), or at worst, a “chin check.”

Eating with another race, however, is a different story. It is an inviolate rule that different races may not break bread together under any circumstances. Violating this rule leads to harsh consequences. If you eat at the same table as another race, you’ll get beaten down. If you eat from the same tray as another

“All the stereotypes were in full force and effect in the yard. I have been able to remain safe, but only because I reached an accomodation with my Nazi tormentors.”

race, you’ll be put in the hospital. And if you eat from the same food item as another race, that is, after another race has already taken a bite of it, you can get killed. This is one area where even the heads don’t have any play.

This makes it difficult for me, of course, to fit into the chow hall. Jews, as we all know, are not white but impos- ters who don white skin and hide inside it for the purpose of polluting and taking over the white race. The skinheads simply can’t allow me to eat with them: that would make them traitors of the worst kind — race traitors! But my milky skin and pasty complexion, characteristic of the Eastern European Ashkenazi, make it impossible for me to eat with other races who don’t understand the sub- tleties of my treachery and take me for just another wood. So the compromise

is that I may sit at certain white tables after all the whites have finished eating. In exchange, I must do free legal work as directed by the heads (Jewish lawyers, even jailhouse lawyers, are hard to come by in prison) and remit to them a portion of the legal fees I collect from everyone else I do legal work for on the yard.

This compromise was brokered by the more “mainstream” Nazis on the yard, the Aryan Brotherhood. They became involved because when I first got here, one of the first cases I handled resulted in my getting a 21-year sentence for one of their members vacated. This gave me instant credibility: even if a “hands-off-the-Jew” policy could not be established, a “hands-off-the-Jewish-lawyer” policy could be and was. It was this factor, I think, more than any other, that has kept me safe here.

The Aryan Brotherhood (AB) is the political rival of the skinheads. They are the old guard, the white leadership that has run the yards for years. They control the drug markets, the poker tables, the tattoo shops. Their membership consists mostly of long-term inmates who have been on the yards for 15, 20, 25 years. Their average age is probably well over 40. By contrast, the skinheads have a much younger membership (albeit also with long-term sentences) that is rapidly advancing upon AB turf. So the AB’s “defense” of me has a political component as well: I am the enemy of their enemy and therefore their friend. The AB understands that I provide a service they can exploit. But they also perceive the skinheads’ hatred of me and realize they can use championing my cause to their advantage. So they allow me to stay on the yard, taking credit for my providing legal work and inadvertently discrediting the anti-Semitism of the skinheads in the process.

This was all allowed to happen because the AB, notwithstanding the swastikas, lightning bolts and KKK hoods tattooed on their arms and their vile racist rhetoric, are not fundamentally ideological. Their racism derives primarily from economic considerations: by enjoining the different races from trading with each other, they enforce their share of the highly lucrative drug market. The price of drugs on the yards is 10

times higher than it is on the street, and the AB is the largest single supplier, with drugs smuggled in not only by would-be recruits trying to “earn their ink” by getting their girlfriends to hide them in their body cavities when they come to visit, but by guards who are in their employ (and sometimes in their membership) as well. The Raza’s drugs may be cheaper and better, but because of the segregation, they are not available to the woods.

The skinheads, by contrast, claim to be fundamentally ideological. They exist as a political entity dedicated, they say, to organizing to fight the big war, the race war, which will reassert white political dominance in the world. They therefore take the public position that they do not approve of drugs, and they try to foster the image that they are serious warriors, that they keep their minds clean and spir- its pure by reading Nietzsche and Sun Tzu and Machiavelli, and that their bod- ies are highly trained fighting machines that will kill the enemy without a sec- ond thought. Every afternoon you can see them marching around the yard in locked step, their polished boots gleaming in the baking sun, with “SKINHEAD” tattooed on their foreheads and “SHAVED FOR WAR” carved on the backs of their skulls and encircling swastikas made up of interlocking axe handles. I used to wonder why skinheads made such a fuss over insisting that whites fold their clothes in a specific way and display them on their shelves. The party line is that we do this because other races look to us as setting the standard, and it is therefore our burden to do so. But I finally figured out the real reason: the skinheads want the whites to appear totally disciplined, a tight fighting unit ready to spring into war at the drop of a hat. Uniforms that are folded and pressed maintain this posture.

The skinheads are so ridiculous, both in the way they present themselves and in their social views, that it is easy to caricature and dismiss them. But that would be a mistake. The skinheads are the fastest growing segment of the prison population. If at one time they were a fringe group within prison, that is no longer the case.

I grew up in a Chicago suburb, Evanston, Ill., next door to Skokie, the infamous

site of an attempted march by Nazis in the late 1970s through a city with a large Jewish population, including a high number of concentration camp survivors. Because Evanston and Skokie shared a high school, I knew many of these sur- vivors, whose children were friends of mine. When the Nazis threatened to march, these were the people who were prepared to take their places on the front lines, baseball bats in hand, ready to meet the fascists. There is no question in my mind that the Nazis ultimately backed down at the last minute not because they were put off by the Skokie City Council when it hastily enacted an ordinance preventing the march, nor because the Anti-Defamation League made the Nazis “irrelevant” by advising people to ignore them, nor because the ACLU helped the Nazis “make their point” that free speech is allowed and this made the march moot. Rather, it was because they were afraid of the Jewish and other anti-fascist dem- onstrators who organized against them and made it clear that they were going to offer armed resistance. The Nazis knew that if they came to Skokie, no amount of police protection could keep them safe.

This was the climate I grew up in. My parents were left-liberals, one-time fel- low travelers of the Communist Party who had become more conservative over the years but in whom political activism, especially against fascism, was instinctual. And it was one of their guid- ing principles that there is no debating with fascists. Fascists are not interested in ideas but in political power. So every time the Nazis did publicly organize since then, I was there to oppose them, not with the force of my intellect but with the strength of my fists.

But despite my lifelong opposition to Nazis, this opposition stemmed from *political*, not religious, considerations. I grew up with essentially no identity as a Jew. My father, while of German-Jewish origins (and a World War II vet), was a stone atheist and a scientist, and my mother, while being a little fuzzy on the God question, sided with my father in not providing my brother and me with any religious training. I did not attend *shul* on the high holidays or go to Hebrew school. Instead, I went to socialist summer camp where I was taught that the most impor-

tant spiritual value is “thou shalt never cross a picket line.”

Nor did the neighborhood I grew up in or the schools I went to do anything to confer a sense of Jewish identity on me. Although Evanston was not as heav- ily Jewish as Skokie, my neighborhood was at least a third Jewish and the high school even more so. But being immersed in a heavily Jewish environment did not have the effect of enhancing my iden- tity as a Jew; if anything, it made being Jewish taken for granted and therefore largely irrelevant. Jews were everywhere and represented all perspectives. We were jocks and nerds, boozers and freaks, businessmen and scientists, Republicans and radicals. Our Jewishness was not a common denominator to us (because it was *too* common a denominator) and therefore being Jewish was no big deal.

Similarly, when I moved to New York City after college, I lived in a heavily Jewish city in which I was part of the majority. If it was something of a thrill to be living in a city where everything shut down on Yom Kippur, the main identity I felt as a Jew was no identity: being Jewish was as common and therefore as taken for granted as find- ing a taxicab on Fifth Avenue.

I suppose this paradoxical lack of a Jewish identity in people who live in an overwhelmingly Jewish environment is characteristic only of those for whom the environment is a privileged one. When Jews living together is a feature of their oppression rather than privilege, such as in the case of those who were forced to live in the *shtetls* of Russia or in the concentration camps of Nazi Germany, Jewish identity becomes something that is not shunned but clung to. The practice of Judaism now becomes a *raison d’etre*, a thing which gives life meaning. If you are oppressed because of your race, religion or national origin, you seize that heritage as something bigger than yourself to give you the will to go on.

When I went to prison, it was the first time in my life that I really stood out as a Jew. Jews are virtually unheard of in the state prison system, and if going to prison was a cultural shock and eye- opening experience for me, *meeting* a Jew was a cultural shock and eye-open- ing experience for a good number of young men on the yard, some of whom

had never traveled more than 50 miles from their backwoods homes. I suppose it should not have come as a surprise to me, then, that anti-Semitism would be so rampant. Nevertheless, I was shocked by the blatant hatred (and misperceptions) of Jews. All the old stereotypes — of Jews being stingy, greedy and dishonest, of Jews controlling the world’s money sup- ply, of Jews running the entertainment industry and establishing the cultural standards of the world (thus allowing the proliferation of homosexuality and inter- racial relationships); in short, all the old stereotypes about Jews which I never really believed existed — were in full force and effect on the yard. I have been able to remain safe, but only because I reached an accommodation with my Nazi tormentors limiting my presence and activities on the yard. But the bottom line is, I am, and will remain, a pariah.

Thus, it was precisely my own oppres- sion by skinheads and others when I went to prison that has caused me to dis- cover a Jewish identity and has allowed me to come into my own as a Jew. I had dealt with Nazis before, as I mentioned above, but only in the aggregate, when I was part of a large force opposing a clearly unwelcome and alien presence. But on the prison yards, if Nazis are not in the mainstream, certainly hatred of Jews is taken for granted. And for most of the time I have been in prison I have been the only Jew here. As a result, the isolation and extreme prejudice against Jews here has finally forced me to con- sider myself to be, for the first time in my life, fundamentally a Jew; that is, I am a Jew before I am a socialist, an activist, a lawyer, a convict or a musician.

When I first came to jail, I tried to hide my Judaism. I even thought about changing my name so it would sound less Jewish. Not any more! The oppression I suffered, the alienation and loneliness I felt, and the spiritual thirst that is start- ing to be quenched, have caused me to finally come into my own. I am a Jew! And this has become my fundamental defeat of the Nazis. Because I have finally come to this bone-deep understanding, I will walk out of the prison gates as a changed man, a man who has returned to the mark after having strayed for so many years. I will have finally come home. ▲



The election of BNP chief Nick Griffin to the European Parliament brought forth a torrent of criticism from both right and left.

BRITAIN

Far-Right British National Party Wins Euro-Seats

Capitalizing on resentment of Muslim immigrants and economic fears among working-class voters, the neofascist British National Party (BNP) made unprecedented political gains in June, when two of its members were elected to the European Parliament.

Nick Griffin, the leader of the BNP, won a seat in the country's North West region, while BNP politician Andrew Brons won a seat in the Yorkshire and Humber area. Overall, the BNP share of the vote was just enough to win two seats according to the proportional representation used in European elections.

Brons, a retired college teacher, was reentering politics for the first time in decades. He ran for office on five occasions in the 1970s for the National Front, a white nationalist party linked to racist skinhead gangs.

The heads of Britain's two largest political parties were united in their dismay over the result. Tory leader David Cameron said, "It brings shame on us that these fascist, racist thugs have been elected to the European

Parliament." Labour's Harriet Harman called the results "terrible."

"We're now representing Britain in the European Parliament [with] a party that is a racist party, a party that doesn't believe black people should even be allowed to join," Harman said.

When Griffin arrived at election offices in Manchester's town hall, anti-racist protesters surrounded his car and hurled eggs at him. Griffin returned a short time later in a police van. As he took the stage to speak, the other winning candidates left the platform in protest.

Griffin received a warmer reception two months later when he was interviewed at length on "The Political Cesspool," a white nationalist radio show based in Memphis, Tenn. On the show, he attributed BNP's election gains to fear of the "creeping process of Islamification."

"We in the BNP have been very clear that we think Islam and our traditional Western values are incompatible," he said. "Islam must leave the West, and the West must leave the traditional lands of Islam."

A week later, Griffin attended the BNP's tenth annual "Red, White and Blue" summer festival. Featured attractions included a carnival midway game of hurling wooden balls at coconuts painted with the face of Sir Trevor Phillips, the black chairman of the U.K. Equalities & Human Rights Commission.

The festivities were dampened by the news that American white supremacist organizer and moneyman Preston Wiginton, a close associate of Griffin who was scheduled to address the gathering, had been prevented from entering the country at Heathrow Airport. His presence, the Home Office said, would "not have been conducive to the common good."

Griffin received more bad news in September when the Human Rights Commission — the agency whose chairman was the target of the coconuts game — ordered the BNP to pay the equivalent of around \$3,300 to cover the costs of legal proceedings on a proposed law to ban political parties from discriminating on grounds of ethnicity.

In a statement, Griffin lamented that amending the BNP constitution to admit non-white members would "stick in the craw of all dedicated nationalists" but said it was a choice between "evolving and living to fight another day or going down in a blaze of glory."

GERMANY

German Court OKs Nazi Slogans — If They're Not in German

The use of Nazi symbols or language has long been a crime in Germany, punishable by steep fines and up to three years in prison. But in a landmark Aug. 13 decision, Germany's Federal Court of Justice (comparable to the U.S. Supreme Court) ruled that if Nazi slogans are presented in a language other than German, they are not illegal.

The ruling overturned a decision by a lower court that convicted and fined a German neo-Nazi the equivalent of \$6,000 for distributing clothing and

merchandise bearing the slogan "Blood & Honour" in English.

Blood & Honour is an international white-power "hate rock" music production and distribution network founded in 1987. It has direct ties to far-right political parties throughout the continent. It promotes concerts, publishes magazines and distributes music and propaganda films.

Blood & Honour was banned in Germany in 2000, after government raids on the homes of 30 members, but it maintains a strong underground presence in the country.

Although the name Blood & Honour is a direct translation of the Hitler Youth motto "Blut und Ehre," the court ruled that translating the words into English amounted to a "fundamental change" in the slogan that rendered its use no longer punishable under German law. The judges concluded that neo-Nazi slogans are defined under German law not only by their actual meaning, but also by their presentation in the German language.

Senior Judge Jörg-Peter Becker acknowledged that the court "is aware that its decision gives neo-Nazis a degree of leeway to translate their chants and slogans." But he added that merely criminalizing words, gestures and slogans does not prevent offensive ideology from entering public discourse.

With the ruling, the court overturned the verdict against the neo-Nazi, who was not named, but emphasized that he could still be prosecuted under other laws pertaining to right-wing extremism.

BRITAIN

Neo-Nazi Bomb Maker Guilty in UK Terrorist Plot

A British neo-Nazi who sought to emulate Oklahoma City bomber Timothy McVeigh was convicted in July of plotting a racist terror campaign targeting Asians and Muslims with sophisticated homemade explosives.

Prosecutors established that Neil Lewington, 44, an unemployed electrician, operated a bomb factory in

his bedroom, where police found nine pounds of weedkiller, pyrotechnic powders and dozens of fuses and igniters. They also seized a copy of the *Waffen SS UK Members' Handbook*, filled with schematics of electronic detonators and chemical weapons devices.

"This man, who had strong if not fanatical right-wing leanings and opinions, was on the cusp of embarking on a campaign of terrorism against those he considered non-British," stated prosecutor Brian Altman.

Police uncovered Lewington's plot in October 2008, after he was arrested for urinating in public and verbally abusing a conductor at a railway station in Suffolk. Officers searched a bag he was carrying and found digital clocks, batteries and wiring; two blocks of chemical fire starters, and instructions for making improvised incendiary devices.

A search of his residence turned up the bomb-making materials as well as videos of the terrorist attacks carried out by McVeigh and by David Copeland, who in April 1999 conducted a 13-day bombing campaign against London's black, Bangladeshi and gay communities.

Police also found extensive notes organized in sections titled "Picking Target Areas," "Transporting Devices," "Targeting/Attacking" and "Countersurveillance."

Lewington's defense attorney portrayed him as a rude but essentially harmless oddball — a "silly, immature, alcoholic, dysfunctional twit, fantasizing to make up for a rather sad life."

A jury nevertheless convicted Lewington of seven of the eight public endangerment and terrorism charges against him, and in September a judge sentenced him to an indefinite prison term of at least six years.

Speaking directly to Lewington at the sentencing, Judge Peter Thornton said: "You were in the process of embarking upon terrorist activity. You were going to use or threaten action involving either serious violence to people or serious damage to property. This action was designed to intimidate non-white people and it was for the purpose of pursuing



British prosecutors say that Neil Lewington built a bomb factory in his bedroom and planned to target "those he considered non-British." Lewington was transported by police van to a London courtroom for a hearing.

the ideological cause of white supremacy and neofascism. ... You would not have been troubled by the prospect of endangering somebody's life."

CANADA

Hearing Concludes in Skin-heads' Child-Custody Battle

After weeks of testimony, a Winnipeg court heard final arguments Sept. 25 regarding a Manitoba Child and Family Services request for permanent guardianship of an 8-year-old girl and her younger half-brother who were seized from their white supremacist parents in March 2008.

Child and Family Services officials took custody of the children after the girl showed up for school with a swastika and racist messages drawn on her arms and legs in permanent marker.

Social workers testified that when they interviewed the girl, she used racial slurs while calmly and graphically describing how to whip black people to death using a ball and chain.

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Building The Right

Two books look at early 20th century architects of the American radical right and their views of race, eugenics and fascism

Defending the Master Race: Conservation, Eugenics, and the Legacy of Madison Grant

By Jonathan Peter Spiro

Burlington, Vt.: University of Vermont Press, 2009

\$39.95 (hardback)

The Color of Fascism: Lawrence Dennis, Racial Passing, and the Rise of Right-Wing Extremism in the United States

By Gerald Horne

New York: New York University Press, 2009

\$22.00 (hardback)

A bumper crop of works on influential early 20th century American racists, fascists and eugenicists has been hitting the bookshelves in 2009. Two of the most interesting are on Madison Grant (1865-1937), perhaps the most important conservationist of his time and so pernicious a racist and anti-Semite that he helped inspire Hitler's policies, and Lawrence Dennis (1893-1977), the biggest defender of fascism in the 1930s, who was, surprisingly, a black man passing for white.

Jonathan Peter Spiro's biography of Grant, a very rich member of the American WASP elite, is eye opening. It is astonishing to realize how many major American figures of the early 1900s were so rabidly racist and anti-Semitic — and perfectly willing to use the power of the state to sterilize those they saw as lesser beings. Spiro's book is fundamental to understanding how profoundly our nation has been shaped by racist and anti-Semitic ideas.

Grant was a member of Theodore Roosevelt's Boone and Crockett Club, an exclusive organization focused originally on big game hunting, and later

big game protection, that included a few hundred of the 26th president's closest friends. A celebrated fixture in New York's prestigious private clubs, Grant was also the founder of several important institutions, including the Bronx Zoo.

From his perch in high society, Grant relentlessly advocated in favor of conservation, and he is largely responsible for saving California's redwoods as well as creating several of what are now prized national parks, including Glacier National Park in Montana. The world's tallest tree, a redwood, was named after Grant in 1931. But his central role as an early environmentalist has been obscured by his other, more odious legacy: Grant was the greatest propagandist of racism, anti-Semitism and eugenics of his time, and his ideas greatly influenced American elite opinion and profoundly affected the nation's history.

Grant's most important work, *The Passing of the Great Race*, was first published in 1916 by the elite Charles Scribner's Sons. Its basic thesis, still popular among American white supremacists today, is that miscegenation and immigration were destroying America's superior "Nordic" race. In their time, Grant's beliefs were popular, even meriting a mention in F. Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby* (the celebrated author and Grant shared the same Scribner editor).

Presaging Hitler's infamous words, Grant called Nordics "the Master Race." To protect that race, Grant was quite clear that restrictions curtailing Jewish and Southern European immigration were necessary. Eugenics, too, were

required. He wrote that the effort should begin by sterilizing the "criminals," the "insane" and the "diseased," followed by the "weaklings" and, ultimately, all "worthless race types."

Grant's ideas had momentous consequences, becoming commonplace among the American elite and resulting in concrete political change. From behind the scenes, Grant nearly single-handedly orchestrated passage of the racist 1924 Immigration Act. That bill, which remained in place until 1965, drastically cut immigration levels, excluded Asians, and largely restricted entry to Northern Europeans.

Through eugenics organizations he funded and founded, Grant influenced many states to pass coercive sterilization statutes under which tens of thousands of Americans deemed subpar were sterilized from the 1930s to the 1970s. Grant's ideas became the accepted law of the land in 1927, when

the Supreme Court upheld sterilization laws and Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes endorsed them, writing that "it is better for all the world if, instead of ... let[ting] them starve for their imbecility, society can prevent those who are manifestly unfit from continuing their kind."

It is undeniable that the Nazi genocide was based at least in part on these ideas. The theorists of the Third Reich read Grant's work and Hitler cited it in *Mein Kampf*. Holmes' opinion and Grant's book were both entered as evidence for the Nazi defense during the Nuremberg trials.

Another striking aspect of Spiro's book is the parallel between the lives of Grant and John Tanton, the founder of the modern nativist movement. Like Grant, Tanton has founded dozens of organizations. Like Grant's, Tanton has a long history of environmental activism. And like Grant, Tanton's efforts were backed by the Pioneer Fund, a

long-time supporter of eugenics whose leaders were close to Grant. Indeed, Tanton's personal hero, John Trevor Sr., was a close friend of Grant's who was another key player in passing the 1924 act and openly promulgated racist and anti-Semitic views. (Trevor distributed pro-Nazi propaganda, drew up plans to crush uprisings of "Jewish subversives," and warned shrilly of "diabolical Jewish control" of America.)

American Fascist

Gerald Horne's *The Color of Fascism* is a much slimmer volume on the unlikely career as an American fascist of Lawrence Dennis, a far-right thinker who passed as white and whose ideas are still prized today by radical right activists, including veteran anti-Semite Willis Carto.

Dennis was an interesting character. He was born in Atlanta of a black mother and white father in 1893 and was a child prodigy. Before the age of 10, Dennis wrote a book on his Christian beliefs and preached his religion to massive crowds in the U.S. and Europe — never hiding his black mother, who shepherded him around the world. But as he grew older, the light-skinned Dennis made a decision to leave his far darker-skinned mother behind and to begin to pass for white. By the 1920s, he had achieved the unthinkable for a black man of the time, graduating from Exeter and then Harvard and going on to make careers for himself in the State Department and on Wall Street, where he was one of the few who predicted the 1929 stock market crash. That prediction led to a profitable run of speaking engagements for Dennis in the 1930s and vaulted him into the upper-class social circles of the far right, where he became particularly close to Charles and Anne Lindbergh.

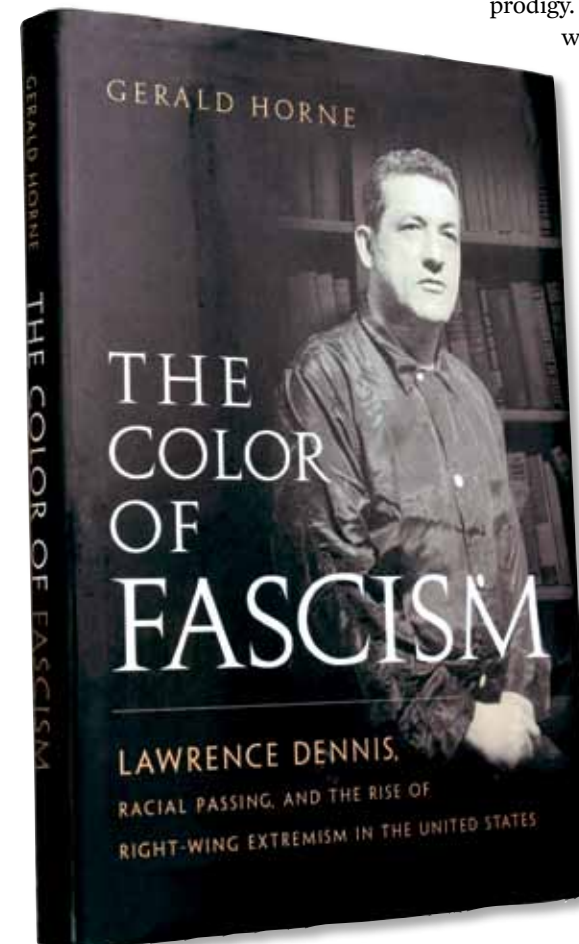
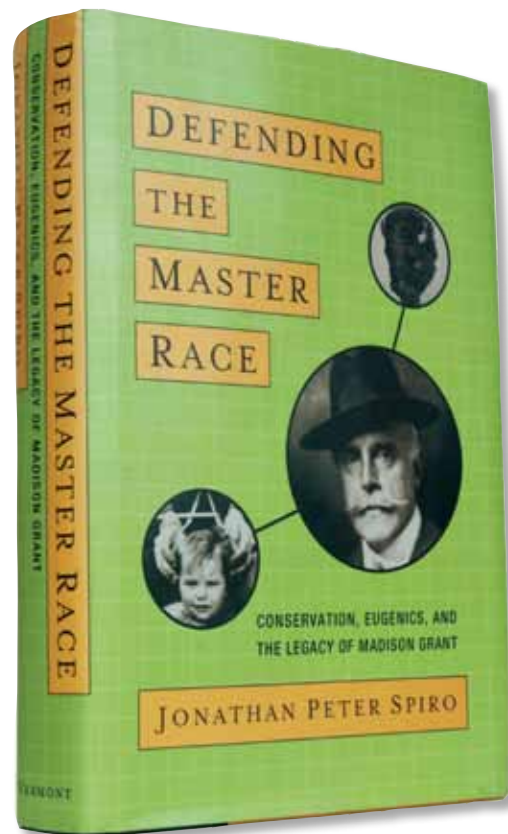
By the 1930s, Dennis had evolved into the public face of American fascism, making connections with American extremists and traveling to Europe to meet with Mussolini, whom he later said he was "less impressed with" than Hitler. In 1941, Dennis was named "America's No. 1 Intellectual Fascist" by *Life*.

So what made Dennis an adherent of an ideology that most certainly would have oppressed him and other African Americans? Horne theorizes that Dennis may well have been attracted to fascism simply because it stood starkly opposed to American "democracy," which then so openly oppressed blacks living under Jim Crow. He wrote often and eloquently of the impending ascendancy of the fascist model, and regularly ascribed America's decay to its racist policies — a point that oddly seemed missed by his many racist allies.

Dennis's fascist run ended disastrously. In the fraught years leading up to World War II, the FBI investigated Dennis' fascist contacts and was told by a former girlfriend that he frequented Nazi events. In 1944, Dennis was tried for sedition, along with a bevy of co-defendants whom he would claim little connection to, after being charged with orchestrating "a three-year plot to incite mutiny in the armed forces, unseat the government and set up a Nazi regime." The trial was widely criticized as an incoherent farce and ended in a mistrial after the judge suffered a fatal heart attack. Regardless, Dennis' reputation was destroyed.

Not everyone abandoned Dennis in the wake of the trial. He remained close in the post-war years to Senator Burton K. Wheeler (D-Mont.), America Firster and retired Gen. Robert Wood, conservative publisher William Henry Regnery and "historian" Harry Elmer Barnes, whose Holocaust denial is popular in anti-Semitic circles to this day. But for the most part, Dennis was shunned, dying in obscurity in 1977, decades after fascism had been totally discredited as a political system. ▲

— By Heidi Beirich



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

ARIZONA

Phoenix • Aug. 14, 2009

Chad Kerns, 31, was sentenced to 10 years in prison after pleading guilty to two charges of aggravated assault in connection with two separate 2007 incidents where a man wearing an anti-Nazi shirt was beaten and a black man was stabbed.

Tucson • Aug. 25, 2009

Richard Ray Young, 49, was sentenced to 30 days in jail for attacking a transsexual Vietnam veteran and calling her an anti-gay epithet.

ARKANSAS

Little Rock • July 15, 2009

Dustin Nix, 21, pled guilty to two federal civil rights charges in connection with an incident where Nix and four others allegedly burned a cross in the yard of a woman who they suspected was associating with black men.

CALIFORNIA

Huntington Beach • July 3, 2009

Four suspected white supremacists, Michael Powell, 21, Bret Hicks, 30, Erin Brooks, 24, and Brian Hanson, 26, were charged with attempted murder and aggravated assault with hate crime enhancements for allegedly stabbing and beating a Latino man.

Ladera Ranch • July 4, 2009

A Latina woman was beaten and stabbed by two white men, one with a swastika tattoo on his shoulder, who yelled racial slurs during the attack.

Oak View • July 25, 2009

Matthew Schumacher, 27, a member of the racist Skin Head Dogs, was charged with a hate-motivated crime for allegedly calling an interracial couple, a black woman

and a white man, racial slurs and striking the white man.

Palmdale • Aug. 22, 2009

John Fetters, 33, was charged with assault with a deadly weapon and committing a hate crime after he allegedly screamed racial slurs at a group of Latino partygoers and then aimed his car at them.

Palo Alto • Aug. 4, 2009

A Latino man was allegedly assaulted and robbed by five black youths, ages 14 to 19, who yelled racial slurs at him. Three of the teens were arrested on suspicion of armed robbery and assault with a deadly weapon with hate crime enhancements.

Richmond • Aug. 22, 2009

David Triebwasser, a 48-year-old white man, was arrested for assault with a deadly weapon and committing a hate crime after a black woman claimed that he screamed racial slurs at her and tried to hit her with his truck at a local park.

Santa Rosa • Aug. 2, 2009

David Michael Summers, 19, was charged with assault with a deadly weapon, assault with serious bodily injury and possession of a weapon for allegedly yelling “Go back to Mexico” to two men and then punching one in the face.

Tracy • Aug. 10, 2009

Three white people, David Sconce and Heather Sisco, both 25, and John Comphele, 29, were arrested on suspicion of assault with a deadly weapon with hate crime enhancement and conspiracy after allegedly shouting “white power” at two black youths and chasing them out of a park with knives.

COLORADO

Trinidad • July 16, 2009

A man allegedly bound a transgen-

der woman with a telephone cord, used anti-gay slurs and sexually assaulted her with a coat hanger in a hotel room. The man then allegedly attempted to drown the woman in a bathtub and plunged a hairdryer into the tub with the victim in it in an apparent attempt at electrocution.

FLORIDA

Gainesville • Sept. 27, 2009

A 19-year-old man was allegedly attacked by a group of men who made comments about his sexual orientation. A 20-year-old man was charged with aggravated battery in connection with the incident.

GEORGIA

Morrow • Sept. 9, 2009

Troy Dale West was charged with battery, disorderly conduct and cruelty to children after he allegedly shouted racial slurs and beat a black female Army officer in front of her daughter at a restaurant.

Smyrna • Aug. 11, 2009

A swastika was painted on a sign outside the office of a black state representative.

IDAHO

Boise • July 23, 2009

Michael Bullard, 22, and Richard Armstrong, 24, were convicted of federal charges of conspiring to violate federally protected rights and actually violating those rights with a racially motivated attack after they and another man shouted racial slurs, chased and beat a black man outside a store in July 2008.

Coeur D’Alene • Aug. 1, 2009

Two 15-year-old teens, one of them black, were beaten outside a resort by at least five men, one of whom used a racial slur.

ILLINOIS

Belleville • Sept. 14, 2009

Two black high school students allegedly taunted, punched and choked a white student on a school bus.

Belleville • Sept. 26, 2009

Twenty-two members of the National Socialist Movement and other white supremacist groups held a rally to protest a Sept. 14 incident where two black high school students allegedly beat a white student on a school bus.

INDIANA

Mishawaka • Aug. 13, 2009

Bruce Mikulyuk was charged with interfering with housing rights and use of fire in the commission of a felony for allegedly burning a cross on the lawn of an interracial couple’s residence in 2007.

Muncie • Sept. 24, 2009

Richard LaShure, 41, and Aaron Latham, 20, pleaded guilty to conspiring to violate the civil rights of a black family and to interfering with their housing rights by burning a cross in the family’s yard in July 2008.

IOWA

Davenport • July 21, 2009

Jeffrey Lee was sentenced to nearly four years in prison after pleading guilty to two counts of interfering with federally protected activities in connection with a December 2007 incident where Lee and three other people shouted racial slurs, made references to the neo-Nazi group Aryan Nations and assaulted black patrons at a hotel bar. Wendie Groen pled guilty to one count of the same charge and was sentenced to nearly three years in prison. In September, Timothy Ketner was

sentenced to three years in prison and Pistol Holliday to 18 months on federal civil rights charges in connection with the incident.

Mason City • July 30, 2009

Justin Hanson, 21, was sentenced to eight months in federal prison after pleading guilty to one count of interfering with the housing rights of a black family in May 2008.

Hanson posted one sign in the family’s yard that featured a swastika and the words “Hitler lives,” posted another sign that read “give the whites their town and country back or it will be taken back by force” and fired a BB gun through the family’s bedroom window.

LOUISIANA

Bienville • August 9, 2009

Titus Charles Huddleston, 18, was charged with two counts of attempted murder, two hate crime counts, wearing a mask or hood in public and possession of marijuana after he allegedly made racial and threatening remarks to several Latino residents in a neighborhood while armed with a large knife and wearing a bandana over his face.

Shreveport • Sept. 25, 2009

Daniel Earl Danforth, 30, was charged with interfering with the housing rights of another person, conspiring to interfere with another’s civil rights, using fire in the commission of a felony and obstructing justice by destroying evidence after he and at least one another person allegedly burned a cross near an interracial couple’s residence in October 2008.

MICHIGAN

Ann Arbor • Sept. 8, 2009

A 16-year-old Muslim girl of Iraqi heritage was allegedly attacked on a school bus by a group of people who shouted ethnic slurs. Her brother was also allegedly attacked while coming to her defense.

Bay City • July 20, 2009

Kevin J. Wellman was charged

with assault with intent to do great bodily harm, assault with a dangerous weapon, ethnic intimidation and driving on a suspended license for allegedly shouting “white power” and striking a Latino man with his vehicle.

Independence Township • Aug. 14, 2009

A burnt cross was left on a black family’s property.

Kalamazoo • Aug. 13, 2009

A 15-year-old homosexual boy was allegedly beaten by two teens who used anti-gay slurs. A 16-year-old pled guilty to aggravated assault. A 15-year-old was also charged.

Munger • July 20, 2009

A Latino man was allegedly assaulted by a man who shouted “white power.”

MINNESOTA

Brooklyn Park • Sept. 23, 2009

Anthony Peter Kilpela and Bryan Charles Westerlund, both 21, were charged with assault, aggravated robbery, attempted aggravated robbery and attempted assault after they allegedly used racial slurs and assaulted a disabled black man.

MISSISSIPPI

Madison • July 20, 2009

The letters “KKK” were spray-painted on a black family’s residence.

Vicksburg • Aug. 4, 2009

A mobile home owned by a white man who rents it to the only black family in the neighborhood was set afire.

MISSOURI

Cape Girardeau • Sept. 8, 2009

Nicholas T. Proffit, 32, was sentenced to three years in prison for vandalizing an Islamic center in May.

O’Fallon • Sept. 18, 2009

Rudi Ballard, 30, was charged with unlawful use of a weapon motivated by discrimination for allegedly using ethnic slurs and threatening several people of Indian descent at his apartment complex.

NEBRASKA

Lincoln • Sept. 23, 2009

Jose Jefferson, 38, was sentenced to a year in jail for sending letters to the insurance company where he worked, threatening death to all blacks and saying one black at the company would be killed.

NEW JERSEY

Edison • Sept. 19, 2009

A 16-year-old was charged with juvenile delinquency for aggravated assault and bias intimidation for allegedly assaulting a Jewish man on Rosh Hashanah because of his religion.

Edison • Sept. 29, 2009

Three swastikas were spray-painted on the front doors of a Jewish temple.

Highland Park • Sept. 29, 2009

A 17-year-old was charged with juvenile delinquency after he allegedly shouted “Hail Hitler” and gave a Nazi salute to three Jewish people as they walked home from their synagogue.

Millville • Aug. 19, 2009

Three people were arrested for allegedly carving racial slurs into the car of a white teenage girl who is dating a black youth. The car’s tires were also flattened.

NEW YORK

Airmont • Sept. 7, 2009

Michael Conklin, 18, was charged with one count of second-degree assault and one count of second-degree assault as a hate crime for allegedly shooting a Latino teen several times with a BB gun. Conklin reportedly was wearing a shirt with a KKK insignia and a swastika on it.

Brooklyn • Sept. 10, 2009

Four men who committed three assaults against black people in Staten Island on the night of last November’s presidential election in response to President Barack Obama’s victory because they believed the victims voted for Obama were sentenced to federal prison terms. Ralph Nicoletti,

19, was sentenced to 108 months; Bryan Garaventa, 18, was sentenced to 60 months; Michael Contreras, 19, was sentenced to 55 months; and Brian Carranza, 21, was sentenced to 70 months.

Buffalo • Aug. 18, 2009

An 18-year-old white man was allegedly severely beaten with a piece of concrete by a group of about ten to 12 teenage black males in what police are investigating as a possible hate crime.

Frewsburg • July 13, 2009

A noose was hung outside a residence and a racial slur and the words “leave or die” were painted on the house and the letters “KKK” on the driveway.

Mineola • July 3, 2009

Two swastikas were spray-painted on the front doors of a synagogue.

New York • July 8, 2009

Two men are facing charges of assault as a hate crime, harassment and menacing after allegedly shouted anti-gay slurs and throwing rocks and beer bottles at a transgender woman.

New York • July 16, 2009

Joseph Sweeney, 23, was charged with assault as a hate crime in connection with the June baseball bat beating of a Nicaraguan man allegedly by a group of men who yelled anti-Mexican profanities.

Owego • Aug. 13, 2009

Patrick D. Hayward, 22, was charged with assault, menacing as a hate crime, reckless endangerment, forcible touching, endangering the welfare of a mentally incompetent person, and criminal possession of a weapon for allegedly shooting a developmentally disabled man with a BB gun and striking him with a golf club and a tire iron.

Patchogue • Aug. 25, 2009

Curt J. Hatton, 19, and Matthew J. Mont, 16, were both charged with third-degree assault as a hate crime for allegedly beating an Ecuadorian man while using an anti-Latino slur on Aug. 15.

Smithtown • Aug. 20, 2009

Joseph Ballance, 23, was charged with aggravated harassment for allegedly attempting to run over two Muslim women at a gas station after threatening to kill them because of their religion.

Syracuse • Aug. 18, 2009

Dwight DeLee was sentenced to 25 years in prison after he was convicted in July for the November 2008 hate crime killing of a transgender woman.

NORTH CAROLINA

Stoneville • Sept. 3, 2009

Steve Lee Stone, 44, was sentenced to two 45-day jail terms, both suspended for 18 months, for calling the county's 911 and threatening to assassinate President Barack Obama in July.

OHIO

Fairview Park • Sept. 6, 2009

A rope twisted into a noose was left in a black family's yard, along with a note signed by the "Aryan Knights of Fairview Park" demanding the family leave the city.

OKLAHOMA

Tulsa • July 14, 2009

A hoax explosive device was found in a Jewish community center's trash can after a bomb threat was called into the center.

OREGON

Portland • Sept. 1, 2009

Vadim Ignatov was charged with criminal mischief with a firearm and multiple counts of intimidation, unlawful use of a weapon and recklessly endangering another person after he allegedly fired

shots into his Lebanese neighbors' residence in August.

PENNSYLVANIA

Wyndmoor • Sept. 13, 2009

Self-described white supremacist James Gallagher, 21, was accused of allegedly posting threats on his Facebook page to shoot up Springfield Township. A search of Gallagher's residence uncovered guns, ammunition and white supremacist memorabilia.

RHODE ISLAND

Providence • Sept. 27, 2009

Swastikas and a racial slur were spray-painted on a mixed-race family's residence that was also set afire.

SOUTH DAKOTA

Rapid City • July 16, 2009

Jenna Gitzke and Miranda Sheldon, both 21, were charged with malicious intimidation for allegedly yelling racial slurs and throwing rocks and eggs at Native Americans outside a store.

TEXAS

Austin • July 24, 2009

A concrete block with a message reading "Keep eastside strong. Keep eastside black" was thrown through the window of a residence.

Cypress • Sept. 7, 2009

A swastika was spray-painted on a black woman's garage door.

Dallas • Aug. 27, 2009

Bobby Singleton was sentenced to 75 years in prison for beating a gay man and shouting anti-gay slurs during the July 2008 attack.

Fort Worth • Aug. 10, 2009

Grace Head, a 67-year-old white woman, was sentenced to 180 days in jail for hitting her black neighbor in the face with a two-by-four while shouting racial slurs and threats in December 2007.

Paris • July 21, 2009

About 200 black separatists held a rally protesting the state's handling of the 2008 dragging death of a black man. About a dozen white supremacist counterprotesters attended the protest.

VIRGINIA

Alexandria • July 15, 2009

Stephen H. Rosenberg, 51, was charged with one count of sending E-mails threats to a judge and one count of trying to intimidate a judge after he allegedly threatened via E-mail to kill white judges in South Carolina and tried to intimidate a judge there.

Newport News • Sept. 10, 2009

Swastikas and anti-Semitic graffiti were spray-painted on a Jewish community center.

Norfolk • July 9, 2009

John Edward Grogan, 29, was charged with injury to church with the intent to instill fear or intimidation because of religion and/or ethnic origin, and conspiring to commit a felony for allegedly vandalizing several synagogues in April with anti-Semitic, anti-gay and racist messages.

WASHINGTON

Seattle • July 1, 2009

Eric Lee Garner, 24, was charged with second-degree assault and malicious harassment for allegedly making anti-Muslim remarks and threatening to cut a woman and her infant.

Seattle • Sept. 12, 2009

Swastikas were spray-painted on two synagogues and on sidewalks outside several residences in a neighborhood.

Spokane • July 22, 2009

Two Native American men were allegedly beaten by several men in a suspected racially motivated attack.

Spokane • Sept. 20, 2009

A noose was left at the residence of a black human rights official.

WYOMING

Riverton • Sept. 1, 2009

George Dewey, 52, was charged with attempted first-degree murder and kidnapping after allegedly attacking a white deputy with a hatchet because Dewey disapproved of the man's relationship with a Native American woman. ▲

Sister Act

Nature abhors a vacuum, and now a new duet of racist teens has arisen to take the place of the infamous singing Gaede twins

BY SONIA SCHERR

SEVERAL YEARS AGO, pop-singing twin sisters Lynx and Lamb Gaede seig-heiled their way to international stardom, enthralling neo-Nazi crowds with their off-key odes to white power. Although the Gaedes are no longer on the neo-Nazi performance circuit, another sister act has emerged to take their place: 18-year-old Charity and 16-year-old Shelby Pendergraft, who form a group called Heritage Connection.

The Pendergraft sisters have not yet received the media attention that the Gaede bunch drew in their heyday, but they claim to have performed at white nationalist events nationwide since they formed Heritage Connection in 2003. They've also released two CDs, "Aryan Awakening" and "Standing Our Ground," and have shared the stage with a guitar-playing Derek Black, best known for his father's racist Stormfront.org Web forum and the brouhaha that followed Derek's election to the Palm Beach County, Fla., Republican Executive Committee.

The sisters' repertoire covers the standard range of perils facing whites, including race-mixing, ZOG (for the so-called Zionist Occupied Government), and "the great illegal flood." In a song titled "Living Nightmare," for instance, the teenagers lament in rhyme the destruction of their race: "You're living in a fog/you're siding with the ZOG." A livelier track called "Propagandized America" includes the lyrics, "When I say white pride worldwide/coming up from deep inside/they say I hate you/what am I to do?"

Fans will be glad to know that the Pendergrafts compose most of their own music and lyrics. They also provide their own accompaniment on guitar, violin, piano and drums. The result is "their own unique sound that the Pendergrafts jokingly refer to as Celtic/Country/Aryan/Folk/Rock," according to their website.



"Ministry of Music": The Pendergraft sisters, granddaughters of veteran Klan boss Thom Robb, have formed a singing-to-save-the-race group called Heritage Connection. But the reviews have been less than flattering.

The blond, fair-skinned Pendergrafts come from a long line of Aryan activists. Their grandfather is veteran Klansman Thomas Robb, leader of the Arkansas-based Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and their mother, Rachel Pendergraft, serves as spokeswoman for the Klan group. But not everyone is enamored of the sisters' oeuvre; reaction to a YouTube posting of their song "Dying Fire" included some disparaging comments.

"This is hilarious!" wrote "Flankoa." "It sounds like it was recorded in an underwater bathroom onto a broken miniature cassette recorder."

Added "ivyshoots," "If anything is going to make me NOT feel proud to be white, it's two nasal, talentless chicks representing our race by droning off-key musical warnings about an imagined apocalyptic race war."

The sisters take umbrage at criticism of their vocal skill, disputing this writer's characterization of their voices as "quavering" in a previous blog posting. "[T]hose who have heard us sing live would agree that our music, lyr-

ics and vocals are anything but 'quavering,'" Charity Pendergraft insisted on the sisters' own blog.

Mostly, the blog offers a glimpse of the daily lives of the sisters, who are home-schooled in Harrison, Ark. Amid music lessons, school-work, church, chores and camping trips, the siblings find time to volunteer at their grandfather's Klan headquarters and to work on a

display about illegal immigration for the White Christian Heritage Festival. They write about looking forward to using their Christmas gift cards ("Too bad the JCPenney's where we go is starting to look like a Mexican recruiting station!"), attending a music show in Eureka Springs, Ark. ("Sadly, this town has been overrun by queers"), and watching the movie "Stardust" ("It was a good movie except for the propaganda — that's in almost all movies — and the gay character in it.") And Charity, who blasts immigrants in "Alien Flood," reveals her fondness for Mexican cuisine. "We had enchiladas for dinner," she writes. "Yum! I love Spanish food."

Despite their questionable talent, the Pendergrafts have been performing for a dozen years and envision a bright future for their music. They will soon welcome their 9-year-old brother, Andrew, into the group. They're scheduled to appear at this fall's White Christian Heritage Festival in Pulaski, Tenn. And while they plan to pursue degrees in business and law, they intend to continue their "ministry of music" with the hope that it will "serve as a wakeup call to those who have forgotten their heritage. Our people deserve the best. Its [sic] time for an Aryan Awakening."

Don't forget the enchiladas. ▲

INTERNATIONAL BRIEFS CONTINUED FROM PAGE 43

Officials learned that the parents were the founders of a pro-racist skinhead online forum whose members called themselves "Aryan Foot Soldiers" and professed hatred for Jews, blacks, and indigenous Canadians. The forum's stated goal was to attract and organize skinheads interested in "looking out for each other and helping to cleanse the area we live in," according to documents presented in court.

Forum postings made reference to the parents in the case proudly watching their children "goose-step" through a shopping mall.

The stepfather testified in court that he views himself as a skinhead and is opposed to interracial relationships. He admitted teaching his stepdaughter to use racial slurs and telling her that non-whites should be forced to go back to their own countries. But he vigorously argued that Child and Family Services violated his right "to expound and support his white supremacy views."

Manitoba law protects the identities of all those involved in the case. High-profile media coverage has provoked a national debate over the rightfulness of the government assuming custody of children due to the ideology of their parents. Unlike the United States, with its constitutional guarantees of free expression, Canada has criminal laws that penalize "hate speech."

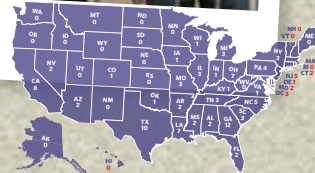
Child and Family Services attorneys sought to broaden the focus of the case beyond the issue of free speech versus child welfare. They brought in a psychologist who testified that both parents are binge drinkers who exhibit anti-social tendencies and are ill equipped to provide the children with a stable, caring environment.

A ruling in the case is expected later this year or in early 2010. ▲

FROM HERITAGE CONNECTION TV; PHOTOGRAPHER UNKNOWN

THE INTELLIGENCE PROJECT

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