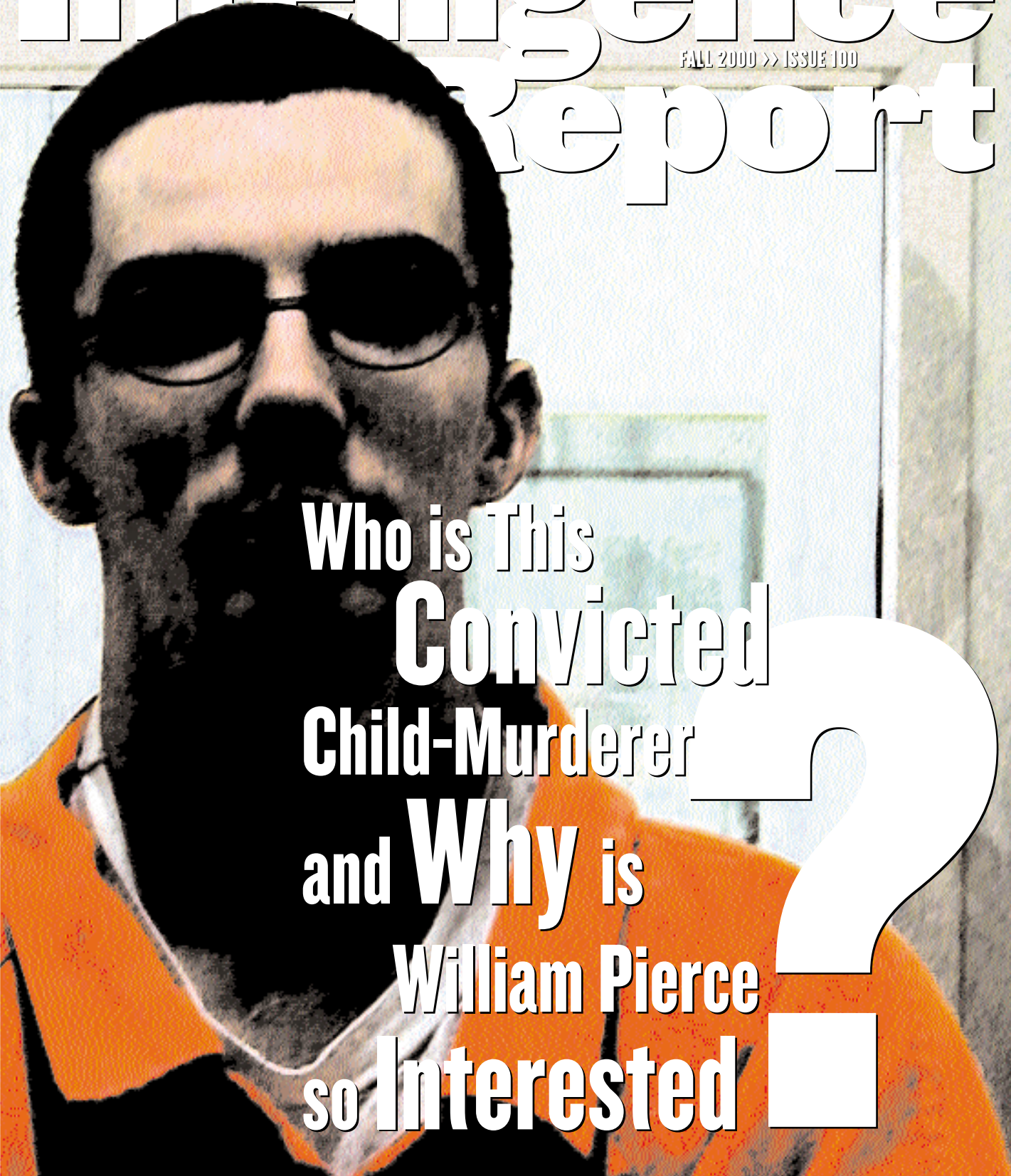


NEW BLACK PANTHERS CALLED 'RACIST HATE GROUP'

THE SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER'S

Intelligence Report

FALL 2000 >> ISSUE 100



Who is This
Convicted
Child-Murderer
and Why is
William Pierce
so Interested



Music, Money and Murder



By Mark Potok, Editor

EVERY MOVEMENT HAS ITS MUSIC. FOR liberals and socialists of decades ago, it was the socially aware folk music of Pete Seeger and others like him. For the antiwar counterculture of the 1960s and 1970s, it was the rebellious lyrics of the Rolling Stones and a score of other groups. Today, for the revolutionary right in the United States and Europe, the soundtrack of choice is white power music — and more specifically, the bands of “national socialist black metal,” or NSBM.

Perhaps more than any others, the NSBM bands — most of which are Scandinavian or German, but which include a handful of American groups — have taken racist music to new extremes. Many are not content to merely sing songs of violence and hatred. Like the protagonist in Dostoyevsky’s *Crime and Punishment*, they have engaged in murders and other crimes as a way of defying society.

All that is attractive to William Pierce, the leader of America’s leading neo-Nazi group, the National Alliance, and a man who last year acquired Resistance Records, the nation’s largest white power music label. Despite his obvious distaste for rock music, Pierce clearly sees the opportunities offered by NSBM.

Making Hate Pay

As Pierce knows, intelligent, rebellious youths who have crossed some very serious societal lines make good revolutionaries. The music they create, which is often technically quite expert, has proven to be a highly effective recruiting tool for other disaffected youths. And what’s more, the music sold by all white power bands is remarkably lucrative — so much so, that the entire milieu has increasingly been overtaken by violence. What was once a subculture of angry young racists is more and more the province of organized criminals.

Consider the case of Hendrik Möbus, which is detailed in this *Intelligence Reports* cover story. Arrested outside Pierce’s West Virginia headquarters last summer, Möbus is a German neo-Nazi, a convicted murderer of a 14-year-old boy and a key player on the international NSBM scene. He faces deportation back to Germany on charges that he violated his parole in the murder. But his importance to Pierce is something more mundane: Möbus apparently brought Pierce contracts or other arrangements that will help him market some of the most popular NSBM bands — Möbus’ Absurd is one of them — found in the world today.

Thanks largely to the fact that neo-Nazi propaganda is illegal in much of Europe, the music of bands like Absurd is extremely lucrative. By banning it and therefore relegating its distribution to criminals, the European authorities have virtually guaranteed that the profit margins for underground sales are enormous — much as those for illegal liquor sales during Prohibition were. In fact, these profits are now probably financing much of the European neo-Nazi movement. At the same time, there is high interest in NSBM bands among American racists.

Music Without Borders

The Pierce-Möbus connection demonstrates another important aspect of the radical right as well — its rapidly increasing internationalization. More and more, extremists speak of a “pan-Aryan” revolution that will stretch across continents. What were once sporadic contacts between American and European racists have become sustained links between the neofascists of the Western hemisphere.

For many years, Pierce has visited with leaders of the radical right in Europe. In late 1998, for instance, he was the keynote speaker at a secret meeting in Greece of 150 neofascists from 10 countries. But Pierce is not alone.

A Pierce friend, the Briton Mark Cotterill, took the lead in recent years in creating the American Friends of the British National Party — an outfit designed to provide financial support to the British neofascist organization. Racist Skinheads, especially the notoriously violent Hammerskins, travel more and more frequently to meet their compatriots abroad. And former Klansman David Duke returned in October from three months visiting with neofascist leaders in Russia and Eastern Europe. In a typical speech in a downtown Moscow museum, he decried “world Zionism” and called for dark-skinned people to be ejected from the city.

These cases all illustrate a key point. The radical right, like the corporate multinationals it despises, has gone global. Extremist fugitives often find refuge in countries other than their own. Americans, protected by the First Amendment, are providing propaganda over the Internet and in other ways to Europeans who would go to jail for doing the same in their own countries. And the lucrative business of producing racist music has become a transnational enterprise. ▲

CORRECTION The Summer 2000 edition of the *Intelligence Report* incorrectly identified the mayor of Charleston, S.C. He is Joseph Riley.



SÜDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG

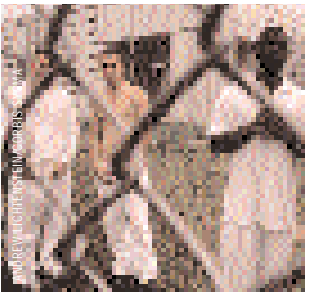
On the Cover The August arrest of a German neo-Nazi murderer in West Virginia throws a revealing spotlight on the increasingly profitable, and often criminal, nature of the international white power music scene — as well as the growing empire of one of his U.S. hosts, William Pierce of the National Alliance. **Page 6**



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Snarling at the White Man

With as many as 35 chapters nationwide, the New Black Panther Party, unlike its namesake of the 1960s and 1970s, is led by a man who vilifies whites, Jews, Catholics and homosexuals — not to mention “Uncle Tom” blacks. **Page 16**



ANDREW COOTNER/STERN MAGAZINE

Behind the Wire

In prisons and jails around the country, cases of racist and sometimes violent guards are plaguing the corrections industry. Guards have been accused of race-based threats, beatings and even shootings in at least 10 states. **Page 24**



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Aryans Without a Nation

After a quarter century of spewing hate from a compound in the Idaho Panhandle, Aryan Nations leader Richard Butler faces a multimillion-dollar court judgment. Even Butler’s bankruptcy filing is unlikely to change the outcome. **Page 30**

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From Satan to Hitler

Two decades ago, “black metal” music was a rebellious genre replete with Satanic images. Today, a popular variant of the genre has been thoroughly Nazified. **11**

At the Crossroads

American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan leader Jeff Berry faces possible criminal charges, a civil court judgment and — quite conceivably — the demise of his organization. **33**

Night of Terror

Victoria Keenan, one of the two plaintiffs in the lawsuit against Aryan Nations, describes the ordeal that was the basis of a court’s \$6.3 million judgment. **35**

Fringe of the Fringe

Homosexual neo-Nazis, increasingly coming out on the Internet, endure the sneering of their ostensible colleagues on the radical right, some of whom believe gays should be killed. **41**

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Mainstreaming Hate

Racists Offer Poor Whites School Supplies and Hate

It's hard to criticize giving school supplies to children. At least that's what the National Association for the Advancement of White People (NAAWP), a racist group started by former Klansman David Duke, seems to be betting on.

The NAAWP went to the Loudendale, W. Va., Church of the Nazarene in August to kick off its much-touted "Operation Appalachian," a program it said was designed to "deliver the basic staples of life to ... the deserving folks of Appalachia ... particularly among Whites of European extraction." The racists gave away book bags, notebooks, calculators, pencils — and their own hateful propaganda.

Church members, who had advertised the event in the community, were caught unaware by the NAAWP's racism. They had thought that they were just the lucky beneficiaries of free school supplies from a charitable group.

"My son led me to believe it was like Habitat for Humanity [the nonprofit agency that builds housing for poor people]," said Muriel Dunlap, one of the church's leaders who accepted the NAAWP's offer of free goodies.

"What they gave out was good. What they stood for was not," Dunlap said after the event.

The 250 children who showed up with their parents

were already receiving supplies by the time church leaders figured out what the NAAWP was really about, Dunlap told a reporter. By then, it was too late to stop the giveaway.

Church leaders say the NAAWP won't be invited back. In the case of the Lincoln County, W. Va., school system, the group never got its foot in the door. Superintendent William Grizell, saying the group "wanted access" to his students, refused the NAAWP up front.

The decision to target lower-income whites in the Appalachian region was made by NAAWP leaders in Florida and Louisiana. This "charity" is a new tactic by the NAAWP — a white supremacist group that

focuses obsessively on black crime and, in particular, black rape of white women — in its effort to portray itself as a mainstream civil rights organization devoted to the welfare of whites.

The NAAWP doesn't sound so progressive, however, when it comes to civil rights for black people. For instance, the group's web site defends the American slave system and argues that the white southerners suffered during the Civil War as much as blacks did under slavery. Civil rights leader Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., the site adds, was a "beast," "a sexual degenerate, an American-hating Communist, and a criminal betrayer of even the interests of his own people."

that such actions must be punished by DEATH!"

Members of Hale's neo-Nazi group inserted the flier into copies of *The Thrifty Nickel*, a free local publication available at supermarkets and gas stations, and distributed the combined publications overnight to hundreds of homes in Pekin, where the Sandovals live. The Sandovals themselves didn't receive a copy of *The Thrifty Nickel*, but Ms. Sandoval's father did. Dave Tebben, who is the mayor of Pekin, was himself attacked for "giving his daughter to an animal."

Shannon Sandoval told the *Intelligence Report* that she was stricken with fear when she saw the broadside attacking her. "I was checking my rearview mirror all the time. I just kept thinking, 'He [Hale]

did this for attention. What else would he do for attention? It could be something more physical.'"

For Hale, cries of "Bestiality!" and "Death to Race Defilers!" — emblazoned in bold on his propaganda piece — are nothing out of the ordinary. Although Hale likes to present himself as a well-mannered and thoughtful white supremacist, his calm exterior is betrayed by, among other things, his references to the "niggerization" and "jewification" of America.

Denied his law license in Illinois, meanwhile, Hale recently asked followers to send character references to the Montana Bar Association. He is considering a move to the state where his hate group has long had a presence.

Neo-Nazi



Approaching their one-year anniversary, Shannon and Edgar Sandoval found that someone had noted — in a very public way — their special day. On fliers distributed around their Illinois town in late July, the Sandovals' wedding announcement had been

reproduced and their union described as a "wedding of the blond White woman with the mongrel 'Filipino' animal savage!"

Then, down the page, a chilling proposal: "The World Church of the Creator and Reverend Matt Hale say today

Neo-Confederate Cuisine

Bigoted Barbecue Baron Gets Burned

"Best All-in-One Barbecue Restaurant" is the title *People* magazine once bestowed upon Maurice Bessinger's popular Piggie Park restaurant chain. The magazine may not have known that Bessinger, besides offering patrons a zesty, mustard-based barbecue, also serves up racist tracts. Or that until the U.S. Supreme Court intervened, he didn't serve blacks at all in his main dining room.



Now, Bessinger is paying the price for his politics. Wal-Mart and Sam's Club recently shipped Bessinger's products back to him, and Food Lion, Publix, Harris Teeter, Winn Dixie and Kroger quickly followed suit, spelling trouble for Bessinger's sizable barbecue sauce business. Piggly Wiggly supermarkets — not to be confused with Bessinger's Piggie Park restaurants — kept the sauces and frozen pork dinners stocked longer than the rest, but in October they pulled the Bessinger line, too.

It all started when Bessinger raised Confederate battle flags above some of his restaurants — in place of American flags — to protest their removal from atop the South Carolina Statehouse. Controversy ensued as he defied city officials, who told him that a local ordinance required a permit for flying any such flag or banner.

Wal-Mart says it is the bigoted literature that Bessinger

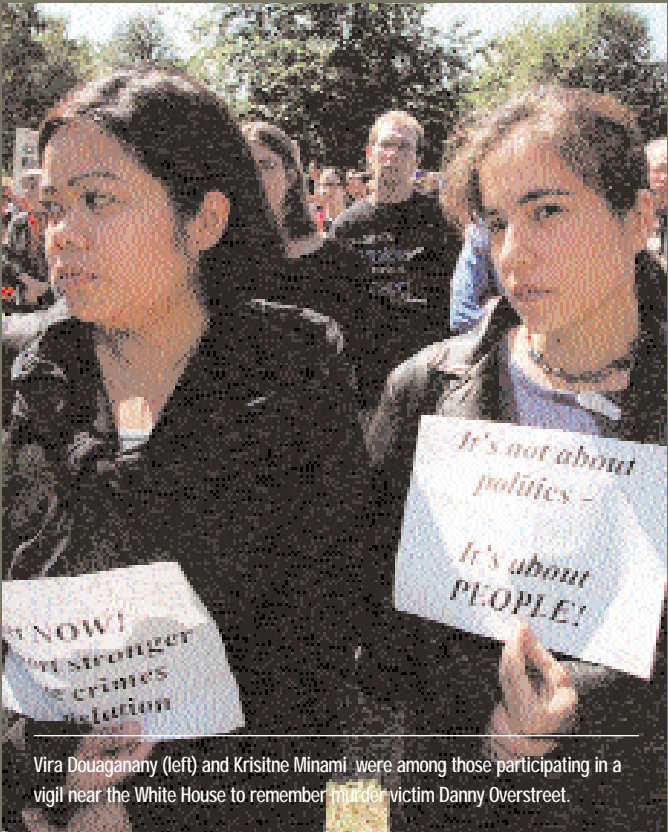
has sold in his restaurants, not the Confederate flag, that sparked its decision, and other retailers agree. The most offensive document, in the view of the Wal-Mart spokesman, was a pamphlet entitled "The Biblical Justification for Slavery."

For Michael Hill, president of the neo-Confederate League of the South, this rationale amounts to "deep seated anti-Southern and anti-Christian bias." Bessinger has been the caterer of choice at rallies for the Confederate flag.

During the Iowa Republican caucus, Bessinger also barbecued for right-wing Reform Party presidential candidate Patrick Buchanan, whose South Carolina campaign headquarters is located in Bessinger's Piggie Park building.

Bessinger himself has tried to make a name in politics. As a staunch supporter of segregation during the 1950s and 1960s, he ran an outfit known as the National Association for the Preservation of White People. Later, in 1974, he mounted an unsuccessful campaign for South Carolina governor.

Bessinger remains unapologetic. "We just served them on a segregated basis, like every other restaurant did," Bessinger told *The New York Times*, recalling the days of Jim Crow past. "What the blacks didn't realize was that they got the best food because their dining room was actually in the kitchen."



Vira Douaganany (left) and Krisitne Minami were among those participating in a vigil near the White House to remember murder victim Danny Overstreet.

Hate Crimes

Murder in the Name of a Name

Hate crimes are motivated by any number of reasons — frustration, anger, ideology — but rarely are they committed to avenge one's surname. Ronald Gay, supposedly taunted on account of his last name, especially while a U.S. Marine, allegedly felt that he was exacting payback for his many sufferings when he decided to "go waste some faggots."

According to police, those were the words that Gay uttered minutes before he allegedly sprayed eight rounds at patrons of the Backstreet Café, a gathering place for the gay and lesbian community in Roanoke, Va. John Collins told reporters that he was hugging his friend, Danny Overstreet, when Gay allegedly pulled a gun from his trench coat and began firing. Overstreet died. Collins, among five others injured, may never fully recover from the bullet that pierced his abdomen.

Gay has allegedly confessed to the crimes, for which he faces first-degree murder and malicious wounding charges. When apprehended just after the attack, Gay told the arresting officer — and a video camera mounted in the officer's patrol car — that he had gone to "the fag bar and blew them away."



Air National Guard personnel were on alert after pipe bombs and graffiti condemning U.S. involvement in Kosovo were left at a Guard base in Milwaukee.

Terrorism

Neo-Nazis Held in Bomb and Gun Busts

No major domestic terrorist attack has been successfully carried out since the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing, which left 168 people dead. But judging by the litany of arrests and incidents over the last few months — a list that includes the discovery of huge amounts of explosives — that is not for want of trying.

In cases spanning the country from New York to Colorado, officials have found arsenals of weaponry in the hands of people who are apparently hardened white supremacists or antigovernment extremists. In two incidents, authorities say, members of well-known neo-Nazi groups were involved. The cases include:

- In Denver, authorities say Rex Rabou and Carl Carlson thought they were joining the top-secret “National Militia” when they allegedly sold 31

steel pipe bombs to an ATF agent and promised to recruit friends into the group. The agent, it turned out, was the only other “member.” Court documents identify Carlson as regional organizer for the neo-Nazi National Alliance and Rabou as his second-in-command. If convicted on federal charges of transferring unregistered destructive devices, they could face 10 years in prison.

- In Golden, Colo., two men allegedly sold 138 homemade explosive devices to undercover agents, reportedly saying on tape that they were engaged in making hundreds more. Paul Graham, former leader of the Colorado State Defense Force Reserve militia, was one of those arrested. He and his alleged partner were indicted for manufacturing and selling explosives.

- In Ft. Worth, Texas, three self-described white suprema-

cists and one other person allegedly concocted explosive devices and narcotics while holed up in a hotel room. The hotel’s staff grew suspicious because the room received phone calls at all hours of the day and night. When the hotel refused to extend the group’s stay, the four grew hostile, prompting staff to call police, who discovered guns and cigarette packs rigged as bombs, along with a suspicious white powder and drug paraphernalia. Three of those arrested claimed membership in the Aryan Circle prison gang, and they bore tattoos that seemed to back them up. The four-some faces a variety of drug and weapons charges.

- In Cambridge, N.Y., Brian Davis was allegedly swilling a beer in his car when police pulled him over. Inside the car, police said, were three loaded

weapons, hundred of rounds of ammunition, and literature from the neo-Nazi World Church of the Creator (WOTC). Police reported that Davis and his passenger Bruce Silvernail — who had swastikas and a portrait of Adolph Hitler tattooed on his back — both said they were WOTC members. The men, who now face federal weapons charges, appeared to be heading for a training session.

- In Milwaukee, two pipe-bombs were left in a bag at an Air National Guard base, near graffiti condemning U.S. involvement in the bombing of Kosovo — a common theme on the radical right. Although an arrest of a former Guard pilot was made after the incident, the FBI later exonerated him. The FBI, which says the bombs were capable of killing people, continues to investigate.

Campus Hate

National Alliance Weighs University Recruiting Plan



Billy Roper

The neo-Nazi National Alliance has always sought “a higher class of person” than your garden-variety hater. For years, the group has boasted of the doctors, engineers and other white-collar professionals found among its ranks, and it is headed up by a man who is himself a former university physics professor.

Now, some Alliance members are discussing a plan to blanket colleges and universities with racist and anti-Semitic propaganda in a bid to keep the “quality” people coming in.

“One of my greatest activities in college,” an Alliance enthusiast who calls himself “White Devil” wrote in a Net posting recently, “was those midnight to 2 am [outings] where we threw National Alliance leaflets in people’s driveways.”

For “Ludwig Sterling,” the elite status of the university students could be a boon: “Traditionally,” he writes, “many fraternities are from the upper middle class and upper

class. I am sure NA’s fundraising would not be hurt by adding some millionaire kids to the operation.”

Billy Roper, who is the Alliance’s membership coordinator, started the dialogue by proposing to “bulk purchase copies of *Resistance* magazine, which is youth-oriented and appeals to white college students, and send them to the fraternities and sororities of as many Universities and colleges as possible.” *Resistance* magazine, published by the Alliance, focuses exclusively on racist “white power” music and bands worldwide.

Roper hopes that *Resistance* will up his recruiting numbers. “The more radical the material we put out, the more quickly we distinguish the salvagables from the lemmings,” he wrote in arguing for his plan. “With this age group the more radical the material we put out, the more buzz we create and the cooler it becomes.”

“A fraternity that should be given priority is Kappa Alpha Order,” adds “George.” “They use the confederate battle flag as symbol of southern heritage, and Robert E. Lee is their example of a true southern gentleman.”

Ludwig, referencing the runic alphabet used by medieval Germanic peoples as well as the “life rune” that the National Alliance uses as its symbol, has reduced Roper’s plan to a simple enough aphorism: “The Greek alphabet guys are going to be visited by the Rhunic [sic] alphabet guys.”



Archie Lowe, seen here in front of the Republic of Texas’ flag, has stepped down as the separatist group’s president. But that hasn’t slowed activities on the legislative and diplomatic fronts.

Separatism

Texans Promised (Second) Capitol

In a communiqué notable for its bravado if not its import, the leaders of the antigovernment Republic of Texas (ROT) told the world in October that they have secured 42 acres on which they plan to build their “Provisional Capitol.”

From this patch of land in Dewitt County, the group that says Texas never really joined the union will pursue its quest to convince Americans that their state is actually an independent nation. To that end, they plan a home for the “General Council,” an official state archive, and buildings to serve as meeting places “for various committees and branches of the Provisional Government and a symbol of the increasing growth and entrenchment of our independence movement.”

Actually, ROT hasn’t made too much real political progress, although a ROT faction did manage to get into a week-long standoff with several hundred

Texas Rangers in 1997, ending with the death of one ROT member. But it has made a series of announcements that have at least the ring of authority.

In July, for example, the General Council announced that “the Republic of Texas Provisional Government is pleased to announce that Texas’ newest Embassy and Consulate will open July 10, 2000, in Barcelona, Spain.” That news, like the September announcement that Daniel Miller had replaced Archie Lowe as president of ROT, was virtually ignored by the mainstream U.S. and foreign press.

Of course, some reporters may be thinking about the last ROT “embassy.” It was there, in Ft. Davis, Texas, that ROT factional leader Richard McLaren held several hundred police and reporters at bay after followers kidnapped a neighbor couple. McLaren is now serving a sentence of 111 years in prison.



DARKER THAN BLACK



The U.S. arrest of a German neo-Nazi reveals the growing internationalization of the 'white power' music scene and the expanding empire of one of his American hosts



“Free Hendrik Möbus!”

Those three words appeared as a banner headline last October on radical right-wing web sites around the United States and abroad. Click on the banner, and you learn a little bit more: “Hendrik Möbus of the black metal band Absurd sits in jail with no way to speak to the outside world. He served his sentence for murder, but now his right to free speech makes him an international criminal.” ▪ The original banner, along with an invitation to sympathizers to reproduce it on their own web sites, appears on the home page of Resistance Records, a white power music label controlled by William Pierce, the leader of America’s premiere neo-Nazi group — the National Alliance. Pierce’s propaganda campaign on behalf of Möbus, 24, along with his raising money to foot the bill for Möbus’ legal fees, is virtually unprecedented in Alliance history. Although many members and allies of the National Alliance have gotten into serious trouble with the law (see p. 4), none of them have enjoyed this kind of heroic treatment by Pierce.

So who is Hendrik Möbus? And why is Pierce so interested?

Hendrik Albert Viktor Möbus was arrested last Aug. 26 outside a restaurant about 20 miles from the Hillsboro, W. Va., headquarters of the Alliance, on an international arrest warrant issued in Germany. Möbus, a German citizen, was wanted for violating the terms of his parole in a 1993 murder by publicly mocking and demeaning his victim and by giving a “sieg heil” salute, both actions illegal under strict German laws. He is also accused of organizing radical groups.

Pierce has framed his advocacy for Möbus as a defense of free speech, pointing out that Möbus’ offending comments would have been perfectly legal under U.S. laws. But Pierce’s real interest in Möbus — who stayed as Pierce’s guest for 10 weeks until his arrest — appears to be something quite dif-

Arrested in West Virginia last August, this German neo-Nazi is a key player in the international white power music scene — and the murderer of a 14-year-old boy.



ferent. Möbus, a key player on the “national socialist black metal” (NSBM) music scene in Europe, was helping Pierce establish a worldwide empire of “hatecore” music — a racist genre that is producing millions of dollars in profits. More importantly, perhaps, the music is effectively bringing new recruits into the neo-Nazi movement.

Music, Money and Möbus

Whether or not Pierce knew he was harboring an international fugitive — and despite his and his lawyer’s denials, it seems clear that Pierce did know — the saga of Hendrik Möbus is an important one. It reflects the international nature of the white power music scene, the interest of the National Alliance in becoming a world leader in selling its music, and — if reports of a savage beating that Möbus allegedly suffered in Virginia are to be believed — the increasingly violent and criminal nature of the lucrative business of white power music.

Already, in several European countries where such music is illegal, serious violence has been reported in association with control of this highly profitable business. A similar situation may now be developing here. In Europe, Interpol said in a report released last year that the manufacture, distribution and sale of neo-Nazi music has become a \$3.4 million-a-year criminal enterprise. Increasingly, racist CDs are bootlegged by criminal entrepreneurs, meaning no taxes, band royalties or record company markups are ever deducted — a situation that has lifted profit margins to the high heavens. With CDs costing underground bootleggers about \$2 apiece to produce, Interpol said profit margins are better than for selling hashish.

The Möbus case also throws a spotlight on the strange world where neo-Nazism, racist neo-Paganism and strands of Satanism converge — a world peopled by both European and American extremists, many of them musicians. In a vari-

Norwegian Varg Vikernes played as the one-man band Burzum, burned Christian churches and went to prison for murdering a long-time friend.

ety of ways, this ideological brew is the force driving the NSBM scene today.

‘Satan’s Children’

On the evening of April 29, 1993, 17-year-old Hendrik Möbus and two other teenagers — all members of the black metal band Absurd — took a 14-year-old boy with whom they had quarreled earlier into the forest near Sondershausen, in the former East Germany. Earlier, according to a book by two German journalists, *Satanskinder* (“Satan’s Children”), Möbus had sent a message, partly in stilted English, to his victim, Sandro Beyer: “The hell come to your home. You will die. Sathan [sic] awaits! Stay away from us you whimp [sic] and poser!”

Using a mutual female friend as bait, Möbus and the others lured Beyer to a cabin owned by Möbus’ father. Once inside, one of Möbus’ confederates used an electrical cord to begin strangling Beyer. When Beyer tried to scream for help, Möbus began to stab him, *Satanskinder* recounts. It was only then, the book says, that the attackers decided they couldn’t let Beyer go, despite his pleas and promises to tell no one — after all, they reasoned, Beyer would almost surely report Möbus’ knife wound to his stomach. Beyer was tied to a chair, and Möbus then reportedly held his legs while the two other teenagers finished strangling the boy.

The case produced an uproar in the German press, which carried lurid accounts of the murder and the other exploits of the members of Absurd, allegedly including Satanic “baptism” ceremonies in an abandoned quarry. Black metal, a particularly violent and often fascistic form of “extreme music,” was explored in great detail. The similarities to a case in Norway, where black metal legend Varg Vikernes was also imprisoned for murder and for helping

to set off a series of anti-Christian arsons that left some 40 churches burned in the 1990s, were laid out for the public. For their part, the killers offered little explanation for the murder until long after the trial, beyond the words of one of them: “He had to go.”

Murder as a ‘Beneficial Act’

Möbus was sentenced to eight years in a juvenile facility, where he managed to produce increasingly harsh and political music, growing into a kind of icon on the German neo-Nazi and NSBM scenes. In a 1997 interview in the book

Lords of Chaos: The Bloody Rise of the Satanic Metal Underground, Möbus expounded on what the book’s authors described as his “esoteric racialist mysticism.”

“National Socialism is the most perfect synthesis of the Luciferian will-to-

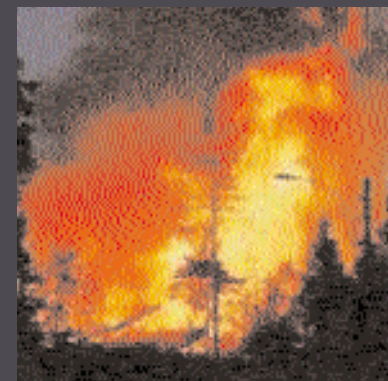
From Satan to Hitler

‘Black metal’ music has gone from a rebellious adolescent genre to a scene increasingly affiliated with neo-Nazism and murder

When the British band Venom first started spewing Satanic lyrics some two decades ago, its album, “Black Metal,” flew off the shelves. Adopting the black metal moniker, a youthful subculture grew around the music of Venom and similar bands, enchanted by the shocking anti-Christian themes and the dark concert displays of skulls, capes, and devilish make-up. By the 1990s, a more political offshoot evolved out of the black metal scene — “national socialist black metal” (NSBM) — combining Satanism with pagan and neo-fascist themes.

As black metal bands popped up across Europe in the 1980s and 1990s, Scandinavia — especially Norway — emerged as the scene’s epicenter. The band Mayhem was formed in 1984 by Norwegian Øystein Aarseth, who once strung a necklace with the skull fragments of a former member named Dead (he’d committed suicide). Dubbing himself and his followers the “Black Circle,” Aarseth merged Satanist and neo-Pagan theologies. Christianity, he said, should be violently expelled from Norway and replaced with his cultish mix.

Aarseth’s message was taken to heart. Starting in 1991, there were dozens of church burnings in Norway, which the Norwegian press blamed on the Black Circle. In neighboring coun-



Norway’s 12th-century Fantoft church was the most famous of 100 churches burned.

tries, and in Russia, church burnings were also linked to denizens of the black metal scene. Convicted, in the end, for several of the arsons in Norway was Varg Vikernes, Aarseth’s protégé and fellow Black Circle leader. Vikernes also admitted that he’d planned to blow up a leftist enclave in Oslo called the Blitz.

Once in prison, Vikernes injected National Socialism into the blend of Satanism and Paganism that he’d inherited from Aarseth. Since 1994, like-minded musicians have taken up this ideological composite, with Nazism often coming to the fore. NSBM, as the name indicates, is plainly fascist.

The black metal scene, as a whole, is known for its violence. Several murders

in Scandinavia were attributed to principals of the scene, and at least 100 churches were burned by arsonists.

Indeed, the reason Vikernes still sits in prison is that he murdered his former mentor. Aarseth had promoted Vikernes’ one-man band, but under murky circumstances, the relationship ended with just one man alive.

If the violence that erupts in NSBM scene is due largely to the character of its artists, there is another important factor. The lyrics typical of NSBM are illegal in much of Europe, where neo-Nazi speech has been banned. Consigned to the black market, NSBM has become a highly lucrative criminal enterprise — something that its profiteers have fought over tooth and nail.

In 1997, a gang war swept the white power music scene in Sweden. The conflict “resulted in several deaths, a bomb sent to a Swedish cabinet minister, and sundry other mayhem,” according the *Encyclopedia of White Power*. The fierce Combat 18 group, hailing from Britain, was pitted against a Swedish label, Nordland, which is associated with the Resistance Records label of America’s leading neo-Nazi, William Pierce. Resistance/Nordland ultimately won the war, retaining control of the market as Combat 18 leaders went to prison for murder.

power, and neo-heathen principles & symbolism,” Möbus told the interviewer for *Lords of Chaos*. “If ‘Aryan’ stands for the noble, the illuminated creative power of the White, then ‘Jewish’ means just the opposite.”

And then he spoke of his victim — “leftist faggot” Sandro Beyer.

“On the 29th of April, 1993, we wanted to clear up the ‘Sandro problem’ — and we did, albeit rather gruesomely. ... I can say we unconsciously imitated an archaic sacrificial rite: first Sandro was hit with a knife, then strangled, and after that buried in the earth.”

Did Möbus have any regrets? “[E]very passing second a human dies, so there’s no need to make a big fuss of this one kill.”

Möbus made similar remarks elsewhere. “We always had the idea to break the ‘taboo’ of ‘Thou Shalt Not Kill,’” he told the e-zine *Mourning the Ancient*. “Sandro B. was an utterly irritating guy who became a pain in the ass after a while. He has [sic] spread rumors and bullshit about ourselves, something we couldn’t stand any longer. ... I say, it simply was a beneficial act for mankind.”

In Norway, Another Outrage

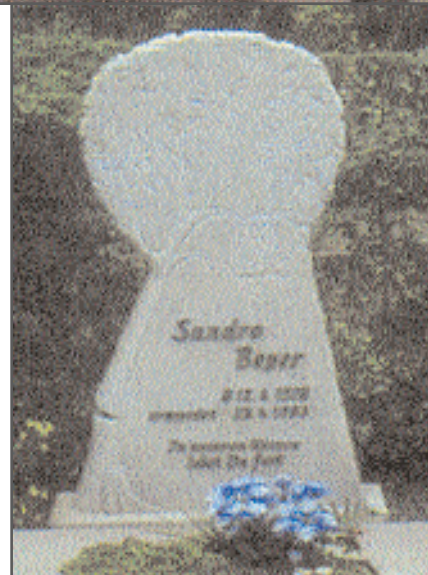
An article exploring the international NSBM scene in the Spring 2000 issue of *Resistance*, the white power music magazine published by Pierce, describes Möbus’ increasing politicization while imprisoned. “In jail,” *Resistance* recounts with evident approval, “Hendrik dealt with Germanic Heathendom, folkish world views and National Socialism [NS]. Slowly but steadily, his world-view progressed into a Nordic creed and a Germanic ethic. Hendrik promoted his beliefs on various occasions ... and was contacted [in jail] by numerous NS-Skinheads.”

While still in prison, Möbus was widely compared to Varg Vikernes, who was imprisoned in Norway. A month before the Beyer murder, Vikernes (whose self-given first name means “wolf” in Norwegian), had participat-



Hendrik Möbus — seen here nursing the arm he injured under mysterious circumstances this summer — once used a photograph of his victim’s headstone (right) on an album cover.

ed in arson attacks on historic Christian churches, and was sentenced to three months in jail. Not long after getting out, Vikernes, who performs as the one-man black metal band Burzum, got into a dispute with one Øystein Aarseth, who was widely known as the godfather of the black metal scene in Norway. Although it’s unclear what motivated the assault — a battle over power, a woman or a recording contract — the outcome is well known. On Aug. 10, 1993, Vikernes murdered his one-time mentor. After Vikernes’ arrest, police found a huge arsenal of explosives in his home — explosives that Vikernes would later say he had planned to use to blow up Blitz House, a famous gathering place for anarchists and leftists in Oslo.



“Europe is cursed by the rotten, rip-off, capitalist Jew-culture, a culture based on \$ (plague and torment), miscegenation and Jewish world supremacy,” Vikernes wrote in explaining his politics. “Burning churches is our duty.”



The Killers Connect

Möbus and Vikernes share something more than their hatred of Jews and capitalism — dedication to neo-Paganism (Odinism, in particular) in a form that sees Christianity as a repugnant faith based on Judaism. To Möbus, Christianity is “Spiritual Black Death,” a “praise-the-feeble” religion. His answer to this plague? “You can’t get rid of a virus after a certain number of people are contaminated,” Möbus declared, “[but] you can get rid of the contaminated people.”

Both Möbus and Vikernes were able to play and record music in prison. (Prison rules are generally far more liberal in Europe than in the United States.) This, coupled with the notoriety each gained through their crimes and their neo-Nazi declarations, made each of them icons on the NSBM scene in Europe — even though, in Vikernes’ case, freedom is still many years away. Ultimately, while still in prison, the two men came to communicate with one another.

In his 1997 or 1998 interview with *Mourning the Ancient*, Möbus said he had been “in touch with Varg for a couple of years now” after first coming into contact with Burzum’s music in 1991. “[I]t is amazing to see that we share almost all the same ideas and ideals,” Möbus enthused about Vikernes, who he described as a “superior man” and a “supreme personality.” “If there is any way to get him out of jail, then I wouldn’t hesitate to participate in such a project,” he said.

“HEIL NORDLAND’S FÜHRER, HEIL VARG VIKERNES!”

‘The Wave to Appear’

While in prison, Vikernes ran a record company and became the self-proclaimed leader of both the Norwegian Heathen Front and “an international heathen brotherhood he calls Cymophane,” according to a new book, *Encyclopedia of White Power: A Sourcebook on the Radical Racist Right*. In an interview with an e-zine a few years ago, Vikernes explained that Cymophane — an Anglicization of the Greek for “the wave to appear” — is also the name of his record label.

Today, Cymophane is a firm that sells the music of Vikernes’ Burzum — possibly the most popular NSBM group in the world — along with the writings of James Mason, a one-time American Nazi Party member who adulates the convicted murderer Charles Manson as a kind of second Hitler. (Until recently, Mason was also head of the “Vinland,” or U.S., branch of the Heathen Front.) And it is a firm that has turned out to be a key component of Möbus’ trip to the United States.

Möbus was paroled in August 1998, after serving five years and four months of his sentence, and immediately entered active extreme right politics. He became head of the German branch of the Heathen Front. He took over a black metal label, Darker Than Black Records (DTB), and contributed to a compilation by another firm, HATE Records — a label that belongs to the Saxonian branch of Hammerskin Nation, an

Cymophane — “the wave to appear” — refers to the coming of a kind of muscular Viking fascism.

extremely violent, international Skinhead group. And, like Vikernes, he spoke of wanting to get his music distributed in the United States.

But trouble was brewing on the horizon.

In July 1999, Möbus was sentenced to eight months in prison for giving the stiff-armed Nazi salute. Shortly after that, his parole was revoked — although he was not captured. Three months later, police raided almost two dozen locations in Germany, including DTB, and charged a number of music labels with distributing Nazi propaganda. DTB shut down after the raid. And a short time after, Möbus — who was still on the loose — was handed another 18-month term for the remarks he had made mocking and demeaning Beyer in the *Lords of Chaos* interview.

Coming to America

Following the DTB raid, Möbus “made plans to continue his operations in the United States,” according to the British antifascist magazine *Searchlight*. While still in Germany, the magazine reported, Möbus worked out a deal to distribute DTB products through Bestial Offerings, a distributor in Texas. And he reportedly came to an arrangement with another Texas firm, Ancestral Research Records.

In December 1999, Möbus flew to Seattle and entered the United States. It appears he entered legally, although he would ultimately overstay his visa (actually a 90-day visa waiver that allowed him temporary entry into the country).

Victor Gerhard, a lawyer for the National Alliance, told *The Los Angeles Times* that Möbus’ air fare was paid for by an American white supremacist — presumably not Pierce — who “sought his expertise in putting together record deals and paid for him to get over.” The two men had a falling out, Gerhard said, and Möbus headed east, staying with white power devotees as he went.

The man who paid Möbus' air fare was apparently Nathan Pett, a key player in the white supremacist White Order of Thule (WOT). WOT, with branches in Elk, Wash., where Pett lives, and Richmond, Va., publishes the journal *Crossing the Abyss*. For his part, Pett personally edits another journal, *Fenris Wolf*, "The Revolutionary Voice of the Pagan Liberation League." According to *Searchlight*, Pett has affiliated *Fenris Wolf* with the Pagan Front, which is an international organization.

After arriving in Seattle, Möbus went to Elk, Wash., to live with Pett, who also goes by the alias Nate Zorn. But the two apparently argued, and Möbus made his way to Richmond, Va., where another WOT chapter is located.

Of Hammers and Handcuffs

At this point, the story grows murkier. According to some postings in Internet discussion groups, Möbus was attacked in Richmond, in most accounts by Pett and a friend. Möbus reportedly was handcuffed and methodically beaten with a hammer all over his body. (The irony of this reported attack is that Möbus' murder victim, Sandro Beyer, was also bound by his tormentors to a chair before he was strangled.) By the time Möbus was finally freed, he had been very badly injured, according to these accounts.

One October posting on a "national anarchist" discussion group publicly put several hostile questions to Pett, including this one: "In June 2000 did you travel to Richmond VA and with an accomplice, duct tape and cuff H. Mobus and beat him bloody with a hammer?" Pett's reply was somewhat ambiguous: "[E]ven if we did do such a thing, If [sic] you think I am going to freely discuss with people who are completely irrelevant to me (total strangers actually) such illegal and incriminating activity, OVER THE INTERNET... Than [sic] you are seriously deluded."

Pett has come under attack in other Internet venues as well. Although the

underlying reasons for these attacks are unclear, it appears that Pett may have angered other white supremacists in tangling with Möbus. Alex Curtis, the white supremacist editor of the widely read e-zine *The Nationalist Observer*, has accused Pett of aiding police in a case against another racist activist. In one posting that drew a furious reply from Pett, Curtis declared that Pett and his group "cannot be trusted and should be shunned as rats and detriments to Aryan honor." A series of other leading white supremacists have pilloried Pett in a similar fashion.

Pett could not be reached for comment.

The Fugitive Arrives

After his ill-starred Richmond visit, Möbus made his way to Pierce's National Alliance headquarters in West Virginia, arriving there in early June and staying for almost three months. Later, Pierce and his lawyer, Victor Gerhard, would insist that they had no idea that Möbus was a fugitive when he appeared on the Alliance's doorstep. "All I knew was that he didn't want to go back," Pierce told *The Los Angeles Times*. But that does not appear to be the truth.

Four months before Möbus showed up in West Virginia, Pierce's own white power music magazine, *Resistance*, described Möbus' plight to readers in great detail, explaining that Möbus faced "5+ years" if caught. "He is now on the run, wanted by German authorities with an international arrest order," *Resistance* said in its Spring 2000 issue. The masthead lists Pierce as publisher.

Pierce has also angrily accused the U.S. marshals who arrested Möbus of breaking the young man's arm when they took him in. But it may well be that the injuries that Pierce refers to actually date back to the reported Richmond attack, which supposedly occurred shortly before Möbus arrived in West Virginia.

In any event, Pierce took a sharp interest in Möbus. It is now evident that

this interest derived from Möbus' central role in the world of hatecore — a world that Pierce has done his best to get a major piece of in the last two years.

Since last year, William Pierce has had control of America's largest racist music label, Resistance Records, along with its magazine. (In a series of complex transactions that were detailed in the Fall 1999 issue of the *Intelligence Report*, Pierce paid out about \$250,000 for Resistance.) He also bought a major racist Swedish label, Nordland. As long ago as last fall, Pierce expressed an interest in expanding into NSBM, and last spring's article in *Resistance* — "Is Black Metal a White Noise?" — seemed to reiterate that desire. Moreover, Pierce long has been a leader in establishing international relationships among neo-fascists in Europe and the United States, traveling frequently across the ocean. So while it remains unclear whether or not Pierce and Möbus were in contact before June, it is no surprise that the aging American and the young German found much to discuss.

And Cymophane Makes Three

"Three months ago, I had a visit from a young German musician who has made a name for himself with resistance music in Europe," Pierce explained in a September radio broadcast. "I invited him to stay as my guest and help me establish new outlets in Europe for my records. And that's what he did for 10 weeks. He stayed as my guest, and we talked about the role of music in our overall effort."

Pierce didn't say so, but the pair also cut a deal.

On June 30, a few weeks after Möbus came to stay, William Pierce registered Cymophane, LLC, listing himself as organizer and manager, with the West Virginia Secretary of State. The principal office address given was the same as for Pierce's National Alliance headquarters. Meanwhile, the Internet domain for Cymophane.com is now registered to DTB — the music label that

Möbus controlled before coming to the United States. The upshot, then, is this: Möbus clearly seems to have handed Pierce at least a part of Cymophane — meaning that in all likelihood Pierce now controls U.S. rights to both Vikernes' and Möbus' music.

In the end, this acquisition may prove to have been highly important. It apparently brings to Pierce some of the most popular white power bands in the world. It may lift the profits from his burgeoning music operation — profits that could reach as much as \$1 million a year in the near future, an amount that

would help make the 1,500-member Alliance rich. And it substantially broadens Pierce's influence, as ever more young people tune in to the sounds of hate.

In any event, it seems unlikely that Möbus will be in a position to assist Pierce any further. Although authorities initially planned to extradite him to Germany to face criminal charges on his parole violation, they decided to try to deport Möbus instead after he asked for political asylum. As a result, officials expect Möbus to be sent back to Germany relatively quickly — despite the

Pierce "Free Hendrik Möbus!" banners that continue to pop up worldwide.

Regardless, Pierce certainly seems to have taken a liking to his unusual visitor. He has promised to fund Möbus' fight to stay in the United States, and has asked for money from Alliance members and others to back him up — an appeal that already has produced over \$9,000. Denouncing authorities for supposedly roughing Möbus up, Pierce offered his own rather unique view of the convicted German child murderer: "a quiet, skinny, non-violent intellectual." ▲

Listening In

'National socialist black metal' music isn't available in most record stores, but it's on the Net — if it hasn't already sold out

Black metal music may line the shelves of your local record stores, but you probably won't come across "national socialist black metal" (NSBM). This political sub-genre is a few clicks away, though, for any restless youth with a computer. On websites trafficking in black metal and other "extreme music," the tunes and wares of NSBM bands — especially Varg Vikernes' Burzum and Hendrik Möbus' Absurd — are highly popular items. Some sites are devoted exclusively to the genre. What follows is a sampling of NSBM on the Internet:

www.nsbm.com

This site offers an array of national socialist, racist Odinist, and other white power music. With swastikas bordering its opening statement, there is no mistaking the neo-Nazi orientation. "Our movement will not stop with social disapproval or the weak-willed scheming of our adversaries," the site's home page declares. "We are here with the nihilistic truth which warriors will hear to the sounds of the protests of the weak — to war!"

The site carries a 1999 *Intelligence Report* article on NSBM that it acknowledges "does an above-average job in addressing the genre historically." But nsbm.com disputes the *Intelligence Reports* contention that neo-Nazis have appropriated black metal; rather, "the truth is more that as a logical part of its extension black metal has discovered National Socialism."

Burzum, according to the NSBM site, turns out "gentle symphonies of music designed to evoke ancient pagan and mystical feeling." Asburd, in contrast, is "ridiculous, dissonant, honest, powerful. ... Immature and turbulent. It delivers everything that black metal can through melody and all that violent hardcore has ever offered through rhythm." MP3 samples of both bands' music are included.

www.blackmetal.com

This "extreme underground metal" site offers an extensive medley of choices for the neo-Nazi black metal aficionado. The site touts itself "as a reference guide to your unholy excursion into the dark, evil world of BLACK METAL."

Reflecting the popularity of Burzum, blackmetal.com carries 15 listings for the band's offerings (many are sold out). Two t-shirts bearing the group's logo and other symbols are available in short-sleeved and long-sleeved versions. Also listed is Absurd's CD "Asgardsrei," although it, too, is temporarily unavailable.

www.burzum.com

The "Official Burzum Page" features graphics with an unsettling "Blair Witch Project" feel. Visitors can read the biography of the "misunderstood" Vikernes, and his essay entitled "Civilization," a self-proclaimed "revolutionary document" that "outlines his life philosophy and his vision for a future." Vikernes also tackles such topics as "Mother Earth, Tolkien, the power of fantasy, radical environmentalism and space travel."

This site is huge, and all Vikernes' music and related merchandise is listed, though, again, much of it is unavailable. In the guestbook, there is commentary from fans and critics alike.

Snarling At The White Man

Leaders of the New Black Panther Party, unlike those of its namesake of the 1960s and 1970s, speak of 'white devils' and 'bloodsucking Jews'

BLACK PANTHERS

Branching assault rifles and shotguns, 50 black men clad in fatigues and berets appeared two years ago on the troubled streets of Jasper, Texas. They were there, they announced, to protect fellow blacks against attacks following the truck-dragging murder of James Byrd Jr. and to face down the Ku Klux Klan.

Twice, a large contingent of police and Texas Rangers turned back the black-clad militants attempting to confront the hooded marchers who had come to Jasper to "defend" local whites in the aftermath of the Byrd killing. At one point, police had to intervene to prevent opponents from overturning a van full of Klansmen. But the police, sensing the supercharged nature of this very public confrontation, avoided — probably wisely — trying to disarm the black men from Dallas.

That tense day in June 1998 introduced the nation to a group that few Americans had heard of: the New Black Panther Party. Trading on the name of a group of black militants famous in the 1960s and 1970s, the "new" Panthers portrayed themselves as the only men bold enough to take on the violent racism of the Klan and other white supremacists. Eschewing the health clinics and free breakfast programs of the original Panthers, the new group's leaders have seemed to focus almost exclusively on hate rhetoric about Jews and whites.

"We will never bow down to the white, Jewish, Zionist onslaught," is the way Washington, D.C., attorney Malik Zulu Shabazz put it not long before becoming the chief spokesman for the New Black Panther Party. Panther leader Khalid Abdul Muhammad, Shabazz added, is the man "who gives the white man nightmares ... who makes the Jews pee in their pants at night."

Whites as the Enemy

Lacking a national office, a publication or even a web site, the New Black Panther Party may seem somewhat disorganized. But despite that, the new Panthers have

Although the original Black Panthers also sometimes displayed guns, their leaders did not vilify whites, Jews, Catholics and homosexuals like New Black Panther Party leader Khalid Muhammad does.

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

BLACK PANTHERS

Wearing the beret, black outfit and emblem of the new Panthers, Khalid Muhammad organizes for one of his many blacks-only marches.

managed to sustain themselves through several incarnations since their beginnings about 10 years ago. Today, the party appears to be a federation of as many as 35 chapters in at least 13 cities with informal but important links to certain black Muslims and other small black groups. In the last year, the Panthers have appeared publicly in Atlanta, Dallas, Detroit, Houston, New York, Norfolk, Va., and Washington, D.C. Dallas leader Robert Williams says there are chapters scattered throughout the East and Midwest, and adds that new chapters are being organized in Gulfport, Miss., and New Orleans. He said he could offer no estimates as to the national group's size, but added that in Dallas there are "just over 100 members."

The party's overall ideology — and the uniformity of that ideology within the party — is difficult to assess. Some local leaders seem far less radical — and less given to anti-Semitism and hatred of white people — than their national spokesmen. Williams says the chapter heads meet annually, but adds that communication among the party's leaders is usually quite informal — he himself says he knows little more than the phone numbers of the other chapters. Even the party's official platform is unclear. Members variously have claimed to have 10-, 12- and 14-point platforms, each adapted from the original Panthers' 10 points.

Shabazz, the party's national spokesman, refused to describe his organization to the *Intelligence Report*. "I've discussed it with my national committee," he said, "and I've been instructed not to answer any of your questions."

But certain things are obvious. One version of the new Panthers' platform, drawn from a 1997 web site, is very similar to the original Panthers' — with a key difference. Where the original Panthers demanded "an end to the robbery by the capitalists of our black and oppressed communities" the new party calls for something quite different — "an end to robbery by the white man."



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

'Who's Pimping the World?'

And then there is Khalid Muhammad.

Muhammad, who first appeared publicly as the new Panthers' leader at the Jasper demonstration in 1998, had long been known as the leading spokesman for the black separatist Nation of Islam. He lost that post after Nation leader Louis

Farrakhan was widely criticized for Muhammad's violently hateful speeches.

With a fondness for speeches with titles like "Who's Pimping the World?" (answer: "the Jews"), Muhammad has rarely minced words. He has blamed slavery and even the Holocaust on the "hooked-nose, bagel-eating, lox-eating, perpetrating-a-fraud,



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS



Old Panther leaders like David Hilliard (above) and Bobby Seale (left) say they worked with other ethnic groups, unlike the New Black Panthers. To Seale, the new Panther Party is a "black racist hate group."

so-called Jew." He has called for building a Student Violent Coordinating Committee — a takeoff on the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee that was a key player in the civil rights struggle. He has launched repeated diatribes against his enemies: "white devil crackers," "bloodsucking Jews" and "faggots."

Some of his most famous comments, regarding politics in post-apartheid South Africa, came in a notorious 1993 speech at Kean College in New Jersey. Muhammad had clear ideas for dealing with whites who did not leave immediately: "We kill the women. We kill the babies. We kill the blind. We kill the crip-

ples. We kill them all. We kill the faggot. We kill the lesbian. ... When you get through killing them all, go to the goddamn graveyard and dig up the grave and kill them a-goddamn-gain, because they didn't die hard enough" the first time.

Just this fall, Muhammad made similar comments in a Detroit speech. "There's only two kinds of white folks, there's only two kinds," he said, "bad white folks and worse white folks. ... [Malcolm X] said if you find one good, kill him first, before he turns bad. Because he's only faking."

Old Panthers vs. New

Williams, the Dallas chapter head, told the *Intelligence Report* that the Panthers aren't racist — "because to be racist you have to have power" — although he backs segregated education until high school.

Jeremiah Ward, the Panther leader in Gulfport, Miss., insists the group is “about uplifting our own people.”

But key opponents disagree. Bobby Seale, a founding member of the original Panthers, calls Muhammad’s organization “a black racist hate group.” In 1997, two original Panthers from Dallas — Fahim Minkah and Marvin Crenshaw — won an injunction against then-Dallas leader Aaron Michaels preventing him from using the old Panther name or logo. The injunction was never enforced.

“We worked with all different ethnic groups, especially the white left, to build a coalition,” says David Hilliard, an early member of the original Panthers and now director of the Dr. Huey P. Newton Foundation, in Oakland, Calif., that bears the name of a deceased Panther leader. The new Panthers’ “whole philosophy is ‘Black Power, Black Power,’ to the point of being separatist,” he says.

“We were never separatist.”

Although its beginnings are somewhat murky, the New Black Panther Party apparently began around 1990 in Milwaukee, where a city alderman organized what he called the Black Panther Militia. If black urban poverty was not alleviated with a massive infusion of government funds, Alderman Michael McGee angrily threatened, white America would face “urban guerilla warfare” from blacks who would cut phone lines and burn tires on highways to snarl commuter traffic.

Black men, McGee declared, needed to “stop being sissies.”

Nazis and Panthers

Although it’s unclear at what point the Milwaukee group changed its name, McGee soon managed to organize chapters in Indianapolis and Dallas and to become the new group’s “national commander” in the process. In Indianapolis, Mmoja Ajabu — a man who would soon acquire a significant criminal record — was the leader. In Dallas, it was Aaron Michaels, who for years had produced the controversial radio show hosted by John Wiley Price, a relatively militant black



Aaron Michaels, a key player in the Dallas chapter of the New Black Panther Party that marched several times in Jasper, Texas (right), once told a rally that any act of white aggression against blacks would be met with “maximum retaliation.”

county commissioner who some whites have accused of racism.

Indications of the new party’s radical direction came early on. In May 1993, McGee and Michaels organized a demonstration reportedly calling for separation of the races and the overthrow of the U.S. government. It was attended by 200 blacks and one specially invited white guest — Tom Metzger, the white supremacist ideologue who has a fondness for publishing grotesque caricatures of black people. It was one of a number of meetings of black and white separatists over the last 15 years joining in a common cause.

Despite the meeting, McGee was no lover of neo-Nazis. Not long after, appearing on the trash-talking “Jerry Springer Show,” McGee punched Arthur Jones, a

long-time leader of the National Socialist White People’s Party.

Muhammad’s first contact with the Panthers may have been in Indianapolis in 1993, when he joined Ajabu, the local leader, in organizing a protest of a planned Klan demonstration. Both Ajabu and Williams, the current Dallas leader, say that it was during this period — when Khalid Muhammad was being widely attacked for his violent New Jersey speech — that the Nation leader got involved. Muhammad, Williams says, “formally entered the organization in 1997, but has been involved since 1994.” Muhammad became national commander in 1997 or 1998.

“Khalid took it on because he was disenchanted with the Nation of Islam,” Ajabu told the *Intelligence Report*. “He did not leave because he was mad. He left because he thought the Black Panther Party was better adapted to our struggle. ... There was a meeting of all the chapters in Texas and he was voted in.”

(Still, Muhammad is critical of the Nation. This fall, he called Farrakhan

a “hypocrite” for allowing whites to attend the Nation’s “Million Family March.”)

But Muhammad was already deeply involved. In June 1996, he and Michaels held a news conference in Dallas that was attended by a group of new Panthers, members of the Nation of Islam, and a bevy of reporters. “We must understand the nature of the white man,” Muhammad said. “The white man is the devil.”

Two Arsons and a Trial

Beginning in 1993, Ajabu organized protests in Indianapolis against the Klan, against the harassment of a black family living in a white neighborhood, and for a black boycott — which proved unsuccessful — of the school system.

But at the same time, controversy dogged the Indiana leader. In May 1994, Ajabu’s house burned down in what was ruled an arson. No charges were ever brought in the case, but Ajabu’s insurance company refused to pay his claim. Ajabu sued the company as a result, but lost after attorneys presented evidence that he





AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

had a financial motive to start the fire. No money was ever paid.

Three months later, Ajabu appeared in Wedowee, Ala., after a principal there sparked nationwide outrage by threatening to cancel the high school prom if interracial couples attended and by demeaning one biracial girl. Hours after Ajabu gave a speech touting the New Black Panthers, the school was burned to the ground. Christopher Johnson, son of the local Panther leader, was tried. But jurors apparently did not believe testimony that Johnson had boasted of starting the fire, and Johnson was acquitted. Ajabu will not discuss his speech of that night.

In January 1996, Ajabu was convicted of intimidation because of threats he made against a prosecutor who was seeking the death penalty against Ajabu's son in a murder trial. In the end, Ajabu served a year in prison — but only after failing in a bid to become a congressman during appeals. After a June 1996 protest against the death penalty, Ajabu was convicted of resisting arrest, a misdemeanor.

Guns and the Press

Of the new Panthers' original leaders — McGee, Michaels and Ajabu — only Michaels apparently remains involved. Ajabu left around the time of his prison term, and is now studying to become a Christian minister. There is no record of McGee's involvement in the New Black Panthers after the mid-1990s.

Since the mid-1990s and right up to the present, the new Panthers have specialized in confrontational, armed demonstrations — protests guaranteed to win attention from the media. A Dallas school board meeting was canceled in May 1996 after Panthers threatened to come with loaded weapons. In June of that year, the Panthers went to Greenville, Texas, in a bid to demonstrate black solidarity against the presumably racist arsonists of two black churches. (In the end, a black man confessed.) In 1997, Panthers showed up again in Dallas in an unsuccessful bid for a separate school district for blacks. In 1998, they made two very public trips to

Since taking over the New Black Panther Party, Khalid Muhammad has made a show of the group's armed militancy.

Jasper in the wake of James Byrd's murder. And, inspired by key Houston member Quanell X, Panthers protested this year at the Texas Republican convention and at the execution of a black man, Gary Graham, in Huntsville, Texas.

'Praying for Rain'

The most public activities of the Panthers have been seen in Muhammad's organization of Million Youth Marches, held in Harlem, N.Y., in each of the last three years. The idea for the marches grew out of Louis Farrakhan's 1995 Million Man March, held in Washington, D.C., and the 1997 Million Woman March, held in Philadelphia. Muhammad had no role in the two earlier events.

But the constantly declining attendance at Muhammad's New York City marches has not helped the Panther image as a pow-

erhouse organization. Shortly before the first of Muhammad's Million Youth Marches, there were predictions of 1 million or even 2 million participants. In the event, 10,000 actually showed up. In 1999, attendance was down to just 2,000. And this year, a hardy 200 came to hear Muhammad, who blamed the turnout on "the white devil media."

The fact is, the New Black Panther Party, despite some similarities to the vast-

ly more successful Nation of Islam, has not picked up the support of millions of black people. It has angered whites, Jews and most blacks, who see it as fundamentally racist. And it has left a bitter taste in the mouths of at least some of the communities that its members, guns in hand, purport to be helping.

The residents of Jasper, Texas — including many of the ostensible victims

who the new Panthers said they sought to protect from the white man — may have said it best. Looking at the confrontation between Panthers and Klansmen, one woman said "it would be God's own miracle" if the outsiders left town. Another woman from Jasper seemed to sum up the attitude of many in the East Texas community.

"We're praying," she said, "for rain." ▲

'With Our God and Our Gun'

In September, hard-line New Black Panther Party leader Khalid Muhammad addressed an all-black crowd in the First Holy Temple of God in Christ in Detroit, covering topics ranging from the evil nature of whites to Muhammad's troubled relationship with his former mentor, Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan. In his speech, Muhammad announced that the new Panthers would shortly be starting an "international" newspaper, and added that the party has regional headquarters in both New York City and Atlanta. Here are some of Muhammad's remarks:

I KNOW SOME OF Y'ALL WANT TO BE IN A family with white folks: "It's not right to leave white people out. We're all one family." That is a lie. We are not one family! ... I'm here to tell you that God has a people, that God has chosen a people. And it's not some hooked-nose, bagel-eatin', lox-eatin', perpetrating-a-fraud, just-crawled-out-of-the-caves-and-hills-of-Europe, so-called, wannabe, imposter Jew! You are the true Jew! You are the true Israelite!

SISTERS, I WANT TO SAY THIS. WE DON'T believe in sexism. The national chief of staff over all of the chairmen, over all of the chairwomen, over all of the ministers of defense, over all of the brothers and sisters ... is a sister. ... We don't have any egos here. When sisters are in charge, sisters are in charge.

I HAVE TO ASK YOU [AUDIENCE MEMBERS] something about Black Hebrew Israelite nation [a black nationalist group]. Because you have integrated now, you have let whites in. ... I went in D.C. ... into the soul vegetarian [restaurant]. ... I saw these white folks and I said, "What is this?" ... So I'm clowning, and I started talking to those devils. I said, "You work here?" And the devil said, "Yes, but I'm a brother." I said, "You're a brother?" I said, "You ain't

no goddamned brother, you just workin' here." ... Then one of the Black Hebrew Israelites came out to defend the devil. He said, "No, no, he's our brother." I said, "Your brother? What happened to the bandit? What happened to the heathen?"

I WANT TO GO ON TO THE NATION NOW. I have to be honest. I am shocked. My teacher [Farrakhan] taught me all of this. And now my teacher is saying he is having a Million Family March for all races and all colors. I don't understand that. I don't want to stand with no goddamned devil, at no Million Family March or no damn way. ... Even in the supermarket, I pass by with my basket and damn near run over them. ... I have been taught all my years in the Nation of Islam that the white man is not *a* devil, the white man is *the* devil.

SO WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO? ARE YOU going to just bend over and pull your pants down and give evil an opening? Or are you going to stand up and fight back? ... When we went to Jasper [Texas], that's what we said: "We come here with our God and our gun."

ALL THESE NEGROES RUNNING AROUND, they've got you upset over this flag [holds

up Confederate battle flag]. How many Negroes marching, snottin' and crying over this flag? That's a Negro who wants to be white, wants to be an American. ... But look at this [holds up a U.S. flag]. Those same Negroes don't say nothing about this flag. ... Now you tell me, which flag drips with more of the blood of the black man and the black woman? ... The American flag!

THERE'S ONLY TWO KINDS OF WHITE FOLKS, there's only two kinds, bad white folks and worse white folks. That's the only two kinds of white folks there are. Malcolm [X, a black militant of the 1960s who later softened his stance] used to say, from the teachings of the honorable [Nation founder] Elijah Muhammad, that all white folks are bad. He said if you find one good, kill him first before he turns bad. Because he's only faking.

WHATEVER ORGANIZATION YOU ARE WITH or whatever religion, finally we have got a black united front that is being formed. ... But we don't accept any white people at all. So your white girlfriend can't come with you, white boyfriend, white wife, they can't come. ... Black power! Black power! Black power!

Behind the Wire

In jails and prisons around the country, allegations of racist and sometimes violent guards are plaguing the corrections industry

When unruly inmates in Texas created a disturbance in their fourth-floor cellblock, they surely expected some sort of reprimand. Bruce Parker, a supervisor at Houston's Harris County Jail, delivered one they wouldn't soon forget.

Calling the prisoners "niggers," Parker allegedly went on to threaten them with violence. He announced to his charges that he was "down with the KKK," and had been a Ku Klux Klan member, in fact, since the age of 25.

Parker, who was fired following the July incident, isn't the only corrections officer who's invoked the Klan or white supremacist ideology to teach inmates — and sometimes other guards and even wardens — who's boss. In at least six states, guards have appeared in mock Klan attire in recent years, and guards have been accused of race-based threats, beatings and even shootings in 10 states. In addition, suits have been filed in at least 13 states by black guards alleging racist harassment or violence from their own colleagues. And uncounted settlements have been reached in civil cases filed by guards or inmates where damages are sealed by court order — making the true dimensions of the problem difficult to pin down.

Behind the thick walls and razor wire of America's corrections facilities, there are guards who promote violence and racial animosity. Instead of trying to contain the problems that rack our nation's prisons — like the race-based gangs into which many prisoners are organized — they conspire to make them worse.

"Prisons and jails are the most racially divisive institutions in America," says Kelsey Kauffman, an expert on racism and violence among prison officials who recently completed a study of a big Indiana prison. "All too often, employees act out on their own racial antagonisms, individually or collectively. In the volatile prison world, the results can be very dangerous for everyone."

A World Defined by Race

An offender entering prison today is typically greeted by race-based gangs like the Aryan Brotherhood, the Aryan Circle,

the Bloods, the Crips, the Mexican Mafia. By any measure, these groups make for menacing neighbors.

The groups differ. The Aryan Brotherhood, for instance, was born in the prisons as a violent and white supremacist gang, while Crips and Bloods trace their roots to economically motivated black street gangs on the outside. Some groups are essentially organized crime families, while others concentrate on racist ideology. But they all contribute to a prison world that is divided by race and largely ruled by violence. Even for a new inmate uninterested in racist ideology, it is often a matter of survival to join up with one or another gang. Failing that, many weaker inmates fall prey to rape, extortion and violence from those around them.

The result is prisons largely organized by race.

"The whole nature of the prison subculture has changed," explains Dan MacAllair, associate director of the Center for Juvenile and Criminal Justice. "It used to be order was maintained through a loose understanding between guards and inmates. And there was an inmate code, a sense of solidarity among inmates. Now, the inmate code has broken down. Prisons have subdivided [along racial lines].

"It wasn't as bad before."

What's more, some guards actually help the gangs thrive by favoring one or another group. "Staff, either through commission or omission, are supporting this activity," senior warden Richard Watkins says of the problems in his own Holliday prison unit in Huntstville, Texas. "It couldn't happen by itself."

Thrust into this fractured and unstable world, most guards do their best to maintain order and peace. Faced always with the constant threat of violence, the vast majority toe the line between control of inmates and retaliation. They resist the types of transformations that occurred in a famous psychology experiment once conducted by Philip Zimbardo and Craig Haney, in which college students charged with keeping their peer "inmates" became hardened and abusive in a short time.

But there are those who become embroiled in the battles they see around



ANDREW LICHTENSTEIN/CORBIS SYGMA

them, and a certain number wage brutal offensives of their own.

Life in the 'Aryan Tank'

When black inmates arrived at California's Corcoran prison in 1995, dozens of guards wearing black gloves and tape over their nametags reportedly were performing a bizarre routine of quasi-athletic drills. Then the guards shackled the new arrivals and allegedly pummeled them with batons, boots and fists. For good measure, the inmates allegedly were forced to stand barefoot on scalding asphalt, leaving many of their feet marked with severe, third-degree burns.

The brutality meted out by the group of largely white guards — a gang that called itself "The Sharks" — was clearly racist. The group's existence, in fact, was revealed by a rare black guard member — a man nicknamed "Bonecrusher" — who became a whistleblower partly because of its racist nature. It was publicized by *The Los Angeles Times*, which relied on internal memos and interviews.

"I've seen guards beat inmates, but nothing ever like that," said Connie Foster, a former prison canteen operator who witnessed the incident — and who told a reporter that she was never contacted by state investigators. "I couldn't watch it all. After it was over, I went to my car and threw up."

Three senior officers were fired in connection with the activities of The Sharks, and another five were demoted. According to the *L.A. Times*, the state attorney general's office merely reviewed paperwork in the incident. Ultimately, the officers fought the disciplinary measures, and they were all reinstated.

There were other allegations of guard brutality at Corcoran as well. Investigators looked into the fatal shootings of seven unarmed inmates over the course of five years — shootings that allegedly occurred during "cockfights" that guards staged between inmates. But this June, the guards were acquitted of all criminal charges. Afterward, critics attacked state officials for allegedly blocking the probe and jurors for embracing defendants following the verdict.

Still, two civil suits in connection with the violence at Corcoran were successful. The family of Preston Tate, an inmate who died, won a judgment of \$825,000. Former officer Richard Caruso won a \$1.7 million settlement after he accused the Department of Corrections of retaliating against him for coming forward to help the FBI investigate allegations of wrongdoing.

Similar reports of staged battles have emerged from the recently closed Tulsa County Jail in Oklahoma. Black inmates were allegedly forced into a cell known as the "Aryan Tank," where they were made to face down inmates they later described as "white supremacists." Although Undersheriff Bill Thompson would say the resulting brawl derived from a "legitimate attempt to integrate a cell," a black and a white inmate — both of whom were caught in the melee that they said had been staged by guards — each won \$25,000 settlements.

In another case in the same facility, a single white inmate was placed with 19 black inmates in a cell known as the

Inmates of most American prisons tend to segregate themselves into race-based gangs — a situation that helps to exacerbate racial tensions behind bars.

"Gladiator Tank" for the frequent battles there. Jason Stanford, who suffered a concussion and was slashed with broken glass in the beating that followed, won a \$65,000 settlement as a result.

'Brotherhoods' of Guards

In many cases, guards take matters into their own hands, rather than delegating violence to prisoners. Some of these "guard gangs" organize around themes of physical strength and a shared animosity to prisoners.

At Portland's Multnomah County Jail, two guards sporting brand new "Brotherhood of the Strong" tattoos allegedly beat up an inmate this August, and were rumored to be recruiting others into their clique. They since have been placed on paid administrative leave by the sheriff's department.

The guards had been introduced to the tattoo design by a temporary employee from Hawaii, according to Undersheriff Mel Hedgpeth. Following the beating, concern that a dangerous guard gang might be forming prompted the department to send an investigator to Hawaii. What was discovered there, says Hedgpeth, was a group of "Brotherhood of the Strong" prison guards of various races who "definitely pushed the edge of excessive use of force."

Sometimes, groups of guards are openly white supremacist.

According to evidence compiled by scholar Kelsey Kauffman — evidence that has not been corroborated in any official investigation — a group of employees known as "The Brotherhood" has plagued Putnamville State Prison in Greenville, Ind., for years. Kauffman says members have targeted minority inmates — along with fellow correctional system employees they didn't approve of.

A white woman who worked as a cook at Putnamville says that after she reported a Brotherhood member for calling her a "nigger-lover" and "bitch" in front of inmates, he "drew his arm back and said, 'I'll smash your fucking face right here, bitch.'" Her account, Kauffman says, was corrobo-

rated by eight inmates. Another female staff member reported that a Brotherhood member had threatened her with violence from the Klan. Although nothing occurred, the woman resigned, fearing for her safety and that of her family.

The Brotherhood, Kauffman says, has plastered swastikas on prison walls and assaulted inmates and others. One black inmate, whose story was corroborated by 10 others, said he was threatened and assaulted by a Brotherhood member. Two shop employees reportedly admitted that they'd boasted to another black inmate about their supposed membership in the Klan. One guard donned a Klan hood and taunted a black inmate — and was suspended for five days as a result.

Indiana state police conducted an investigation of Kauffman's charges, but said they found no evidence of organized hate activity among guards. Nevertheless, Kauffman says she has plenty of evidence to support her allegations, and in fact she is continuing to meet with prison officials and legislators looking into the matter.

Another guard group calling itself The Brotherhood has apparently surfaced in Florida as well. A black officer — who says is afraid to reveal his name for fear of retaliation — says that he and a black co-worker in an Orlando jail received death threats from the group of about 15 white officers. When he told a superior, the guard says that he was told, "You'd better not talk about that."

Guards as Victims

As the cases of the two Brotherhood gangs in Indiana and Florida make clear, minority guards and other prison employees are victimized — by their own colleagues — just as minority inmates often are. Some recent cases:

- In Florida, about 100 black officers are represented in two class action suits alleging racial harassment. Officer Roy Hughes, for instance, says that when he entered his colonel's office in 1997, he noticed the following "hunting license" on his walls: "OPEN SEASON ON PORCH MONKEYS ... Daily kills limited to ten." Others reported encounters with white officers bearing Klan tattoos. One found

his office ransacked and "KKK" daubed on his bulletin board.

- Alan Ashenfarb, a Jewish officer at San Quentin State Prison near Sacramento, Calif., recently sued the state for allowing "a constant pattern of anti-Semitic speaking and sloganeering ... all of which have fostered an anti-Semitic environment."



Alan Ashenfarb sued the state of California for allegedly allowing "an anti-Semitic environment."

He describes anti-Semitic jokes, neo-Nazi and SS graffiti around the prison, and a physical assault that he suffered. After he sued, he discovered a slip of paper in his mailbox that was marked with a swastika.

- In Nebraska, 32 officers have filed suit, alleging racial harassment.
- In Washington and Texas, ranking officials have been threatened by their own employees. Richard Watkins, the black warden of a Huntsville, Texas, unit, says that he received four death threats, at least two of which were made by white staffers. Philip Stanley, the white superintendent of Washington Corrections Center, Shelton, received an inflammatory note during an investigation into alleged white supremacist activity at the facility. It was signed by a guard describing himself as "white and pissed" who was subsequently fired.
- When Sgt. Noel Gonzalez, a Latino officer in New York, complained about

racial harassment, he was ordered by his superiors to run two miles while lugging a truck tire. He eventually collapsed and landed in the hospital. Gonzalez quit after finding hangman's nooses and daubed Ku Klux Klan slogans at home and at work. In 1997, he won a \$550,000 settlement.

- Orlando Edwards, a black officer in Michigan, says he was fired when he filed a race discrimination complaint, driving him to attempt suicide. For his pain and suffering, a jury awarded Edwards \$1 million dollars this August.

The Diversity Deficit

With the number of inmates of jails and prisons quadrupling to about 2 million over the last two decades, a growing number of prisons have been built in rural, largely white areas of the country. Many of those sent to these prisons are black and Latino, while the employees are typically mostly white. As a result, the guard-inmate relationships that develop are often fraught with tension.

This racial split "perpetuates a stereotype that goes back to the times of slavery," says Jenny Gainsborough, a policy analyst at the Sentencing Project, a liberal think tank. "It's a situation that is set up to be very racially charged."

Clallam Bay State Prison in Washington state is one such place. As of 1998, about half of those held were blacks or other minorities. At the same time, out of a staff of more than 300, black employees numbered in the single digits.

Recently, black guards at the prison won a \$250,000 settlement from the Washington Department of Corrections. They had claimed that minority inmates were set up for beatings; that white guards boasted openly of their membership in the Klan and similar groups; and that black guards had been threatened.

Two of the plaintiffs described a remarkable incident near the remote prison. Lost in the countryside, they recognized a co-worker's car parked by a house and stopped to ask for directions. Upon answering the door, their colleague looked at them, pulled out a gun, and said, "Niggers aren't allowed here." As they beat a hasty retreat, he shouted, "Remember, this area is for white people only!"



ANDREW LICHTENSTEIN/CORBIS SYGMA

With 2 million inmates crowding the nation's jails and prisons, many minority prisoners are being sent to rural areas where correctional staffs are mainly white. Racial tensions often result.

an officer had practically lost his future because he was run over by white officers," Huffman remembers. "He was horribly maimed. And I think it was based on race-hate. There were enough people there — enough cases of black men being harassed, demoted, passed over or plain run out of the system — that there was cause for me to be involved."

Watkins, the black Texas warden, says the racism of guards is often subtle. Certain black guards, for instance, avert their eyes to violence from Bloods and Crips, and some even favor gang members with extra food and other rewards. In the same way, some white guards favor Aryan Brotherhood members. "In this environment," Watkins sighs, "the good ol' boy network is alive and well."

Lewis Steele, a New York civil rights attorney, says monetary settlements don't solve much in the long run. "Most of these [prison] systems are public," he points out. "They'll pay a little and then go on their merry way."

Steele should know. He recently settled a case for five black guards at East Jersey State Prison in Avenel, N.J., who had been threatened with retaliation, as well as Klan violence, if they revealed white officers' brutality against inmates. The case ultimately became a class action suit and was settled for \$2 million — and a consent decree governing all prison racial harassment cases in the state.

Still, when all is said and done, it should be remembered that the bulk of corrections officials are far from being white supremacists. Ashenfarb, the Jewish officer targeted in California, says colleagues have rallied around him. "I've gotten a phenomenal amount of support from staff who said, 'This stuff has been going on around here for years.' It's come from black officers and white officers, and from a white sergeant who's married to a black sergeant and who for years has been hearing degrading racial remarks ... I thought I was going to get a backlash for speaking out. I got just the opposite." ▲

"The people we worked with out there are ex-loggers," former guard Doris Washington says. "They have never come in contact with the outside world, per se. They don't know how to deal with us because they've never been around us."

In Virginia, black and Latino inmates shipped from New Mexico and Connecticut claim they've been gratuitously hit with electroshock devices, shackled to beds for up to three days and made to lie in their own excrement. At press time, investigations by the FBI and the Connecticut Commission of Human Rights were under way at Wallens Ridge State Prison, the prison where they were sent.

According to *The Waterbury Observer*, a small newspaper in Connecticut, a local activist has compiled dozens of letters from inmates supporting such claims. One of them, sent from Connecticut to serve his time in Virginia, complained, "I was taken out of a productive environment and placed in a hostile, racist one."

Families of inmates complained of Civil War memorabilia and Confederate battle flags in local restaurants and on the cars

of employees in the prison parking lot. Officials investigating the complaints also noted a strong Confederate motif in the office of warden Stan Young — a notation that brought them a libel suit from Young, who in the end took his collection home. As the probes continue, some 100 Connecticut prisoners have been transferred to another Virginia prison.

Fighting Back

Although such anecdotal evidence abounds, it is virtually impossible to accurately appraise the size of the problem of racist correctional officers and institutions. Inmates often find it difficult to bring suits, and many cases remain unreported by the media. In addition, settlements that are reached are often sealed by court order. Still, it seems clear that the problem is a serious one.

Earlier this year, Alice Huffman, director of the California chapter of the NAACP, attended a meeting where a crowd of black correctional officers aired their stories. "There were incidents like one in which



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

After almost a quarter of a century in the Pacific Northwest, the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations is at the end of the line in the wake of a \$6.3 million civil judgment

For a quarter of a century, men connected to the infamous Aryan Nations group's compound in northern Idaho to rain death and destruction on the world around them. Now, following a \$6.3 million judgment against the group, its leader and three former members, it seems certain that this long-time linchpin of the radical right is about to go belly up.

A jury ruled on Sept. 7 that Aryan Nations, its leader Richard Butler and his former second in command were negligent in connection with a 1998 armed attack by Aryan Nations security guards on a woman and her son. Seven weeks later, as the 20-acre compound was about to be trans-

ferred to plaintiffs Victoria and Jason Keenan, Butler filed for bankruptcy — a move that was plainly meant to delay and frustrate execution of the judgment, but one that is unlikely to have much effect.

"This is a classic case of he can run but he can't hide," said Richard Cohen, legal director of the Southern Poverty Law Center, which represented the Keenans. "Butler may stall for time, but in the end he will lose his base of operations."

In the aftermath of the judgment — a civil court decision that was widely applauded by fed-up residents in Idaho and across the Pacific Northwest — Butler left the land that had been his home since 1975. Expecting to lose his house, land,

printing press, computers and a host of other items, the 82-year-old Butler was at least partially rescued by fellow racist Vincent Bertollini, a reported millionaire who bought a \$107,500 house for Butler in a subdivision of nearby Hayden.

Future Prospects Dim

But even with a new home and the possibility of some more time before his compound is lost, Butler is unlikely to ever come back strong. Already, his group has lost considerable organizational strength, and many others on the radical right are dismissing it as an ineffectual outfit riddled with spies. Neuman Britton, the man Butler named several years ago as

his heir, has made no move to indicate that he is trying to reconstitute the group in his home state of California. And the one man who has tried to resuscitate Aryan Nations — a Pennsylvania hard-liner named August Kreis — is more interested in building his own power than in rebuilding that of Butler.

Moreover, Butler will lose the rural land which for decades served as a meeting place for white supremacists of all stripes. No longer will he have a venue to stage his annual Aryan World Congresses or his less regular gatherings for Aryan youths. Nor will he have the printing presses which produced neo-Nazi literature by the truckload — and which once, sup-

posedly unbeknownst to Butler, printed counterfeit money for a bloody terrorist group called The Order. Butler will be seen as a martyr by some, but a martyr whose time is now past.

Before filing for Chapter 7 personal bankruptcy, Butler had agreed to give up the compound, its contents and even the name Aryan Nations if a judge turned down his request for a new trial. The judge did turn down Butler's request, and the transfer of the property to the Keenans was planned by mutual agreement for the first week in November. But all that was put on hold after Butler's filing.

In some ways, the filing may actually hurt Butler, who is responsible for \$5.8

million of the judgment. Now, all of his mail — including any donations from supporters — will go first to the court-appointed bankruptcy trustee. Ultimately, a more orderly transfer of assets is probable under the trustee's supervision.

In all likelihood, the Aryans are now without a nation.

Terrorism and Free Speech

The case that apparently cost Butler his leadership in the white supremacist movement began on the night of July 1, 1998. Returning from a wedding, Victoria and Jason Keenan stopped briefly in front of the compound to retrieve something that had fallen from their car. Something —

possibly a firecracker — led a group of Aryan guards to think they were under attack, and, jumping into a pickup truck, they chased the terrified Keenans down the road (see related interview, p. 35). The guards fired repeatedly at the Keenans, eventually shooting out a tire and forcing them into a ditch. They were threatened and brutalized, but finally freed.

The guards had been in an agitated state when the Keenans drove by. On the eve of the attack, Butler — disturbed by an alleged series of acts of vandalism — placed his security force on “heightened alert,” telling them to be on the lookout for the hated Jews. Indeed, as Center attor-

neys argued at trial, Butler put “their finger on the trigger of the assault rifle that was used against the Keenans.” Even from his jail cell months later, one guard continued to insist that the Keenans were part of a conspiracy orchestrated by Jewish enemies of the Aryan Nations.

Eventually, two of the perpetrators — security chief Jesse Warfield and guard John Yeager — were tried and sentenced for their roles in the attack. A third guard, Shane Wright, was charged but he fled and remains a fugitive.

In the aftermath of the criminal cases, the Keenans filed suit. With SWAT sharpshooters perched on nearby roofs, under-

cover FBI agents roaming the area and tattooed, flag-waving Aryans in the streets, their trial was a tense affair. It drew the attention of the local, national and international press as readers pressed for details about a man who was once America’s most famous neo-Nazi.

Some commentators misunderstood the nature of the trial, thinking that Butler was being penalized for his hateful speech. In fact, the case closely paralleled a normal personal injury trial. Jurors found, in effect, that Butler had hired untrained ex-convicts as guards; given them no training or formal policies to follow; allowed them to carry assault weapons; filled their

heads with hatred; and set them loose on the community. Like the department store that allows a known alcoholic to drive its delivery trucks — an alcoholic who one day runs into a crowd of children — Butler should have known that the actions of his security guards were a foreseeable result of his negligent and reckless supervision.

‘Look Over Your Shoulder’

Several interesting points came out in testimony:

- A security manual that was purportedly written before the attack on the Keenans was actually prepared after the lawsuit, one witness testified.

▪ Butler, according to a former Aryan who testified against him, helped to dispose of the rifle that Warfield fired at the Keenans as they fled.

▪ Criminal violence and hatred were seen in heroic terms at the compound. Butler routinely glorified people who had committed violent crimes in the name of his racist cause, displaying a plaque for the guards and others to see that honored John Paul Franklin, a serial killer who targeted interracial couples. Others who had committed violent crimes in the name of racism were “prisoners of war.”

▪ Butler claimed to have a rule, in effect since 1980, against security guards leaving

the compound. But testimony made it clear that working guards regularly left the compound on missions for the group. In one, Warfield followed two youths to their home after seeing them allegedly steal an Aryan Nations flag. In another, police arrested Yeager for possession of a concealed weapon after he chased a man off the compound. In none of these cases — including the attack on the Keenans — did Butler ever discipline any of the guards for breaking the supposed rule.

▪ Warfield was selected as security chief even though he was thought by the Aryans to lack the intelligence required, was suspected of drug addiction and was

Cornered Knight

Facing a civil suit judgment and possible criminal charges, the leader of the American Knights of the KKK is at a crossroads

While other factions of the Ku Klux Klan were busy sponsoring Adopt-a-Highway programs and repackaging themselves as benign-sounding “white pride” groups in the 1990s, Jeff Berry didn’t bother. Instead, he won attention and members for his American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan with swaggering taunts, raucous rallies and old-fashioned race hate. For a while, the tactics paid off, and by 1998 the American Knights were the largest Klan group in the country.

But now, the leader of what has been termed “the bully-boy Klan” may be headed for political oblivion. He faces both an imminent civil court judgment and the possibility of criminal charges in both Kentucky and Indiana. And the ranks of his organization, a group largely led by convicted criminals, are thinning.

Ultimately, Berry’s legal troubles could spell his group’s end.

Most recently, Berry was arrested after an Aug. 12 Klan rally in Hazard, Ky. Police

say Berry and some supporters got into an argument with a black man in a parking lot, chased the man for two miles in their van, and then rammed the man’s car. A grand jury is now weighing possible criminal charges.

Berry’s other troubles stem from an incident in November 1999 in his home in Butler, Ind. Two journalists from a Louisville, Ky., television station had come to interview Berry about an upcoming rally, and were asked by Berry if they also planned to talk to a former Berry deputy who had defected from the group. When told that they did, Berry became enraged and demanded their videotape.

At Shotgun Point

But the journalists — reporter George Sells IV and camerawoman Heidi Thiel — refused. At that, Berry and his supporters closed the doors and blocked in the pair’s vehicle with their own. In the end, after a Berry supporter pumped a



shotgun several times — a move clearly designed to intimidate the journalists — they gave up the tape and were allowed to leave Berry’s home.

At first, local authorities declined to prosecute. But Sells and Thiel, represented by the Southern Poverty Law Center, filed a civil suit accusing Berry of unlaw-

amount is expected to be determined by year’s end.

Now, authorities in Dekalb County are considering bringing criminal charges. Prosecutor Monte Brown said the case is still under investigation. If Berry were convicted of criminal confinement, he could face up to 10 years in prison.

Avoiding The Law

After the default was entered against Berry, he transferred his two major assets — two properties near Ft. Wayne — in an apparent attempt to evade a possible judgment against him. Berry gave his residence, a \$56,000 home that also serves as the American Knights’ headquarters, to his father as a “gift.” He sold another property, valued at \$51,000, to his girlfriend — for \$3,700.

The plaintiffs could still get them. On Oct. 17, a state court halted any attempt to place Berry’s assets beyond the reach of the plaintiffs. Berry agreed to the injunction that prevented him, his girlfriend or his father from any further transfers of the properties until the lawsuit against Berry are resolved.

Legal trouble is nothing new to Berry, but so far he has always found a way to avoid prison and keep the American Knights alive. He has one felony conviction, for stealing from an elderly woman neighbor, but served no time when it was revealed that he was responsible for 70 arrests as a narcotics inform-

ant. Over the years, Berry has managed to beat a variety of other criminal charges.

But if Berry can’t find a way out of his current predicaments, the American Knights may fold even faster than they once spread — and they did spread fast, thanks largely to Berry’s highly confrontational, attention-getting tactics. Berry specialized in riling up counter-demonstrators, often provoking violence that typically brought media coverage, and so his message was spread. He managed to get on a number of national television shows, including several appearances on Jerry Springer’s tabloid talk program — shows that brought in queries from many hundreds of people interested in joining his group or sending in money.

At its peak in 1998, the American Knights had at least three dozen chapters nationwide, some of them in places like California and New York that were unused to being havens for the Klan. But since then, the group has faded, with about eight known chapters now operating. Although the American Knights have managed to hold 11 rallies this year, that is far less than a few years back.

Throughout its short life, the American Knights has been a group built almost entirely around the aggressive, no-holds-barred personality of its abrasive leader. So if Jeff Berry does wind up in prison, the American Knights may simply fade away.



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Members of the Aryan National Alliance, formerly the Aryan Nations, salute supporters and a few protesters after parading through downtown Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, seven weeks after losing a historic civil suit.

page, shooting up a Jewish community center and murdering a postal worker.

'You Will See'

Through it all — and even a sedition trial in the 1980s in which he was ultimately acquitted — Butler has emerged legally unscathed. His group's power has fluctuated over the decades, but it has survived, and at times, flourished. And while it may be in permanent decline now, there are still many sympathizers who in years past moved to the area to be near Butler and who remain there now.

That is obvious to Victoria Keenan. Walking through a supermarket parking lot in October, she and her husband were trailed by a van sporting Aryan Nations stickers. They asked the driver, who wore an Aryan cap, what he wanted.

"You will see soon," he replied.

Now, several of those around Butler seem to be trying to revive what's left of Aryan Nations under a new name, Aryan National Alliance. Bertollini, part of an Idaho propaganda ministry called the 11th Hour Remnant Messenger and Butler's financial patron, has been more public in his role, speaking out at the time of the trial in Butler's defense. But he is seen as a highly unlikely leader.

And Kreis, who only joined the Aryan Nations last summer and became its webmaster in the process, does not seem particularly interested in bringing Butler back to power. He has invited members of the group to come to hold future Aryan World Congresses at his place in Ulysses, Pa. — but he seems to have pointedly avoided acknowledging Butler as the group's future leader.

Neuman Britton, who lives in Escondido, Calif., and shows no inclination to move to Idaho, may have best summed up the prospects for the future. "Unless there are people who come forward with resources," said the 74-year-old who Butler designated as his heir, "I don't think there will be much to turn over to me." ▲

believed to have accidentally shot and killed one of Butler's dogs. A background check, had it been performed, would have revealed that Warfield had previously been charged with burglary and assault with a deadly weapon.

■ In the run-up to the trial, Warfield had sent the Keenans an ominous letter from his jail cell. "Those in the [Aryan Nations] group may overreact" to a verdict against them, Warfield warned. "There have been some Aryan Nations people who have done some crazy things. ... Please don't let Mr. [Morris] Dees [co-founder of the Center and one of the Keenans' lawyers] put you and Jason in a spot where you might need to look over your shoulder for the rest of your life."

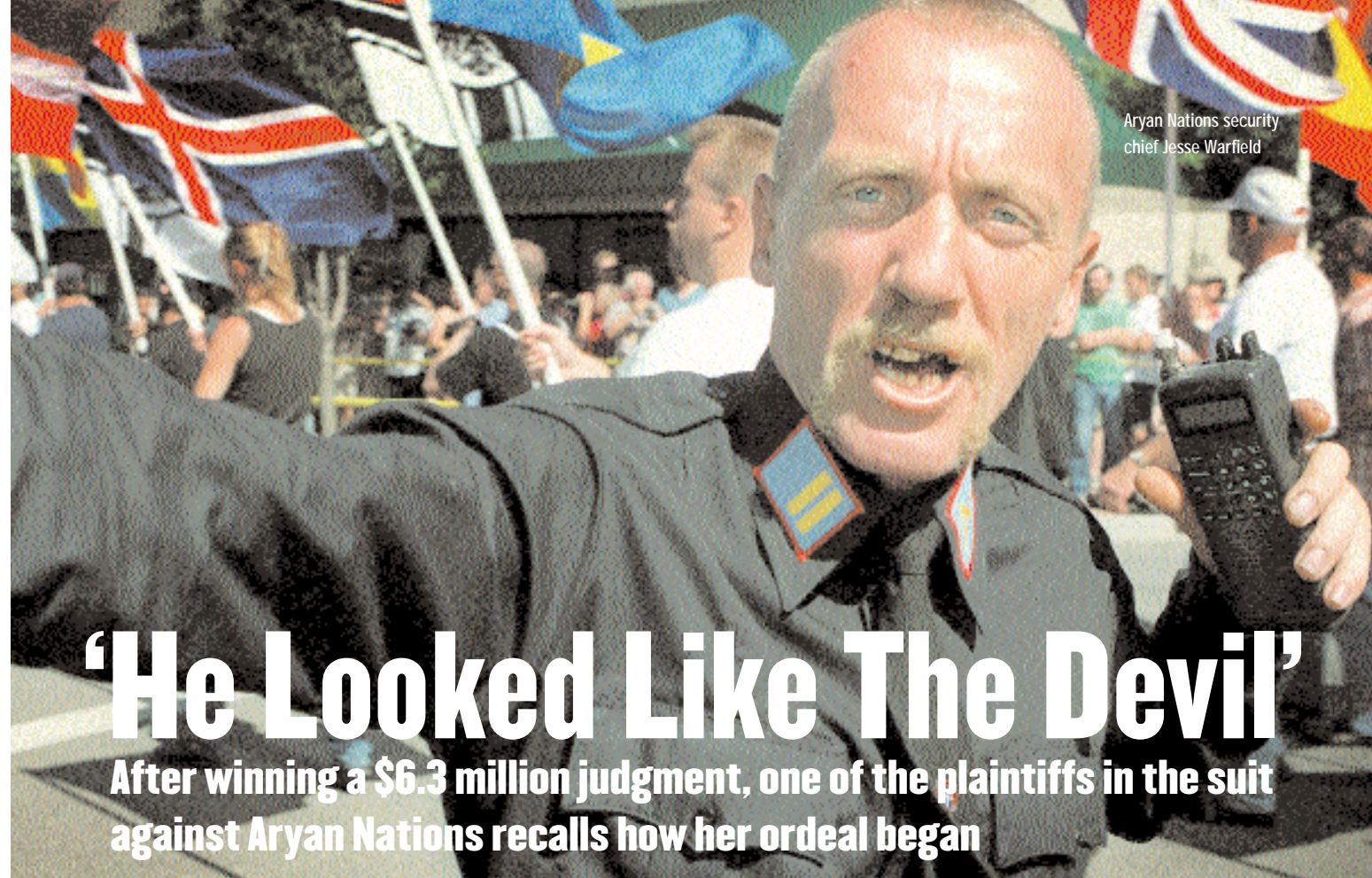
Violence, Bomb Plots and Murder

The case capped a quarter century of trouble.

The Aryan Nations and its Christian Identity doctrine — a theology that depicts whites as God's chosen people and Jews as the biological descendants of Satan —

have inspired hatred and violence since the beginning. The group known as the Order, composed largely of Aryan Nations members, waged a campaign of terror in the 1980s, murdering a talk show host in Denver and robbing a total of some \$4 million in armored car heists. Members of other major terrorist groups like the Aryan Republican Army (which robbed 22 banks in the 1990s) and The New Order (which plotted in the late '90s to blow up the Center and assassinate Dees) frequented the compound. And literally dozens of individuals associated with the Aryans have been convicted of violence, bomb plots and even murder.

The Aryan security guards hold a special place in this history. One security chief, apparently incensed by Butler's tirades, offered \$2,000 to a hitman to kill the informant who helped bring the original Order down. Another security chief went to prison after bombing the home of a civil rights activist and four other buildings. And last year, former security guard Buford Furrow allegedly went on a ram-



Aryan Nations security chief Jesse Warfield

'He Looked Like The Devil'

After winning a \$6.3 million judgment, one of the plaintiffs in the suit against Aryan Nations recalls how her ordeal began

On the night of July 1, 1998, returning from a wedding, Victoria Keenan and her son Jason stopped their car on the dirt road outside the infamous Aryan Nations compound in northern Idaho. After Jason retrieved a wallet he had accidentally dropped out the car window, the two started toward home again. But something — a car backfire or fireworks — led the untrained, paranoid guards on the compound to think that they were under attack by their enemies. Within seconds, at least three neo-Nazi Aryans had leaped into a pickup truck and sped out after the Keenans, firing at them as they went and, after about two miles, shooting out a tire and forcing them into a ditch. Aside from their testimony and a brief statement at the conclusion of the trial, the Keenans have not spoken publicly about their experience. Here, Victoria Keenan, who is now 44, describes the ordeal that she and her son, now 21, went through on that frightening Idaho night.

I saw a truck pull out of the compound in my rear view mirror, but I didn't think too much about it at the time. I got up the road a little bit and kind of pulled over. I was waving my arm to let them pass me. But they didn't pass. They were yelling and screaming for me to pull over. My son said, "Mom, I think it's the Aryans!" I saw somebody standing up in the back of the truck with a gun, and I knew I had to floor it. I figured I had to drive like Mario.

I kept wondering, "Why are they after me?" I just couldn't figure it out.

I felt bullets hitting the back of the car, and it almost felt like they were hitting my back — like they were hitting me. I remember looking at my son's face, looking down at him on the floor of the car, and just praying to God that they would leave him alone and take me. It was very, very frightening. I really thought I was going to die, me and my son both. I saw

flashes of all my family. I tried to remember the 23rd psalm, "The Lord is my shepherd." Then, when they forced us off the road, Jason looked up at me and said, "Goodbye, Mom." That's when I told him, "No, you are not going to die. We are going to live through this." Of course, I thought we were going to die. It was just pure shock and terror.

[Aryan security chief] Jesse Warfield came over to the car and grabbed me by



Aryan Nations leader Richard Butler (left), who has held frequent rallies in Idaho, was sued successfully by Victoria Keenan and her son Jason (below). The Keenans were represented by Southern Poverty Law Center co-founder Morris Dees (below left), seen here in an Idaho courtroom in September.

At that point, I may have been in shock. My son came over and pulled me out of the car. There was a neighbor standing on his deck with a rifle. My son grabbed me and we ran to the man's house. He was already calling the police. His wife talked to me, and we went and hid in a hallway. She was at one end of the hallway with her three boys on the floor, and I was at the other end with my son. He would not stop crying and I guess I slapped him, trying to make him come out of it. When the sheriff's deputies finally came, they had a light and they showed me the bullet holes in my car. It hit me right then and there — this really happened. I went back into the house, into the bathroom, and started throwing up. Then I got hold of myself and just started crying. I just let it all out.

After the verdict, I felt really good. I feel like justice has been done. I thank God for letting us live through this whole ordeal. But the sound of gunshots still scares me, and when we talk about the incident I cry almost every time. Last winter, my husband and I made sure we had a path cleared through the snow all the time, so I would always have a place to run. And I'm afraid now. Warfield is supposed to get out [of prison, where he and Yeager were sent on criminal charges relating to the attack on the Keenans] on Nov. 13. That does not seem fair to me. It makes me want to have a gun, but I'm not sure I really want to.

I used to feel kind of sorry for [Aryan Nations leader Richard] Butler. But now I see him for what he is, inciting children to be like this. All of this has opened my eyes to what's going on in the world. My brother in Washington [state] never thought about this kind of thing either. Now, he's found out that there are Nazi symbols on the lockers of his daughter's junior high school. He couldn't believe it. These people are for real. They are bad people, and they're in everyone's neighborhoods. These guys have got to be stopped. ▲



the hair and put a gun to my head. I tried to play it cool, to act like one of them. Jason was crying. He just kept saying, "Mom, we're going to die." He was crying and they were calling him a fag, which made me even angrier. I remember thinking, "Do not get out of the car." Warfield grabbed me and tried to drag me out, and there was this struggle between us. I remember looking at Warfield's face — he looked like the devil. At the time, his head was shaved, and his eyes, the way he glared at me, it was like I picture the devil. Something about those eyes was just evil, mean. He had "KILL" in his eyes.

I felt like I was going to die. I am an American Indian, and I had to denounce

my Indian heritage. They asked me if I was Indian and I said, "No, I'm just a poor white farmer girl." It made me feel pretty low. It just made me feel degraded. I said, "I'm on your guys' side." Just then, I saw a car coming, and I said so. And they let go of us. [Aryan guard John] Yeager said, "For this day, we will let your blood live." That's exactly what he said. He looked at Warfield. I think if it wasn't for Yeager, we might be dead. He was pleading with Warfield not to kill us. Warfield said, "I've got your license number and I will remember you. Don't tell." Then they lined up military style, one behind the other, and jumped up on the back of the pickup truck. They gave that Hitler salute and sped off.

Guarding Against Hate

Prison officials faced with white supremacist employees must act or face potentially expensive court disputes

Wallace Weicherding was not your ordinary sergeant for the Illinois Department of Corrections. In addition to his duties as a guard at Graham Correctional Center, Weicherding was an avowed white supremacist. He frequently used Ku Klux Klan hand signals and phrases like "weiss macht" (German for "white power"). His watch had an Aryan Nations flag on its face. He even had a "White Pride/Worldwide" bumper sticker on his car.

Weicherding did not stop with open displays of his white supremacist beliefs. He actively recruited for the Klan. He passed out a flyer to fellow employees promoting a Klan rally on his property, featuring a speech by Weicherding's national Klan leader and a cross burning. Weicherding even appeared on a local television news program to promote the rally. The newscast identified Weicherding as an employee of the prison, and it was then that Weicherding's troubles began.

Word that one of the guards was a Klansman quickly spread through the prison's inmate population. Graham's warden, Kenneth Dobucki, immediately suspended Weicherding and initiated an investigation into both his on-the-job conduct and his involvement with the Klan. Eventually, Dobucki terminated Weicherding for engaging in conduct unbecoming an officer.

Weicherding sued, claiming that the firing violated his First Amendment rights. But the court disagreed. Noting both the prison's racially charged atmosphere and the fact that avoiding racial violence is essential to the prison's operations, the court held that "the state's interests in

maintaining safety and avoiding racial violence at Graham outweigh[ed] Weicherding's interests in associating with and promoting the Klan." *Weicherding v. Riegel*, 160 F.3d 1139, 1143 (7th Cir. 1998).



Hostile Work Environment

Weicherding's case is not unique. In most cases where prison guards have been fired for their white supremacist activities, the courts have sided with the prison administration. But despite this fact, many prison officials turn a blind eye to white supremacist activities among their staffs. Whether prison officials do so because they are too timid to act, hope the problem will go away, or are secretly sympathetic to the racist cause, they run the risk not only of creating an explosive situation among the inmate population, but also of claims of a "hostile work environment" by other prison employees.

The number of suits against correctional systems claiming hostile work environments is a testament to degree to which some prison administrators have ignored the problem of racist guards. Hundreds of correctional officers in at least 13 states have filed hostile work environment suits alleging racist violence and harassment by their colleagues, and more than \$5 million has been paid out so far. Usually such suits end with out-of-court settlements that contain no admission of guilt on the part of the offending persons, institutions, or departments.

Some hostile work environment suits by prison guards seek systemic change in addition to monetary damages. Take, for example, the case of five black prison guards in Rahway, N.J., who experienced a pervasive atmosphere of racial hostility. White officers and commanders subjected them to racial slurs, placed a Klan photograph on a bulletin board, scrawled "go back to Africa" on sentry boxes and threatened Klan retaliation if brutality against inmates was reported. The situation came to a head when a white guard who was trying to help the black officers found a dead rat splattered against the windshield of his car in the prison parking lot. He also was called "a traitor to the purity of the white race."

The black guards filed suit in 1993. Walter Holland, one of the plaintiffs, explained that they were "tired of going through the normal channels and getting no response" and that it was time for the taxpayers to know that "their money [was] being used to promote racism and bigotry in the department."

Their attorney, Lewis Steele, believed that the normal result in such cases — simple monetary settlements with correctional institutions — do not accomplish much. "Most of these systems are public," he points out. "They'll pay a little and then go on their merry way." So he set his sights on something else. "One of the things we tried to establish up front was that the major objective of the suit was to change the system," says Steele. "We looked for lead plaintiffs who had that

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Incidents of hate crimes and hate group activities listed in *For The Record* are drawn primarily from media sources and initial police reports, not all of which have been verified by the Intelligence Project. This listing carries incidents from the third quarter of 2000 (listings of earlier incidents may be found on the Southern Poverty Law Center's web site, www.splcenter.org). Because hate crimes often are not reported, this listing understates the true level of bias incidents.

CALIFORNIA

Azusa • July 10, 2000

Two bottles filled with gasoline were thrown at the home of a black family.

Buena Park • June 29, 2000

Jeffrey Stuart Martin, 24, was charged with the alleged 1997 stabbing of a black teenager.

Los Altos • Aug. 19, 2000

Peter Ellsworth, 21, was charged with a hate crime after he allegedly called two men anti-gay epithets and assaulted one of them in front of a hair salon.

Los Angeles • June 28, 2000

Joshua Hass, 20, was charged with violating the civil rights of an Egyptian man by allegedly spray-painting swastikas and other white supremacist symbols on the man's residence.

Los Angeles • Aug. 7, 2000

Marie Elise West, 35, was charged with murder and hate crimes for allegedly running over and killing an elderly Hispanic man while shouting racial epithets at him.

Oakland • Aug. 3, 2000

Four youths were charged with making terrorist threats with a hate crime enhancement for allegedly yelling anti-gay slurs and threats to people at a gay youth center.

Ontario • July 18, 2000

Justin Michael Crawford, 21, who was carrying a "satanic bible" in his back pocket, was arrested after allegedly setting fire to a predominantly black church.

Sacramento • Aug. 16, 2000

Jay D. Nichols Jr., 26, and Shawn A. Duccini, 21, were charged with bat-

tery, vandalism and two counts of committing a crime based on race after allegedly attacking a black man.

San Bernardino • Aug. 2, 2000

William Max Richie, 28, and David Craig Rolph, 24, members of the white supremacist gang the Nazi Low Riders, were charged with conspiracy and assault with a deadly weapon in the alleged attack of a black inmate. Richie and Rolph were in jail on separate narcotics charges.

San Diego • June 28, 2000

Jason D. Williams, 21, was sentenced to 56 months in prison for attacking his black neighbor in an allegedly racially motivated incident.

San Diego • July 5, 2000

Nicholas Fileccia, Adam Ketsdever and Bradley Davidson, all 16; Kevin Williams and Michael Rose, both 15; Jason Beever, 14, and Steven Deboer, 17, were charged with allegedly beating and terrorizing elderly migrant workers.

San Diego • July 7, 2000

Paul Cain, 28, a member of the Nazi Low Riders, was sentenced to 15 years to life in prison for the beating and strangulation of a homosexual man in 1995.

San Diego • July 30, 2000

Two black men armed with a baseball bat allegedly attacked a gay man.

San Jose • Aug. 21, 2000

John Lydon, 27, and Paul Devlin, 28, were charged with a series of robberies and attacks on gay men from Maine to California.

Santa Cruz • July 19, 2000

A group of white men allegedly

attacked a black man and his white friend outside a restaurant in a racially motivated incident.

Torrance • Sept. 10, 2000

Racial slurs and a swastika were written in chalk on a black family's driveway and the roof of their car was slashed.

CONNECTICUT

Manchester • July 6, 2000

Anti-Semitic and racist markings were spray-painted on an elementary school.

Norwich • July 31, 2000

A swastika and the phrase "Jews suck" were scrawled on a synagogue.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Washington • July 4, 2000

John Mathias Exner, 36, was charged with two counts of racial harassment and one count of destruction of property for the alleged desecration of a statue of a black legislator.

FLORIDA

Fort Lauderdale • June 28, 2000

Robert Boltuch, 24, was convicted of first-degree murder in the 1999 shooting death of a black woman. Boltuch was also convicted of attempted first-degree murder for firing seven shots at the woman's fiancée, who is white. Boltuch was reportedly enraged by the couple's interracial relationship.

St. Augustine • July 28, 2000

Christopher J. Douglas, 18, and Gary W. Gordon, 17, were charged with criminal mischief for allegedly spray-painting racial epithets on a black family's residence two day earlier.

Tallahassee • Sept. 15, 2000

Lawrence Lombardi, a 42-year-old white man, was sentenced to life in prison for setting off two pipe bombs at a predominantly black college in 1999.

ILLINOIS

Cahokia • Aug. 19, 2000

Brian Cook, 28, and Darrell E. Spriggs, 2, were charged with felony hate crime after they allegedly burned a cross on their neighbor's front lawn.

Chicago • June 24, 2000

Two white men were charged with shouting racial slurs and firing a gunshot in a black man's direction.

Collinsville • Aug. 7, 2000

A swastika was scrawled on a black family's residence.

East Peoria • July 26, 2000

Literature from the neo-Nazi World Church of the Creator was distributed throughout a neighborhood.

Edwardsville • Aug. 14, 2000

A red swastika and racial slurs were painted on a black family's home.

Geneva • Aug. 23, 2000

A 32-year-old black man was charged with aggravated assault after he allegedly threatened to kill white police officers and their families in a racially motivated incident.

Lake Geneva • Aug. 7, 2000

Douglas Zimmerman and Jeffrey Pottgether, both 18, were charged with battery and disorderly conduct for allegedly attacking a Hispanic man while yelling racial epithets.

Oak Lawn • Aug. 10, 2000

Scott Keating, 22, was charged with assaulting and verbally abusing a Russian immigrant because of the man's ethnic origin.

Pekin • July 23, 2000

World Church of the Creator literature was distributed throughout the city and inserted inside local newspapers.

Springfield • Aug. 2, 2000

Joseph Yerber, 19, was charged with racially motivated disorderly conduct after allegedly chasing a black woman into her residence and then banging on her windows while yelling "White Power."

Villa Park • Aug. 17, 2000

The windows of an Islamic foundation were broken and an unlocked trailer was ransacked in a fourth act of vandalism directed at the foundation.

Windsor • Aug. 13, 2000

Fliers from the World Church of the Creator were inserted newspapers.

INDIANA

Jackson Township • Aug. 3, 2000

The letters "KKK" and other graffiti were spray-painted on the home and vehicles of a Hispanic family.

Kokomo • Aug. 30, 2000

James Colvin, 29, was sentenced to 22 years in prison for a 1996 cross burning.

Seymour • July 24, 2000

Patrick Vogel, 19, and Mark Combs, 25, were charged with robbery, attempted robbery, aggravated battery, confinement and attempted murder after allegedly beating a Hispanic man unconscious.

KENTUCKY

Hazard • Aug. 12, 2000

About 25 members of the American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan held a rally.

Louisville • July 13, 2000

William Lee Stevens, 41, was charged

with three counts of endangerment and one count of intimidation for allegedly pointing a shotgun at his Hispanic neighbor in a racially motivated incident.

Louisville • July 21, 2000

Kelly J. Moody was charged with assault, criminal mischief, five counts of endangerment and three counts of harassment for allegedly attacking five people at random. Moody allegedly used ethnic slurs against one of the victims who was Jewish.

LOUISIANA

Welsh • June 24, 2000

Members of America's Invisible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan rallied.

MARYLAND

Annapolis • July 5, 2000

A white pillowcase hood and Confederate flags were taped on a statute honoring a black politician.

Beltsville • July 5, 2000

An 8-foot wooden cross was placed on a black family's front lawn.

Bowie • Aug. 4, 2000

Derek Schleicher, 22, was sentenced to 27 months in prison without parole for his part in a cross burning at a local high school in 1997.

Bowie • Aug. 29, 2000

The letters "KKK" were spray-painted on the garage doors of an unoccupied house. Racial epithets were also spray-painted on a portable toilet in a nearby subdivision that was under construction.

Chestertown • Aug. 11, 2000

David Starkey, 25, was sentenced to life in prison for firing a shotgun at three black women, killing one. His brother, Daniel Starkey, 20, who pursued the women in a 20-mile car chase, was sentenced to 25 years in prison.

Frederick • Aug. 5, 2000

Business cards from the neo-Nazi

National Alliance were left on several cars.

MICHIGAN

Baldwin • June 27, 2000

Roger Bucky Vandermeer, 55, was charged with assault, ethnic intimidation and harassment for allegedly threatening a co-worker while yelling racial slurs.

Detroit • July 20, 2000

A crew of white construction workers was removed from a Detroit Airport work site after investigators determined that one or more members had harassed black laborers with a hangman's noose and racial slurs.

Hastings • July 5, 2000

Racial slurs were painted on two black families' mobile homes.

MINNESOTA

Minneapolis • Aug. 8, 2000

Aaron L. Figueroa, 20, was sentenced to 15 years in prison for the racially motivated murder of a black teen in 1998.

MISSISSIPPI

Magee • Aug. 10, 2000

Racial slurs and other graffiti were spray-painted on a city well.

MISSOURI

St. Louis • Sept. 5, 2000

A person wearing a white pillowcase allegedly shot a pregnant black woman in the leg.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Derry • July 29, 2000

Swastikas were spray-painted on war memorials at a local park.

NEW JERSEY

Bridgewater • July 19, 2000

Anti-Semitic graffiti was scrawled over a Somerset County Park Commission sign.

Freehold • Aug. 2, 2000

A swastika was spray-painted on the door of a rooming house.

Morristown • July 4, 2000

Members of the white supremacist Nationalist Movement rallied.

NEW YORK

Brooklyn • July 4, 2000

An Arabic man, Othnanabed Magdy, 18, was charged with allegedly slashing three men and threatening the life of another because he believed the men to be gay.

Brooklyn • July 16, 2000

A man allegedly attacked a Jewish man while yelling anti-Semitic epithets.

Brooklyn • Aug. 4, 2000

Several youths of Arab descent, ranging in age from 10 to 15 years old, allegedly threw rocks at Jewish pedestrians.

Cheektowaga • July 5, 2000

Swastikas and satanic anti-homosexual remarks were spray-painted on a vacant apartment building.

Geneseo • July 11, 2000

Seven men, all in their early twenties, were charged with harassment, disorderly conduct and assault for allegedly attacking a man of Korean descent.

Middletown • Aug. 10, 2000

A 12-year-old boy was charged with spray-painting four swastikas and the phrase "I'm back, Hitler" on a synagogue.

Queens • Aug. 3, 2000

Nuno Martins, 20, was sentenced to eight years in prison for a 1998 racially motivated assault on a young man of Indian descent.

Staten Island • Aug. 22, 2000

The vice president of a local Jewish community center received a threatening anti-Semitic message on his answering machine.

NORTH CAROLINA

Bessemer City • July 22, 2000

About 25 members of the Carolina Knights of the Ku Klux Klan held a rally.

Greenville • July 8, 2000

The local chapter of the NAACP received threats of a lynching, allegedly from the Ku Klux Klan.

Rutherfordton • July 14, 2000

Jacob Wayne Stull, 23, was sentenced to 35 months in prison for shooting into the occupied home of a black family.

OHIO

Harrisville • June 26, 2000

Howard Alva Kinney, 80, was sentenced to 90 days in jail and ordered to pay a \$500 fine for burning a cross on an interracial couple's lawn.

New Philadelphia • July 20, 2000

A smoke bomb was thrown onto the property of a black family.

Mayfield Heights • Aug. 17, 2000

Five white men, Gregory A. Valore, 40, Jeffrey M. Welch, 42, Steven N. Walker and Andres Lopez, both 22, and Shawn R. Markko, 26, were charged with assault for allegedly beating a black man as he left the lounge where he works.

OKLAHOMA

Tulsa • August 2000

Jonathan Duke and Dillon Bell were each charged with 89 misdemeanor counts of injury to a gravestone or monument after allegedly spray-painting Jewish tombstones with swastikas.

OREGON

Portland • July 28, 2000

Eric Walter Runnings, 49, was sentenced to death for murdering a lesbian couple in 1998.

PENNSYLVANIA

Dary Borough • July 1, 2000

Racial epithets and several swastikas were spray-painted on an interracial couple's mailbox. Racial epithets were also spray-painted on streets and sidewalks throughout the neighborhood.

New Hope • Aug. 16, 2000

Douglas Trinkley, 21, and Larry Chroman, 36, were charged with simple assault, disorderly conduct and reckless endangerment of another person for allegedly attacking a man because of the man's sexual orientation.

New Hope • Aug. 29, 2000

Anti-Semitic graffiti was spray-painted on the front door and the garage of a synagogue.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Spartanburg • July 26, 2000

Four white teens were charged with making threatening phone calls to the NAACP in which they threatened to kill black people and attacked the NAACP for its stand against the Confederate battle flag.

TENNESSEE

Knoxville • Aug. 3, 2000

Christopher David Kuykendall, 22, a member of the white supremacist Confederate Hammerskins, was charged with allegedly drawing swastikas and the words "Die," "Hate," "Heil" and "Skinheads" on the doors of a church that has black members.

Guarding Against Hate

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kind of objective, who were interested in reform rather than just money." In the end, Steele not only won a \$2 million settlement for his clients; he also crafted a consent decree that established a centralized mechanism in New Jersey for addressing racial harassment cases.

An Entrenched Problem

But Steele's hope for systemic change may have been premature. Less than three years after the consent decree was approved, 16 black officers at another New Jersey prison

TEXAS

Katy • Aug. 11, 2000

Matthew Curtis Marshall, 20, was charged with allegedly burning a cross in a black family's front yard.

Tyler • Aug. 18, 2000

Four black men were charged with allegedly beating a white teenager unconscious in an apparently racially motivated incident.

Vidor • Aug. 28, 2000

A house was firebombed and spray-painted with racial slurs and a swastika and racial epithets were spray-painted on the sidewalk nearby.

WASHINGTON

Ocean Shores • July 4, 2000

Two 26-year-old Asian men, Minh and Hung Hong, were charged with murdering a white man during a racially motivated dispute over the Confederate battle flag.

Seattle • July 4, 2000

Literature from the neo-Nazi World Church of the Creator was distributed throughout a neighborhood.

Vancouver • Aug. 30, 2000

Dennis T. Barker, 21, and a 17-year-

old juvenile were charged with suspicion of second-degree assault and malicious harassment for allegedly assaulting a black teen.

WISCONSIN

Barron • July 25, 2000

Raymond C. Walton, 33, was charged with murder for allegedly beating to death a mentally disabled man who Walton believed was gay.

Madison • Aug. 12, 2000

Several Asian men were charged with assault for allegedly attacking a black man in a racially motivated incident.

Seymour • Aug. 3, 2000

William A. Cheslock, 29, was charged with one count of battery and one count of disorderly conduct for allegedly making anti-Semitic remarks and attacking a woman at a 1999 Christmas party.

WEST VIRGINIA

Farimont • Aug. 2, 2000

David Allan Parker and Jared Wilson, both 17, were charged with murder for allegedly beating a black man and then running over him four times with a car until he was dead because they believed the man was gay. ▲

filed another hostile work environment suit claiming that prison officials refused to investigate Klan recruiting activities that the officers brought to their attention. Additionally, the plaintiffs claim that they were passed over for promotions, unfairly given dangerous work assignments, and subjected to racial slurs, swastikas and Confederate flags. They seek \$8 million in damages.

At the end of the day, one thing is clear: White supremacist guards can cause serious problems in prisons. Courts have given prison administrators the means to deal with the problems caused by such guards — they can fire them. If prison officials hesitate, they are likely to face problems from more than just racist guards. ▲

The Fringe of the Fringe

Homosexual white supremacists, sneered at by their fellow racists, come out on the Net

Ku Klux Klansmen, neo-Nazis, Christian Identity adherents, racist Skinheads and Odinists, along with your garden variety white supremacists — these are the people that populate America's radical right. They inhabit, by definition, the outermost fringes of our society.

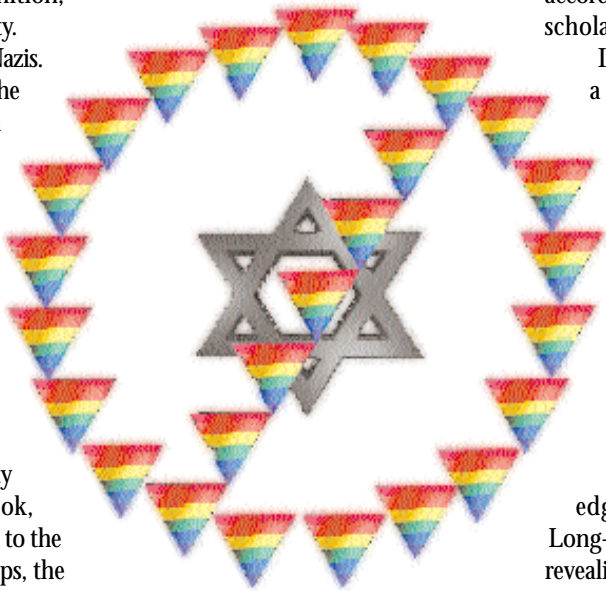
And then there are the gay neo-Nazis.

Talk about a sect within a sect. The members of this tiny subculture on the radical right — mainly men who inhabit Web chat rooms like "Gay Aryan Resistance" — just can't seem to get any respect. After all, the real Nazis murdered thousands of homosexuals, and most people on the modern white supremacist right act pretty much as if they'd like to follow suit.

Take Pete Peters, a leading ideologue of the racist Christian Identity religion. The title of his 1993 book, *Death to all Homosexuals*, leaves little to the imagination. Or consider Fred Phelps, the radical Topeka Baptist. He runs the godhatesfags.com web site. Tom Metzger, who leads the White Aryan Resistance, offers up for his part cartoons that depict gay men being beaten to death.

No matter. Homosexual white men, declares a web page called the Gay Racist Network (www.geocities.com/ARCOrg/), are "nature's elite." While straight men are good for breeding, gay white men are "charismatic leaders that possess . . . genius." Similar messages appear on sites like Gays Against Semitism (www.geocities.com/gasunited/), and especially in chat rooms with names such as "Gay Nazi Sex," "Gay Nazi WP [White Power] Fetishists," "Gay Aryan Neo-Nazi Skinheads," "Nazi Muscle" and, most curious of all, "Diapered Skinheads."

"The Gay Aryan Mann [sic] must rise up," writes one impassioned man in the "Gay Aryan Resistance" chat room, "and destroy zOG [the "Zionist Occupation



On one web site, the Jewish star of David is crossed out with "rainbow triangles" meant to represent gays.

Government"] and end the Semitic homophobia imposed on our Kultur!"

Or, in the posted message of a rare lesbian: "Even if you are gay and white, or retarded and white, YOU ARE WHITE. BOTTOM LINE! Instead of letting the white race go extinct because of worthless races such as the african [sic] race or the mexican [sic] race popping out literally millions of babies a day, we have to fight this fucked up shit they are doing. They are raping our country."

Although it will come as a surprise to many, there has long been a fascist homo-

sexual subculture. Hitler's paramilitary SA storm troopers had a significant gay element — until ss head Heinrich Himmler announced that all gays would be sent to concentration camps "and shot while trying to escape." Small groups of gay neo-Nazis dotted the European landscape after the war, while in America homosexuality continues to be a "secret of postwar American National Socialism," according to Jeffrey Kaplan, a well-known scholar of extremism.

In fact, Kaplan writes, gays made up a "significant" — if carefully hidden — part of George Lincoln Rockwell's American Nazi Party in the 1960s. In 1974, the first openly gay American neo-Nazi group, the National Socialist League, was formed in Los Angeles by Russell Veh. Before disappearing in the 1980s, the group put out a journal — *NS Kampfruf* — complete with explicit photographs and racy advertisements.

This reality has been acknowledged by some white supremacists. Long-time neo-Nazi Harold Covington, revealing his own homophobia, put it this way: "[T]his movement has a distinct tendency to attract faggots because of the leather-macho image that the System Jew media imparts to the ss uniform."

Today, life remains tough for the committed gay neo-Nazi. After a heterosexual neo-Nazi chat room called the "Racist Club of America" expelled "practicing homosexuals" recently, one gay man wrote, "[W]e will never win this war as long as they [straight neo-Nazis] are considered the NORM of white pride groups." Another man, in considerably more despair, asked this question: "What does belonging to a group, who would kill you along with everyone else the second they found out what you were really, make you feel like?" ▲

The Southern Poverty Law Center's Programs Have Far-Reaching Impact



Teaching Tolerance

Teaching Tolerance is an education program dedicated to helping teachers across the nation foster respect and understanding among their students. The program was founded in 1991 in response to an alarming increase in hate crime among youths. Its award-winning *Teaching Tolerance* magazine provides classroom teachers with practical ideas for promoting an appreciation of diversity and the values of democracy. The magazine is distributed free twice a year to more than a half-million educators nationwide.

The project's teaching kits *America's Civil Rights Movement* and *The Shadow of Hate* chronicle the history of intolerance in America and the struggle to overcome prejudice. A third kit, *Starting Small*, is aimed at helping early childhood educators teach tolerance. Nearly 300,000 kits have been distributed free of charge to schools and community organizations.

Two special handbooks, *Responding to Hate at School* and *Ten Ways to Fight Hate*, help educators and community leaders address hate-related incidents. They are available at no charge to every school and community group in the nation.



Law Center Litigation

The Center handles innovative lawsuits, some taking years to complete. Several have reached the U.S. Supreme Court, and many have resulted in landmark rulings. Its 1972 case to integrate the all-white Alabama State Trooper force lasted 23 years; when it ended, Alabama employed the highest percentage of minority officers in the nation.

Center attorneys typically take high-impact, high-risk cases that few lawyers are willing to tackle. They have fought all forms of discrimination and worked to protect society's most vulnerable members.

Since the early 1980s, the Center has developed novel legal strategies to cripple hate groups by suing them for the violent actions of their members. In one ground-breaking Center case, an all-white jury awarded \$7 million to the mother of a young black man who was lynched by members of the United Klans of America. Although the United Klans did not have \$7 million, the verdict forced the group to deed its headquarters to the victim's mother. The case marked the end of the United Klans, once the nation's most notorious Klan group.



Intelligence Project

The Center's Intelligence Project oversees the investigative and publishing activities of Klanwatch and the Militia Task Force.

The Center created Klanwatch in 1981 in response to a resurgence of Ku Klux Klan activity. Today, it tracks the activities of hundreds of racist and neo-Nazi groups, many of which are increasingly recruiting from a new generation. In 1994, after uncovering links between white supremacist organizations and the emerging antigovernment "Patriot" movement, the Center established the Militia Task Force. It currently monitors more than 200 militia and other anti-government groups.

Using the information collected by both Klanwatch and the Militia Task Force, the Intelligence Project provides comprehensive updates to law enforcement agencies, the media and the general public through its quarterly publication, *Intelligence Report*. Staff members regularly conduct training sessions for police and community groups.



The Intelligence Report
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