



Intelligence Report

PUBLISHED BY
THE SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER

SUMMER 2010 | ISSUE 138

MEET THE 'PATRIOTS'

A NEW GENERATION LEADS THE REBORN ANTIGOVERNMENT MOVEMENT

Unsweet Tea

BY MARK POTOK, EDITOR

Martial law is around the corner. The federal government is storing 30,000 guillotines to use on dissident Americans. High officials plotted the bombing of the Oklahoma City federal building and the attack on the World Trade Center in New York, too. Secret concentration camps have been set up on military bases around the country. The Federal Reserve is part of a plot to strip us of our riches.



These are some of the ideas of the key activists of the antigovernment “Patriot” movement, men and women who are leading an angry resurgence of the American radical right. In this issue, we profile 35 of these leaders, along with five politicians and pundits who are helping to mainstream their theories.

To most of us, the conspiracy theories and demonizing propaganda of these groups mark them as the fringe of the fringe, people who are seriously out of touch with reality. Although so-called Patriots were responsible for a great deal of criminal violence during the first wave of their movement in the 1990s, and despite the fact that their numbers have grown astronomically in the last year or so, it is tempting to dismiss them as people who couldn’t possibly affect the course of our country.

That’s less easy to say about the Tea Parties, a complex social movement with its own share of conspiracy theories.

Polled by CBS and *The New York Times* this spring, some 18% of Americans described themselves as supporters

of the Tea Parties. Sounding in many ways like the furious, government-hating Patriots, they described their top issues as opposition to the health care reform bill, a belief that the government does not represent real Americans, high levels of government spending and the economy. Like the Patriots, too, they were far more likely than most to call themselves “angry.”

It seems clear that the Patriot resurgence has been fueled, in part, by demographic changes in this country — specifically, the predicted 2050 loss of a white majority, a change that was brought home to many by the election of a black president. Now, there is new evidence that race is playing a part in the Tea Party movement as well, even as it begins to claim some real political power.

Just 1% of Tea Party supporters are black, the recent poll found, compared to more than 12% of the general population. Nine out of 10 disapproved of President Obama’s job performance. Asked why they didn’t like the president, 19% said they just don’t like him, 11% suggested he is moving the country toward “socialism,” and 9% said he is dishonest. Fifty-two percent thought too much has been made of black people’s problems, about twice the proportion of all Americans.

A subsequent poll by the University of Washington Institute for the Study of Ethnicity, Race & Sexuality found that white supporters of the Tea Parties were 25% more “racially resentful” than those who were not supporters. White backers of the Tea Parties were less likely to believe that African Americans are intelligent, hardworking or trustworthy, and their perceptions of Latinos were similar.

In Ohio, scheduled speakers at a Tea Party rally organized by leader Brian “Sonny” Thomas fled after he suggested in a tweet that he wanted to shoot Latino

immigrants — or, as he wrote, “spicks.” Thomas’ Tea Party site linked to Whitepride.org, and CNN found a photo of him wearing a “White Pride” T-shirt.

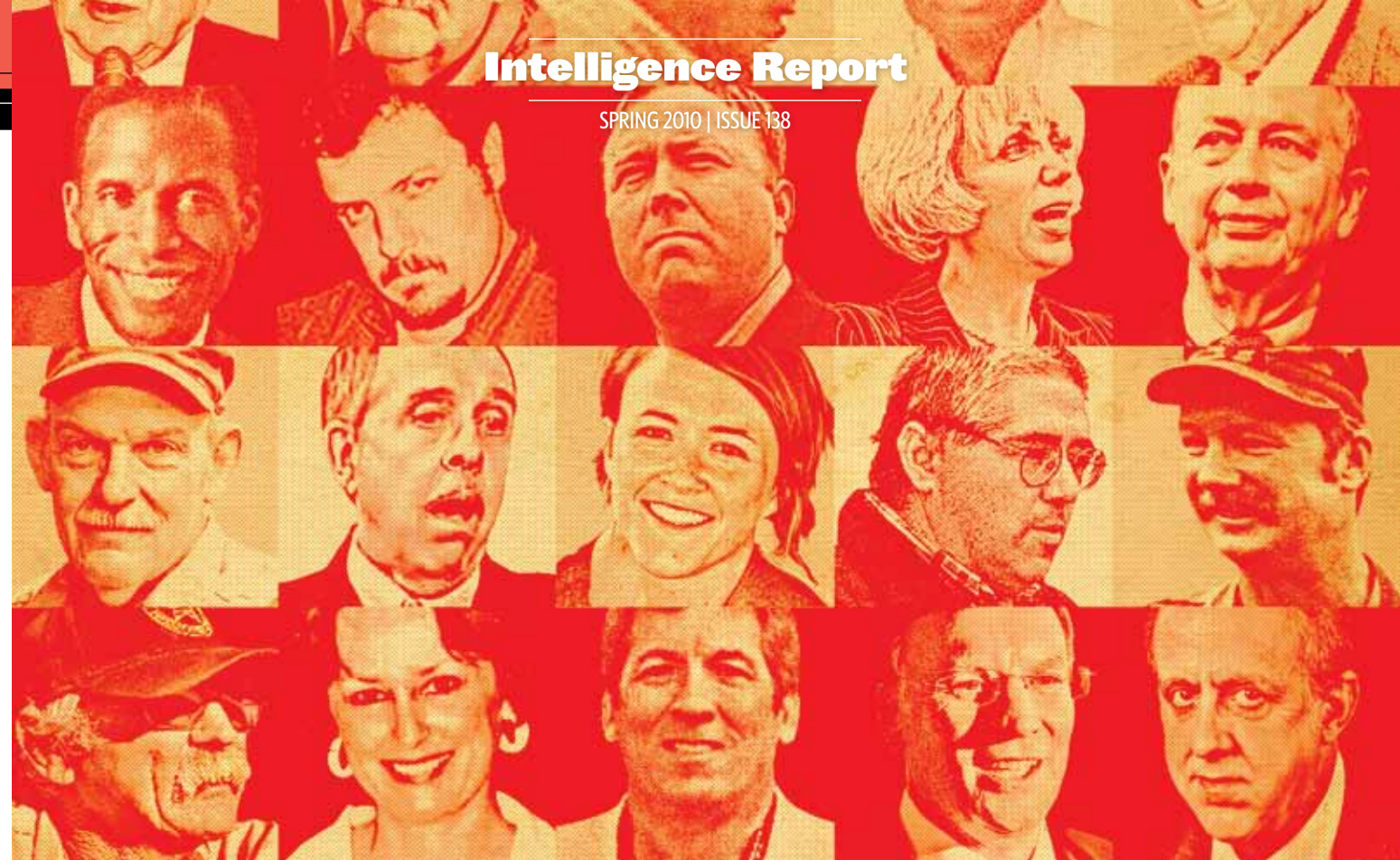
As E.J. Dionne of *The Washington Post* wrote about the Tea Party poll: “Part of the anger at President Obama does appear to be driven by racial concerns.”

None of this is to say that the Tea Parties are anything close to the American Third Position, a new hate group profiled in this issue. A3P, as it is known, is an explicitly white supremacist group, one that goes far beyond merely expressing angst about many of the changes occurring in this country to actually advocate deporting any citizen with an “ascertainable trace of Negro blood.”

But many in the Tea Party movement have adopted Patriot theories about the Federal Reserve, concentration camps, the “New World Order” and more. Patriot leaders regularly address Tea Party crowds. Even as the Tea Parties appear to win more respect in the political world — many were claiming credit for the Kentucky primary victory of Rand Paul as this issue went to press — it seems increasingly possible that they will begin to look more and more like Patriots.

And that should worry us all. ▲

CORRECTION The SPLC’s *Intelligence Report* issue in the summer of 2006 included an article by David Holthouse titled, “A Few Bad Men.” In this article, the report stated that Robert E. Salyer, a League of the South member and former U.S. Navy JAG Lieutenant, had received a dishonorable discharge from the U.S. Navy and had been barred from further practice in military courts. This was error. Mr. Salyer received an honorable discharge from the U.S. Navy and was, and remains, in good standing with the military courts. We regret the error.



COVER ILLUSTRATION BY SEAN MCCABE; PLOUGHMAN (TIP OF THE ICEBERG); FROM AMERICANSFOR (FILLING THE VOID)

ON THE COVER

12 Meet the ‘Patriots’

Militias and the larger antigovernment “Patriot” movement have taken off in the last year and a half, even as other sectors of the radical right also swelled. Although the spectacular resurgence of the Patriots has been partly propelled by people who were key leaders in the movement’s first wave in the 1990s, there are also a large number of new players, men and women who believe the government is up to no good.



36 Rooting Out Racism

Neill Payne, a North Carolina activist who was married at the Idaho Aryan Nations compound by the group’s neo-Nazi leader, has set off a political storm inside the Presbyterian Church in America, a theologically conservative denomination. The conflict reflects the struggle of many Christians to deal with racism in their churches’ pasts.



42 Filling the Void

Although record numbers of groups populate the radical right, the white supremacist movement has lost most of its capable leadership. That could be changing with the advent of the American Third Position, a California party that is bringing together key activists and intellectuals, not to mention money and new electoral ambitions.

EDITOR/INTELLIGENCE PROJECT DIRECTOR
Mark Potok

DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH AND SPECIAL PROJECTS
Heidi Beirich

STAFF WRITERS
Larry Keller, Sonia Scherr

CHIEF INVESTIGATOR
Joseph Roy Sr.

SENIOR INTELLIGENCE ANALYST
Laurie Wood

INFORMATION MANAGER
Michelle Bramblett

RESEARCH ANALYSTS
Anthony Griggs, Janet Smith

PROGRAM ASSOCIATE
LaTonya Penn

RESEARCH SPECIALISTS
Angela Freeman, Karmetriya Jackson

INFORMATION SPECIALISTS
Angela Foster, Karla Griffin

DESIGN DIRECTOR
Russell Estes

DESIGNERS
Valerie Downes, Michelle Leland, Scott Phillips

DESIGN PRODUCTION ASSISTANT
Sunny Paulk

PRODUCTION MANAGER
Betty Ruff

WEB PRODUCTION DIRECTOR
Ryan King

WEB PRODUCTION/COPY EDITOR
Melissa Henninger

MEDIA AND GENERAL INQUIRIES Mark Potok

LAW ENFORCEMENT INQUIRIES Joseph Roy Sr.

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

PUBLISHED BY
THE SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER'S
INTELLIGENCE PROJECT



SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER PRESIDENT
J. Richard Cohen

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

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

The *Intelligence Report* is published quarterly by the staff of the Intelligence Project of the Southern Poverty Law Center and provided free of charge to law enforcement officials, journalists, scholars and others. The Southern Poverty Law Center is supported entirely by private donations. No government funds are involved. © 2010 Southern Poverty Law Center. All rights reserved.



28 The Enablers

Five key players — three members of Congress and two cable television pundits — have helped to mainstream ideas of the antigovernment “Patriot” movement.

30 The ‘Patriot’ Movement: A Timeline

From President Bush’s 1990 mention of a “New World Order” to the arrest of a would-be cop-killer this spring, the history of a movement is briefly recounted.

40 Lock and Unload

The Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, one of the country’s most prominent nativist extremist groups, has disbanded five turbulent years after forming to guard the U.S. border.



DEPARTMENTS

3 Intelligence Briefs

Militiamen are arrested in a cop-killing plot; the Pentagon acts against racists; a hate group leader is murdered in a bizarre encounter; and other glimpses of extremism.

46 For the Record

A sampling of hate crimes and hate group activities from the first quarter of 2010 is summarized in state-by-state listings.

49 The Last Word

The Center for Perpetual Diversity characterizes black men as “raving madmen.” That hasn’t stopped a black woman from fronting its back-to-Africa project.

LAW ENFORCEMENT INQUIRIES WELCOMED

The Intelligence Project of the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) welcomes law enforcement inquiries regarding right-wing extremists and hate groups. Please direct questions during normal business hours to Joseph Roy Sr. via the SPLC’s general number, (334) 956-8200.



Printed with ink containing 77.3% renewable resources

FROM ARYANNATIONS88.COM (MULLET); JENNIFER WARBURG (KREISS)



NEO-NAZIS



Will the Real Aryan Nations Please Stand Up?

When self-described Aryan Nations national director Paul Mullet went looking in February for a place to establish a new headquarters, he headed west to Grants County, Ore. Rugged, rural and about 95% white, it must have seemed an ideal place to resuscitate the remnants of a once-leading neo-Nazi group.

Mullet, 36, showed up in the town of John Day, population 1,850, wearing a blue shirt with a swastika patch and accompanied by three other men. They spent the night at a local motel, where they displayed a swastika banner for the benefit of a black and a Hispanic motel worker. Then they toured the town a second day.

“John Day is the perfect place for us,” Mullet told a reporter.

Local residents vehemently disagreed. They turned out in such large numbers for two community meet-

ings organized by the local newspaper that some were turned away. Dozens of folks took to the streets, carrying signs with slogans like “No room 4 hate.” Everybody from the mayor and the police chief to ranchers and business owners voiced their opposition to the racist group coming to their town. Ironically, Mullet left spewing threats to sue the town for discrimination.

Unlike Mullet’s organization — one of several purporting to be its rightful heir — the original Aryan Nations was once a leading white supremacist group that hosted major annual gatherings of the radical right on a compound near Hayden Lake, Idaho. That group was decimated after founder Richard Butler was ordered to pay \$4.8 million of a \$6.3 million judgment in a civil case brought by the Southern Poverty Law Center on behalf of a woman and her son who

Rightful heir: Paul Mullet (from left), August Kreiss III, Jerald O'Brien and Martin Linstedt are vying for the mantle of the late Richard Butler, who founded and long led the original Aryan Nations.

were attacked by the group’s security guards. Butler lost his compound at a bankruptcy auction. When he died in 2004, the group had been reduced to about 200 members around the nation.

Since then, in addition to Mullet’s group, several racist activists have tried to claim the mantle of what was once America’s best-known hate group:

August Kreiss III, once briefly designated as Butler’s heir, initially led one “Aryan Nations” from his home in rural Pennsylvania. He has since moved to Lexington, S.C. As of last year, his group claimed two chapters and a handful of members. Kreiss has recruited heavily among motorcycle gangs, and recently formed what he calls the 1st SS Kavallerie Brigade Motorcycle Division as a kind of security crew.

Another faction claiming to be the real Aryan Nations was originally head-

HATE IN THE MAINSTREAM

“[T]hey got together and swore a pact to the devil. ... Ever since, they have been cursed by one thing after the other.”

— Christian Coalition founder **PAT ROBERTSON**, in a **Jan. 13** commentary on Christian Broadcasting Network’s “The 700 Club,” arguing Haiti’s Jan. 12 earthquake was caused by a satanic deal Haitians made to win freedom from French colonial rule in 1804

“My grandmother ... told me as a small child to quit feeding stray animals ... [b]ecause they breed. You’re facilitating the problem if you give an animal or a person ample food supply. They will reproduce, especially ones that don’t think too much further than that.”

— South Carolina Lt. Gov. **ANDRE BAUER**, in remarks about those who receive government assistance, at a **Jan. 22** town hall meeting in Fountain Inn, S.C.

“The unionization of their militaries ... [and] open homosexuality ... led to a force that was ill equipped to go to war.”

— Former Supreme Allied Commander **JOHN SHEEHAN**, partly blaming the 1995 Srebrenica massacre on the inclusion of gay soldiers among the Dutch military defenders of the Bosnian enclave, at a **March 18** U.S. congressional hearing

“I’m not casual at all about Islam — I want to go over there and take ’em out.”

— Talk radio host and Watergate ex-con **G. GORDON LIDDY**, in the **March 24** broadcast of “The G. Gordon Liddy Show”

“This is a pig bill, created by pig bureaucrats, to help out American pigs. ... We gotta kill the pig.”

— Rock star **TED NUGENT** speaking on the health care bill in a **March 26** interview on Fox News’ “Your World”

“What could be more threatening to your survival than the demise of your entire race? ... Who set out to destroy the white people?”

— Talk radio host **MICHAEL SAVAGE** bemoaning the “death of the West” in an **April 13** broadcast of Talk Radio Network’s “The Savage Nation”

“If his wife says Kenya is his homeland, why don’t we just send him back?”

— Former U.S. Rep **TOM TANCREDO** of Colorado, pushing discredited “birther” claims about President Obama in a speech at an **April 17** Tea Party rally in Greenville, S.C.

“It doesn’t take a genius to know what this illegitimate band of gangsters is going to do next.”

— Talk radio host **MICHAEL SAVAGE**, in an **April 20** broadcast of “The Savage Nation,” accusing the Obama Administration of planting armed “agent provocateurs” inside the Tea Parties to discredit conservatives

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

quartered in Lincoln, Ala. Today, that faction’s founders have left, and the group has moved to the area around Coeur d’Alene, Idaho (near its original location), under the leadership of Jerald O’Brien. Last year, the group claimed to have four chapters. Yet another Aryan Nations faction, headed by Jay Faber in New York and boasting 12 chapters in 2009, is said to have recently merged with O’Brien’s organization.

Finally, long-time neo-Nazi Martin Linstedt has started a one-chapter version of the group in Missouri that he calls the Church of Jesus Christ Christian/Aryan Nations, that appears to be only marginally active.

In a related matter, Charles Juba, a former Aryan Nations official, showed up in Odessa, Mo., in February, saying he planned to open a new, under-21 night-club called the Black Flag. He was met with a reception similar to that given Mullet, with townspeople decrying his club and ideology, and he soon abandoned his plans.

For its part, Mullet’s group, based in Chillicothe, Ohio, is believed to have 14 chapters. Its fliers have shown up on lawns in San Bernardino and Rialto, Calif., and in Idaho Falls, Idaho – the latter inside plastic eggs on Easter morning. Meanwhile, the Maryland-based World Knights of the Ku Klux Klan disbanded and became part of a local chapter of the Mullet-led Aryan Nations group. “Colonel” Gordon Young of the Klan group told followers that the move will promote white unity.

BLACK SEPARATISTS

Black ‘Sovereign’ Charged in Scam Linked to White Hate Group

In an odd mix of “sovereign citizen” and black separatist ideologies, a Memphis man was arrested in March for trying to acquire 11 properties without paying for them. Michael Cobbs, 34, filed pseudo-legal “deeds” on homes and a motel in Shelby County, Tenn., that he claimed made him owner of the properties.



The alleged scheme derives from ideas of the so-called sovereign citizens movement, whose members generally believe they are immune from the laws and taxes of state and federal governments. A recent twist on their methods has been seizing foreclosed homes with phony documents. In 2008, for instance, a group called the Sovereign Solomon Brothers Archbishop Sole filed dozens of fake deeds on pricey foreclosed homes in California, then rented them out while claiming “sovereign immunity” from the law.

What made Cobbs’ reported actions especially noteworthy was that he claimed to follow the teachings of Yahweh ben Yahweh, the late leader of a murderous black supremacist sect long based in South Florida. Core ideas of sovereign citizens ideology originated in the white supremacist Posse Comitatus and specifically described black Americans as mere “14th Amendment citizens,” rather than full-fledged citizens under the Constitution.

“We learned all of this from Yahweh ben Yahweh,” Cobbs told a reporter from WREG-TV in Memphis.

Yahweh ben Yahweh, who headed the Nation of Yahweh sect, wore a turban and flowing white robes and claimed to be the reincarnated Messiah. He began numerous business enterprises in poor neighborhoods that amassed a fortune of as much as \$100 million. Although he was initially welcomed with open arms by gullible Miami civic leaders, he and more than a dozen followers ultimately were indicted on federal racketeering and extortion charges related to the murder of 14 people, several of them whites whose ears were brought back to Yahweh ben Yahweh as trophies. He was convicted in 1992 of conspiracy to commit murder and sentenced to

18 years in prison. He was released on parole in 2001 and died in 2007.

Cobbs was charged in two transactions of criminal attempted theft of property, but prosecutors dropped the charge in one case. The other case was pending when the *Intelligence Report* went to press.

MILITIA CRIMES

Hutaree Militia Members Arrested in Plot to Murder Police

Nine members of the Hutaree Militia, a self-described “Christian” group with chapters in Michigan and Utah, were arrested in late March and charged in a plot to make homemade bombs and murder scores of law enforcement officials in hopes of sparking a larger uprising against the federal government.

The Hutaree website says its name means “Christian warrior” and describes its mission as “[p]reparing for the end time battles to keep the testimony of Jesus Christ alive.” According to an indictment, the Hutaree members, eight men and a woman, planned to kill

a random police officer in Michigan. When other law enforcement officers gathered for the funeral, the militia members planned to kill them with improvised explosive devices, authorities allege. Members would then flee to “rally points” protected with trip-wired explosives, from where they would sally forth to do further violent battle with law enforcement. A federal prosecutor said that the group believed it was about to go to war with what it described as “the brotherhood” — local, state and federal law enforcement officers.

Defense lawyers maintained that the group was all talk that was protected under the First Amendment.

At Hutaree’s rural southeast Michigan headquarters — also the home of its reputed leader David Brian Stone — authorities seized materials that can be used to make explosives, and instructions on how to build bombs. They also confiscated gas masks, knives, machetes, swords and body armor. Stone’s wife and two sons also were arrested and charged in the case.

At the Sandusky, Ohio, home of Kristopher Sickles, investigators took substances believed to be crack cocaine



Warrior wedding: Members of the Hutaree Militia, nine of whom have been charged in an alleged plot to murder police officers, had a fondness for weaponry that bordered on the obsessive.

FROM HUTAREE MILITIA WEBSITE (WEDDING); SHELBY COUNTY SHERIFF'S OFFICE (COBBS)



Guns and roses: At a Hutaree Militia wedding party, even the smallest children got to pose with heavy weapons.

and steroids. Sickles is alleged to have said in the presence of the undercover federal agent that he had killed his cat with a handgun to see if he “could kill something I had a feeling for.”

At Michael Meeks’ home in Norvell, Mich., liquid tear gas, night vision binoculars, guns, ammunition and knives were seized. The government says that Meeks pledged to acquire metal pieces to be used in making IEDs.

And at Thomas Piatek’s home in Whiting, Ind., agents took a copy of a Hitler tract and an audio of *The Turner Diaries*, the race war novel written by the late neo-Nazi leader William Pierce. Also confiscated: a samurai sword and a jeweled dagger, according to search warrant records.

The Hutaree’s members apparently became agitated in December 2008 when federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives agents began scrutinizing the records of a Michigan gun dealer named William Priest. David Stone was an occasional customer of Priest and bought components of semi-automatic AR-15 rifles from him, according to authorities. “Looks like the ATF enforcers are looking for a reason to start a fire-fight,” David Stone allegedly wrote in an E-mail at the time. “And we will answer the call.”

RALLYING THE RIGHT

Guns Rights Advocates, ‘Patriots’ Mix in April Protests

A few hundred people showed up this April 19 for two pro-gun rallies in and near Washington, D.C., events filled with the usual antigovernment “Patriot” movement themes of the perceived erosion of personal liberties and a tyrannical federal government. If the largely male, nearly all-white crowds attending

the two events saw the irony of openly carrying guns in one rally and harshly denouncing a government they claim is repressive, they didn’t let on.

Low attendance helped scuttle high expectations for drama at the “Restore the Constitution” rally that began at Fort Hunt National Park near Arlington, Va. No more than 60 people showed up with pistols on their hips and rifles slung over their shoulders. It was legal to do so because of a recent law signed by President Obama — who some gun enthusiasts insist without evidence is planning gun restrictions — that permits firearms to be carried in some national parks.

Event organizers said they chose the date because it was the anniversary of the shots that opened the Revolutionary War in Lexington, Mass. Critics noted that it was also the anniversary of the deadly 1995 Oklahoma City bombing.

Bob Wright, who has participated in border patrols with the Minuteman Civil Defense Corps (see related story, p. 40), told the armed audience that both major political parties are guilty of eroding citizens’ rights. “Freedom is ours,” he said. “We will take it if we must.”

Just miles away at the Washington Monument, heroes of the Patriot world including Oath Keepers founder Stewart Rhodes, one-time Arizona



Bully boy: Militia activist and Three Percenter leader Mike Vanderboegh reveled in his new role as the person who sparked brick attacks on Democratic facilities.

sheriff Richard Mack, Gun Owners of America Executive Director Larry Pratt and Georgia congressman Paul Broun addressed 350 to 400 people.

Broun, who may be the U.S. congressman closest to Patriot ideas, referred to his fellow lawmakers as “domestic enemies” and bemoaned a “tyrannical government. Socialists have been taking away our freedom and liberty.”

No speaker’s words were more eagerly anticipated than those of Mike Vanderboegh. He’s the former Alabama militiaman who urged people in a March posting on his blog to break the windows of Democratic Party offices to protest health care reform. Portly and pugnacious, Vanderboegh delivered a fiery speech at the Fort Hunt rally, relishing his new notoriety. Still, it didn’t go as well as he hoped. “Do the press outnumber us?” he asked a reporter in a men’s room.

Vanderboegh’s speech was received enthusiastically by the meager crowd, but his appearance ended on a sour note. Answering reporters’ questions afterward, he angered three bystanders who were listening to the give-and-take.

“You’re a terrorist,” shouted a man. “You’re an anti-American bully,” his wife added. With that, Vanderboegh ambled away.

HATE IN THE MAINSTREAM

Whitewashing of Slavery Embarrasses Virginia Governor

When Virginia Gov. Robert McDonnell issued a proclamation this spring declaring April Confederate History Month, he neglected to mention a key part of that history: slavery.

The omission provoked an outcry not only from black lawmakers and the NAACP, but also from supporters, including a prominent black businesswoman and the *Richmond Times Dispatch*. McDonnell initially defended the decision not to cite slavery in the proclamation. “There were any number of aspects to that conflict between

the states,” he told *The Washington Post*. “Obviously, it involved slavery. It involved other issues. But I focused on the ones I thought were most significant for Virginia.”

Shortly afterward, McDonnell backtracked, apologizing in a statement and acknowledging that “the failure to include any reference to slavery was a mistake.” He added language to the original proclamation stating in part that “the institution of slavery led to this war and was an evil and inhumane practice that deprived people of their God-given inalienable rights.”

The Sons of Confederate Veterans, a Southern heritage group, launched the practice of urging governors to make proclamations 13 years ago when it wrote a tract that was signed by then-Gov. George Allen, a Republican. That statement also did not mention slavery, instead depicting the Civil War as a struggle for states’ rights — despite the fact that the vast majority of scholars see slavery as the war’s root cause. Allen’s successor, Republican James Gilmore III, included a repudiation of slavery in his proclamation and eventually cut language referring to Confederate History Month. The subsequent two Democratic governors did not issue the proclamations.

McDonnell, a Republican, made the proclamation in response to a request from the SCV, which in recent years has seen racial extremists try to take control of the group.

The Virginia Division of the SCV was not pleased with McDonnell’s reversal. In a lengthy statement, it commended McDonnell for issuing the Confederate History Month proclamation, but “absolutely refute[d] the claim that Confederate soldiers went to the field of battle for the sole purpose of preserving slavery as an intellectually dishonest argument.” (In fact, McDonnell does not



Gov. Robert McDonnell

say that the Civil War was fought *only* over slavery.)

The SCV wasn’t alone in suggesting that McDonnell needn’t apologize for a proclamation that failed to note the role of slavery. Mississippi Gov. Haley Barbour, chairman of the Republican Governors Association, said that people upset about the original declaration were “trying to make a big deal out of something that doesn’t amount to diddly.” He said it “goes without saying” that slavery was bad. He also pointed out that his state’s predominantly Democratic legislature had adopted similar statements without criticism.

In fact, that’s not the only dubious declaration that the Mississippi Legislature has made. As in past years, the Mississippi House passed a resolution in February honoring high school student athletes who took part in “The Spirit of America Day” on March 1. Like the Virginia resolution, the Mississippi statement omitted an awkward fact: The day’s events — including an awards ceremony and other events at the Capitol — were hosted by white supremacist lawyer Richard Barrett. Barrett, who was murdered in April after allegedly propositioning a young black man (see story, p. 11), led the Nationalist Movement and advocated striking down civil rights laws, deporting American minorities and sterilizing the “unfit.”

EXTREMISTS IN THE MILITARY

Pentagon Stiffens Regulations to Ban Racist Advocacy

For years, military personnel could post bigoted messages on social networking websites without fear of repercussions.

Not any more.

After long denying a problem with extremists in its ranks, the Pentagon in November quietly tightened an existing ban on supremacist activity. The old policy, in effect since 1996, prohibited “active participation” in supremacist organizations, including rallying, fund-raising, recruiting and organizing. But it

was often interpreted to mean that military personnel were allowed to be “mere members” of hate groups or that they could engage in unaffiliated extremist activities such as posting racist content to social networking sites and E-mail lists. The revised policy now also bans distributing such materials, including posting them online. Perhaps most importantly, the new rules say military personnel “must not actively advocate supremacist doctrine, ideology or causes.”

The Southern Poverty Law Center had been urging the Pentagon to revise the regulations since 2006, when it published “A Few Bad Men,” a report revealing that large numbers of neo-Nazi skinheads and other white supremacists were joining the armed forces to acquire combat and weapons training — skills that could be

used to commit terrorist acts against targets in the United States. Among others, the report cited the case of Matt Buschbacher, a Navy SEAL who attended the 2002 “leadership conference” of the neo-Nazi National Alliance while on active duty. The SPLC told military officials that Buschbacher was producing neo-Nazi recruitment fliers via his website, but he was allowed to complete his tour of duty in Iraq and even given an honorable discharge.

In 2008, the SPLC told the Pentagon that it had uncovered 46 members of the white supremacist networking website Newsaxon.com who identified themselves on the site as active-duty military personnel. That same year, an unclassified FBI assessment detailed more than a dozen investigative findings and criminal cases involving Iraq and Afghanistan veterans as well as other active-duty

personnel engaging in extremist activity in recent years.

In February 2009, the issue became harder to ignore when Lance Corporal Kody Brittingham, a Marine at Camp Lejeune in North Carolina, was charged with threatening the president after investigators found white supremacist material and a journal containing a plot to assassinate then-president-elect Barack Obama in his belongings. Two months later, a Department of Homeland Security report worried “that right-wing extremists will attempt to recruit and radicalize returning veterans in order to exploit their skills and knowledge derived from military training and combat.” In July, the SPLC asked Congress to investigate the problem and, in September, briefed staffers of several Senate committees on the issue.

Though the Pentagon’s rule revision

THE BLOTTER

Updates on Extremism and The Law

JAN. 11 Former **militia** leader Ed Brown was sentenced in **Concord, N.H.**, to 37 years in federal prison on charges related to the heavily armed, nine-month standoff he and his wife engaged in after he refused to turn himself in to serve five years for **tax evasion**. The couple’s home was later found to be stocked with homemade bombs, assault-type rifles and booby traps aimed at law enforcement. His wife Elaine, a successful dentist, was sentenced last year to 35 years in prison.

JAN. 12 The U.S. Supreme Court reinstated the death penalty against **neo-Nazi** Frank Spisak Jr., overturning a lower appeals court ruling that his trial lawyer’s weak closing argument during the sentencing phase merited a new round of hearings. Spisak murdered three people in **Cleveland** in 1983. He wore a Hitler-style mustache at his original trial and gave the Nazi salute.

FEB. 8 Three men with ties to the radical-right “**sovereign citizens**” movement, which claims that most Americans do not have to pay taxes or obey all laws, were sentenced in **Kansas City, Mo.**, to prison terms of five to six years. David L. Robinson, Daniel W. Denham and Larry P. Goodyke sold bogus diplomatic identification cards for \$450 to \$2,000. Customers were told the cards would give them diplomatic immunity and exempt them from taxes and arrest by police.

MAR. 10 For the second time, a mistrial in the case of **hate blogger** Hal Turner was declared in a **Brooklyn, N.Y.**, courtroom when the jury could not reach a unanimous verdict on charges that he threatened the lives of three federal judges in **Chicago**. Turner’s law-

yers said his posting of photos of the judges and saying they were “worthy of death” was protected free speech. Turner’s work as an FBI informant was an issue at both trials. He is scheduled to be retried in August.



MAR. 12 A federal appeals court upheld the conviction of reputed **Klansman** James Ford Seale in the 1964 killing of two black men in rural **Mississippi**. Seale was convicted in 2007 of kidnapping charges in the abduction and murder of Charles Eddie Moore and Henry Hezekiah Dee. The ruling from the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 5th Circuit in **New Orleans** concluded that the statute of limitations had not expired.

MAR. 18 Three members of the **neo-Nazi** group **Connecticut White Wolves** and two associates were indicted on charges that they tried to sell rifles and homemade grenades to what they believed to be a white supremacist group in another state. One of the suspects was serving in the U.S. Army in **Virginia**. The men are accused of making three grenades, which were packed into a box marked with a swastika.

APRIL 1 Scott Roeder, an **anti-abortion extremist** convicted of murdering **Wichita, Kan.**, physician George Tiller, was sentenced to serve at least 50 years in prison. Roeder shot Tiller in the forehead at point-blank range while the doctor was serving as an usher at his church. As he was escorted out of the courtroom, Roeder shouted at prosecutors, “The blood of babies is on your hands.”

APRIL 15 Paul Schlesselman was sentenced in **Memphis, Tenn.**, to 10 years in prison for his part in a 2008 scheme to kill 88 African Americans and then behead another 14 (the numbers are shorthand codes for neo-Nazi slogans). He and fellow **racist skinhead** Daniel Cowart also planned to murder then-presidential candidate Barack Obama at the end of the killing spree. Cowart, a “probate” in the white supremacist group **Supreme White Alliance**, has pleaded guilty and awaits sentencing.

APRIL 22 The last of three men convicted of painting **swastikas** and **racist slogans** on the walls of a **Columbia, Tenn.**, mosque was sentenced to six years in prison. Jonathan Edward Stone was given credit for two years he already had spent in jail. His two co-defendants received sentences of 14 years and 15 years, respectively.

MAY 5 Raymond “Chuck” Foster, imperial wizard of the **Sons of Dixie Knights of the Ku Klux Klan** pleaded guilty to second-degree murder midway through his trial in **Covington, La.**, and was sentenced to life in prison. Foster shot Cynthia Lynch of Tulsa, Okla., after recruiting her over the Internet. The day after Lynch was initiated in a robed backwoods ceremony, she argued with Foster and tried to quit.



FEB. 21, 2010 • DAWSON SPRINGS, KY.

Imperial Klans of America (IKA) Knighthawk Tom Grant (on right) posted this photo of himself with IKA founder Ron Edwards, presumably because the two men really do see themselves as the kind of cantankerous, hair-trigger-tempered character long depicted by Looney Tunes’ Yosemite Sam. Since the Southern Poverty Law Center successfully sued Edwards and two of his IKA members, winning a \$2.5 million judgment in 2008 on behalf of a young man who was badly beaten by Edwards’ followers, the group has filled its website with statements opposing “all criminal behavior and activity.” That apparently didn’t stop Edwards and his colleagues from nailing up the sign, visible above, promising to shoot trespassers and to shoot “survivors” a second time. And it didn’t stop him from letting the world know just who “[t]he IKA hates: Muds, spics, kikes and niggers,” not to mention the “Alien Jew Owners” who “run satan’s world and system.”

won't eliminate all racial extremists or potential terrorists from the military, it is a significant step forward and should make it easier for commanders to investigate and discharge or otherwise discipline the likes of Buschbacher.

ANTIGOVERNMENT MILITIAS

Despite 1995 Bombing, Some in Oklahoma Call for Anti-Federal Militia

Fifteen years after the Oklahoma City bombing, Tea Party activists were talking to Oklahoma legislators about starting an armed militia to stop the federal government from trampling on states' rights. The Oklahoma Tea Party leaders told The Associated Press that they'd like the legislature to authorize the creation of a new volunteer force — and they seemed to have support from some state lawmakers, including Sen. Randy Brogdon and Rep. Charles Key.

Brogdon told the AP that the Second Amendment permits the establishment of a citizen militia. The founding fathers “were not referring to a turkey shoot or a quail hunt,” he said. “They really weren't even talking about us having the ability to protect ourselves against each other. The Second Amendment deals directly with the right of an individual to keep and bear arms to protect themselves from an overreaching federal government.”

Key said there was a “better than 50-50 chance” a pro-militia bill would be filed. The long-time politician has suggested that the federal government knew about the 1995 bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah federal building before it occurred. In 1999, he rejected the findings of a county grand jury he helped organize that concluded there was no evidence of a larger conspiracy.

Both Brogdon and Key later backed away from their statements to the AP. Brogdon said he was not referring to a militia that would resist the federal government, but to a force similar to the National Guard that would help during natural disasters. He claimed he never

uttered the word “militia” during his AP interview, though in a follow-up article the AP said he did so five times.

And in a *Tennessean* guest editorial, Key said that neither he nor any other legislator he knows of plans to file militia-related legislation. He claimed that the story misquoted him because reporters were determined to link con-



servative politicians and Tea Party backers to militias. The AP stood by its reporting.

The discussion of an Oklahoma militia came as Americans commemorated the 15th anniversary of the bombing that killed 168 people, including 19 children. Convicted bomber Timothy McVeigh had attended at least one militia meeting and shared ideas espoused by the anti-government “Patriot” movement. Only days before Tea Partiers spoke to the AP about a possible Oklahoma militia, nine members of a Michigan militia were indicted on conspiracy and other charges in connection with a plot to kill law enforcement officers (see story, p. 5).

In April, an Oklahoma lawmaker did introduce militia legislation — though

perhaps not what the Tea Partiers attended. Rep. Mike Shelton's proposed amendments to an anti-gang bill would increase the penalty for participating in unauthorized militias or domestic terror organizations.

EXTREMIST CRIMES

Extremists Believed to Target California Police for Death

Authorities are investigating whether white supremacists orchestrated several potentially fatal attacks on police officers in the Southern California city of Hemet.

Some 200 federal, state and local police searched three dozen locations and arrested 23 people in an April 20 raid aimed at identifying the crimes' perpetrators. Those in police custody have been charged with various felonies and misdemeanors, many of them related to weapons, drugs and stolen property. As of press time, none of the charges were directly connected to the attempted murders of the police officers, though authorities say they're hopeful that the mass arrests will help them find those responsible.

The Hemet-San Jacinto Gang Task Force was first targeted in December, when someone redirected a rooftop gas line into the task force building, filling it with natural gas that could have caused a major explosion. In February, a bullet fired from a booby trap device narrowly missed an officer as he opened the security gate at the task force building.

In March, a task force officer who had pulled into the parking lot of a convenience store discovered what he suspected was a “dangerous device” attached to his police vehicle. Hemet police officers who responded to his call had to evacuate the convenience store and nearby businesses and close blocks of city street. Investigators determined that the device had been attached to the vehicle before the officer stopped at the convenience store and that it would have injured or killed the officer if it had functioned as intended.

No one was hurt in the attacks. Riverside County is offering a \$200,000 reward for information leading to the conviction of those who carried out the crimes against the task force, which is made up of officers from the Hemet Police Department, the Riverside County Sheriff's Department, the Riverside County District Attorney's Office, and the Riverside County Probation Department.

Hemet is located in the region of California known as the Inland Empire, which, as the *Intelligence Report* documented in 2005, became a hotbed of white supremacist activity as large numbers of minorities moved into an area once dominated by whites. Four members of the COORS (Comrades of Our Racist Struggle) Family Skinheads were expected to stand trial in May on attempted murder charges for viciously attacking a Latino man in November 2008. And last spring, seven members of the Inland Empire Skinheads were arrested on various charges, including assault with a deadly weapon and home invasion robbery. One of the skinheads, who was pregnant when she was arrested on April 20, 2009, tried to induce labor so her baby would be born on Hitler's birthday.

HATE AND HYPOCRISY

Murdered Racist Leader May Have Propositioned Killer

Richard Barrett, a longtime white supremacist who denigrated blacks and gays, was murdered in April at his home in Pearl, Miss.

In a strange twist, the accused killer is a 22-year-old black man who told police that Barrett propositioned him. A Rankin County (Miss.) undersheriff testified at Vincent McGee's arraignment that McGee said he beat and stabbed Barrett after the 67-year-old lawyer made sexual advances toward him, according to The Associated Press.

McGee, who was Barrett's neighbor, had done yard work for Barrett, but told the AP that he did not know about Barrett's racist activism as head of the Nationalist Movement. McGee could face the death penalty if convicted of the capital murder charge. Three others have been charged as accessories after the fact.

Barrett's alleged homosexuality, while ironic given his many anti-gay rants, is not that unusual. Others in the movement have shown similar hypocrisy. They



include avowed “Aryan” revolutionary Leo Felton, who actually had a black parent, and anti-Semite William Potter Gale, who was secretly descended from a long line of devout Jews.

Though Barrett, a lawyer, never became a major leader in white supremacist circles, he drew substantial press attention by organizing rallies and filing free-speech lawsuits. “He was known not only for being one of the hardest of the hard-core haters, but a gadfly as well because of his legal knowledge,” said Brian Levin, director of the Center for the Study of Hate & Extremism at California State University, San Bernardino. “And he was notorious for claiming legal victories, some of which he never actually won.”

Born in New York City, the Vietnam War veteran launched his efforts on behalf of white Christians when he moved to Mississippi in 1966, according to the Anti-Defamation League (ADL). In his 1982 autobiography, *The Commission*, he called for resettling minority groups to “Puerto Rico, Mexico, Israel, the Orient and Africa.” He also argued that “the Negro race ... possess[es] no creativity of its own [and] pulls the vitality away from civilization.” And he favored sterilizations and abortions of those deemed “unfit.”

In 1988, he headed a protest against integration in predominantly white Forsyth County, Ga. Sixty-five mostly out-of-town activists took part, including 40 robed Klansmen. Barrett was among the protesters who signed “The Forsyth County Covenant,” which argued for the advancement of “America's heritage as a free, white, Christian, English-speaking democracy” and asserted that “all efforts to make us a bilingual, bisexual or biracial society must be defeated.” ▲



Despite heavy security at the headquarters of the Hemet-San Jacinto (Calif.) Gang Task Force, unknown perpetrators tried to blow up the building with natural gas.

Meet the 'Patriots'

IN THE LAST YEAR AND A HALF, MILITIAS AND THE LARGER ANTIGOVERNMENT "PATRIOT" MOVEMENT have exploded, accompanied by the rapid expansion of other sectors of the radical right. This spectacular growth (see timeline, p. 30) is the result of several factors, including anger over major political, demographic and economic changes in America, along with the popularization of radical ideas and conspiracy theories by ostensibly mainstream politicians and media commentators (see "The Enablers," p. 28). Although the resurgence of the so-called Patriots — people who generally believe that the federal government is an evil entity that is engaged in a secret conspiracy to impose martial law, herd those who resist into concentration camps, and force the United States into a socialistic "New World Order" — also has been propelled by people who were key players in the first wave of the Patriot movement in the mid-1990s, there are also a large number of new players. What follows are profiles of 35 individuals at the heart of the resurgent movement.

Heaven Can Wait

CHUCK BALDWIN 57

In his brand of Christian fundamentalism, Christians will someday be transported from the



earth and taken directly to heaven. In the meantime, though, Chuck Baldwin wouldn't mind running things down here himself.

The founder and pastor of Crossroad Baptist Church in Pensacola, Fla., is no fan of Washington, D.C. — in an essay on his website, he calls the nation's capital "that Putrid Province by the Potomac" — but he keeps trying to get there.

In 2000, after declaring the Bush-Cheney ticket too liberal, the former chairman of the Florida Moral Majority left the Republican Party and aligned himself with the staunchly antigovernment, anti-gay Constitution Party. Four years later, he appeared on the party's presidential ticket as the running mate of far-right lawyer Michael Peroutka. He rose to the top of the ticket in 2008.

Besides leading the flock at Crossroad Baptist for the past 30-plus years, Baldwin, who could not be reached for comment, hosts a daily one-hour radio program, "Chuck Baldwin Live." He is a prolific writer, penning regular columns that are archived on

his website. His columns also are archived on VDARE.com, a racist website that regularly bashes immigrants.

In his writing, Baldwin condemns Islam as a "bloody, murderous religion"; refers to Martin Luther King Jr. as an apostate; sympathizes with Joe Stack, the tax protester who flew a plane into an IRS office building earlier this year; and states that he believes the South was right in the Civil War (although he quickly adds that he is no racist).

In one of his more sweeping and Patriot-like observations, Baldwin writes that "there is a conspiracy by elitists within government and big business to steal America's independence."

For Baldwin, heaven can wait.

The Repentant Taxman

JOE BANISTER 47

Lots of people insist that the Internal Revenue Service has



no authority to administer and enforce federal income tax laws. What makes Joe Banister unusual among them is that he was an IRS special

agent for five years. He spreads his anti-IRS message on radio and television and hosts his own two-hour weekly radio show.

Soft-spoken, articulate and a devout Catholic, Banister was interviewed in "America: From Freedom to Fascism," a 2006 "documentary" by the late anti-government conspiracy theorist Aaron Russo, which denies the legitimacy of income tax laws and the Federal Reserve.

Banister says that he investi-

gated radical tax protesters' claims about the IRS for two years. He concluded they were right, and told his IRS supervisors so. He was placed on leave, then resigned in 1999 to "comply with my oath to support and defend the U.S. Constitution."

The following year, he and Bob Schulz (see profile below), founder of a leading antigovernment Patriot tax-protest group known as the We the People, hand delivered grievances signed by supporters to federal officials in Washington stating that the 16th Amendment that allowed a federal income tax was illegally ratified, and that no law or regulation requires most citizens to pay income taxes or have taxes withheld.

Banister was indicted in 2004 in California for preparing false income tax returns and conspiring to defraud the federal government stemming from his work on behalf of a businessman client. The client went to prison, but Banister was acquitted.

"There's definitely a propaganda campaign out there to make us look like a problem to law enforcement," he told his audience at a Patriot conference last year.

Bulldozer vs. Bulldozer

MARTIN "RED" BECKMAN 80

In 1984, when Martin J. "Red" Beckman ran for the Democratic presidential nomination in New Hampshire's famously wide-open primary, he billed himself as "Montana's fighting redhead." By that time, he had been battling the IRS for 10 years.

Sometimes called the "Father of the Patriot Movement," Beckman gained a measure of fame within the anti-tax militia movement for refusing to pay more than \$100,000 in income taxes and \$34,000 in property taxes, contending that U.S. tax laws are illegal.

The IRS auctioned Beckman's property in 1979, but he refused to leave. In a 1992 ruling, the 9th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals also assessed \$1,500 in sanctions against him, saying his arguments were "wholly without merit and frivolous."

Finally, his home was bulldozed in 1994. He attracted about 100 sympathizers to a rally in Billings to protest the foreclosure — an event he billed as "No More Wacos." At a press conference that year, he called the IRS "a total criminal organization" and vowed, "We will put it out of business at some point."

In addition to being a tax protester and conspiracy theorist who believes the Federal Reserve and International Monetary Fund are conspiring to dominate the world, Beckman is a notorious anti-Semite. He's the author of *The Church Deceived*, in which he claims the Holocaust was God's punishment of Jews for worshipping Satan.

Now in his dotage, the "fighting redhead" occasionally still speaks in public as the militias of the 1990s make a comeback. This past September, for instance, he spoke to the "Celebrating Conservatism" group in the town of Hamilton, Mont. Two days later, the group paraded through downtown brandishing weapons.

'Needle of Estrogen'

CATHERINE BLEISH 26

Catherine Bleish, one of the few female leaders in the resurgent Patriot movement, runs the Liberty Restoration Project and has become a popular speaker on the Patriot circuit.

"It's quite frightening the amount of power and authority that our government has assumed for themselves," Bleish told the *Intelligence Report*. "They say, 'We are the Supreme Being, we have the guns, we are going to do it our way.'"

Bleish, of St. Louis, Mo., speaks passionately about the anger that's fueling the movement. "It's so hard to start a small business, and once you start one, it's hard to keep it open. My parents are being audited for the past



six years, while [Treasury Secretary] Tim Geithner, who doesn't pay his taxes, now gets to oversee the IRS," she said. "People are losing their homes. People are losing their jobs. People are frustrated and looking for answers."

Like many other Patriot leaders, Bleish charges that the government is behind these economic woes. "The dollar has been systematically destroyed. And that is not the American people's doing. That is the central bank. The central bankers, what they do is they go from country to country, and they destroy currency and bring themselves lots of power and lots of wealth."

Though Bleish said no one in the movement with whom she's worked wants violence, she added that people will be driven to defend themselves if the country continues on its current course. "The actions of our federal government [are] going to create violence. And my goal ... is to try and stop it peacefully before it gets to that point. I'm trying to follow the channels that are still afforded to me to talk to people face to face. But they're going to try and take away my ability to communicate with people of a like mind-set."

Bleish has taken part in key Patriot events, attending the seminal May 2009 Jekyll Island meeting that helped lay the groundwork for the resurgence of the movement. She also spoke at the Freedom 21 conference in Oklahoma City last August. And she was the main organizer for the Midwest Liberty Fest in Illinois last October.

But it's not all thankless work: A glam shot of Bleish was featured in the 2009-2010 Ladies of Liberty Alliance calendar. "Many women involved in the liberty movement have experienced the frustrating feeling of isolation when they look around and realize they are just a needle of estrogen in a haystack of testosterone," she wrote last August. "The Ladies of Liberty Alliance is a brand new organization working to end that feeling of isolation forever!"

Arguing at Gunpoint

CHRIS BROUGHTON 29

Chris Broughton loves his guns and hates President Obama — so much, in fact,

that he believes the president belongs in hell. He's not too fond of George W. Bush, either.

Broughton made headlines in August 2009 when he showed up outside an Obama rally in Phoenix with an AR-15 assault rifle slung



over his shoulder and a pistol holstered on his waist, becoming a hero to many in the "Patriot" movement in the process. He said he carries his guns habitually.

Broughton, apparently assuming that the Obama Administration planned gun control measures, said he wanted to make a point about the right to own guns. "The overwhelming statement I was trying to make was whether you like it or not, my guns aren't going away," said the Phoenix machinist. "They're going to be here until you kill me and take them away."

He claims that some news broadcasters edited video footage of the scene to hide his race (he's black) when reporting on the racist backlash to Obama's election. Presumably, he felt that was part of an effort to paint Obama's critics as racist.

Broughton is a member of We the People, a Patriot tax protest group that has played a central role in the resurgence of the militia movement. He also belongs to the Faithful Word Baptist Church in Tempe. That's the church where pastor Steven

Anderson told the congregation in August 2009 he would pray that Obama dies and goes to hell. Broughton said he believes there is a hell, and that it was made for evil people — folks like Obama, both former Bush presidents, House Speaker Nancy Pelosi and leaders of the Southern Poverty Law Center.

"Barack Obama is responsible for more death than my guns ever will be," Broughton said. "He could end so much suffering immediately, and instead he uses his power to force his agenda. I do hate him."

The Pricey 'Patriot'

BOB CAMPBELL 69

Bob Campbell and his American Grand Jury are on a mission to drive President Obama from office and put him on trial for treason. Obama "is a certified crook that has committed treason and fraud," Campbell wrote on his website late last year. "He is a fraud and a traitor."

Campbell, who did not respond to an E-mail to his website, formed American Grand Jury in March 2009 to examine "evidence" and hand down "presentments" that the group hopes will be used to indict the president. The use of faux "grand juries" and "common-law courts" are common to many in the Patriot movement, especially those who call themselves "sovereign citizens."

Campbell insists that Obama wasn't born in the United States and thus is constitutionally ineligible to serve as president. The

group also seeks to indict Democratic House Speaker Nancy Pelosi for her role in the purported conspiracy to defraud the American people by getting Obama elected.

Campbell plans to take supporters — at \$649 a head — on the road in May 2010. He says they'll travel by bus to deliver their findings to federal judges in 20 states. "Serving our Grand Jury Presentments have [sic] always made the courts mad," Campbell wrote on his website. "With what I have in mind it should really burn the bark right off a few of these liberal Judges."

Campbell, who lives in Paragould, Ark., apparently isn't counting on judges to act on the presentments, but "no matter how the courts react it will be favorable for us and not good news for Barack Obama," he wrote.

Murder: The Fantasy

ROBERT "LIL DOG" CROOKS 59

Camping in the scrubby desert with a tiny band of Mountain Minutemen,

Robert "Lil Dog" Crooks guards a hilly, 40-mile stretch of borderland east of San Diego against what he sees as the invading hordes from the south.

The Army veteran and retired commercial fisherman is armed. But is he dangerous? That's the question that arose in 2007, amid a furious debate on federal immigration reform legislation, when Crooks produced videos that appeared to show a Mexican immigrant being shot from a distance by vigilantes — men like himself — along the border.

The chilling footage, shot with night-vision equipment, was posted to YouTube, and Crooks E-mailed a link to several prominent nativist leaders. "This video shows how to keep a 'Home Depot' parking lot empty," Crooks wrote. He chided other nativists who, he suggested, could "talk the talk" but not "walk the walk."

At first, Crooks denied making the video. But when faced with an investigation, he acknowledged making it and said the shooting was



nothing but a hoax. The reason he did it: “We’re old men and we’re bored.”

Other Minuteman organizations cut ties with Crooks over the episode. But he remains in the public eye. Last year, he appeared on ABC’s “20/20” and was the subject of a *Penthouse* magazine profile.

Crooks, who could not be reached for comment, recently turned his attention to enemies who are, for a change, U.S. citizens. He was among the 30 “freedom keepers” who gathered in Georgia in May 2009 to plot a revival of the Patriot movement. There, Crooks rubbed shoulders with, among others, tax protesters, anti-Obama “birthers,” and an assortment of other conspiracy theorists. In this case, Crooks need not stand guard alone.

Unfair and Unbalanced

JOSEPH FARAH 55

Joseph Farah is the founder of the right-wing website WorldNetDaily (WND),



which stokes fear with articles on topics like “Stocking Up on Guns and Ammo” and advertisements

for survivalist-style solar and food products. WND, which boasts nearly 5 million monthly visitors and spices up its “news” reporting with “WorldNetDaily Exclusive” articles like this March’s “Girl Scouts Hiding Secret Sex Agenda?,” claims to be “fiercely independent.” It certainly is unique.

Farah, who could not be reached for comment, has

served as the opening act at Tea Party events headlined by Sarah Palin this year. He is a leading fomenter of the baseless claim that President Obama was not born in Hawaii, but in Africa, and so is not qualified to be president. Farah has repeatedly demanded that Obama release a full-form birth certificate. “It’ll plague Obama throughout his presidency,” he said. “It’ll be a nagging issue and a sore on his administration.”

Farah is a veteran practitioner of conspiracy “journalism,” having repeatedly hawked the tale of the supposed cover-up of the death of Clinton aide Vince Foster – thought to be a murder, not a suicide, by anti-Clinton conspiracy-mongers like Farah and his ilk.

Like many publications of the far right, Farah’s website, which he started with his wife in 1997, also carries countless product ads with scary headlines like “Will You Survive the Coming Dark Age?” (“Don’t leave your family’s safety in the hands of the government.”)

Remarkably, Farah sprang from a California newspaper background. He was executive editor at the now-defunct *Los Angeles Herald Examiner* in the 1980s. In the early 1990s, he edited the dying *Sacramento Union*, where staffers have said he ordered them to favor conservative views in news coverage and even book reviews and give short shrift to liberals.

While at the *Union*, he gave a page-one column to a local radio host named Rush Limbaugh.

The FEMA Fabulist

GARY FRANCHI 32

Gary Franchi is one of the leading promoters of a resurgent Patriot conspiracy theory



that alleges the government is creating concentration camps for U.S. citizens. In 2009, he produced “Camp FEMA: American Lockdown,” a video contending that the Federal Emergency Management Agency is behind the camps that could be used to house political dissenters.

The camps “are on existing military bases now,” he said in a February webinar posted on his magazine’s website. “It’s not a big secret.”

He claims that other structures could be converted into camps, including former airport hangars, vacant corporate office buildings, and closed-down prisons. “Your local church may have already signed a deal with the devil,” he wrote.

Proponents of non-violence may find themselves at a disadvantage when the government shows up to ferry them to the camps, Franchi said. “If you believe in the 2nd amendment, if you believe in the right to self-defense, then perhaps you will have a different decision to make than the person that will let them kick your door in and drag you out.”

Franchi also serves

as national director of RestoreTheRepublic.com, whose preoccupations include eliminating the Federal Reserve and the IRS, making it illegal to implant microchips in people (another popular Patriot conspiracy theory that dates back to the 1990s), and ending globalization because it will supposedly lead to one-world government. Franchi asserts the site is attracting nearly 1,000 new members monthly.

He also runs the Patriot social networking site RestoreTheRepublic.net, hosts the weekly “Reality Report” on Freedom.TV, and serves as managing editor of *Republic Magazine*. In addition, he’s now a regular speaker at Patriot conferences, offering a familiar diet of fears of globalist plotters. “There is a global elite structure of bankers and organizations that are pulling the strings of the parties, pulling the strings of the president, the speaker of the House,” he said in the webinar.

Though such theories are often promoted by groups that defame Jews, Franchi told the *Intelligence Report* that his Restore The Republic does not advocate anti-Semitism or racism. “Restore The Republic is not antigovernment in any way, shape or form,” he added. “We’re pro-Constitution and anti-corruption.”

The Exaggerator

AL GARZA 64

Al Garza is a fifth-generation Mexican American who’s determined to preserve the American way of life – by keeping Mexicans out of his country.



Garza was born in Texas and raised in California. Over the past seven years, since retiring to Arizona, he has become a key leader in the nativist movement – first as national executive director of the Minutemen Civil Defense Corps (see related story, p. 40) and now as president of the Patriots Coalition, an organization he launched in August 2009.

The Patriots Coalition scouts the Mexican border for signs of undocumented immigrants and reports “suspicious activity” to the U.S. Border Patrol. Garza claims the group has about 400 members.

The group reflects a recent trend of nativists increasingly adopting the antigovernment allegations and conspiracy theories of the Patriot movement. According to Garza’s website, “Our country has two enemies: Those who want to destroy us from the outside and those who attempt it from

within.” The site is also thick with materials supporting “birther” conspiracy theories about President Obama’s citizenship. When it first went up, it featured a digitally altered photograph of a bullet-riddled Air Force One and the caption, “Obama’s first low pass over Texas.” (The image has since disappeared.)

Garza claims that he also organizes search-and-rescue patrols along the border that have saved the lives of 345 immigrants. “Politicians don’t care about them. I do,” Garza said. “I’m not prejudiced. I’m as brown as chocolate.”

Asked about the irony of a Mexican American leading efforts to prevent Mexicans from setting foot on American soil, Garza said it’s a matter of law.

“Laws were different 120 years ago,” he said. “They break the law when they come here, and they break the law every day they’re

here. They buy homes fraudulently and they send their children to school fraudulently. Everything they do here breaks the law.”

“We have well over 50 million people here illegally,” Garza added. Where he got that number from is anybody’s guess. The Department of Homeland Security, in line with most other estimates, recently put the number at 10.8 million.

Of Government and Guillotines

TED GUNDERSON 81

Ted Gunderson seems never to have heard a conspiracy theory he doesn’t believe. What makes this remarkable is that he was an FBI agent for nearly three decades, even heading up



large bureaus in Los Angeles and Dallas.

Gunderson, who did not respond to a letter sent a month before this writing, has warned for years that Satanists have footholds from the White House and Congress to the media. He claims a shadow government is targeting thousands of citizens, him included; its methods include the Internet, electronic energy beams from a satellite, hidden cameras and wiretaps in homes. A few of his other claims: There are 1,000 internment camps in the United States, and 30,000 guillotines stored in Atlanta to use on dissident patriots. Children were taken from Boys Town in Nebraska in the 1980s and flown to Washington, D.C., “for sex orgies at private parties with U.S. congressmen and Washington dignitaries.” Sonny Bono didn’t die in a skiing accident; he was murdered to stop him from blabbing about drug trafficking by CIA operatives.

Being privy to so many conspiracies has resulted in repeated attempts to assassinate him, Gunderson complains.

Some of Gunderson’s fellow conspiracy theorists spin their own tales – about him. One claims that the *real* Ted Gunderson committed suicide in 2002 and that this Gunderson is an imposter.

Another claims that Gunderson supplied terrorists with stolen Stinger missiles in return for drugs, and was forced into early retirement in 1979 because he performed Satanic

ceremonies in his FBI office.

Last year, Gunderson said he was planning to move to Panama, where he would help Americans “flee the ever-growing Totalitarian Police State and economic chaos in this country.” Since then, he has been diagnosed with bladder cancer, friends say.

The Unnamed Co-Conspirator

JOHN HASSEY 60

John Hassey was the public face of Alabama’s militia movement in the late 1990s, but he faded from the public eye following the high-profile arrest of a close associate who was accused of plotting several terrorist attacks.

Hassey gravitated toward the militia movement in the early 1990s in reaction to the Clinton administra-

the government. We just want the government to abide by the Constitution.”

Two years later, however, he struck a very different posture during a protest in Southaven, Tenn., for a couple being evicted to allow the construction of a park. “If they take the man’s house, they’re gonna start a war here in these United States,” he said.

In 1999, Hassey’s superior officer in the Southeastern States Alliance was charged with planning to steal explosives from National Guard armories. Officials said Donald Beauregard planned to blow up utilities and government facilities in Florida and Georgia. Hassey wasn’t arrested, but Beauregard’s indictment stated that the stolen munitions were to be stored on a “co-conspirator’s farm in Alabama.” Hassey has



tion’s gun control policies. He rose through the ranks of the Alabama Constitutional Militia, becoming public information officer and finally executive officer.

In 1995, he explained the group’s mission to a reporter from the *Montgomery* (Ala.) *Advertiser*: “We’re not plotting or planning to overthrow

said he believes he was the unnamed co-conspirator.

In October 2004, Hassey filed for bankruptcy, but he still lives on the parcel in Elmore, Ala., that his neighbors call “The Militia.”

Today, he’s active again. Life in a militia, he said in a brief interview, is something “you just can’t leave.”

Telling Tall Tales

ALEX JONES 36

Alex Jones is out to save the world.

From his perch as a radio talk-show host in Austin, Texas, he outlines the forces that threaten to enslave every man, woman and child on the planet. In his narrative, a cabal of wealthy corporations, the United Nations and government leaders are complicit in a fiendish plot to dominate the world.

Or something like that.

He’s the host of “The Alex Jones Show,” which airs six days a week on more than 60 radio stations and streams live on the Internet. His website is chock full of apocalyptic headlines and ads for products like “recession-proof coins” and manuals on “How to Survive Martial Law in America.”

If Jones’ ramblings were shaped into a screenplay, the resulting movie would stretch credulity to the breaking point. But Jones, in his booming radio voice, takes to the airwaves to sound the alarm with the earnestness of a true believer.

Jones believes, for example, that the federal government had a hand in terror attacks aimed at swaying American public opinion. “There was government involvement with the Oklahoma City bombing,” he said. “There’s a lot of evidence with 9/11 being staged.”

Jones said the main goal of his show is to expose listeners to the truth. “At my core, I have a drive to expose evil and corruption,” he said. “We have a dictatorship on the planet. The entire planet is being enslaved by global,

dominant corporations.”

Jones ran for a Texas House seat in 2000 as a Republican but said he doesn’t follow the platform of either of the two major American political parties. “I’m a freedom lover, and someone who loves the truth.”

The Red-Hot Patriot

DEVVY KIDD 60

Devy Kidd is a prolific columnist, blogger and public



speaker whose incendiary prose helps fan the flames of the constitutionalist, or

Patriot, movement. Based in Big Spring, Texas, she bills herself as the “Dynamite Redhead” on her website, where she writes about everything from “Cap and Trade rape” to “Homosexuals ‘born that way’ – A con job.”

Kidd gained popularity with an anti-tax message and by writing two booklets that she claims have sold more than 2 million copies. She ran for Congress in 1994 and 1996, and she says she has appeared on more than 2,500 radio broadcasts.

Like many Patriots, she despises President Obama, referring to him in one recent column as the “Marxist Barack Obama.” She believes citizen militias are necessary to defend freedom. She declared in a November 2008 column for NewsWithViews that “Barack Hussein Obama is dangerous to freedom and liberty and your gun rights,” and “Our very survival

depends on the states of the Union revitalizing the constitutional militias. ... We the people are now the enemy.”

Kidd, who declined to be interviewed, didn’t start out as a writer. Her website bio says she worked in construction and finance for almost two decades before taking various positions with the Defense Department, where she says she became a federal whistleblower after filing a “fraud, waste and abuse” complaint against her own job.

Her writing frequently invokes what most Patriots see as key events in recent American history. “Most Americans not walking around in self-induced comas still remember how the FBI, the ATF and our military gassed and burned to death almost one hundred adults and children, some babies, at WACO [Texas],” she wrote at one point. “We remember how the FBI and U.S. Marshals shot a young boy ... and then put a bullet through his mother’s head while holding her infant daughter at Ruby Ridge.”

Apostle of Disunion

LARRY KILGORE 45

If Larry Kilgore ever got his way, Texas would be the



Lone Star Country. The Christian activist’s goal is an independent Texas governed

by biblical law. His ideal community “would be where folks look to God’s word, the Bible.”

Secession alone is not

enough, though. Kilgore would like to see Texas further balkanized into smaller countries or counties, each one catering to a different religious or personal belief. “There’s so much cultural diversity and religious diversity,” he said. “I think that the tension we feel when we are all forced to be together is difficult.”

Kilgore, a telecommunications consultant, said he doesn’t support or oppose armed resistance against the U.S. government. He has invested his own efforts in the political process (he’s a perennial candidate for public office) and is willing to work with any organization, no matter their politics, in order to escape what he calls an oppressive federal government.

At an August 2009 secessionist rally in Austin, Kilgore left no doubt about his personal feelings. “I hate that flag up there,” he said, pointing to the American flag. “I hate the United States government. ... They’re an evil, corrupt government.”

Apparently, Kilgore’s secessionist talk didn’t play well in his initial, quixotic campaigns against better-known, better-funded candidates. In a 2004 run for the Texas House, he received just 474 votes.

But he may not be tilting at windmills these days. In 2006, he challenged Gov. Rick Perry and captured more than 50,000 votes. Two years later, Kilgore lost a bid for a U.S. Senate seat, but not before sweeping up 225,649 votes.

Though he recently bowed out of the 2010 gubernatorial race, his influence lingers. Perry has begun

courting the antigovernment vote and recently even suggested Texas might be wise to consider secession.

Writing Right

CLIFF KINCAID 55

Whether he’s sounding the alarm about the Vatican’s role in the “New World Order” or the prospect of the U.S. military becoming a sinister homosexual fighting force,



Cliff Kincaid persistently churns out columns savaging liberals, making groundless claims, and trumpeting far-right conspiracy theories.

The longtime far-right polemicist is the editor of *AIM Report*, a twice-monthly publication of the group ironically named Accuracy in Media. He is also the founder and president of America’s Survival Inc., a group that says it monitors the United Nations in order to “expose the influence of global institutions” on people’s lives.

In recent columns written for AIM, the dour Kincaid questions who’s behind the financial crisis and rails against “the homosexual lobby.” He warns that allow-

ing gays to serve openly in the military will lead to “a homosexualized military [that] could itself become a threat, just like it was in the Nazi period.” His warning of the impending gay blitzkrieg links to a column written by Scott Lively, co-author of *The Pink Swastika*, an unhinged and defamatory history that makes the entirely false claim that gays helped orchestrate the Holocaust.

At the America’s Survival website, Kincaid promotes “The Religious Face of the New World Order,” a report that claims to examine the Vatican’s role in the plot to create a one-world government. Kincaid also has written columns about the Catholic Church’s role in health care reform, including “Blame the

Bishops For Health Care Debacle.”

Kincaid has been a part of Washington’s right-wing idea factory since the early 1980s. He’s written for the highly conservative *Human Events* magazine and has been an editorial writer for Oliver North at the Freedom Alliance, a group founded by the former National Security Council staffer at the center of the Iran-Contra scandal.

Last year, as conspiracy theorists questioned President Obama’s citizenship, Kincaid stepped up to the plate by publicly releasing his own birth certificate. The president took no apparent notice.

Swim for Your Life

MARK KOERNKE 52

When it comes to spotting “black helicopters,” few have an eagle eye more focused than Mark Koernke. But it was the green one that did him in.

Koernke was wanted for skipping bail on an assault charge in 1998 when he spied the helicopter. Police later said Koernke wouldn’t have been noticed at all if he hadn’t scampered into the brush, then tried to swim across an icy lake. Turns out the green chopper was part of a routine marijuana-eradication patrol. Koernke – who had shaven off his mustache,



died his hair orange and worked up a bad Irish brogue – was taken into custody.

By that time, the tough-talking former janitor known as “Mark from Michigan” had risen to prominence within the Patriot movement by serving up heaping helpings of dark government conspiracies and “New World Order” warnings on his short-wave radio broadcasts. He produced a series of antigovernment videos, including one in which

he alleged that Hong Kong police were being sneaked into the country as part of a U.N. takeover. He also garnered attention when false reports linked him to Oklahoma City bomber Timothy McVeigh. Before his capture in 1998, he continued broadcasting from secret locations, prompting an FBI terrorism investigation.

The assault charge was eventually dropped, but Koernke landed in prison a few years later anyway. In 2000, he happened to be sitting in front a Michigan bank that had just been robbed. When police tried to question him, he led them on a 50-mile chase before

crashing into a tree and then jumping, as it happened, into another lake. Convicted of fleeing police and resisting arrest, he went to prison in 2001. Not to be deterred, he even broadcast to other Patriots from a prison pay phone.

Released in 2007, Koernke

is now back on the air with his show “The Intelligence Report” and is still raising the alert to his fellow militiamen. “Somebody’s gonna pull a trigger and it’s going to be one hell of a popcorn exchange,” he calmly warns in a recent audio clip from his show. “From a distance, it’s going to sound like somebody opened up the popcorn pan from hell. OK? And when it’s all said and done, there will be no turning back. I want you all to be ready for that.”



A Sheriff of Their Own

RICHARD MACK 57

It seems hardly a day goes by without another Mack attack on the evils of the federal government. This one-time sheriff of a rural county in Arizona and present-day icon of the Patriot movement has parlayed his antigovernment ardor into a full-time job doing speaking gigs at county fairgrounds, high school auditoriums and hotel banquet rooms. He even has a sponsor.

Richard Mack is introduced – often to standing ovations – as “Sheriff Mack.” His website calls him that too, even though he hasn’t been the top cop of Graham County since 1996, when its population was around 30,000.

Mack’s mantra is this: The federal government is too big, too corrupt and too oppressive. “The greatest threat we face today is not terrorists; it is our federal government,” he warns on his website. Some agencies, including the “Gestapo” Internal Revenue Service, should be eliminated, he says.

Mack has also acted as a key transmitter of such Patriot ideas to Tea Party groups, to whom he now regularly speaks.

He regularly rips undocumented workers and the

“socialist” and “Marxist” policies of the Obama Administration. He assures his nearly all-white audiences that neither he nor the Patriot movement is racist (although he did once co-author a book with white separatist Randy Weaver). Had it been his call, Mack would not have made Rosa Parks get off that bus back in 1955, he says. She was merely disobeying a bad law, and cops waste time “enforcing stupid laws all the time.”

Mack became a hero of gun-rights advocates after he won a U.S. Supreme Court decision with a few other sheriffs that weakened the Brady gun control bill in the 1990s. Now, he maintains that county sheriffs are the highest legitimate law enforcement authorities – an idea also pushed by the violently anti-Semitic Posse Comitatus in the 1980s – and he relentlessly hawks his latest self-published book, which makes that argument. Its 50 simplistic pages represent “decades of research.” Even the president of the United States, Mack tells cheering audiences, “can not tell your sheriff what to do.”

Facts and Fiction

JACK MCLAMB 65

Listen to some of today’s popular voices in the Patriot movement, like Stewart Rhodes (see profile below)



and Richard Mack (see profile above), and you hear echoes of Jack McLamb, a prominent figure in the militia heyday of the 1990s.

Like Mack, McLamb is a former cop – he was a Phoenix police officer. Like Mack, he contends that county sheriffs have enormous power that they foolishly yield to federal agencies. Like Rhodes, he suggests that Americans must be prepared to defend the Constitution from the “New World Order.” Indeed, McLamb once produced a 75-page report, *Operation Vampire Killer 2000: American Police Action Plan for Stopping World Government Rule*.

McLamb believes lots of conspiracy myths. In 1996, he said that government officials were smuggling drugs into the country in an attempt to incite racial rancor, an idea repeated in certain far-left venues. He claimed that then-Vice President Al Gore intended to reduce world population by 90% through an end-of-the-millennium “Y2K” plot.

McLamb is more of a fringe Patriot player nowadays, but still pipes up from time to time on various conspiracies. He thinks the day will come when true patriots are murdered or placed in detention camps by their government. He said in an interview last year that he believes that President Obama is “an illegal alien president. He’s also a hard-core communist, and probably a Muslim.”

When John McCain was running for president in 2008, McLamb claimed the senator was never tortured while a POW in Vietnam, and

in fact made 32 propaganda videos for the communist North Vietnamese.

McLamb says he, of all people, should know: “I’m a police investigator and I know what a fact is.”

Railing About Reds

JOHN F. MCMANUS 75

John McManus is the president and longtime public



face of the secretive John Birch Society (JBS), the now fading anti-Communist organization founded in

1958. The former public relations director was named president in 1991 after working for many years alongside founder Robert Welch. He has spoken in public extensively in recent years to boost dwindling membership and funds even as JBS has worked to link arms with the Patriot movement and others with similar ideas.

McManus, who joined the society’s staff in 1966, has continued to promote its founding principles. The central thesis is that a sinister cabal of politicians, bankers, globalists and other elites throughout history – including the Illuminati, every U.S. president since Woodrow Wilson and the Council on Foreign Relations – have worked to peel away the rights of individuals and put the U.S. on a path toward a totalitarian one-world government.

The often-lampooned group, which reached its zenith in the 1960s, has been

anti-immigrant, anti-United Nations and even anti-Newt Gingrich. It once suggested that Dwight D. Eisenhower was a “conscious agent” of Communism.

McManus, who didn’t return phone calls for this story, hates the Federal Reserve, which he blames for the stock market crash of 1929, the current recession and other calamities. “The combination of the government and the Federal Reserve are destroying the dollar and setting us up for world currency, world control, world government,” he told his hometown Appleton, Wis., *Post-Crescent* last April.

An ultraconservative Roman Catholic, McManus has been accused of anti-Semitism, a charge he has denied. In 2005, according to *The New York Times*, Birch staffers who were ousted amid internal turmoil leaked recordings of McManus saying that Judaism was a dead religion and that militant Jews have influenced the Freemasons, who were “Satan’s agents” and part of the Illuminati conspiracy to cause world upheaval.

Facing Down the UN

DANIEL NEW 64

Daniel New has one claim to fame. He’s the father of



Michael New, the Army medic who refused to don a United Nations uniform when his infantry unit was assigned to a peacekeeping mission in a former Yugoslavian republic in 1995.

To this day, Daniel New, who lives near Waco, hawks calendars, T-shirts, books and videos about the saga of his son, hero of the Patriot movement.

The younger New, who was court-martialed and discharged for bad conduct at the age of 23, long ago expressed a desire to move on with his life. His father and other supporters, however, put up a decade-long, unsuccessful court fight – bankrolled by a steady stream of donations – to win back his honor.

Michael New argued that the Constitution prohibits soldiers from wearing foreign badges and answering to non-U.S. officers. But his appeals have twice been rejected by the U.S. Supreme Court, most recently in 2007.

That hasn’t slowed down his stage dad. “Any time an American soldier is forced against his will to serve a foreign power, then we are not a free country,” Daniel New told a reporter after the latest rejection.

Daniel New was the one who handled the hundreds of phone calls, the talk show circuit and other media buzz after his son defied orders. He ran a quixotic race for Congress a few years later. Since then, he’s been a staple of the right-wing speaking circuit, appearing at the 2007 Constitution Party conference, among other venues.

At different points, New also has headed the Texas division of the now-defunct, right-wing U.S. Taxpayers Party in Texas and co-authored a self-published book with far-right columnist Cliff Kincaid (see profile above) titled *Michael New: Mercenary or American*

Soldier? At press time, used copies were selling on Amazon.com for as little as a penny, while a new copy could be had for 65 cents.

Back in the Saddle

NORM OLSON 63

Few people played a bigger role in transforming Michigan into a hotbed of militia activity during the 1990s than Norm Olson. Today, the founder of the Michigan Militia is living in Alaska and working with others to build the Alaska Citizens Militia. He told the *Redoubt Reporter* that he was convinced Americans would be forced to repel “tyrannical, oppressive federal aggression.”

Founded in 1994, the Michigan Militia was one of the first major contemporary militias. It was thrust into the national spotlight after the Oklahoma City bombing, when reports surfaced that conspirators Terry Nichols and Timothy McVeigh had attended meetings. Olson confirmed that each man attended one meeting but added that their rhetoric was not welcome and they were not encouraged to return.

After the 1995 bombing, Olson suggested the Japanese government was responsible — a statement he later said he should have “fully corroborated.” Olson wasn’t re-elected to a leadership post in the Michigan Militia. He later founded his own Northern Michigan Regional Militia.

By 2005, Olson was moving to Alaska. He declared Michigan “hopeless” and auctioned off weaponry and memorabilia from his Alanson, Mich., gun store



— even offering Michigan Militia patches.

By late 2009, Olson and Michigan Militia co-founder Ray Southwell were in Nikiski, Alaska, promoting the Alaska Citizens Militia. Earlier this year, Olson was serving as interim commander of the Kenai Peninsula Division.

“America is very, very ill,” Olson said. “And people across the country are preparing themselves.”

Out of the Barrel of a Gun

LARRY PRATT 67

When it comes to sniffing out sinister plots to disarm gun



Health care reform? It’s a plot to take your guns, according to the GOA website.

Environmentalism? You

guessed it — another plot to take your guns. At the Ninth Annual Freedom 21 Conference in Texas in 2008, Pratt warned that “the major goal of the sustainable development movement is to disarm Americans.”

Pratt, the GOA’s executive director, was sched-

uled to speak at the “Second Amendment March” in Washington, D.C., this April 19. The event, which the GOA helped sponsor, was designed to let politicians know they had better not support anti-gun legislation. Patriot and other radical groups were also expected to participate.

There’s one tiny problem. There’s no evidence that the government is plotting to strip citizens of their guns. President Obama has even signed legislation allowing guns in national parks and on Amtrak trains. The Brady Campaign to Prevent Gun Violence has given Obama an “F” on every issue on which it graded him.

But that’s not stopping the hard-line GOA, which claims more than 300,000 members and doesn’t believe in any gun restrictions at all. When armed citizens began appearing outside presidential events, Pratt addressed it in a column on the GOA website. “There are those who don’t like Americans owning guns at all, let alone carrying them openly. They can be counted

on to run around squawking like Chicken Little that the sky is falling.”

Pratt may be the figure most responsible for introducing the militia concept to the radical right. He authored *Armed People Victorious* in 1990. Based on this study of “citizen defense patrols” in the Philippines and Guatemala — groups that became more commonly known as death squads — Pratt offered a flattering portrayal and promoted militias for the United States.

Two years later, in 1992, he was invited to a Colorado meeting where the outlines of the militia movement were shaped. More than 150 extremists attended the meeting, which was hosted by a white supremacist minister. In 1996, Pratt was ejected from the co-chairmanship of Pat Buchanan’s presidential campaign over such associations with white supremacists.

Of Cops and Conspiracies

STEWART RHODES 44

A former aide to Texas congressman Ron Paul (see



profile in “The Enablers,” p. 28), Stewart Rhodes founded a group called Oath

Keepers in early 2009. The rapidly growing organization is comprised mostly of active-duty police and military, as well as veterans, who fret about things like gun control and the much-feared “New World Order.” Members

swear (a second time) to uphold their oath to the Constitution and not to obey orders they think conflict with that. Among those orders (10 “Orders We Will Not Obey” are listed on the Oath Keepers website): Imposing martial law or a state of emergency on a state, and forcing those who resist into detention camps.

Rhodes is an Army veteran and a Yale Law School graduate. He and others in his organization have been frequent speakers at Tea Party rallies, helping channel Patriot ideas into that movement. Rhodes insists his group isn’t antigovernment, but he and other Oath Keepers do describe the government as tyrannical and repressive. “We saw a dangerous increase in power of the executive branch and a dangerous increase in government power over the American people,” he told *Watergate* felon G. Gordon Liddy on the latter’s radio show in April 2009.

In interviews, Rhodes has suggested that his worries about concentration camps and martial law are purely theoretical concerns. That is false. At the top of the list of orders his group will not obey is a quote from George Washington, saying now is the time to decide whether we are “freemen” or “slaves.” Rhodes’ site then says, “Such a time is near at hand again,” clearly suggesting imminent catastrophe.

Rhodes also has appeared for friendly questioning at least twice on the radio show of über-conspiracist Alex Jones (see profile above). And, last November, he explained on the Conservative Political Network why his organization doesn’t focus on politicians, lawyers

or judges. “They’ve already demonstrated by their behavior they have contempt for the Constitution and have no regard for their oaths,” he said. “So I focus on the military and the police because they still have honor, and if they stand down ... and refuse unlawful orders, it doesn’t make a difference what the politicians want, it can’t be done.”

Correcting the Constitution

JON ROLAND 66

When a militiaman claims the federal government



is trampling the Constitution, he might have Jon Roland to thank for his reasoning. In the mid-1990s, Roland founded the Constitution Society, a Patriot organization whose website assembles writings on all manner of constitutional issues, including a section on the alleged right to assemble a militia.

The site also delves into the world of conspiracy theories by providing links to sites questioning the Oklahoma City bombing and the role of researchers in creating the HIV virus. It even includes a section on mind-control technology.

It’s all in keeping with Roland’s role as a purveyor of information to the Patriot movement, a role that includes the founding of the Texas Militia Correspondence Committee in the mid-1990s. He’s also played a role in the movement’s resurgence

by attending a gathering of extremist figures in Georgia last year that appears to have pumped new life into the movement. “The Feds are out of control,” he told the *Intelligence Report* in an interview about that meeting. They “have actually been engaging in warlike activity against the American people.”

Roland, a computer specialist in Austin, Texas, has run for office several times since 1972. At a website exploring a possible candidacy for U.S. Senate, he promotes a “Constitutionalist Platform” that would “involve the repeal of much existing legislation,” including statutes that make “anything but gold or silver coin legal tender on state territory.” He supports the ability of private mints to issue such coins.

And, of course, he wants to revive the militia system he says was envisioned by the Founding Fathers. Roland appears determined to fulfill a statement he made in 1994 that is still quoted on the Constitution Society website: “I decided history needed a course correction, so I reached for my keyboard.”

The ‘Patriot Journalist’

LUKE RUDKOWSKI 23

Luke Rudkowski dislikes the phrase “conspiracy theory.” He prefers to think of his organization as a move-



ment of truth-seeking activists who are simply asking the hard questions that

aren’t being posed by mainstream journalists.

Nevertheless, the founder of We Are Change has tapped into a deep vein of suspicion among Americans who see dark conspiracies being hatched inside the federal government. He has harnessed the energy of 9/11 “truthers” to form an army of activists seeking to expose “the lies of the government and corporate elite who remain suspect in this crime.”

Since he formed We Are Change as a group of “patriot journalists” in 2006, the loose-knit group has grown into a network of more than 200 independent chapters, mostly in the United States. Finding the “truth” behind the Sept. 11, 2001, terrorist attacks is a driving force — as are concerns about a looming “one world order,” according to the group’s website. It also seeks “to uncover the truth behind the private banking cartel of the military industrial complex” that wants to “eliminate national sovereignty.”

Rudkowski said the group doesn’t engage in broad New World Order conspiracies but focuses on the alleged role of groups such as the Bilderberg Group or the Trilateral Commission. These groups have been common targets for Patriot and other conspiracy theorists for decades.

We Are Change videographers have confronted political figures such as Texas Gov. Rick Perry and former national security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski. When video surfaced of U.S. Rep. Jason Chaffetz of Utah telling a We Are Change interviewer there’s “a lot we still need to learn” about the 2001 terrorist attacks,

the congressman felt constrained to issue a statement disavowing any belief in a government conspiracy.

Rudkowski, whose group explicitly condemns violence and racism, said he was arrested last year for trespassing during an attempt to question New York Mayor Michael Bloomberg about the health care of 9/11 first responders. He said he is fighting the charge, saying he was targeted and never told to leave.

"I see a huge uprising right now of people waking up every single day," Rudkowski said in an interview posted on YouTube last year.

Militia Midwife?

ROBERT "BOB" SCHULZ 70

When the history of the rebirth of the antigovernment



Patriot movement is written, Robert "Bob" Schulz may be the man credited with setting

the cornerstone for this new era of militias, tax protesters and "sovereign citizens."

The longtime tax protester convened a gathering of fellow tax defiers, militia enthusiasts, nativist extremists, anti-Obama "birthers" and others at Georgia's Jekyll Island in May 2009. At the meeting, they mapped out "action plans" for a larger movement – one that would confront not only taxes but an array of issues that threaten to "collapse the Republic."

That meeting led to an 11-day "continental congress" in St. Charles, Ill., hosted by

Schulz's organization, We the People. The November 2009 meeting drew more than 100 delegates from 48 states and birthed the "Articles of Freedom." The document declares the federal government "now threatens our Life, Liberty and Property through usurpations of the Constitution."

Schulz describes the events as merely gatherings of people concerned about the government and seeking a redress of grievances. He said the topic of militias focused on "well-regulated state militias." Nevertheless, these meetings were remarkable for the level of cooperation demonstrated within the revitalized Patriot movement.

Schulz said the actions of the government – such as purchasing stakes in auto companies – are shocking people and "more and more people are talking about the Constitution." Earlier this year, he offered an even more striking assessment. "There's a huge patriot movement," Schulz told a reporter. "I've been doing this kind of work for 30 years. Never have I seen the likes of what's going on now. It's delightful."

The Jekyll Island gathering also is noteworthy because it parallels the origins of the Patriot movement of the 1990s. The modern militia movement was partly shaped at a 1992 meeting of radical-right leaders in Estes Park, Colo. At that gathering, known as the "Rocky Mountain Rendezvous," a cross section of extremist leaders also put aside their differences to focus on a common enemy: the federal government. Schulz denied any knowledge of the meeting.

The end result of Schulz's

work may only be realized in time. The documents produced at the continental congress declare any infringement on the people's liberty as described in the Constitution as an act of war that "the People and their Militias have the Right and Duty to repel."

The Cautious Conspiracist

JOEL SKOUSEN 63

He may not be as well known as his uncle, the late (and largely discredited) far-right author Cleon Skousen. But Joel Skousen is similarly preoccupied with conspiracy theories about worldwide government.

Addressing the Constitution Party National Committee meeting in Phoenix, Ariz., last October, Skousen, of Orem, Utah, spoke of powerful deceptive forces at work. In an E-mail to the *Intelligence Report*, Skousen elaborated on some of those claims, saying he believes there's "substantive evidence" that Obama's birthplace was Kenya, making him ineligible for the presidency.

"His sudden rise from poor community attorney to a relatively rich man via insider real estate dealings with less than reputable figures and too-good-to-be-true market speculations lends credence to my suspicion that his rise in the political arena was in large part owing to some kind of deal made with the political machines in Illinois and Washington D.C."

Skousen also predicts that Russia and China will launch a massive preemptive strike against the United States.

"Very few know that the Powers That Be (PTB) intend to pull the nuclear trigger via Russia and China," he wrote on his website.

Skousen said this belief preceded what has become his vocation: designing high-security homes and shelters. His survivalist writings (for sale on his website) include explanation of how to fortify closets and turn basements into fallout shelters.

He also writes *World Affairs Brief*, a weekly E-mail newsletter monitoring "the tactics and hidden intentions of globalist insiders who are maneuvering the world into a New World Order." (A year-long subscription costs \$48.) The New World Order, Skousen told the *Intelligence Report*, is a conspiracy aimed at "undermin[ing] national sovereignty slowly by deception and provocation (using false threats of terrorism, war and Hegelian conflict creation and management) to provoke normal people into accepting increased control, regulation and taxation by a one-world government."

That notion was shared by his uncle Cleon, whose books – including *The Five Thousand Year Leap* (1981) – are enjoying a revival today thanks largely to the promotional efforts of Glenn Beck (see profile in "The Enablers"). But Skousen has mixed feelings about the Fox News host. "In general, I do not believe Beck to be capable of rigorous and careful analysis of any issues that are complex," he wrote. "His superficial handling of conspiracy issues and the manner in which he dismisses them without a careful hearing is exemplary of this uncaring analysis."

The Rough Guide

JIM STACHOWIAK 49

Jim Stachowiak is a longtime militia organizer and foul-



mouthed talk show host.

On the Feb. 23 episode of his daily radio show, he called for armed resis-

tance if the government tries to confiscate people's guns.

"This country will not be saved without a Revolution," he said.

Wearing camouflage and a "Don't Tread on Me" hat, he brandished a knife as he discussed ambushes and ranted against gays. "We're not going to let one little faggot ... destroy standing up against tyranny," he said, referring both to another movement leader and to an anti-hate blogger. (Stachowiak later said he used the word "faggot" to "elicit a reaction.")

On his website, he calls Homeland Security Secretary Janet Napolitano a "Nazi-bitch." A picture on his blog shows an AK-47 emblazoned with the words, "The A.R.M. [American Resistance Movement] solution to forced vaccines," a common bogeyman of the radical right.

Stachowiak told the *Intelligence Report* he's advocating defense, not violence. "I'd rather go to a movie or make payments on a jet ski, but I have to buy ammo," he lamented. "I'm concerned about civil unrest, my neighbors going crazy, round-ups, foreign troops, the New World Order."

He's part of A.R.M., a lead-

erless network of individual militias that Stachowiak insists is active, although a notice on its website says it has shut down. In the mid-'90s, he led the Georgia Civilian Militia, a paramilitary group that disbanded in 1997 because, he claims, government agents were attempting to get members to act illegally. Stachowiak says he's Jewish and that the militia had black and Puerto Rican members. "The racist militias aren't all of us," he said. "You can't demonize an entire group based on the actions of a few."

Stachowiak stood on a Mexican flag during a 2008 anti-immigration protest in South Carolina and last fall appeared in an Internet video urging mass protests at the G-20 summit in Pittsburgh. He has frequently clashed with fellow Patriots and was expelled from We Are Change, a group that promotes Sept. 11 conspiracy theories, after a dispute with another leader. He even attacked his own listeners recently, concluding, "If you don't like this show, fuck it." Stachowiak later said the on-air meltdown was just showmanship.

Running Radical Radio

JOHN STADTMILLER 56

John Stadtmiller founded and runs Republic Broadcasting Network (RBN), whose talk radio fare is peppered with warnings about enslavement by a one-world government. The station, which broadcasts via the Internet, shortwave and satellite, drew national attention this April when a host who identifies himself

as Sam Kennedy sent letters to the nation's governors demanding that they resign within three days. The letters sparked an FBI investigation.

Stadtmiller has his own show, "The National Intel Report," which airs daily on RBN. Also heard on RBN is Jack McLamb (see profile above), a former Phoenix police officer and militia hero who runs Police & Military Against The New World Order and who argues that "globalists" are trying "to gain, through any available means, total dictatorial control over all the peoples of the world." Yet another RBN host is Michael Collins Piper, who has written copiously for the anti-Semitic *American Free Press* and its predecessor, *The Spotlight*, as well as *The Barnes Review*, a Holocaust denial journal. Kennedy's show has focused on its host's "Restore America" project, said to be a peaceful attempt to return America to its rightful legal basis and thereby avoid "World War III."

Stadtmiller, who now lives in Round Rock, Texas, has a long history of involvement in Patriot radio, formerly co-hosting militia promoter Mark "Mark from Michigan" Koernke's (see profile above) show. Immediately after the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing, Koernke and Stadtmiller broadcast allegations that the federal government was behind the tragedy. "This whole thing was created to attack the Patriot movement," Stadtmiller was quoted as saying in the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* following McVeigh's conviction. Koernke and Stadtmiller stayed on the air even after Koernke became a

fugitive in 1998. (Koernke had been charged with assaulting a man trying to subpoena him to serve as a defense witness in a murder trial.)

More recently, Stadtmiller was featured in "Camp FEMA," a video that suggests the Federal Emergency Management Agency is creating concentration camps for political dissenters. Looking scholarly in a jacket and button-down shirt, the silver-haired Stadtmiller asserts that it doesn't take much to establish a detention facility. "It can be a sports arena," he said. "It could be abandoned airports. It could be abandoned military facilities. Anyplace that you can set up a security perimeter could be used as a temporary internment camp."

Stadtmiller declined to speak with the *Intelligence Report*. "I would rather pour gasoline on myself and light it than speak to anyone in your 'organization,'" he wrote in an E-mail.

'Alice in Wonderland'

ONLY TAITZ 49

It's not unusual at public meetings of, say, a local city council to find a common



species known as the political gadfly. These persistent critics, tolerated as attention-seeking eccentrics, don't allow the absence of coherence or logic to keep them from speaking. Often claiming expertise they do not possess or seeing evil machinations that do not exist, these gadflies cling to their feverish suspicions.

Orly Taitz, a southern California lawyer who has led the national "birther" movement, is a political gadfly writ large, except for one crucial difference: She found a large, national audience.

Dubbed the "birther queen" — and worse — in the blogosphere, she's a champion of those who question the citizenship of President Obama and, therefore, the legitimacy of his presidency.

Taitz, a former swimsuit model born in the Soviet Union, lived in Israel and Romania before setting up a dentistry practice in Orange County. Along the way, she picked up a law degree from an online school.

Tirelessly, inexplicably, Taitz has filed dozens of lawsuits and made numerous claims in the media alleging that Obama has not only lied about his citizenship but has masterminded a deception on a scale that has seldom, if ever, been seen before. In the process, she has become a hero to the antigovernment Patriot movement and last year even joined We the People, a leading tax-protest group that is a key part of that movement.

Taitz has called for an insurrection to remove the president. Last summer, she released a document she claimed was Obama's

Kenyan birth certificate. It was quickly proven a fraud. She has claimed that Obama has as many as 25 Social Security numbers. She has aligned herself with others who claim Obama has ties to radical jihadists, is a closeted homosexual, and may be a ruthless murderer.

Taitz has been so roundly discredited, even the rabid right-wing attack dog Ann Coulter has called her a crank. As one judge wrote in dismissing one of Taitz's lawsuits: "Unlike Alice in Wonderland, simply saying something is so does not make it so."

Teed Off in Tulsa

AMANDA TEEGARDEN 54

Amanda Teegarden is Tulsa's leading lady of the radical right. She's executive director of Oklahomans for Sovereignty and Free Enterprise (OK-SAFE), a



nonprofit whose website says it "sees a concerted, dedicated and well funded effort by

Social and Economic Elites to transition the United States from a Representative Republic to a Socialist Group" — rhetoric virtually indistinguishable from that of the antigovernment Patriot movement.

Teegarden has expressed alarm about federally funded law enforcement "fusion centers" — like the one run by the Oklahoma State Bureau of Investigation — that col-

lect and analyze information about potential terrorist activities. She told one newspaper that she worried the centers could track attendees at "tea parties" and congressional town halls.

Teegarden joined the American Civil Liberties Union and right-wing "constitutionalists" at an odd-bedfellows event at the National Press Club in Washington, D.C., in October 2008. The subject: opposition to the gathering of data on U.S. citizens, including collection and use of DNA and biometric samples, and to any federal ID legislation.

In August 2009, OK-SAFE sponsored a national conference that focused on individual liberties and federal encroachment on states' rights, another favorite issue of the radical right. Right-wing luminaries who spoke at the Freedom21 conference, held in Midwest City, Okla., included Edward Griffin, author of *The Creature from Jekyll Island* (a screed attacking the Fed, a common target of far-right conspiracy theorists), Republican state representatives and others concerned about the United Nations and President Obama's education plans.

Teegarden has backed local conservative candidates in Tulsa, and she filed to run for the county school board in 2004 only to drop out of the race later. She also co-founded an organization called Oklahomans for School Accountability, which promotes teaching a "biblical world view."

"We are obviously a very conservative parents group," Teegarden told *The Tulsa World* in 2006.

Gunning for the Government

MIKE VANDERBOEGH 56

Back in the 1990s, Mike Vanderboegh used to go to some lengths to portray himself as a moderate in the world of antigovernment militias, even though he once wrote about the utility of snipers and using "violence carefully targeted and clearly defensive." In 1996, for instance, he joined many militia leaders in signing a document distancing the movement from racists and neo-Nazis.

That was then. This spring, he started to sound a little different.

On March 19, Vanderboegh, enraged at the imminent passage of health care reform, furiously called on Americans to break the windows of local Democratic Party headquarters offices around the country. "[I]f you wish to send a message that [House Speaker Nancy] Pelosi and her party cannot fail to hear, break their windows," the Pinson, Ala., blogger wrote. "Break them NOW. Break them and run to break again. Break them under cover of night. Break them in broad daylight."

Over the next few days, party office windows and those of several members of Congress were indeed smashed with bricks in several states, criminal attacks followed with glee by Vanderboegh in his blog's "Window War" feature.

After his time as a militia enthusiast, Vanderboegh in the mid-2000s took to patrolling the Mexican border with his own tiny Alabama Minuteman

Support Team. More recently, he has been described as the co-founder of the Three Percenters, a loose alliance of gun owners who vow not to surrender their rights and disarm. The name refers to the 3% of American colonists believed to have been the portion of the population who actively opposed England. Three Percenters also claim to represent the hardest-line 3% of U.S. gun owners.

Vanderboegh's website, Sipse Street Irregulars, warns that "the collectivists who now control the government" should leave gun owners alone "if they wish to continue unfettered oxygen consumption." He claims the website has garnered more than 1 million visits.

Vanderboegh declined an interview for this article in a lengthy E-mail attacking the Southern Poverty Law Center as "lying, conflationist bastards." Nevertheless, Vanderboegh, who used his website to promote his interview with a television station, ended his E-mail by writing, "Thank you in advance for all the free publicity."

Uncommon Citizen

PAUL VENABLE 56

Paul Venable, one of the few African-American members of the anti-abortion, anti-tax, anti-immigrant, and anti-gun control Constitution Party,



serves as state chair in Idaho, a state that is 95% white. He says on his website that he was raised in

Ohio and has been an information technology specialist for many years. He boasts that he and his wife have been presenting Constitution classes and teaching the principles of liberty since 2004.

Using Thomas Jefferson's words to refer to himself as a "Common Citizen of Little Consequence," Venable is definitely a "party" guy, having run for the Idaho House of Representatives as a Constitution Party candidate in 2008.

In May 2009, he attended a meeting of radical-right leaders at Jekyll Island, Ga., that appears to have played a key role in the resurgence of the militia movement. He was then nominated to be a delegate to the "continental congress" in St. Charles, Ill., in November 2009, an event that was organized by We the People's Bob Schulz (see profile above), who also called the Jekyll Island gathering.

Venable spoke at the Constitution Party's October 2009 National Committee Meeting in Phoenix on the theme of "Get Out of Our House" — referring to the U.S. House of Representatives, which he says on his website has been "emasculated."

On his website, there is a snapshot of a yellowed poster headlined "WANTED FOR ACTS OF TERRORISM." It features sketches of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Samuel Adams and Paul Revere, and their "Aliases": Founding Father, Sons of Liberty, Freedom Fighters, American Patriots. The bottom caption reads: "CAUTION Subjects May Be Armed. They May Also Inspire Revolt Against the Tyranny of Their Government."

Architect of Militias

EDWIN VIEIRA JR. 66

To lawyer and radical-right thinker Edwin Vieira Jr., the Department of Homeland Security is a misnomer. The Harvard-educated Vieira feels the government agency is not meant to keep Americans safe. Instead, much like most arms of the federal government, the agency is bent on



encroaching on the sovereignty of American citizens and individual states.

Vieira believes an economic crisis is looming — a cataclysm he believes will lead to a police state. There will be a "massive social and political unrest bordering on chaos throughout America when the monetary and banking systems finally implode in the not-so-distant-future."

A longtime associate of tax protester Robert "Bob" Schulz (see profile above), Vieira has appeared in a series of self-produced videos and regularly writes commentaries for fringe websites. A year ago, he and Schulz co-organized a meeting of 30 "freedom keepers" at Jekyll

Island in Georgia, a summit that appears to have played a key role in reinvigorating the antigovernment Patriot movement. Vieira could not attend because, conference leaders said, he was working on a book on "well-regulated militias" and his plans to establish militias in all 50 states.

According to an Internet bio, Vieira holds four degrees from Harvard and has practiced law for more than 30 years, with an empha-

sis on constitutional issues. Remarkably, he also is the older brother of Meredith Vieira, the co-host of NBC's "Today" and host of "Who Wants to Be a Millionaire," according to the Internet Movie Data Base.

In his book, *How to Dethrone the Imperial Judiciary*, Vieira advocates the impeachment of "advocacy judges" who have authorized abortion and gay marriage. In 2005, he called for the impeachment of Supreme Court Justice Anthony M. Kennedy, saying that the conservative jurist's opinion striking down an anti-sodomy statute "upholds Marxist, Leninist, satanic principles drawn from foreign law." ▲

THE ENABLERS



One reason the resurgent antigovernment “Patriot” movement is taking off so quickly is the support for many of its central ideas that comes from ostensibly mainstream figures in politics and the media. These men and women have helped to put key Patriot themes — the idea that President Obama is a Marxist, that he and other elites in the government are pushing a socialist takeover, that the United States plans secret concentration camps and so on — before millions of Americans, many of whom actually believe these completely false allegations. Whether these people tell such tall tales because they believe them or simply because they are willing to shamelessly pander for votes or ratings, is anyone’s guess; but the noxious effect on the body politic is the same. Here are profiles of five such characters:

100% American

MICHELE BACHMANN 54

When it comes to spreading fear of a menacing federal government infested with anti-American elements, U.S. Rep. Michele Bachmann can give even the most paranoid militiaman a run for his money.

The two-term Republican representative for Minnesota’s 6th Congressional District has used her office as a megaphone for outrageous claims and conspiracy theories that in the past wouldn’t spread far beyond the firing ranges and obstacle courses where militiamen and other anti-

government “Patriots” gather.

While some people might complain about answering Census questions, Bachmann sees a sinister plot hearken-ing back to World War II. “They used the U.S. Census information to round up the Japanese and put them in the internment camps,” she said during an interview with Fox News’ Glenn Beck last year. “Americans were told that they wouldn’t have their information used against them. They did.”

The AmeriCorps community service program? There’s much more to it. “The real concern is that there are provisions for what I would call re-education camps for young people, where young people have to go and get trained in a philosophy that the government puts forward,” Bachmann warned. Never mind that her son joined an AmeriCorps program.

Bachmann has even issued a call to arms, of sorts, against the president’s proposal to “cap and trade” greenhouse gas emissions. “I want people in Minnesota armed and dangerous on this



issue of the energy tax because we need to fight back,” she was reported as saying on a radio show. Her office later said she was speaking metaphorically.

And then there’s Bachmann’s take on her colleagues in Congress. She found the Capitol teeming with so much anti-Americanism that she called on the media to ferret out the unpatriotic politicians. “I wish the American media would take a great look at the views of the people in Congress and find out, are they pro-America or anti-America?” she said during an interview with MSNBC’s Chris Matthews in 2008.

Somewhere, Joseph McCarthy must be smiling.

The Ringmaster

GLENN BECK 46

With his weepy, chalkboard-scrawling appeals to Americans fearful that their government is leading them down the path to ruin, Glenn Beck has rocketed up the ladder of conservative icons and is using his popularity to directly shape a far-right resurgence.

The Fox News Channel host, who draws 2 to 3 million viewers a night, also has become a lightning rod for controversy. He famously called President Obama a racist with a “deep-seated hatred for white people” and compared him to Adolf Hitler. He legitimized the right-wing conspiracy theory that FEMA was building concentration camps. After milking the theme for nearly a week, he then “proved” the theory false.

In response to his comments about Obama, in August 2009, the online organizing group ColorofChange.org launched a campaign to persuade corporations to pull their commercials from the former radio shock jock’s show. They did — in droves. At least 80 advertisers have abandoned Beck, leaving the host to personally hawk less-than-mainstream products like investments in gold.

But that has done little, apparently, to slow Beck’s steamrolling popularity. As the Tea Party movement began to take shape last year, he gave it a jumpstart by urging viewers to attend the gatherings and broadcasting from rallies. In February, he delivered the keynote address to 10,000 right-wing activists who attended the Conservative Political Action Conference.

In an open letter on his website last November, he wrote that in the coming months he would unveil “a 100 year plan” developed in conjunction with “some of the best minds in the country that believe in limited government, maximum freedom and the values of our Founders.” He also announced a series of conventions that would immerse participants in “topics ranging from self-reliance, community organizing, the economy and how to be a political force



in your own neighborhood and country.”

Beck’s own group, the 9.12 Project, states that it caters to “like-minded Americans looking for direction in taking back the control of our country.” In the same statement, Beck writes that “this is a nonpolitical movement.” But his 9.12 Project has spawned dozens of loosely affiliated chapters preoccupied with the direction of Washington, D.C.

Beck has downplayed his political influence, calling himself a “rodeo clown.” Few clowns, however, earn more than \$20 million a year from radio, television and print products. Sounds more like a ringmaster.

Doctor of Demonization

PAUL BROUN 64

A medical doctor who makes house calls only to avoid “bureaucratic encumbrances,” far-right politician Paul Broun took over Georgia’s 10th Congressional District after the death of Charlie Norwood in 2007. Since then, Broun has become a pal of the antigovernment Patriot movement, warning in apocalyptic terms of a coming socialist takeover by Barack Obama and his allies.

This April 19, 15 years to the day after the Oklahoma City bombing, Broun joined several Patriot leaders in speaking at the Second Amendment March in Washington, D.C. On the agenda that day with Broun are Stewart Rhodes (see profile above) of the Oath Keepers, a group that suspects the government has plans to round up Americans and put them in concentration camps, and Gun Owners of America’s Larry Pratt (see profile above), a fan of militias who has been criticized for ties to white supremacists.

Broun says gun rights are necessary to “prevent treason in America.”

Saying Broun is a fierce critic of the president would be an understatement. Broun has alleged that a civilian reserve corps that Obama proposed, and the Bush administration endorsed, might be used to establish a dictatorship. “We can’t be lulled into complacency. You have to remember that Adolf Hitler was elected in a demo-



cratic Germany,” Broun said in 2008.

A “birther,” Broun has openly questioned Barack Obama’s citizenship. When asked by a radio host whether Barack Obama was a U.S. citizen or a Christian, both established facts, Broun responded, “I don’t know.” Broun also calls Cuba’s former dictator Fidel Castro Obama’s “good buddy.”

Last year, Broun told his constituents that the health care bill was the work of a “socialistic elite” — referring to Obama, House Speaker Nancy Pelosi and Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid — who might use a pandemic disease or natural disaster as an excuse to declare martial law. “They’re trying to develop an environment where they can take over,” he said. “We’ve seen that historically.” At a 2009 town hall, he called Pelosi “a domestic enemy of the Constitution.”

So far, Broun’s legislative work has been scant. In 2009, Broun voted against a climate-change bill, calling the concept of manmade global warming a “hoax” perpetrated by the scientific community. In 2009, he proposed legislation proclaiming 2010 “The Year of the Bible.” Earlier, he introduced the “Military Honor and Decency Act” that would ban sales of pornography on military installations. The bill has gone nowhere.

Fox Pox

ANDREW NAPOLITANO 59

In a recent *Washington Post* article, a media analyst contended that Fox News was at a crossroads. He said the network was in danger of losing its credibility as a news-gathering operation because of far-right conspiracy-mongers like host Glenn Beck (see profile above).

But Beck is not the only one weakening Fox’s credibility. Another hot contender in the far right-wing advocacy department is Fox’s “senior judicial analyst” — Judge Andrew Napolitano.

Napolitano, a former state judge in New Jersey, appears on several Fox shows and is broadcast on any given day over the television, radio and the Internet. He was scheduled to be the keynote speaker



this past February at the first annual Tenth Amendment Summit in Atlanta, but was snowed in and never made it. He missed out on rubbing elbows with neo-Confederates, conspiracy theorists and antigovernment Patriot activists.

It seems the TV judge is vying to become a fixture on the far-right lecture circuit. He was also scheduled to address the 2010 New Hampshire Liberty Forum, a gathering of self-described “pro-liberty activists” who are striving to “cut the size and scope of government by about two-thirds or more.”

Napolitano has joined other conspiracy theorists in falsely claiming that efforts to expand affordable housing through the Community Reinvestment Act were responsible for the crash of the economy in 2008. He called Sarah Palin’s baseless accusation that Obama was trying to set up “death panels” a “legitimate concern.” He falsely suggested that Obama bribed a congressman to change his vote on health care by appointing his brother to an appeals court.

Napolitano joined Fox in 1998. He appears daily on “The Big Story with John Gibson,” co-hosts “Fox & Friends” once a week and is a regular on “The O’Reilly Factor.” Napolitano taught constitutional law and jurisprudence at Seton Hall Law School for 11 years. He was the youngest life-tenured Superior Court judge in the history of New Jersey and served on the bench from 1987 to 1995. He returned to private practice in 1995 and began his career in broadcasting that same year.

‘Dr. No’

RON PAUL 74

The “Ron Paul Revolution” failed to put the radical libertarian and outspoken Texas congressman into the White House, but Paul’s long-shot campaign gave voice to discontented right wingers and cre-



ated a prototype of sorts for the Tea Party insurgency that followed.

Whether he's advocating pulling out of the United Nations, trashing the Fed, or returning to the gold standard, Paul's views have scored him plenty of points among the Patriot crowd. One Patriot activist minting his own currency in the late 2000s even created the "Ron Paul Dollar."

With his straight-shooting style and unwavering ideology, Paul represents an accessible brand of Patriot politics that helps validate and stoke fears of an over-reaching government on the far right. Paul told Fox Business News earlier this year, for example, that the health care reform legislation "is immoral because it's based on government theft." On his congressional website, he warns that Census information has been used to intern Japanese Americans and find alleged tax evaders and draft dodgers. "It is not hard to imagine that information compiled by the Census could be used against people in the future, despite claims to the contrary."

Paul has encountered controversy over racially charged comments that surfaced during his 1996 congressional campaign. A March 15, 1993, issue of his newsletter, *The Ron Paul Survival Report*, included this nugget: "If there is one thing we don't need in this country, its [sic] more Haitians [sic] immigrants with AIDS. Congratulations to the Senate for stopping, at least temporarily, Clinton's plan to have the AIDSians move here to die at \$100,000 a pop, courtesy of the taxpayers."

A May 15, 1995, newsletter delved into traditional Patriot paranoia, including an article about foreign troops training on American soil and President George H.W. Bush's "New World Order." An article about a botched raid by the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms is presented under the headline, "Jack-Booted Thugs."

Paul claimed in 2001 that ghostwriters had penned the newsletters that bear his name but acknowledged he bore "some moral responsibility." Paul, a physician who is often called "Dr. No" for his routine opposition to government programs, not only survived the controversy and won the election, he continues to build his popularity. He easily won the Conservative Political Action Committee's presidential straw poll this year. ▲

THE 'PATRIOT' MOVEMENT

SEPT. 11, 1990 President Bush, describing the post-Cold War world, outlines his vision of a "New World Order." Conspiracy-minded antigovernment "Patriots" take this as a slip of the tongue revealing secret plans to create a one-world government.

AUG. 31, 1992 White supremacist Randy Weaver surrenders after an 11-day standoff at his cabin on Ruby Ridge, Idaho, that left his wife, son and a U.S. marshal dead. The incident galvanizes many on the radical right.

OCT. 23, 1992 Anti-Semitic Christian Identity pastor Pete Peters hosts the "Rocky Mountain Rendezvous" in Estes Park, Colo., where 160 extremists, reacting to Ruby Ridge, lay out strategies that will help shape the militia movement.

APRIL 19, 1993 After 51 days, the FBI tries to end the Waco, Texas, standoff with a group of Branch Davidian cultists by injecting tear gas into a building that subsequently bursts into flames, leaving nearly 80 Davidians dead. More than any other event, the debacle ignites the militia movement.

JAN. 1, 1994 The first major modern militia, the Militia of Montana, is officially inaugurated. John Trochmann, a white supremacist supporter of Randy Weaver, heads it. The Michigan Militia has 6,000 members by April.

OCTOBER 1994 Six months before the Oklahoma City bombing, Southern Poverty Law Center co-founder Morris Dees writes Attorney General Janet Reno to warn that the "mixture of armed groups and those who hate is a recipe for disaster."

LATE APRIL 1995 Echoing Patriot rhetoric, the National Rifle Association says "jack-booted government thugs" have "the government's go-ahead to ... murder law abiding citizens." Former President George Bush quits the NRA in protest.

APRIL 19, 1995 A truck bomb brings down the Oklahoma City federal building, killing 168 in America's worst domestic terrorist attack. Bomber Timothy McVeigh had ideological roots both in the Patriot world and among neo-Nazis like William Pierce, whose novel, *The Turner Diaries*, serves as a blueprint for the attack.

JUNE 1995 The Southern Poverty Law Center releases its first-ever count of antigovernment militia and Patriot groups. The report finds that 224 Patriot groups, including 131 militias, were active in 1994.

JUNE 15, 1995 In the wake of the Oklahoma bombing, militia leaders and others testify before the U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee. Many experts see the hearings as something of a militia victory because of the uncritical nature of the questioning.

MARCH 25, 1996 A common-law group called the Montana Freemen begins an 81-day standoff in Montana after its leaders are arrested and charged with a

multimillion-dollar fraud. The standoff ultimately ends peacefully.

AUG. 24, 1996 More than 500 supporters attend a major meeting of the separatist Republic of Texas' "Provisional Government General Council."

OCT. 11, 1996 Seven members of the Mountaineer Militia are arrested in a plot to blow up the FBI's national fingerprint records center in West Virginia, where 1,000 people work.

APRIL 18, 1997 A Patriot group files a notice with Maricopa County officials declaring a new "Country of Arizona" supposedly recognized by the United Nations as "Indigenous Nation No. 215."

MAY 1997 A Southern Poverty Law Center count shows the Patriot movement reached its peak in 1996 with 858 groups. The number of Patriot groups will decline steadily for a decade, hitting a low of 131 in 2007.

JUNE 2, 1997 Timothy McVeigh is convicted in the Oklahoma bombing and will be sentenced to death. Co-conspirator Terry Nichols will be sentenced to life in prison.

JULY 1, 1998 Three men are charged with conspiracy to use weapons of mass destruction after threatening President Clinton and other federal officials with biological weapons. One of the men arrested, Johnnie Wise, had attended meetings of the separatist Republic of Texas.

DEC. 30, 1998 A county grand jury orchestrated by conspiracy-minded former Oklahoma State Rep. Charles Key finds that there is no evidence of a larger conspiracy in the Oklahoma City bombing. Key denounces the findings.

NOVEMBER 1999 Nearly 10,000 people in Denver attend the last Preparedness Expo before the New Year to prepare for the "Y2K" collapse that many Patriots fear.

DEC. 5, 1999 Two members of the California-based San Joaquin Militia are charged with conspiracy in connection with a plot to blow up two 12-million-gallon propane tanks, a television tower and an electrical substation in hopes of provoking an insurrection.

JAN. 1, 2000 Despite Patriot expectations that Y2K will bring martial law or massive social collapse, nothing untoward happens.

FEB. 28, 2001 Separatist Republic of Texas members join an anti-immigration group, Ranch Rescue, in trying to halt immigrants entering the country illegally.

APRIL 10, 2003 The FBI raids the Noonday, Texas, home and storage facilities of William Krar, finding some 500,000 rounds of ammunition, various bombs and deadly sodium cyanide. Along with white supremacist and antigovernment material, there are components to convert

the cyanide into a bomb capable of killing thousands. Krar refuses to cooperate and later dies in prison.

MAY 24, 2004 During the attempted robbery of a Tulsa bank by father and son Wade and Christopher Lay, a security guard is shot to death. Evidence shows the men wanted money to pay for weapons to kill Texas officials they believed were responsible for the Waco debacle.

APRIL 26, 2007 Five members of the Alabama Free Militia are arrested in a raid that uncovers a cache of 130 homemade hand grenades, an improvised grenade launcher, and other weapons. Raymond Kirk Dillard, the "commander" of the group, had complained about Mexicans taking over the country and reportedly told his troops to open fire on federal agents if ever confronted.

EARLY 2008 Due to a spike in threats from "sovereign citizens" against judicial officials, the U.S. Marshals Service opens a clearinghouse near Washington, D.C., for assessing the risks. In fiscal 2008, there were 1,278 threats and harassing communications, double the total of six years earlier. The Department of Justice also launches a National Tax Defier Initiative to address antigovernment tax protesters.

JUNE 8, 2008 Six people with militia ties are arrested in rural Pennsylvania after officials find stockpiles of weapons intended for terrorist attacks on U.S. officials. A Pennsylvania Citizens Militia member allegedly tells authorities he intended to shoot black people from a rooftop in Pittsburgh. Another militiaman reportedly wanted to kill Gov. Ed Rendell.

APRIL 7, 2009 The Department of Homeland Security releases a report warning of an increase in right-wing extremism. Under a firestorm of conservative criticism, DHS Secretary Janet Napolitano pulls what turns out to be a prescient report.

APRIL 19, 2009 The Oath Keepers, a Patriot group made up of law enforcement and military, holds its first muster in Lexington, Mass., site of the opening shots of the Revolutionary War. Vowing to defend the Constitution, the group lists 10 orders its members won't obey — a roster that reveals fears that American will soon be placed under martial law with resisters being sent to concentration camps.

APRIL 25, 2009 Joshua Cartwright, a Florida National Guardsman reportedly interested in joining a militia and angry Barack Obama has been elected president, allegedly shoots to death two Okaloosa County, Fla., sheriff's deputies at a gun range. Cartwright is fatally shot during a gun battle.

MAY 21-22, 2009 Some 30 "freedom keepers" meet in Jekyll Island, Ga., in a gathering that helps launch an explosive resurgence of the Patriot movement. Convened by IRS- and Fed-hater Bob Schulz, the conclave warns of "increasing national instability" and a coming "New World Order."

LATE MAY 2009 During a rally in Cochise County, Ariz., hundreds of Minutemen sign a sovereign-citizen "criminal complaint petition" demanding that Obama be tried for treason before an "American Grand Jury."

AUG. 15, 2009 The Southern Poverty Law Center issues a special report, "The Second Wave: Return of the Militias," which shows that almost a decade after largely disappearing from public view, Patriot groups have resurfaced.

NOV. 11-22, 2009 More than 100 delegates from 48 states travel to St. Charles, Ill., to attend an 11-day "continental congress" hosted by Bob Schulz's We the People. Planned at the earlier Jekyll Island meeting, the event is named after the gathering that was the first step toward the American Revolution.

FEB. 6, 2010 One-time GOP vice presidential candidate Sarah Palin tells the first National Tea Party Convention in Nashville "America is ready for another revolution."

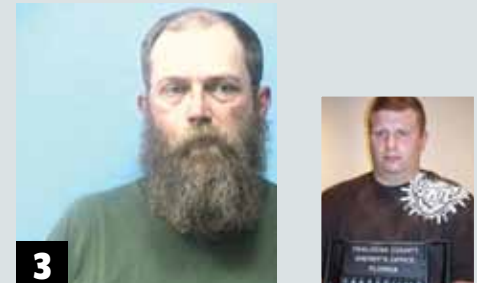
FEB. 18, 2010 Joseph Andrew Stack flies his airplane into an IRS office building in Austin, Texas. In a manifesto, Stack rails at the IRS and the federal government.

MARCH 2, 2010 The Southern Poverty Law Center releases its "Rage on the Right: The Year in Hate and Extremism" report. The study reports that an astonishing 363 new Patriot groups appeared in 2009, with the totals going from 149 groups (including 42 militias) the year before to 512 (127 of them militias) — a 244% jump.

MARCH 19, 2010 Mike Vanderboegh, a one-time Alabama militiaman and a leader of the recently formed Patriot group Three Percenters, calls on followers to protest health care reform by breaking the windows of Democratic Party offices. In the following days, Democratic offices across the country report smashed windows.

MARCH 29, 2010 Nine members of the Hutaree Militia are indicted in an alleged plot to murder a law enforcement officer in Michigan and then attack others gathering for the funeral.

APRIL 7, 2010 Brody James Whitaker is arrested for allegedly shooting at two Florida state troopers. Whitaker, an apparent Patriot, declares during his arraignment "I am a sovereign" and "I am not an American citizen."



AP PHOTO/BILL WAUGH (FEDERAL BUILDING); AP PHOTO/DAVID LONGSTREATH (MCVEIGH); AP PHOTO/TYLER MORNING TELEGRAPH (KRAR); AP PHOTO/DAVID LONGSTREATH (AMMUNITION); AP PHOTO/SHELBY COUNTY SHERIFF'S OFFICE (DILLARD); AP PHOTO/OKALOOSA COUNTY SHERIFF'S OFFICE (CARTWRIGHT); AP PHOTO/ NORTHWEST FLORIDA DAILY NEWS (NICK TOMCEK (FUNERAL EMBRACE); AP PHOTO/ED RENKE (PALIN)

Tip of the Iceberg

A top advertiser on Stormfront, the leading white supremacist Web forum, is a felon with a long history of rip-offs

BY LARRY KELLER ILLUSTRATION BY PJ LOUGHRAN

At first blush, Tip of the Spear Consulting Services doesn't seem unique as a security consultant, with its offers to provide bodyguards, surveillance, debugging and polygraph technicians, as well as legal and financial advice on such matters as tax shelters and anonymous banking services.

But one way that it differs from similar companies is that it's aimed at a very particular niche clientele: White supremacists.

"Your community and nation have labeled you as politically incorrect, a racist and a threat to the security of the United States," Tip of the Spear's website explains. "Your organization or your affiliation with a group that recognizes traditional white values has catapulted you to the level of a high value target by the Federal Government. Our team will show you how to legally own checking accounts, savings accounts, investments, real estate, credit cards and vehicles with out the Federal Government, the IRS and Law Enforcement agencies ever seeing your name or your organization's name listed as the owner of anything!"

Since last fall, founder John Harold

Browne has run ubiquitous banner ads promoting his company as "the 'Special Forces' of privacy, intellectual and physical protection" on Stormfront.org, the world's leading white supremacist Web forum. While it's not known how much business Browne has drummed up this way, Tip of the Spear has been one of the top three entities supporting Stormfront with ads.

But there's one thing its ads — and Stormfront proprietor Don Black, an ex-con and former Alabama Klan leader who in recent months has been overheard referring to Browne as his "bodyguard" — don't mention.

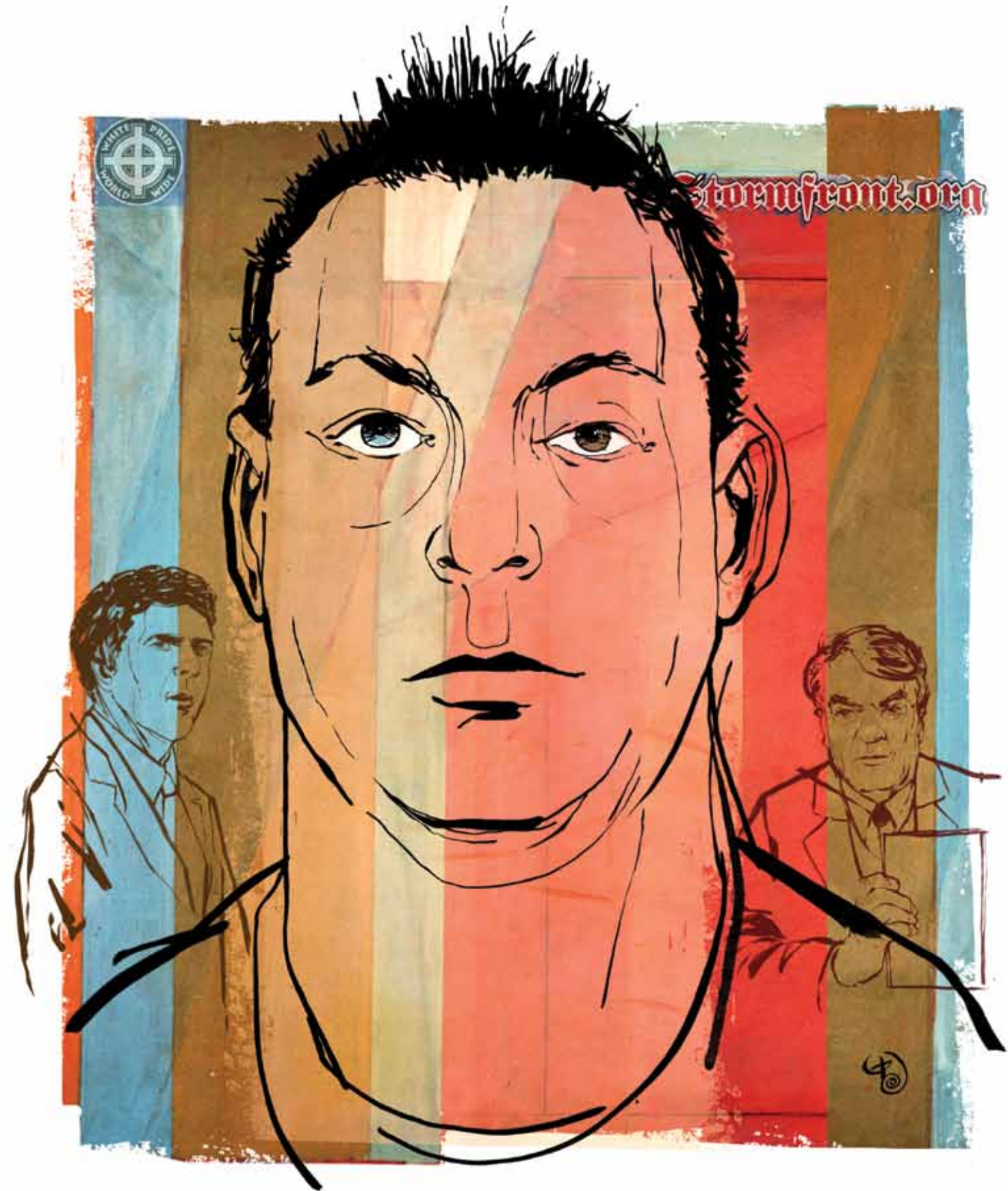
John Browne, 39, is a felon. He will be on probation until 2022 for stealing at least \$156,000 from his former boss and stiffing two firms he did business with. He has a history of writing bad checks in Palm Beach County, Fla., where both he and Black live. His ex-wife's lawyer says Browne is way behind on child support payments. Despite all of this, he also has advertised on Stormfront a credit repair and debt consolidation business — and even claimed there that he donates 10% of the firm's gross to white families who have suffered financial hardship.

Who is John Harold Browne?

Is he the racist and anti-Semite he seems to be? He has expressed admiration for David Irving, the world's leading Holocaust denier. On his website, he offers a free copy of *My Awakening*, the autobiography of former Klan boss David Duke, and a video addressing "The Dynamics of the Jewish Elite." He has told skeptical Stormfront members that "my word as a white man should be enough."

Or is Browne what's known in law enforcement circles as an "affinity scammer" — a man who uses the very particular interests of a certain set of people to lure them into parting with their money? His former boss and his ex-wife's lawyer both say they never heard Browne utter a racist or anti-Semitic word. In fact, he retained two Jewish lawyers to help with his most serious criminal case. Lee Levenson Jr., the lawyer tasked by Browne to answer questions from the *Intelligence Report*, would say only that he "assume[s]" that Tip of the Spear is "a legitimate business."

Don Black won't say. Asked by the *Report* about Browne and his history of illegal financial dealings, as well his



own role in introducing Browne to Stormfront’s members, Black still had not replied four weeks later.

“My impression is he is basically a good person who got caught up in some sort of problem years ago and, due to that, was relegated to being self-employed,” Levenson said. “He’s a hard worker. He’s been fighting his way out of debt for several years. I don’t think he’s out to hurt anybody.”

Debts, Divorce and Theft

Browne, who has the unusual feature of one brown and one blue eye, is the youngest of 11 children from an Irish Catholic family. He was born and reared in Cleveland and attended John Carroll University, a nearby Jesuit school where, at 6 feet 5 inches, he was co-captain of the football team. He has lived at several addresses in Palm Beach County in recent years and dabbled in a number of businesses.

One of his early employers in Florida was Salesleads.tv, a Boca Raton company owned by John Fischer that sells people’s personal data to other businesses to be used as “leads” for mortgage, investment and other opportunities. Browne began as a salesman in 2002 and was promoted to manager, said Fischer, the firm’s president. Fischer said it was he who introduced Browne to a woman named Tracy George, who Browne married in West Palm Beach in 2003.

In October of that year, Fischer became suspicious of Browne, according to a police report, when he noticed that even though Browne’s sales were down he was spending a lot of money, including for the purchase of a Mercedes 500 SL.

In 2004, Fischer called police. Browne, he told them, was stealing trade secrets — his company’s leads — and, in many cases, having clients make checks payable to himself, not Fischer’s company. Fischer told police that Browne had stolen \$256,559.

Fischer fired Browne in May 2004. Even so, five months later Browne and his wife paid nearly \$375,000 for a new five-bedroom, three-bath home near Delray Beach. (Five or six weeks after that, Tracy George and the couple’s infant daughter moved to Nebraska, where she soon initiated divorce proceedings.) And Browne wasn’t arrested until April 2005, when he was charged with two felonies

— grand theft of more than \$100,000 and theft of trade secrets.

“He’s charismatic,” Fischer said of his former employee. “You believe him. [But] he’s a scammer.”

In November 2005, Browne was at it again, bouncing a \$7,605 check he wrote to Tony’s Deli. He was charged with obtaining property in return for a worthless check, another felony. But the charge was dropped when Browne eventually made full restitution.

At the same time, Browne continued selling business leads. In June 2005, he incorporated a Florida company called The American Oil and Gas Coalition Inc. (Florida’s Division of Corporations dissolved the company the following year, after it failed to file an annual report.) In 2007, a California man complained on a consumer website that Browne did nothing more than send him a copy of a phone book after he paid \$1,000 for leads. “I should have know [sic] this guy is a snake when he’s [sic] business didn’t accept credit cards and I was told to ‘Wire Transfer’ the money directly into his bank account,” he wrote at Ripoff Report.com.

A Day Late and a Dollar Short

Browne’s legal travails continued in 2006. In March, he once again was charged with a felony after bouncing a \$1,900 check to a doctor. That charge, too, was dropped after Browne made good on the debt.

In June of that year, Browne’s divorce from his wife became final, and he was ordered to pay \$929 a month in child support. He was making \$85,000 a year at the time, according to a court document. “He paid some, but not very much,” and he remains delinquent, said Kent Schroeder, a Nebraska attorney who represented Tracy George. That may have come as no surprise to George, who did not comment for this story. In court filings, she said that Browne once bounced a \$6,000 check to a pool contractor who placed a lien on their house until she paid \$4,000 to settle the matter. And her husband had written “numerous” bad checks to her, she said. Levenson, the attorney who spoke to the *Intelligence Report* on behalf of Browne, said that Browne is not behind on his child support payments.

In July 2006, two months after the

divorce, George filed suit to force Browne out of the Delray Beach home, the title of which he had previously transferred to her. (She had complained in the past that her husband wasn’t making mortgage, homeowners’ association dues or insurance payments on the house while he continued to live in it.) A process server, however, was unable to find Browne.

In September of that year, George sold the Delray Beach house for \$430,000. Their divorce stipulated that Browne would receive nearly half of whatever proceeds were left after paying off a large outstanding mortgage. But Browne’s questionable financial dealings continued.

In October 2006, Browne was sued by the owner of a Delray Beach office building after bouncing another check and failing to pay \$15,616 in rent for two businesses he was running at the time, American Oil and Gas Coalition and Dataquest Partners Inc. The lawsuit eventually was dismissed.

In December, a check-cashing store sued him in small claims court for \$1,785. Three months later, in March 2007, Browne was arrested and charged with two felony counts of obtaining property with worthless checks. This time, it was a dentist who received a bad check for \$493 and a cigar shop owner who got one for \$1,216. And this time, Browne — whose 2005 case for stealing from Fischer, his former employer, was still pending — also was charged with failing to appear at an earlier court hearing in the Fischer case. The judge denied him bond.

After Browne had languished for several weeks in jail, his mother, several siblings and family friends wrote letters to the judge vouching for his good character and seeking his release on bond. Browne’s “entrepreneurial spirit has had a positive impact on society,” wrote one brother. He “has added to the well being of his community,” added his mother. His former football coach called him “a great influence and example for our underclassmen.”

Finally, on June 1, 2007, Browne agreed to a plea bargain that resolved both of his pending criminal cases. In the 2005 case, he pleaded no contest to grand theft of more than \$100,000, and the prosecutor dropped the charge of stealing trade secrets. Browne also agreed to pay

John Fischer \$156,559 in restitution — \$50,000 immediately, and the balance at the rate of \$750 monthly. Fischer told the *Intelligence Report* that Browne has made only one payment in recent months and is in arrears. (Levenson said he had no information on the matter.) In the 2007 case, Browne pleaded no contest to two felonies and agreed to make full restitution to the dentist and the cigar shop owner. In return for the pleas, Browne was placed on 15 years’ probation, with the first two years under house arrest. He was required to wear an ankle bracelet that monitored his whereabouts during the first year.

Only a month into his house arrest,



Browne was sued again, and for the usual reason. An office supply company said Browne, as the owner of yet another company, this one called Accuracy Inc. — which he claimed had 64 employees — owed money for equipment. A judge ordered Browne to pay \$126,639.

Browne didn’t find house arrest to his liking, and after five months he asked the judge to remove that provision of his probation. He said he wanted to visit his daughter in Nebraska, pay his respects to his ailing mother in Ohio, see a medical specialist about tumors he had removed and expand his business beyond South Florida. And the cost of paying somebody to walk his two dogs every day was more than \$1,000 a month, he complained.

Once again, Browne had people write letters on his behalf. This time, it was men from a Bible study group he hosted from a nondenominational church on Friday nights. “I have found him to be a man of integrity and honesty,” one churchgoer wrote to the judge. Added another: “I thought he was a man’s man. Some body that I thought had it all and I can say I was envious. He quotes scripture and closes our nights with prayer. I feel he ... wants to be the person that Christians can look to as a positive role model.”

PALM BEACH COUNTY SHERIFF'S OFFICE

It worked. The judge removed the house arrest provision from Browne’s probation. And for a time, not much was heard from John Browne.

Black, Browne and Whites

Two years later, in September 2009, Browne joined a world in which he was not a familiar figure, becoming a “sustaining member” of Don Black’s Stormfront forum at \$5 a month (or \$50 a year). That was the same month he formed his new company, Tip of the Spear. Ads in Stormfront quickly followed.

As with other companies Browne has formed, information about Tip of the

“I should have know[n] this guy is a snake when [his] business didn’t accept credit cards and I was told to ‘Wire Transfer’ the money directly into his bank account.”

Spear is sketchy. The company is not a registered corporation in Florida. Its website listed Browne’s American Oil and Gas Coalition — a company that had been dissolved by the state some three years earlier — as the registrant. He named himself as the administrative and technical contacts. Tip of the Spear’s website provides no testimonials from clients and no information about where it is located or even who runs it. The only way to contact the company is by E-mailing “John.”

It does, however, boast of “several white collar professionals on staff” to consult on matters such as tax shelters, corporate veil protection and anonymous banking. It recently solicited applications for people with 14 different job skills, including lawyers, translators and private investigators.

(Browne also now operates another leads business called Syndicate Information Services. Its website says the company is based near Cleveland and is “dedicated to Midwestern Integrity, quality & service.” What it doesn’t explain is why the company has a Palm Beach County phone number and a Las Vegas mailing address. It, too, was the subject of a consumer complaint in 2007 at Ripoff Report.com.)

Browne did not respond to an E-mailed question about the sincerity of his racist beliefs. His attorney, however, doesn’t see it. “You don’t have to be a white supremacist to advertise there,” Levenson said of Browne’s ads on Stormfront. “I’ve never seen any malice with him. I’d be shocked to find he’s a racist, or a white supremacist.” So why advertise on a well-known white supremacist website? Levenson said he doesn’t know.

John Fischer, who is Jewish, said he never heard Browne use racial or ethnic slurs. Nor did his wife’s divorce lawyer. “He was like a mystery man to me,” said Kent Schroeder.

But there is evidence suggesting that Browne’s racism might be the real thing. Last fall, Browne made a reservation for six to attend a Palm Beach County talk by Holocaust denier David Irving at the Ritz-Carlton in the tony town of Manalapan. At the Oct. 26 event, two neo-Nazis from rival factions in the audience stepped outside the room to argue, and one began stabbing the other. Irving blamed Browne for bringing guests who caused the embarrassing fracas, writing him to say that “we cannot allow your attendance at my future events.” (Levenson, who says he is Catholic with a Jewish grandfather, represents the more seriously injured of the two men.)

Browne responded with an E-mail to Irving contending that he was blameless and arguing that he took the knife from one man’s hand, possibly saving the second man’s life. “I ... continue to support and admire your work,” he added.

Around the same time, when a Stormfront member questioned the honesty of Browne’s credit repair service, Browne took offense. “Look for yourself how many non-whites I employ, look at the bank statements and see how many non-whites are given money,” he replied. “The answer to both is zero!”

In the end, it’s hard to say exactly what motivates John Harold Browne. What is known is what he told a skeptical Stormfront member during the exchange about his credit repair service last fall. “I do not,” Browne said, “run a scam.” ▲

Rooting Out Racism

In the latest attempt by Christians to right the past, a Presbyterian denomination takes action against racist activism in its ranks

BY SONIA SCHERR

A quarrel inside the congregation of Friendship Presbyterian Church in Black Mountain, N.C., brought the issue of race to the highest levels of the Presbyterian Church in America. It all began with a nasty E-mail from a well-known white nationalist.

On Nov. 26, 2007, Neill Payne hit the send button on an E-mail to 19 people, including several members of the Presbyterian church outside Asheville, N.C., where he was an elder.

The E-mail contained an opinion piece from London's *Daily Telegraph*, titled "Ian Smith has sadly been proved right," asserting that the white, former African leader was correct in his belief that blacks would never be able to govern Rhodesia and noting that the country (now Zimbabwe) had fared miserably under the black dictator Robert Mugabe. Payne — a chiropractor with former ties to a white supremacist group who is now a board member of the neo-Confederate law center he helped found — began the E-mail with his own commentary: "How many times do we have to see this same pitiful, African disaster story replayed before we will realize that the story always ends the same way and regardless of all the best wishes in the world it will never go any differently?" he wrote. "Here is a telling article commemorating the passing of one of the last great white men in Africa."

Payne added a postscript: "IQ is the best and most reliable and most accurate predictor of these results. Only a cock-eyed Liberal believes that you can run headlong into a wall one thousand times and if you just do it one more time, somehow, magically, this time you won't bash your brains out."

The matter might have ended there, except that one of the E-mail recipients was Payne's pastor at Friendship Presbyterian Church, a congregation in the theologically conservative Presbyterian Church in America (PCA) denomination (see related story, p. 39). Hardly a "cock-eyed Liberal," the Rev. Craig Bulkeley nonetheless felt he couldn't ignore Payne's statements about IQ, race, and Africa's fate, which he maintained were not only unscientific, but also contrary to the Bible. Firing back a reply just a few hours after Payne's E-mail landed in his inbox, Bulkeley noted that Stalin and Hitler had managed to lead "whole nations into immorality and idiotic ruin. If those white guys and the millions of

senseless white sheep in their Aryan and other European nations that willingly followed them had high I.Q.'s, the 'T' stood for something besides intelligence."

The E-mail exchange, which continued over the next 11 days, triggered a battle for control of Friendship that split both the little church in Black Mountain and Asheville-area PCA leaders. After 2½ years of bitter disagreements that ultimately reached the PCA's highest governing body, Payne left the church (along with several of his supporters) rather than face an ecclesiastical trial for the sin of racism.

The Friendship saga is probably the first time that PCA leaders have formally attempted to hold members responsible for racist statements. That's true despite a few notable examples in recent years of racial extremism in PCA churches, including two pastors affiliated with a racist neo-Confederate group who eventually left the denomination of their own accord. Yet the problem of racism faced by the denomination's leaders is hardly unique to the PCA. Other denominations also are trying to address historical and contemporary racism in their churches. The conflict in Black Mountain thus reflects the larger struggle of many Christians in the United States to deal with the bigotry in their churches' pasts by grappling with the remnants that persist today.

"The hope that a congregation and a denomination might prosper in this day and age while harboring a defense of racism — that's just preposterous," said Joel Belz, a former moderator of the PCA's national governing body. "Presbyterianism in the South has to carry a special burden because early Presbyterians there sometimes defended what can only be described as racist perspectives. Because of those historical roots, we have an additional responsibility to be clear about what we believe on the subject."

Teachings 'From the Pit of Hell'

For Bulkeley, who became pastor of Friendship nearly a decade ago, the E-mail exchange with Payne in late 2007 was a turning point. Over the years, he'd heard Payne make derogatory comments about blacks, Jews and Mexicans, even suggest-

ing that blacks were meant to be slaves. Previously, Bulkeley had assumed the bigoted statements were merely traces of old views that Payne no longer truly held. Now, the pastor felt he could no longer defend Payne. “The church has a reputation of being a racist or white supremacist church,” he wrote in a February 2008 memo recommending to the governing council of Friendship that Payne resign as a church elder.

Payne denied in church documents that he made the comments about blacks and slavery. In a statement sent to the *Intelligence Report*, Payne and his supporters also denied that the E-mails to Bulkeley “had *any* racist intent” and compared Bulkeley’s criticisms of Payne to an “unholy jihad.”

Payne also defended the E-mails several months after he sent them, telling Friendship members at a meeting that he wasn’t ashamed of his statements. “I do believe that there is a superior race as far as intelligence testing goes — the Oriental race,” he said in June 2008. “So if I am an Oriental supremacist, then shoot me because that’s what to me IQ testing shows, is the Orientals score on top. Then white people, then brown people, then black people.”

Payne and his allies (including his large extended family) tried repeatedly to get Bulkeley fired. At the June 2008 meeting, the roughly 50 adult members of Friendship voted narrowly against firing Bulkeley. In an even closer vote, they opted to remove Payne as an elder. Payne’s supporters went on to file several official complaints against Bulkeley with the Western Carolina Presbytery, the regional governing body for Friendship and 30 other Asheville-area PCA churches.

“Here’s a church that previously had been a peaceful community church, and then they were divided right down the middle, with a slim majority supporting the pastor,” said the Rev. Jeff Hutchinson, who served as moderator of the presbytery during that period. The presbytery was also at odds, with about one-third initially opposing Bulkeley. (Most of the presbytery now supports him.) “You had longtime friends who were disagreeing with great dismay,” Hutchinson said, “and that was one of the most heart-breaking things for me.”



A day to remember: Twenty years ago, Neill Payne (above, at far left, and photo at far left) and Kirk Lyons (above, far right, and with flag) were married in a double wedding ceremony performed by Aryan Nations boss Richard Butler (above, center) at the neo-Nazi group’s Idaho compound.

It wasn’t long before Payne’s brother-in-law, Kirk Lyons, became a key figure in the dispute. Lyons, whose Southern Legal Resource Center (where Payne serves on the board) in Black Mountain effectively serves as the legal arm of the neo-Confederate movement, repeatedly intervened on behalf of Payne and Payne’s in-laws. One incident stemmed from a sermon Bulkeley preached in September 2008. In it, he condemned the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations, saying its leader taught that Nazism was the “racial order” of God and that Jews should be eliminated. “This teaching was evil,” Bulkeley told his congregation. “It is heretical. It is from the pit of hell and it’s a direct offense against the gospel. There should be no mistake about that. It is completely contrary to everything the Bible teaches.”

The next Sunday, just before the worship service, Lyons confronted Bulkeley outside the sanctuary and told him it was wrong to preach against the teachings of the Aryan Nations in front of his in-laws, Charles and Betty Tate, who had once been prominent members of the group. (In 1990, Payne and Lyons married the Tates’ daughters in a double wedding ceremony at the neo-Nazi group’s Idaho compound. Former Texas Klan leader Louis Beam was their best

man.) Although Bulkeley hadn’t referred to the Tates during his sermon, Lyons contended that the pastor’s message amounted to an attack on his in-laws. He vowed to interrupt the service if Bulkeley preached about the Aryan Nations again that morning.

Bulkeley was undeterred. “Please understand that the abominable teachings of the Aryan Nations/Church of Jesus Christ Christian/Richard Butler are going to be condemned and denounced very publicly and unambiguously from Friendship’s pulpit,” he wrote three days later in a letter to Lyons. (The Church of Jesus Christ Christian was the religious name given to Aryan Nations by its late founder, Richard Butler.)

Lyons — who in an E-mail to the *Intelligence Report* didn’t deny the incident but maintained that he “in no way told Craig what he should preach” — responded by filing further charges against the pastor on behalf of himself and the Tates. He alleged that Bulkeley had “fail[ed] in his pastoral obligations” in part because he “denounced and humiliated these two parishioners from the pulpit” and spread his opinion of the Aryan Nations throughout the presbytery. The presbytery ultimately dismissed all charges against Bulkeley.

The Right Thing

Last fall, the debate went beyond the presbytery to the PCA’s 24-member Standing Judicial Commission, the denomination’s highest court. Bulkeley and Hutchinson were unsuccessful in getting the commission to rule that the presbytery had not gone far enough in condemning Payne’s views and censuring him. The two presbytery members opposing them included Morton Smith, a founder of the PCA. Smith, who declined to speak with the *Intelligence Report*, has said in past interviews that interracial marriage is wrong and that racial segregation is acceptable so long as it’s “separate but equal.”

In response to one of the commission’s decisions, however, the presbytery formed a committee to privately try to help Payne realize that he was guilty of the sin of racism. Payne refused to meet with them. Rather than face a formal ecclesiastical charge, he asked to be “erased” from Friendship’s membership roll, essentially excommunicating himself from the church. Friendship’s governing body noted that the removal constituted an act of pastoral discipline.

Of Payne’s most ardent supporters at Friendship, only Lyons has not left the church. Though he’s no longer attending services at Friendship, Lyons — who has lost most of his secular battles over neo-Confederate “heritage violations” — wants to continue his quixotic quest to triumph over Bulkeley in PCA courts. “White supremacy, racism, has absolutely nothing to do with the issues,” he insisted in a brief phone interview with the *Intelligence Report*. “Anything else is a falsehood and a defamation and an excuse.”

Meanwhile, two Asheville-area PCA churches have drafted statements denouncing racism that the presbytery will likely adopt this summer. One of them responds specifically to the local controversy by, among other things, asserting that interracial marriage is not a sin.

For its part, Friendship is starting to see more faces at its worship services now that the Payne and Lyons families aren’t attending. And that’s especially gratifying for the PCA leaders who have been battling racism in their pews. “It’s not enough to simply not commit sins of commission,” Hutchinson said. “We have to also do the right thing.” ▲

A Denomination Confronts Its Past

THOUGH RACIAL EXTREMISTS HAD PREVIOUSLY CAUSED RIFTS IN PCA CHURCHES, the recent tumult at Friendship Presbyterian Church near Asheville, N.C., was perhaps unprecedented in that it led to church litigation regarding racism. “I can find no record of formal church discipline being exercised on the issue of racism in any Presbyterian circles,” said Joel Belz, the founder of *World*, a conservative Christian magazine. “Race has been the defining social issue of my whole lifetime, and to think no one has ever exercised church discipline on the matter is astonishing to me. It’s easy to talk in generalities about race; it’s harder to hold individuals accountable.”

The PCA, or Presbyterian Church in America, has been talking about race for a while. In 2004, it issued a position paper that not only denounced racism, but also took responsibility for its past role in promoting it. The paper acknowl-



edged that, historically, the Presbyterian Church — from which the PCA later emerged — had wrongly stated that some races are inferior, that slavery is acceptable, and that racial segregation is justified. The paper went further: It recognized that racism has not been completely eradicated from the 340,000-member PCA, which in 1973 split from the larger, mainline Presbyterian church. “For years we have left unattended in our midst the vestiges of racism, and the reality of its raw presence within corners of our denomination,” it said.

The paper specifically cited the existence of hate groups and their adherents: “Today, in the United States, there are many proponents, and even entire organizations, devoted to the acceptance of slavery, segregation, and the belief that one race is superior to another. Such views have

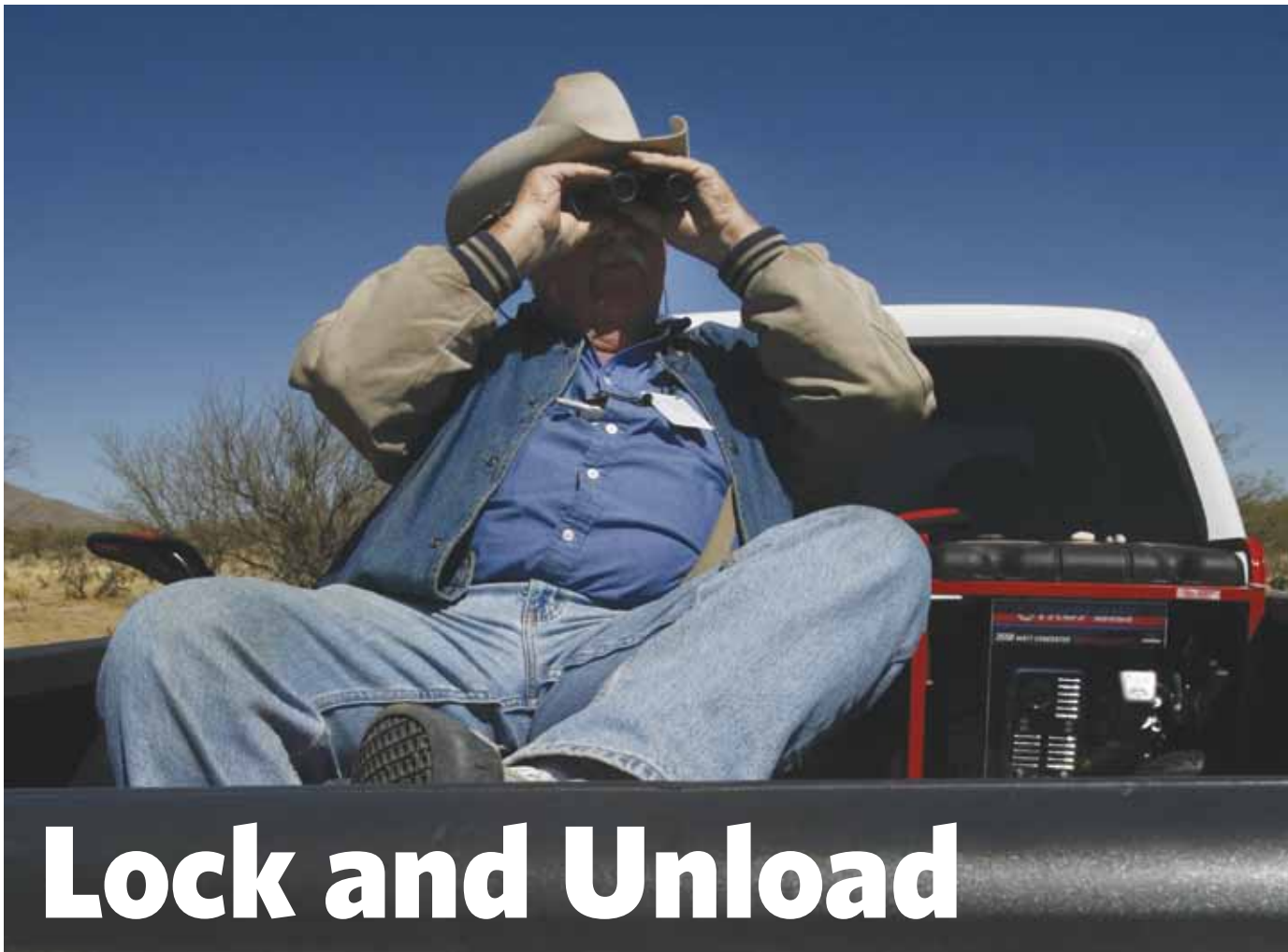
an impact even within our own church community.”

In the past decade, neo-Confederates — who celebrate Southern culture but in many cases also embrace racist attitudes toward blacks — have sought control of at least two PCA churches; the churches, in Alabama and Louisiana, ultimately left the PCA for other denominations.

The controversy at Friendship went to the heart of its members’ Bible-centered faith, said the Rev. Jeff Hutchinson, pastor of Trinity Presbyterian Church in Asheville, N.C. The idea that some races are inherently superior to others runs counter to the Bible’s statement that humans were created in God’s image. “Any form of racism is a cancer that destroys the Biblical understanding of who human beings are,” said Hutchinson, the former presbytery moderator. “If we as Christians can’t agree on the Biblical understanding of man, then why even bother having church?”

But the reasons for denouncing racism extend beyond the theological. “Our Church — Friendship, the presbytery and the denomination — cannot afford to allow the public to wonder what we believe on this topic,” Belz said. “We have to be explicit. There are those in the mainline Presbyterian Church who would love to characterize the Presbyterian Church in America as racist. I don’t think that’s true, but I understand their misconception. It’s against that backdrop, too, that we have to be explicit.”

— Sonia Scherr



The country's largest Minuteman nativist group announces a break-up after asking followers to 'forcefully engage' border 'criminals'

BY SONIA SCHERR

One of the most prominent nativist extremist groups in the nation disbanded this spring, five turbulent years after its birth at a highly publicized civilian border watch in Arizona.

The breakup of the Minuteman Civil Defense Corps (MCDC), the biggest of several groups whose volunteers have conducted armed border patrols in recent years, is the latest sign of trouble within the faltering Minuteman movement. In a March 22 E-mail to supporters, then-MCDC President Carmen Mercer said the group's board had decided to dissolve MCDC in part

because it did not want to take legal responsibility for the actions of its fired-up volunteers. Though the group will no longer exist as a corporation, she said that individual MCDC chapters may continue to operate and urged supporters to carry on the group's work independently. "I predict Americans, on their own, will lock, load and do what the feckless cowards in Washington refuse to do — and frankly I hope Americans do take up arms to defend this great nation," she wrote in an "urgent alert."

Indeed, an April 5 E-mail from Mercer asserted that "the death of the Minuteman Civil Defense Corps is greatly exaggerated." The message

named several Minuteman station and regional leaders who plan to carry on the group's mission and to set up a national umbrella group with a website.

MCDC is an offshoot of the Minuteman Project, a month-long volunteer border patrol operation held in spring 2005 that brought hundreds of anti-immigration activists to the U.S.-Mexico border, along with a few neo-Nazis from the National Alliance. During a March 2005 news conference with Mexican President Vicente Fox, then-President George W. Bush called the Minutemen "vigilantes" and said he favored "enforcing the law in a rational way." But by then a movement had taken hold; other Minuteman groups and imitators emerged from the original Minuteman Project, now a California-based organization run by founder Jim Gilchrist. Many of the Minuteman volunteers who monitor the border also subscribe to the "Aztlan" or "reconquista" conspiracy theory that the Mexican government is trying to reconquer the American Southwest by

encouraging illegal immigration (and possibly ultimately resorting to force of arms).

Family Feuds

Almost since their inception, MCDC and the larger Minuteman movement have been plagued by infighting, allegations of financial impropriety and civil litigation. (Mercer herself is a defendant in a lawsuit, filed last summer by the Arizona attorney general, that alleges she controlled a post office box used for a property tax scam; she said she got the box for a friend and denied knowing about the scam.) In addition, the leader of Minuteman American Defense (MAD) has been charged with the May 2009 murder of a 9-year-old Latina girl and her father during a home invasion in Arivaca, Ariz., setting off furious accusations and counter-accusations within the movement about who had supported the now-jailed MAD President Shawna Forde over the years.

Despite the upheaval, MCDC managed to grow: In 2009, the group had at least 74 chapters in nearly 30 states, more than any other Minuteman spin-off group. In recent media interviews, Mercer claimed, perhaps improbably, that MCDC had about 12,000 members.

The announcement of MCDC's dissolution followed an E-mail Mercer sent a week earlier, in which she urged supporters to bring their rifles to the border to "forcefully engage" the "criminals" who try to cross without documentation. Mercer wrote that she received hundreds of responses to that March 15 E-mail, including some that verged on over-enthusiastic. "It was obvious that many had decided to return to the border who had tired of the sometimes futile watch and observe methods. It showed me that people are not willing to be silenced anymore; it also showed me that people will be less likely to follow the rules of engagement in a desperate attempt to stop the criminals who violate our borders every day. That is not what we want and we cannot take the responsibility for this."

But Mercer, a naturalized U.S. citizen who immigrated from Germany, was less than candid when she told the *Arizona Daily Star* that "people are ready to come locked and loaded, and that's not what we are all about." In fact, the Tombstone, Ariz., restaurateur had repeatedly told supporters in the week-earlier E-mail precisely that — to return to the border "locked and loaded." Mercer would not speak to the Hatewatch blog, which published an earlier version of this report. "I do not think anything I say would make it truthfully on[to] your blog," she wrote in an E-mail. "I have followed the attacks of your organization against our



Scores of groups around the country ultimately adopted the Minuteman moniker, but it all began with Chris Simcox, the founder of the Minuteman Civil Defense Corps.

organization. I think you would be wasting my time."

In fact, attacks often came from former supporters within the anti-immigration movement, who heavily criticized MCDC founder and former leader Chris Simcox for failing to complete a promised "Israeli-style" border fence and for allegedly selling out his organization to a shadowy network of professional right-wing fundraisers. The Minuteman PAC, established in December 2005 as the political arm of MCDC, also came under fire for spending only a small fraction of the \$1.7 million it raised in 2007-08 to help elect and defeat candidates. (The rest went toward operating expenses, including promotion of the PAC's mission, fundraising and staff salaries.)

In 2007, Simcox fired 18 state, regional and national MCDC lead-

ers because they had raised questions about his financial accountability. Two years later, Simcox quit MCDC himself to run unsuccessfully for Congress, leaving Mercer to run the organization. Since then, other MCDC officials also have resigned, including Vice President Al Garza, who said last summer that he was quitting to launch the Patriots Coalition because "the organization [MCDC] is now on a path that I cannot endorse." Two days after MCDC folded, the Patriots Coalition announced that it would waive the application fee for Minutemen who join the group. Indeed, some ideas of the reinvigorated "Patriot" movement, including antigovernment conspiracy theories, appear to be gaining popularity in Minuteman circles.

Besides liability concerns, Mercer wrote that most of the organization's leaders had left and would not support the more aggressive tactics outlined in her earlier E-mail. In addition, she said MCDC was having trouble raising money after breaking off relations with the Declaration Alliance, a right-wing advocacy group that handled some aspects

of MCDC's financial operations. The most recent tax forms show that MCDC received just under \$209,000 in revenue during 2008, down from nearly \$790,000 in 2007.

"I really think the demise of MCDC has very much more to do with the evaporation of the donations," wrote Border Guardians founder Laine Lawless to a Minuteman E-mail group. "When all the money is gone, the higher-ups leave."

Although the first Minuteman patrol made national headlines, MCDC's collapse has received little media attention outside Arizona. Jim Campbell, who filed a lawsuit (later dropped) against MCDC after donating \$100,000 for the border fence, also blames financial mismanagement for the fall of the organization whose mission he still supports. "In the past two years, the movement has gone so downhill," the Air Force veteran told the *Intelligence Report*. "It almost doesn't make a story anymore. For all intents and purposes, MCDC has been defunct." ▲



William Daniel Johnson is a mild-mannered and unimposing white supremacist, but he has assembled a team of movement heavyweights.

Filling the Void

An ambitious effort to provide leadership to the fractured white supremacist right is taking shape in California

BY LARRY KELLER

For years now, white nationalists have been adrift. William Pierce, founder of the National Alliance, the major neo-Nazi organization of its time, died in 2002. David Lane died in prison in 2007, where he was serving a 190-year sentence for his role in the murder of Denver radio talk show host Alan Berg while Lane was a member of The Order, a racist, domestic terrorist group. Former Klan boss David Duke lives on, but his commitment to the

movement was sullied after he went to prison in 2002 for spending donations for racist causes for his personal benefit. Duke spends much of his time nowadays in Europe, selling his books and photographs.

Now, Los Angeles lawyer William Daniel Johnson — joined by California psychology professor Kevin MacDonald, whose anti-Semitic writings have become as important to the neo-Nazi movement as Hitler’s *Mein Kampf* — is attempting to fill the white supremacist void with the

formation of a fledgling political party, the American Third Position or A3P, with the aim of uniting disaffected racists. Its stated mission: to “represent the political interests of White Americans.” Its method: to eventually run white nationalist candidates for offices in every state.

Johnson, 55, is not a big name in white nationalist circles. But the wealthy international corporate attorney has been a racist activist for 30 years and sought elective offices in three states. Most recently, in 2008, he was a judicial candidate in Los Angeles County. Johnson is a soft-spoken, earnest and unimposing man who has supported repatriating blacks to Africa and has been cozy with Klansmen and neo-Nazi skinheads. He has deep pockets and a willingness to spend wads of his own money on his quixotic campaigns. Most important, Johnson — who did not respond to voicemail and E-mail requests seeking comment for this story — has lined up some leading luminaries from the racist

right to help guide the A3P.

The A3P could easily fall as flat as most of Johnson’s projects. But it is appearing at a time when the radical right is growing rapidly across the country even as there is an obvious dearth of capable leadership. It seems possible that the A3P could continue to grow and start to unite the fractured racist scene.

In a four-minute introductory video on the A3P website — featuring an image of famed racist aviator Charles Lindbergh, who fretted about the need to “preserve our inheritance of European blood” — Johnson recites passages from a couple of 17th century poems and explains that the A3P embraces principles “that will secure the existence of our people and a future for our children.” That’s a restatement of David Lane’s “14 Words,” which remain a mantra for white nationalists: “We must secure the existence of our people and a future for White children.”

“This forced multiculturalism is seeking to destroy the living soil in which all people have their roots, their identity, their being,” Johnson says in the video, a banner with the phrase “for race & nation” behind him. “The American Third Position rejects any and all attempts to impose this unnatural conformity onto mankind, whether it be advanced by slick propaganda or at the point of a gun. The Third Position insists that it is both healthy and divinely ordained that people should have a genuine love and preference for their own kind.”

Johnson —who heads a four-lawyer firm in Los Angeles, where he says he represents Japanese corporations in international business deals — is finding people who agree. Two-and-a-half months after its start-up, the A3P had 488 Facebook “friends,” including Harold Covington, John de Nugent and Richard Spencer. Covington is a longtime neo-Nazi; de Nugent is a frequent contributor to anti-Semitic and racist online forums; and Spencer speaks at and writes for white nationalist venues and edits a new online magazine called Alternative Right.

Four months after its formation, the A3P showed 792 people who liked its message. At the same time, the neophyte party was trumpeting a report by a Web information company showing that its website received more U.S. traffic than that of any

other political party in the nation, including the GOP and the Democrats. The A3P “has grown ... into a national network of growingly-sophisticated political activists,” its website boasted.

A Team is Assembled

The A3P is the successor to the short-lived Golden State Party, which was affiliated with a Southern California racist skinhead group called Freedom 14. The Golden State Party notified California authorities last year that it would try to qualify as a political party for



Pillars of the party: Kevin MacDonald (top), Jamie Kelso (bottom photo, at left) and William Johnson are key activists in the new American Third Position.

2010. But after *The Orange County Register* revealed that its 26-year-old chairman was a felon with a penchant for using aliases, the party vanished, only to reemerge in somewhat altered form as the A3P.

The A3P project began to take shape last October, when Johnson met with a group including MacDonald, who is a psychology professor at California State University, Long Beach, to discuss the idea. It was officially launched this January, with Johnson serving as chairman and MacDonald as director. It wasn’t long after that that Johnson notified California officials of the party’s plan to gain ballot access by registering the required 88,991 voters. This March, Johnson and MacDonald attended an event sponsored by the Institute for Historical Review, a Holocaust denial group. They met later in the month with several party supporters at Johnson’s ranch in suburban Los Angeles to map out the party’s future.

For MacDonald, joining the A3P finalized a transition from being the academic author of an anti-Semitic trilogy of books — books that essentially argued that Jews are genetically driven to destroy Western societies and that anti-Semitism is a logical response to Jewish success — to becoming a hands-on racist activist. In addition to joining the A3P last year, MacDonald started up an online magazine, *The Occidental Observer*, to cover “themes of white identity, white interests, and the culture of the West.” MacDonald’s website celebrates the crude pro-Klan film “The Birth of a Nation,” defends the rank anti-Semitism of automaker Henry Ford, and rails on about white victims of black criminality.

“It’s obvious we need a third party to represent White interests,” MacDonald wrote on the A3P site. “The major problem is to overcome the stigma attached to anyone who explicitly advocates White interests.”

Johnson and MacDonald aren’t the A3P’s only notable racists. Recent additions to its board of directors include James Edwards, the Tennessee-based host of the racist radio program “The Political Cesspool,” and Tomislav Sunic, a Croatian author and frequent guest speaker at racist and anti-Semitic events.

Even more recently, Don Wassall

joined the A3P board. He was director of the white supremacist Council of Conservative Citizens chapters in Pennsylvania and Nevada, and is the longtime publisher of a monthly white nationalist newspaper. He also directed the Populist Party presidential campaigns of 1988 and 1992. The Populist Party candidate in 1988 was neo-Nazi David Duke, while the party's 1992 candidate was Bo Gritz, a decorated Vietnam vet known for his associations with leading white supremacists and antigovernment conspiracy theorists.

Yet another influential member of the party's inner circle is Jamie Kelso, a one-time aide to David Duke and a former member of the neo-Nazi National Alliance. After joining Stormfront.org — the leading white supremacist Web forum in the world — in 2002, Kelso became a moderator on the site and successfully pushed leading radical-right movement writers to start posting there. He now describes himself as Johnson's "executive assistant."

Today, the A3P hopes to get on as many other states' ballots as possible, with Florida being a particular target. If successful in California and Florida, its leaders say that as many as one in six Americans would have the opportunity to register as A3P voters. In February, Johnson told Edwards' radio audience hopefully: "Rank-and-file America is becoming less and less timid with regard to the issues of race and they're more and more concerned with it. As they become more aware, there is only one place for them to turn, and that is to our party."

Pace and Race

William Johnson's history as a racist activist goes back at least a quarter of a century. But he started out on a more normal path, graduating from Brigham Young University, where he majored in Japanese. Later, he went to Harvard Law School before transferring to Columbia, where he earned his law degree in 1981. He took jobs at law firms in Tokyo and, subsequently, in Seoul, South Korea.

By 1985, Johnson was back in the United States, where, using the pseudonym of James O. Pace, he wrote a 179-page paperback, *Amendment to the Constitution: Averting the Decline and Fall*

of America. In it, he proposed the repeal of the 14th and 15th Amendments. The 14th Amendment provides that everybody born in the United States (including ex-slaves) is a citizen, and that all citizens are entitled to equal protection under the law. The 15th Amendment prohibits denying the right to vote based on race.



In his 1985 book, William Johnson calls for deportation of anyone with an "ascertainable trace of Negro blood."

Johnson advocated amending the Constitution to limit U.S. citizenship to non-Hispanic whites "in whom there is no ascertainable trace of Negro blood, nor more than one-eighth Mongolian, Asian, Asia Minor, Middle Eastern, Semitic, Near Eastern, American Indian, Malay or other non-European or non-white blood." The millions of non-whites who weren't bona fide citizens would be deported to their homelands and provided with financial assistance.

(Johnson was hardly the first to propose such a scheme. Vitriolic racist bomber J.B. Stoner and his Stoner Anti-Jewish Party proposed in 1946 that blacks should be resettled in Africa and

"Orientals should be re-settled in the Orient." On another occasion, Stoner — who, like Johnson, was a lawyer — advocated giving every black American a Cadillac in return for relocating to Africa.)

Among those praising the Pace book in dust-cover comments were pastors Richard Butler and Dan Gayman. Butler, now dead, established the Aryan Nations compound in northern Idaho and sought a whites-only homeland in the Northwest. Gayman is the pastor of the Missouri-based Church of Israel and an adherent of Christian Identity, an anti-Semitic theology. Gayman and Butler both received money from The Order, which carried out several armored car robberies.

Johnson, using the name Daniel Johnson, formed the League of Pace Amendment Advocates in Glendale, Calif., and served as its spokesman while initially denying that he was Pace.

In 1986, he promoted the amendment at Butler's Aryan Nations World Congress, an annual gathering of leading neo-Nazis, racist skinheads and other white supremacists on Butler's Idaho compound.

Over the next three years, Johnson made speeches and mailed his book to state legislators. On at least two occasions, demonstrators brawled at venues where he was going to speak in Glendale. A 1988 speaking appearance at a hotel in Missoula, Mont., was canceled after University of Montana students raised objections. Tired of his difficulties in Glendale, Johnson explored

moving his organization to Helena, Mont., but city officials there made it clear that he wasn't welcome.

Vying for Votes

Instead, Johnson moved in 1989 to Casper, Wyo., where in just 10 days he had collected the signatures of 479 registered voters that he needed to get on the ballot in a special election for the Congressional seat of Dick Cheney, who had been nominated as secretary of defense by President George H.W. Bush. "Whites don't have a future here in this country, and that is ... one of many issues

that I am addressing," Johnson told The Associated Press in a rare interview. His campaign manager was a 19-year-old Klansman named John Abarr, who later told a reporter that the Klan is "basically a civil rights organization that stands up for the rights of white people." He had similar insights into the Holocaust. "I'm not saying Germany was a paradise for Jews, but there wasn't any plan to exterminate 6 million Jews."

In the end, Johnson got well under 1% of the vote.

Rejected by Wyoming voters, Johnson returned to Glendale, Calif. Two weeks later, a bomb went off in the building housing Pace Amendment offices.

For almost the next two decades, Johnson was relatively quiet. In 1992, he made the news briefly after being scheduled to give the invocation at a Los Angeles conference of black and white nationalists and Holocaust deniers. That same year, Johnson printed 3,000 copies of a paperback titled *Establishing African Homelands for Black Americans*. It was endorsed by "James O. Pace" (that is, Johnson), Robert Brock and Kirk Lyons. Brock, who organized the earlier L.A. conference, was a Holocaust-denying black nationalist who wanted a homeland and reparations for blacks. Lyons is a longtime white supremacist lawyer.

Then, in 2006, Johnson showed up in Arizona, filing a ballot-qualifying petition with 1,431 registered voters to become a candidate in a Democratic primary for the 8th Congressional District seat. Federal Election Commission documents show that Johnson paid Russ Dove, an anti-immigration zealot with a felony conviction for attempted grand theft, more than \$15,000 for "gathering signatures" and "consulting." Johnson billed himself as "a traditional Democrat taking a stand for 'the republic.'" But he was an invisible candidate, with a campaign that provided virtually no information on his views to the public. He finished fifth, getting 2.9% of the vote despite spending more than \$133,000 of his own money, or more than \$75 per vote received.

Johnson returned to California, where in 2007 he hosted a \$2,000-a-plate fundraiser at his ranch for U.S. Rep. Ron Paul's presidential campaign. Records show that Johnson's wife, Lois, contributed \$2,300



In early May, A3P supporters were met with "overwhelming success" at an anti-immigration rally in Orange, Calif. — except for the counter-demonstrators who shouted "Nazis!" and "Go back to Europe!"

to the Texas Republican. (A year later, she gave \$1,500 to Proposition 8, the anti-gay marriage measure called the California Marriage Protection Act.) In March 2008, he announced on his website that he was going to run in the June primary for Los Angeles County Superior Court judge — as Bill Johnson, rather than Daniel Johnson as in earlier campaigns.

Once again, Johnson was a stealth candidate, even declining to respond to a questionnaire or provide information to the Los Angeles County Bar Association. But the *Metropolitan News-Enterprise*, a Los Angeles newspaper that covers law and the courts in detail, wrote a long article about Johnson's background, including his role in promoting the racist Pace movement. Paul then retracted an earlier endorsement of Johnson, and the bar association rated Johnson "Not Qualified" to be a judge. Johnson went on to lose another election, getting 26% of the vote.

Whither the A3P?

Only 16 months later, Johnson publicly returned to politics, this time as architect of the A3P. Since its official launch in January, the party's website has kept members apprised in often breathless prose of its "outreach efforts," in which young men hand out leaflets and brochures. A fundraiser that pulled in \$700 in one day showed there is "a growing rage at the dispossession of the founding people of America," MacDonald proclaimed on the party's website.

Six weeks after its launch, A3P said it had 65 members, had printed 13,000 pieces of literature and had raised several thousand dollars. It was preparing to run ads on Liberty News Radio, which carries Edwards' "Political Cesspool." A3P also has run numerous banner ads on Stormfront.org (see related story, p. 32).

The A3P has created position papers on subjects such as immigration, crime and the environment, though many of its statements are simplistic platitudes. The four-paragraph treatise on the environment, for example, states: "We will enforce laws designed to protect our environment from both businesses and individuals. The A3P is committed to a beautiful, clean and healthy

INCIDENTS OF APPARENT HATE CRIMES AND HATE GROUP ACTIVITIES LISTED IN FOR THE RECORD ARE drawn primarily from media sources. These incidents include only a fraction of the approximately 191,000 reported and unreported hate crimes that a 2005 government report estimated annually. This listing carries a selection of incidents from the first quarter of 2010 (any additional listings may be found on the Intelligence Project’s website at www.splcenter.org.)

ALABAMA

Mobile • March 26, 2010

Christian Rodney Ice, 19, pleaded guilty to violating the federal church arson act by spray-painting threatening neo-Nazi graffiti on a synagogue in January 2009.

ARIZONA

Phoenix • March 16, 2010

The front door of a black former city councilman was spray-painted with a white supremacist symbol. A similar symbol was also spray-painted at the office of the city’s alternative newspaper and at a construction company.

CALIFORNIA

Calabasas • Jan. 11, 2010

A swastika was scratched into a Jewish student’s car at a high school.

Costa Mesa • Jan. 3, 2010

A burned and torn copy of the Koran was left in the parking lot of the Islamic Educational Center for the second time in a month.

Davis • Feb. 27, 2010

Offensive graffiti was left on a building that houses the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender Resource Center at the University of California, Davis.

Davis • March 3, 2010

Three swastikas were spray-painted around the University of California, Davis, campus, the latest in a series of bias-motivated vandalism at the school.

Davis • March 13, 2010

A swastika was carved into a dormitory bulletin board at the University of California, Davis.

National City • Feb. 6, 2010

Fifteen to 20 members of the neo-Nazi National Socialist Movement protested outside an ACORN office.

Pomona • March 20, 2010

Ethnic and anti-gay graffiti was

scrawled on a residence hall at Cal Poly Pomona University.

Redding • Jan. 21, 2010

Three black men allegedly assaulted a white youth while yelling racial slurs.

Sacramento • Jan. 1, 2010

Swastikas, satanic symbols and racist messages were scrawled on a temple and a nearby electrical box.

Sacramento • March 24, 2010

Eric Loren Clawson, 28, was convicted of a hate-motivated violation of a person’s civil rights after he used racial epithets before punching a black man at a Chico bar.

San Bernardino • March 6, 2010

Fliers from the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations were left at residences in a predominantly black and Latino neighborhood.

San Diego • Feb. 12, 2010

Swastikas and racist graffiti were spray-painted on three vehicles.

San Diego • Feb. 25, 2010

A noose was found hanging in the library of the University of California, San Diego.

San Diego • March 1, 2010

A white pillowcase crudely fashioned into a Ku Klux Klan-style hood with a hand-drawn symbol was placed on a statue of Dr. Seuss outside a campus library, days after a student hung a noose in the campus library.

San Francisco • Feb. 26, 2010

Mohammad Habibzada, Shafiq Hashemi and Sayed Bassam, all 24, were charged with assault and a hate crime for allegedly firing a BB rifle into the face of a man they believed was gay. The men, who are cousins, allegedly videotaped the incident.

Santa Cruz • Jan. 2, 2010

Cole White, 24, allegedly yelled anti-gay slurs before beating a gay man outside a nightclub.

Van Nuys • Feb. 25, 2010

Four men pleaded no contest to charges stemming from a hate crime against a black apartment tenant in Canoga Park in January 2009. Samuel Apatiga, 22, pled no contest to one count of assault and a hate crime in concert allegation and was sentenced to nine years in prison. Andy Moran, 19; Erik Castaneda, 30; and George Navarro, 22, each pled no contest to a terrorist threat charge and admitted a hate crime in concert allegation. Moran was sentenced to four years and eight months in prison and Castaneda and Navarro were each sentenced to three years and four months in prison.

Ventura • March 14, 2010

Swastika were drawn on a car window and a window of a dormitory at California Lutheran University.

COLORADO

Boulder • Jan. 19, 2010

Two swastikas were spray-painted on a building owned by a Jewish person.

DELAWARE

Dagsboro • March 20, 2010

Racial slurs, swastikas and profanity were spray-painted on a trailer and two campers at a campground.

FLORIDA

Boca Raton • Feb. 15, 2010

Anti-Semitic and racist graffiti was spray-painted in a synagogue that was also vandalized. Two juveniles were arrested in connection with the incident.

Deltona • Feb. 5, 2010

Kenneth Christiano, 41, and his 16-year old stepson were arrested

for allegedly beating a 15-year-old youth in the face with a Confederate flagpole.

Fort Lauderdale • Jan. 27, 2010

Ricardo Rivera, 53, and Bedsaida Rivera, 49, were each charged with one count of battery for allegedly attacking a neighbor twice, once with pepper spray, while shouting anti-gay slurs.

Miami • Jan. 6, 2010

Mansor Mohammad Asad, 43, was charged with threats against a public servant, disorderly conduct and resisting an officer without violence after he allegedly shouted that he wanted to kill all Jews as he was on an out-bound plane taxiing down the runway at the Miami airport.

Tampa • March 1, 2010

Aaron Dennis Green, 21, of Lithia, was charged as an adult with 87 counts of misdemeanor criminal mischief and two 17-year-olds were charged as juveniles for allegedly spray-painting graffiti that included swastikas and racial slurs on at least 115 residences in Brandon, Valrico and Seffner.

GEORGIA

Nahunta • Feb. 20, 2010

The Knight Riders of the Ku Klux Klan held a rally.

Plains • Jan. 3, 2010

An effigy of President Barack Obama was found hanging by a noose from a building.

IDAHO

Idaho Falls • March 17, 2010

Fliers from the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations were left along with peppermint candies in driveways.

ILLINOIS

Chicago • Jan. 10, 2010

Kevin McAndrew and Benjamin Eder, both 23, and Sean Little, 21,

were charged with felony hate crime and aggravated battery after they allegedly beat a man and called him anti-gay epithets as they were riding the city’s transit system.

INDIANA

Wheeler • Feb. 13, 2010

Fliers from the Ku Klux Klan group the Knights Party were left on driveways.

IOWA

Indianola • March 28, 2010

McKinley Paul Brown, a 21-year-old white man, was charged with assault with a weapon and committing a hate crime for allegedly yelled racial slurs while using a knife to threaten a neighbor he thought was biracial.

LOUISIANA

Chopin • Feb. 25, 2010

Christopher Blake Dubois, 19, and a 16-year-old were charged with a hate crime, terrorizing and aggravated assault with a firearm after they allegedly helped another man dress as a Ku Klux Klan member and shout racial slurs at a biracial couple who lived near them in July 2007.

Covington • March 11, 2010

Shane Foster, a reported member of the Klan group the Bogalusa Sons of Dixie Knights, pled guilty to obstruction of justice and was sentenced to three years in prison for helping to cover up the murder of a Klan recruit his father, the group’s leader, is accused of committing in November 2008.

Shreveport • Jan. 21, 2010

Daniel Earl Danforth, 31, was convicted of a civil rights conspiracy, use of fire in the commission of a federal felony and obstruction of justice after he and others allegedly burned a cross near an interracial couple’s residence in October 2008.

MAINE

Portland • Feb. 2, 2010

Swastikas were spray-painted on four headstones in a cemetery.

MASSACHUSETTS

Plymouth • March 22, 2010

A civil rights injunction was obtained against alleged white supremacist skinhead Michael Watkins and his girlfriend Emily Putney prohibiting them from violating the rights of any person in the state based on race, national origin or religion. Watkins and Putney allegedly violently threatened a Jewish man and prevented him from returning to his car at a supermarket parking lot in Wareham in September 2009.

Worburn • March 19, 2010

A civil rights injunction was obtained against two women, Nichole Coscia and Sarah Blackwell, who allegedly attacked a man on the subway in January because of his perceived sexual orientation. The injunction prohibits Coscia and Blackwell from violating the rights of the man and any other people in the state based on sexual orientation.

MICHIGAN

Auburn Hills • March 14, 2010

Racist and anti-gay fliers from the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations were placed inside plastic Easter eggs and tossed onto lawns.

MISSISSIPPI

Moss Point • March 1, 2010

A noose was left in a firefighter’s living quarters at the fire department.

MISSOURI

Columbia • Feb. 26, 2010

Two University of Missouri students, Sean Fitzgerald, 19, and Zachary Tucker, 21, were arrested on suspicion of hate crimes and possible felony tampering for allegedly scattering cotton balls outside the Black Culture Center on campus.

Puxico • Jan. 25, 2010

Racist graffiti was spray-painted on an interracial couple’s residence and their car was set afire.

MONTANA

Billings • Jan. 16, 2010

Fliers from the neo-Nazi

Creativity Movement were placed on the windshields of vehicles parked at a fundraiser for multicultural events.

NEW JERSEY

Brick • Feb. 8, 2010

Vincent P. Johnson, 60, was charged with four counts of interfering with the exercise of civil rights and five counts of making interstate threatening communications and using a computer with the intent to place a person in reasonable fear of death or bodily injury, also called cyberstalking. Between November 2006 and February 2009, Johnson allegedly sent threatening e-mails to employees of Latino advocacy groups.

Edison • Jan. 29, 2010

A 17-year-old youth was convicted of juvenile delinquency charges of third-degree aggravated assault and second-degree bias intimidation in connection with an alleged bias-motivated assault of a Jewish man in September.

Washington Township • March 14, 2010

A 16-year-old boy was charged with harassment and bias intimidation for allegedly using the intercom system in the local Walmart to ask all black people to leave the store immediately.

NEW MEXICO

Santa Fe • Jan. 19, 2010

Swastikas were drawn on a mayoral candidate’s campaign sign.

NEW YORK

Brooklyn • Jan. 12, 2010

Joseph Berlin, 42, was charged with aggravated harassment and criminal mischief for allegedly shouting, “Repeat after me, all Jews must die!” while chasing a 35-year-old man who was wearing a yarmulke.

Buffalo • Jan. 1, 2010

A group of two women and four men allegedly shouted anti-gay slurs at a lesbian couple and one of the women in the group

allegedly stabbed one of the lesbians in the eye, cheek and arm. On Jan. 26 Suzanne-Deanna Grover, 21, was charged with a hate crime in connection with the incident.

New York • Jan. 14, 2010

Daniel Aleman, 26, and Daniel Rodriguez, 21, were indicted on 14 counts of assault and robbery as a hate crime for allegedly shouting anti-gay epithets and beating a gay man in October.

New York • Feb. 1, 2010

Anti-black graffiti was scrawled on a building and a phone booth in Chinatown in the past two weeks.

New York • March 14, 2010

Swastikas were spray-painted on two front doors of an apartment house.

Port Jefferson • March 31, 2010

William Frank Kelly, 73, was charged with criminal mischief as a hate crime for allegedly pouring motor oil onto the rear entrance of a Jehovah’s Witness hall.

NORTH CAROLINA

Reidsville • March 22, 2010

Fliers from the Traditional Knights of the Ku Klux Klan were left near mailboxes at residences.

OHIO

Nelsonville • Jan. 22, 2010

A threat that black students would be killed on Feb. 2 was scrawled on a restroom wall at Hocking College.

OREGON

Eugene • Feb. 1, 2010

A swastika was spray-painted inside the Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender Queer Alliance office at the University of Oregon.

Eugene • March 21, 2010

Michael David Rister, 34, and Gary Lee Kehm, 32, were arrested in connection with the beating of a Jewish man. Rister was charged with assault and Kehm, who allegedly made anti-Semitic remarks, is charged with assault and intimidation as a bias crime.



Ricky Smyrnes was one of six people charged in Pennsylvania with torturing and fatally stabbing a disabled woman.

Portland • Jan. 15, 2010

Racist fliers from the National Socialist Movement were distributed throughout the city during the Martin Luther King holiday weekend.

PENNSYLVANIA

Greensburg • Feb. 12, 2010

Robert Loren Masters Jr., 36; Ricky Smyrnes, 23; Melvin Knight and Amber Meidinger, both 20; Angela Marinucci, 17, and Peggy Darlene Miller, 27, were charged with homicide, kidnapping, aggravated assault and conspiracy after they allegedly beat and fatally stabbed a disabled woman. The group also allegedly

shaved the woman's hair, painted her face with nail polish, fed her vegetable oil, spices, detergent, medications and urine and then forced her to write a fake suicide note.

Pittsburgh • Jan. 8, 2010

Jared Erjavac, 23, was charged with harassment and ethnic intimidation after he allegedly used racial and ethnic slurs and threatened to kill two bar owners.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Myrtle Beach • Jan. 26, 2010

A piece of cardboard with the letters "KKK," a swastika and a hood drawn on it was found at a Jewish restaurant.

TENNESSEE

Clarksville • March 8, 2010

A burned cross was left on a business's parking lot.

Murfreesboro • Jan. 16, 2010

A sign marking the future site of the city's Islamic Center was spray-painted with the words "not welcome."

Nashville • Feb. 10, 2010

The words "Muslims Go Home" and crosses were spray-painted on the windows and walls of a mosque and a note with ethnic slurs was left at the scene.

TEXAS

Abilene • Feb. 8, 2010

Fliers from the Ku Klux Klan group Klan No. 78 of the United White Knights were left on driveways of residences.

Houston • Jan. 21, 2010

Racist and sexist graffiti was scrawled in a women's dormitory in one of the city's fire stations.

Seabrook • Jan. 17, 2010

Ku Klux Klan fliers were left in driveways of residences.

VIRGINIA

Norfolk • Jan. 19, 2010

Reported white supremacist

Christopher John Brooks, 25, was charged with injury to a church with the intent to instill fear or intimidation because of religion and conspiracy to commit a felony for allegedly putting anti-Semitic and anti-gay stickers on synagogues.

WASHINGTON

Seattle • Jan. 27, 2010

Adam Moore, 24, was charged with nine counts of malicious harassment after he allegedly spray-painted racist and anti-Semitic graffiti on several churches and other buildings, including an Indian tribe office and a market owned by Korean Americans, in July.

WISCONSIN

De Pere • Feb. 25, 2010

White supremacist leaflets were left on vehicles in two parking lots on the campus of St. Norbert College.

Oshkosh • March 1, 2010

White supremacist fliers were left on the campus of the University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh.

Ripon • Jan. 18, 2010

Racist fliers were left on vehicles throughout the city, including local schools and Ripon College.

'Diversity' Through Separation

Fronted by a black woman, a Center for Perpetual Diversity project attacks African Americans as sex-crazed, 'raving madmen'

BY SONIA SCHERR

DURING THE 1920S, MARCUS GARVEY embodied the "back to Africa" movement, promoting black separatism and unity as the path to black empowerment. Now, a white nationalist group has adopted Garvey's idea — only with markedly different motivations.

The Center for Perpetual Diversity (motto: "Save Europe"), a Maryland-based organization that advocates preserving the white race through racial segregation, launched its "Motherland Project" to try to get blacks to leave the United States. Or, in the center's more genteel phrasing, "[The director] of the Center's Motherland Project will find African American pioneers who want to reestablish their roots in Africa. This will hopefully be the beginning of a large project that will reverse the African scattering."

The center says that it will seek grant money to defray relocation costs for people who want to take part in the program. Individuals are also welcome to send a check to help with the "repatriation effort." The center, however, hasn't exactly taken off. The phone number listed on the site is not working. And no one responded to an E-mail from the *Intelligence Report* seeking comment.

The Motherland Project purports to have the best interests of black people at heart. And, indeed, according to its website, it's run by a 52-year-old African-American woman identified as Sharity Ross-Petit, who is pictured standing in front of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C., but about whom no other information is

offered. The project's Web page states that nothing less than a desire for justice drives its mission. "Millions of Africans were wrongfully taken from their homes in Africa to be enslaved in America," it says. "It is our moral obligation to return the descendants of these people, regardless of cost."



Back to Africa: A little-known racist group says its "Motherland Project" is headed by a woman identified as Sharity Ross-Petit.

But the center apparently assumes that potential participants in its back-to-Africa campaign are unable to navigate a website, because elsewhere on the site the center unabashedly defames blacks. In his review of "The Blind Side," for instance, center Director James Schneider (who was scheduled to speak at a meeting this spring of the Council of Conservative Citizens, or CCC, which has described blacks as a "retrograde species of humanity") predicts that the movie will inspire a well-meaning white fam-

ily to befriend a young black man, who will repay them with rape and murder. "What they should say is 'don't try this at home,'" writes Schneider, author of the pro-segregation novel *White Flight*. "Without this warning I am sure that somewhere in America a white family will be destroyed as a direct result of seeing this movie."

Another staffer listed at the center's site is Bob Hoy, its "director of humanitarian activities." The CCC listed Hoy as a member in 1998, the same year he made the headlines for being ejected from a meeting about race hosted by President Clinton following an outburst about whites becoming a minority.

The center also recommends that people take a test to measure their racial biases: "If the results show that you have moderate or extreme bias in favor of whites, you are OK," the website states.

The site also offers a "Dating Guide for Eastern European Ladies." "The Black or Negro is the most important type to beware of," it

says. "You must never let a Negro get you in a place where nobody can see you. The nicest Negro will suddenly turn into a raving madman when he is alone with you and does not get what he wants." The dating guide continues in a similar vein about Hispanics, Jews, Muslims and Italians that are "dark or greasy."

It also warns that "men who have long hair or wear too much jewelry usually are not good either." No word on whether they, too, should be repatriated, or, if so, to where. ▲

FILLING THE VOID CONTINUED FROM PAGE 45

America." The party's two-paragraph position on space declares, "The A3P will restore America to its former glory." The complex subject of foreign aid merits three paragraphs.

Immigration, however, gets 16 paragraphs. Among other things, the A3P implies that undocumented immigrants in federal prisons are violent, failing to mention that most of them are serving time for immigration and other nonviolent offenses.

Johnson hopes to find people who agree with these positions to serve as A3P leaders in every state. Initially, however, the goal is try to qualify as a political party in states with the easiest regulations, such as Florida, Johnson said on "Political Cesspool." He added that he hopes to have A3P candidates running in each of Florida's 25 congress-

sional districts, even if they don't live in the Sunshine State. That's theoretically possible because the Constitution only requires that a candidate for the U.S. House or Senate "when elected, be an inhabitant of the state."

And Johnson recently disclosed that he plans to contribute a "generous sum" to establish a nonprofit offshoot of A3P that would steer clear of being a political organization. He said the A3P also will create a political action committee (or PAC) to organize, finance and manage the political campaigns of white nationalists running under various party affiliations. "These candidates will use the mainstream parties as vehicles to challenge the mainstream parties," the A3P website says.

Is William Johnson's new political effort — the latest in three decades

of essentially fruitless racist activism — significant? Longtime racist icon Tom Metzger, who heads the neo-Nazi White Aryan Resistance from his home in Warsaw, Ind., is skeptical. "Every right wing thing he has tried has failed," he wrote in January. "Anything new he has started will most likely fail."

But to hear Johnson tell it on "Political Cesspool," A3P is positioned to grow. "Our positions are reasonable and moral and everybody can understand them and accept them," he said. Be that as it may, the reality is that Johnson has assembled a team of veteran white supremacist organizers and propagandists and seems to be bringing in still more. He has money. And he is catering to a growing American rage that could bring him some of the first political victories he has known. ▲

SEAN STRIPPI/IMAGES

FROM WWW.PERPETUALDIVERSITY.COM

The SPLC *Intelligence Report* Offers New Online Investigative Resources

The *Intelligence Report* is offering new **free online resources** to help law enforcement track extremist activity in their communities and conduct criminal investigations. Check out our new website and see all that we have to offer. **www.intelligencereport.org**



Ever seen tattoos like these while on duty?
Everything you wanted to know about
Racist Skinheads and more is available
on our new website.

Learn more about our FREE TRAININGS tailored for individual local, state and federal law enforcement agencies. Request training online.
intelligencereport.org/training

Intelligence Files

intelligencereport.org/files

Read our in-depth profiles about hate movement leaders and their groups. Learn what motivates them, how they act and how your community may be affected.

Hatewatch.org

intelligencereport.org/blog

Don't wait for the printed edition to get updates about hate groups and extremists. Read our online Hatewatch blog for current events in the world of hate. And subscribe to our free e-newsletter *Hatewatch Weekly*.

Interactive Hate Map

intelligencereport.org/hatemap

Find detailed information about hate groups and their activities in your area.

Intelligence Report

WE'RE MORE THAN A MAGAZINE

Receive a FREE SUBSCRIPTION to *Intelligence Report* magazine: **www.intelligencereport.org/subscribe**