

INSIDE THE DHS: FORMER TOP ANALYST SAYS AGENCY BOWED TO POLITICAL PRESSURE



Intelligence Report

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THAT
AGAINST
ISLAM

TEN YEARS AFTER THE 9/11 ATTACKS ON THE U.S., A SECOND WAVE OF ANTI-MUSLIM HATRED IS SWEEPING THE COUNTRY. THIS TIME, THE OUTRAGE SEEMS LARGELY GINNED UP BY POLITICIANS AND OTHERS SEEKING TO CAPITALIZE ON AMERICANS' FEARS

Truth or Consequences

BY MARK POTOK



THIS MARCH, FIVE MEMBERS OF the Alaska Peacemakers Militia were arrested and charged with plotting to murder or kidnap police officers and judges if their leader, then fleeing prosecution on a weapons charge, were caught. Already, they had amassed an arsenal that included a .50-caliber machine gun, grenades and a grenade launcher,

and dozens of high-powered assault rifles.

A year before that, nine members of another antigovernment “Patriot” group, the Hutaree Militia, were charged with seditious conspiracy and attempted use of weapons of mass destruction. They allegedly planned to murder one police officer, then use missiles and bombs to kill hundreds more at the funeral.

And in May 2010, between the two militia plots, two police officers in West Memphis, Ark., were murdered during a routine traffic stop by a pair of “sovereign citizens,” a type of Patriot who believes that the government has no power to levy laws or taxes.

Are we safe from the threat of right-wing terrorism? As the Patriot movement that wreaked so much havoc in the 1990s comes roaring back and hate groups soar to record levels, is the American population being protected adequately?

Daryl Johnson says no.

Johnson is the former lead analyst of non-Islamic domestic terrorism at the U.S. Department of Homeland Security (DHS) — the agency charged with developing intelligence, as opposed to criminal cases, about terror on U.S. soil. He is also the lead author of the report on right-wing extremism that DHS sent to police agencies in early 2009, but ultimately pulled back after a number of conservative groups and politicians complained that it tarred all on the political right.

That wasn’t so, of course. In fact, the report was spot on, pointing out the resurgence of the American radical right and attributing it, in part, to the election of a black president and the sorry state of the nation’s economy without demonizing anyone. But DHS Secretary Janet Napolitano was assailed by conservative commentators like Michelle Malkin, politicians like U.S. Rep. Pete Hoekstra (R-Mich.), and groups like the American Legion, which was angry that Johnson had pointed out that extremists were interested in recruiting returning war veterans.

That much has been publicly known since 2009, when the report was leaked and, after a brief initial defense, pulled back by Napolitano.

Now, in an explosive interview with the *Intelligence Report*, Johnson says that DHS went further. He says the department’s press office mischaracterized his report as unauthorized — even though it had passed through all proper channels. He says the department instituted restrictive policies in the aftermath of the leak that have effectively ended the issuing of any of the dozens of important reports it used to prepare for law enforcement agencies annually. He says that he left the agency in dismay at the lack of support, and was followed by almost all the members of his domestic terrorism team, leaving a single analyst where there had been six. What it all amounted to, Johnson says, is “they ended up gutting my unit.”

Although Johnson, who describes himself as “personifying conservatism,” has left DHS, he remains worried about the threat of domestic terrorism. And he is not alone.

Last year, FBI Director Robert Mueller testified to Congress that “home-grown and lone-wolf extremists,” including domestic jihadists, had come to constitute a threat as serious as Al Qaeda. More recently, *Harper’s Magazine*, citing the Muslim Public Affairs Council, said in its May issue that there had been 10 confirmed “terrorist plots against the United States perpetrated by Muslims in 2010,” while 25 came from non-Muslims.

A number of stories in this issue reflect continuing trouble from the domestic radical right — articles on the ironically named Alaska Peacemakers Militia, on sovereign citizens’ encounters with police, and many more.

“These incidents are starting to add up,” Johnson points out in our interview. “Yet our legislators, politicians and national leaders don’t appear too concerned about this. So my greatest fear is that domestic terrorists in this country will somehow become emboldened to the point of carrying out a mass-casualty attack, because they perceive that no one is being vigilant about the threat from within. This is what keeps me up at night.” ▲

CORRECTION

Due to a transcription error, a story in the Winter 2010 issue of the *Intelligence Report* misquoted former Arizona Sheriff Richard Mack speaking at the Freedom Action National Conference last August. Mack did not say that he hoped that a sheriff would “take out some IRS agents.” He said: “My dear friends, I pray for the day that when the first sheriff of this country knows and understands his duty well enough, that he’ll be the first one to fire the next shot around the world and arrest a couple of IRS agents.” We sincerely regret the error.



34 Anger on the Land

Antigovernment “Patriots” and their friends, including a local sheriff, are angrily resisting a new rule limiting public access to a national forest in southwest Colorado. The struggle, one of several occurring across the American West, is reminiscent of earlier land-use battles and has some worrying about a return to political violence.

ON THE COVER

14 The Jihad Against Islam

Ten years after the 9/11 Al Qaeda attacks on the United States, a second wave of anti-Muslim hatred is sweeping the country. This time, however, the outrage seems to have been largely ginned up by politicians and others seeking to capitalize on Americans’ fears. Ten of the country’s leading Muslim-bashers are profiled in an accompanying story (p. 20) about the inner circle of this movement.



38 Inside the DHS

Daryl Johnson was the lead domestic terrorism analyst at the U.S. Department of Homeland Security for six years. But he left after a report he authored warning of a resurgent radical right was attacked and the DHS failed to back him. In an interview, Johnson says the DHS bowed to political pressure and may have left the country more vulnerable.



43 Black vs. Blue

A shadowy group of bloggers called the National Black Foot Soldiers Network has been celebrating the killings of white police officers in particularly vicious terms in recent years. A look at their writings suggests that at least some network members emerged from the remnants of other radical black nationalist organizations.

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12 Revolution in Alaska

Members of the Alaska Peacemakers Militia have been arrested and charged with targeting police officers for death — the second such militia plot in a year.



25 Upending the Constitution

As the political season heats up, state legislators are proposing a whole array of laws influenced by ideas from the radical right. Most are flatly unconstitutional.

30 The Unwelcome Guest



The murder of a Latino immigrant in a Pennsylvania coal town was a tragedy. But was the town responsible for the cover-up and slaps on the wrist that followed?

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3 Intelligence Briefs

A black hate group leader predicts spaceships; a would-be bomber has an extensive neo-Nazi background; border vigilantes get death; and other glimpses of extremism.

47 For the Record

A sampling of hate crimes and hate group activities from the first quarter of 2011 is summarized in state-by-state listings.

49 The Last Word

Fox News host Glenn Beck spent the last five years warning frantically about the coming of the end. But it was only Beck's hourglass that was running out.

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.





BLACK SEPARATISTS

Black Extremists Blast U.S. Libya Campaign, Predict Spaceships

They may seem like unrelated events, but the tsunami in Japan and the uprisings in the Arab world are both signs of the approaching apocalypse. So says Nation of Islam (NOI) leader Louis Farrakhan, who also prophesies the imminent arrival of giant spaceships that will avenge black suffering by whisking away the true believers and destroying the rest of humanity.

“Now you may laugh, but in a few days, something is going to wipe the smile and the laugh from your face,” Farrakhan, who heads the nation’s largest black hate group, warned on March 31. President Obama’s decision to intervene militarily on the side of

Libyan rebels trying to topple dictator Muammar Qaddafi will only hasten the reckoning, Farrakhan said.

The black nationalist leader has long considered Qaddafi a friend and ally. In 1972, the longtime Libyan strongman loaned \$3 million to the NOI’s leadership to buy the group’s Chicago headquarters. In 1985, he loaned another \$5 million to NOI to launch a line of beauty products. And in 1996, Qaddafi reportedly tried to give NOI \$1 billion. The donation was fought by the Clinton Administration and apparently never made.

NOI theology, a heterodox and racist version of Islam that describes white people as intrinsically evil, has it that

End times warning: Louis Farrakhan of the Nation of Islam, which has received millions in loans from the Libyan government, said President Obama’s attempts to topple Muammar Qaddafi will hasten the arrival of spaceships that will destroy all white people.

just before the end of times, believers will be transported in small spaceships called “Baby Wheels” to a giant “Mother Wheel,” where they will live. Other divine ships will bomb those left behind — principally, white people — to smithereens.

One of the ways Farrakhan knows the end time is near: Governments around the world — but not the United States — are releasing files on UFOs, “informing their people of the reality of what is above their heads.”

“Who do you think then that you’re dealing with, if you’re the best in the world but you’re thousands of years behind the technology on those wheels?

HATE IN THE MAINSTREAM

“We didn’t have a problem with the Klan in Yazoo City.”

— Mississippi Gov. **HALEY BARBOUR**, quoted in a **Dec. 27** *Weekly Standard* article, arguing that the white supremacist Citizens Councils founded in the 1950s to battle school desegregation were a good thing that kept the Klan out of his hometown

“They are animals, yes, but a lower form than the dog, as they won’t learn to change their behavior for a carrot or a reward.”

— Columnist **DEBBIE SCHLUSSEL**, characterizing Muslims in a **Jan. 14** blog post

“A sexual degenerate, an America-hating communist and a criminal betrayer of even the interest of his own people.”

— **BRETT REESE**, a member of Colorado’s Greeley-Evans District 6 Board of Education, reading on his radio show an editorial on Martin Luther King Jr. by neo-Nazi Kevin Alfred Strom on repeated occasions in the weeks prior to the **Jan. 17** King holiday

“[W]hat the Supreme Court has set up is the greatest civil war between the church and the gay community.”

— Rev. **ANTHONY EVANS** of Washington, D.C., reacting on **Jan. 20** to the Supreme Court’s refusal to hear a case challenging the D.C. City Council’s decision to legalize same-sex marriage

“The superstition, savagery and sexual immorality of native Americans [made] them morally disqualified from sovereign control of American soil.”

— **BRYAN FISCHER** of the American Family Association, in a **Feb. 8** blog post that was later taken down

“Use live ammunition.”

— Indiana Deputy Atty. Gen. **JEFF COX**, who was later fired, in a **Feb. 19** tweet on the best way to clear pro-union demonstrators out of Wisconsin’s Capitol building

“Leftists and jihadists have thrown in together ... not because they have anything at all in common other than that they hate conservatives and they don’t care that much for Christianity.”

— U.S. Rep. **LOUIE GOHMERT** (R-Texas), repeating a conspiracy theory popularized by Fox News’ Glenn Beck, in a **March 9** appearance on American Family Radio

“If shooting these immigrating feral hogs works, maybe we have found a [solution] to our illegal immigration problem.”

— Kansas State Rep. **VIRGIL PECK** (R), in remarks during a **March 9** House Appropriations Committee hearing for which he later apologized at the insistence of Kansas Gov. Sam Brownback

“I wish we had a Siberia so we could ship them all off to freeze to death and die.”

— Freshman New Hampshire State Rep. **MARTIN HARTY** (R), 91, referring to the mentally ill in remarks he later described as “kidding” but for which he resigned, as reported in the Concord (N.H.) Monitor on **March 11**



Malik Zulu Shabazz

I’m here to tell you, you are dealing with God. You have no weapon that can handle what is already prepared to take you out.”

Although Farrakhan earlier issued warnings to President Obama that he should not intervene in the Libyan conflict, he said responsibility for the U.S. involvement doesn’t rest entirely with the nation’s first black president (who, he said, he loves like a brother).

“The stupid mistake that we make is to think that the president is the supreme power,” Farrakhan said. “Never was. Money is the power in America. ... All of you know what I’m talking about, Zionist control of the government of the United States of America.”

In a much less forgiving mood was Malik Zulu Shabazz, leader of the New Black Panther Party (NBPP), who once was an NOI member and often aligns himself with Farrakhan. The Southern Poverty Law Center lists both NOI and NBPP as hate groups.

Ripping into the president on March 23, Shabazz said in an online presentation: “Whatever Barack Obama is doing, he represents the white man. He represents the ideology of the white man, he represents the policies of the white man, he represents the CIA setup, sabotage, lie on a African leader and bomb that man like he [is] George Bush. He represents the white man. And his wife should leave the nigger tonight. She should walk out, and his beautiful daughters should walk out, on this bamboozling, buck-dancing Tom,” Shabazz raged.

“Only thing you see in Libya is just a big case of police brutality. We see the

way they [police] team up on us and run us down all the time. Sometimes, it's a nigger police chief that's in the lead. This time, it's a nigger police chief in the lead named Barack Obama. But it makes no difference, the black man is on the run, named Qaddafi. We pray for his safety and that he survives."

ANTIGOVERNMENT EXTREMISM

'Sovereign Citizens' Fight the Law — and the Law Wins

It has been a losing season for self-professed "sovereign citizens" trying to claim that government has no jurisdiction over them. They keep digging deeper holes for themselves in quixotic confrontations with authority over everything from taxes to traffic tickets to code enforcement. But that has not been enough to slow the growth of the antigovernment movement.

In one of the first cases of its kind, 12 sovereigns in **North Georgia** charged with stealing properties worth millions of dollars — including mansions and a strip mall in **Atlanta's** wealthy Buckhead neighborhood — are being prosecuted under the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations (RICO) Act. RICO laws were originally drafted to fight organized crime but now are sometimes applied to other forms of criminal enterprise.

Authorities say the suspects fabricated quitclaim deeds transferring ownership of the properties to themselves, then filed the phony paperwork with the courts. They also filed baseless property liens and lawsuits against government officials who tried to have the documents removed.

The Georgia property theft cases are only the most recent manifestation of a movement that has swelled rapidly in the last two years, affecting most major law enforcement agencies. Since the murder by sovereigns of two **West Memphis, Ark.**, police officers last spring, the movement has drawn more and more attention. Here's a sampling of other recent sovereign cases:

Tax evasion

In March, self-declared sovereign citizens Tony and Micaela Dutson of **Tigard, Ore.**, each received 10 years in prison for evading \$7 million in federal taxes through the use of fraudulent trusts and bogus financial instruments, and for filing lawsuits and liens against the investigators who pursued them. In January, a federal grand jury in **Detroit** indicted David A. Cusumano and Henry Nino on 14 counts of obstructing Internal Revenue Service laws, including the use of worthless "bills of exchange" to pay their taxes. **Denver** airline pilot Jack Wharton Thomas, who had argued that his income didn't qualify as taxable "wages," was sentenced in January to 10 years' probation for tax evasion and fraud. A federal judge permanently barred Curtis L. Morris of **Elizabeth, Colo.**, from preparing tax returns for others after finding that he filed 149 fraudulent federal returns on behalf of clients claiming \$56 million in refunds. The scheme relied on the "redemption" theory, a sovereign belief that taxpayers can access secret Treasury accounts containing millions of dollars.

'Paper terrorism'

Three sovereigns — one who had been ticketed for driving without a license and two who had been arrested for trespassing at a foreclosed house — bombarded police, government officials and bank executives in **Ulster County, N.Y.**, with bogus liens and fraudulent invoices totaling \$1.24 trillion. Richard Ulloa was found guilty of seven counts of mail fraud in the case in December, and in January, Jeffrey Burfeindt and Ed-George Parenteau pleaded guilty to mail fraud charges. Andrew Isaac Chance of **Clinton, Md.**, was charged with filing a bogus multibillion-dollar

lien against a government employee and filing fraudulent tax returns seeking \$900,000 in refunds. Chance had already served a 27-month sentence after a 2007 conviction for filing improper tax returns. Roderick and Amber Moore of **Kansas City** pleaded guilty in January to filing masses of false sovereign-style paperwork in an attempt to discharge \$220,000 in debts. Michael Howard Reed and Gregory A. Davis, who claimed to be members of an unrecognized Native American "tribe" — the so-called Little Shell Nation — were sentenced to prison in **Bismarck, N.D.**, for filing false liens against a federal judge and prosecutor. Reed was also convicted of threatening a judge.

'Independent' jurisdictions

An **Easton, Conn.**, woman who says she is a member of the Moorish Science Temple, Fabiola Is Ra El Bey, in January declared her home an independent country — and thus not subject to taxation or foreclosure. Two **Childersburg,**

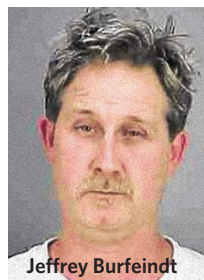
S.C., men, Gary Wayne Presley and Michael Donald Wilsey — both of whom claim to be citizens of the Central Assemblies Union of the Several States of the Union of the States of the United States of America — were arrested for filing false foreclosure documents against another man's property, conspiracy and using "sham legal process" in a case that began with traffic violations. In February, a **Sarasota, Fla.**, homicide detective, Tom Laughlin, was fired after renouncing his U.S. citizenship and claiming he was no longer subject to federal law and not required to pay taxes.

Code Enforcement

In **Natrona County, Wyo.**, officials battled for months to force Ed Corrigan to clear debris, broken-down vehicles and other junk from the



Ed Parenteau



Jeffrey Burfeindt



Richard Ulloa

property he occupies. Corrigan refused to recognize the authority of the county and court, though he appeared in court and represented himself. He has refused to pay a \$143,840 fine levied by a judge against him in May 2010, as well as an additional \$52,120 in October. In November, the county finally decided to clean up Corrigan's land and send him the bill. But a contractor suspended the work four months later after finding toxic asbestos among the debris.

Squatters

A **Clayton County, Ga.**, SWAT team in March evicted sovereign citizens Gideon and Deborah Israel from a home they had occupied for more than a year, after the couple flooded the county with fraudulent paperwork seeking to block their eviction.

Traffic tickets

William Foust of **Kane County, Ariz.**, fought a \$115 traffic ticket in December, claiming state and local authorities had no authority over him. He ended up in jail on contempt of court charges, with his fine increased to \$1,052. Also in December, Douglas Baldwin of **Del Norte County, Calif.**, claimed sovereign status and turned a traffic violation into jail time by violating a court order and resisting a peace officer. Christopher Cannon of **Lake County, Ind.**, went to jail pending trial after claiming that as a member of the Moorish Nation, he wasn't subject to laws requiring a valid license tag on his car.

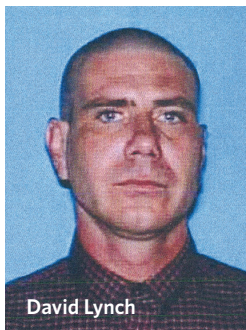
EXTREMIST VIOLENCE

Racist Skinhead Leader Slain in California Home Invasion

White supremacist David Lynch, founder of one of the nation's oldest racist skinhead groups, was found shot to death in his home in the Sacramento, Calif., suburb of Citrus Heights on March 2. Lynch's girlfriend, five months

pregnant with their child, was shot in the leg but survived. Local news reports said that two children, apparently uninjured, were believed to have been inside the home at the time of the shooting.

The day of the attack, tattoo artist and musician Charles Gilbert "Charlie Boots" Demar III, described as Lynch's friend and white supremacist ally, was taken into custody. Demar faces "a multitude of felony narcotics charges" and up to life in prison under the state's three-strikes statute, said Citrus Grove police spokesman Lee Harrington.



David Lynch

But Demar has not been charged with Lynch's murder, which is still considered an open homicide investigation, Harrington told the *Intelligence Report*. Demar is the lead singer of Stormtroop 16, a white-power rock band.

Lynch was a clever and charismatic racist skinhead organizer whose history of racist activism dates back to the late 1980s, when he became the eastern states coordinator for American Front, a nationwide racist skinhead coalition modeled after Britain's National Front. He was also a brash self-aggrandizer — and reckless, getting arrested repeatedly in the 1990s for such petty offenses as stealing beer and failing to pay parking tickets. Twice, he was caught in a car full of weapons, including machetes, pistols and AK-47 assault rifles, on his way to widely publicized white power demonstrations.

After American Front's power waned in the mid-1990s, Lynch lived for a time in Canada, then relocated to Sacramento, where he gradually assumed control of the Sacto Skins, one of the oldest skinhead gangs in the country.

In his second incarnation, Lynch positioned himself as

a kind of pan-Aryan peacemaker, dedicated to uniting quarrelsome skinhead crews and promoting the white supremacist movement above his own celebrity status. He sought to unite skinhead crews in northern and southern California, Utah and Florida under a revived American Front franchise.

DOMESTIC TERRORISM

MLK Day Bomb Suspect Has Extensive White Supremacist Background

Residents of Spokane, Wash., are breathing easier since the arrest of Kevin Harpham, the 36-year-old white supremacist charged with planting a powerful homemade bomb along the route of the city's Martin Luther King Jr. Day parade.

City sanitation workers found the bomb, concealed in a backpack, less than an hour before the Jan. 17 march was set to begin. Disarmed without incident, the bomb was nonetheless "viable and could have caused personal injury or death," according to a joint report by the FBI and Department of Homeland Security. Designed to be detonated remotely, it contained shrapnel — fishing weights — coated in rat poison.

A person familiar with the investigation told the *Seattle Times* that the FBI was able to link Harpham to the bombing attempt in part through his purchase of a remote car starter and other electronics. In late March, two weeks after

Harpham's arrest, federal agents seized 75 items left in a remote area near the suspect's home. Details of the items weren't disclosed, but forensics tests were being conducted.

It's possible that Harpham gained experience with explosives while stationed with an artillery unit at Fort



Kevin Harpham

Lewis in the mid-1990s. (That's the same place where a military investigator told the *Intelligence Report* that he had identified some 320 racist extremists in the Army ranks around 2005.) In 2004, he was a member of the National Alliance, for decades the preeminent neo-Nazi group in the United States, according to intelligence gathered by the *Report*. He frequently contributed financially to a white supremacist newspaper called *The Aryan Alternative*.

And, using the screen name "Joe Snuffy," he wrote more than 1,000 posts on the neo-Nazi Vanguard News Network website. Many of the posts reveal a sustained interest in bombs. Harpham also wrote that he was influenced by the writings of Edgar Steele, a neo-Nazi lawyer who faces trial for attempting to hire a hit man to kill his wife. In 2006, Harpham posted, "I can't wait for the day that I snap."

Just one day before the attempted bombing, Harpham invited Craig Cobb, a fugitive running from hate speech charges in Canada, to stay in his home in the northeast Washington town of Addy. Cobb runs the white supremacist website Podblanc, which features homemade videos of neo-Nazis attacking minorities. "Rosa Parks was a shitskin communist," Cobb recorded himself saying at Parks' funeral. "I'm here to celebrate her death."

The Spokane area has a long history of white supremacist activity. Racist extremists set off multiple bombs there in the 1980s and 1990s, including three in 1996 that damaged a Planned Parenthood center, the Spokane City Hall and a branch office of the local newspaper, *The Spokesman-Review*. This January, neo-Nazis protested outside a Mexican restaurant with signs saying "This is White land" and "We want you out of here." The night before this year's Martin Luther King Jr. Day parade, 15 neo-Nazis demonstrated near a civil rights center in Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, about 35 miles from Spokane.

Harpham is charged with attempting to use a weapon of mass destruction and unauthorized



possession of an unregistered explosive device. He pleaded not guilty to both charges and is being held without bail. If convicted, he could face life in prison and a \$250,000 fine. Justice Department officials were considering adding federal hate crime charges.

NATIVIST CRIME

Border Vigilantes Get Death in Arizona Double Murder

Two of the three border vigilantes charged in the 2009 home-invasion murders of a Latino man and his 9-year-old daughter in Arivaca, Ariz., have been sentenced to death.

In February, an Arizona jury sentenced Shawna Forde to death for the slayings of Raul Flores and his daughter, Brisenia Flores. A second suspect, Jason "Gunny" Bush, was sentenced to death in March.

Forde, 43, founded and headed Minuteman American Defense (MAD), one of hundreds of vigilante citizen border-patrol groups that have sprung up since 2005. According to prosecutors, she, Bush and local MAD member Albert Robert Gaxiola dressed as law enforcement officers and invaded the victims' trailer, where they expected to find drugs and cash to fund MAD's operations (they did not). On Forde's order, Bush shot Flores, his wife, Gina Gonzalez, and their daughter, who was

Child-killer Shawna Forde (left), the founder of Minuteman American Defense, was sentenced to death in the home invasion murder of a Latino man and his 9-year-old daughter. So was Jason Bush, one of her two accomplices.

sleeping on a couch with her puppy. Gonzalez, who survived, managed to return fire with her own gun and drive off the attackers. "Oh my God," she can be heard shouting on a 911 tape. "I can't believe they killed my family."

Bush, 36, was found guilty in late March. He confessed to the shootings the day he was arrested but was not offered a plea deal and chose to plead not guilty. Acknowledging that the evidence of his guilt was "overwhelming," his attorneys declined to offer a defense, focusing instead on sparing him from the death penalty.

Bush is said to have longstanding connections with white supremacist groups. He has been charged with two 1997 homicides in his home state of Washington: second-degree murder for stabbing a homeless Mexican man to death and first-degree murder for killing a white man who Bush allegedly called a "race traitor." No trial has been set for those crimes.

Gaxiola, 44, the other alleged accomplice, was to stand trial in June.

Forde was once something of a starlet in vigilante circles, working with vigilante leaders like Chris Simcox, founder of the now-dissolved Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, and Jim Gilchrist,

founder of the Minuteman Project, and appearing at events with American Border Patrol head Glenn Spencer.

Most of her colleagues disavowed Forde the moment her arrest was announced. But there were exceptions. Laine Lawless, the eccentric director of a hate group called Border Guardians, continued to champion Forde and repeatedly disrupted court proceedings. J.T. Ready, the neo-Nazi founder of numerous border vigilante groups and a friend of immigrant-bashing Arizona State Senate President Russell Pearce, didn't even bother to suggest that Forde was innocent.

"I would like to personally thank Shawna Forde for doing the job the U.S. government won't do itself," Ready wrote in July 2009. "Instead of getting locks and cold steel bars, Shawna should be presented with the key to the city where she took out the trash."

ANTI-GAY PROPAGANDA

Murder of Ugandan Again Focuses Spotlight on U.S. Gay-Bashers — Temporarily

David Kato Kisule, the leading gay-rights activist in what may be the world's most virulently anti-gay nation, Uganda, was beaten to death with a hammer in his home outside Kampala on Jan. 26. The murder happened just three months after a local magazine, *Rolling Stone*, published the names of 100 "homos" under the banner "Hang Them!" — with Kato's photo prominently displayed on the front page.

Scornful attention immediately turned to the contingent of American anti-gay religious crusaders led by Scott Lively, who made a widely criticized visit to Uganda in March 2009 to stir up support for a proposed law that

would impose the death penalty or life in prison for certain homosexual acts. (Existing law in Uganda subjects those convicted of homosexual acts to imprisonment for up to 14 years.)

Lively's presentation at an anti-gay conference was laden with incendiary slanders of gay people — that they prey on children, that they "brainwash" people to keep them from becoming heterosexual, and that they seek to destroy traditional marriage. Lively also said that gays helped orchestrate the Holocaust as Hitler's most loyal and vicious servants — a theme of his debunked book *The Pink Swastika: Homosexuality in the Nazi Party*.

Kato's murder threatened to bring down a fresh cascade of international condemnation on Uganda just as its Feb. 18 national elections approached, with international aid hanging in the balance. But the condemnations of Lively



FEB. 19, 2011 • MONTGOMERY, ALA.

Hundreds of neo-Confederates, reenactors and others joined a march and rally organized by the Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV), a Southern heritage group, to unapologetically "CELEBRATE THE BEGINNING OF THE CONFEDERACY." The gathering, which included the reenactment of the inauguration of Jefferson Davis as the president of the Confederate States of America, came as part of a series of events to mark the 150th anniversary of the Civil War and was meant to ensure that the war "is remembered and portrayed in the right way." What was meant by the "right way" was evidenced by the SCV website promoting the event, which insisted that "the South was right!" and claimed that "there is no difference between the invasion of France by Hitler and the invasion of the Southern states by Lincoln." Although the marchers took the end of the same route as the Selma-to-Montgomery voting rights march in 1965, no mention whatsoever was made of slavery, which SCV members claim had nothing to do with the Civil War — an assertion that has been repeatedly debunked by virtually all serious historians of the period.

Updates on Extremism and The Law

DEC. 16 Fifty alleged **white supremacist** gang members in **Orange County, Calif.**, were arrested following a two-year federal probe dubbed “Operation Stormfront.” Thirty were charged with extortion, conspiracy, solicitation of aggravated assault and murder, criminal fraud or illegal firearms and narcotics sales, while the rest were charged with lesser crimes. Those arrested included members of the **Aryan Brotherhood**, **La Miranda Punks**, **West Coast Costa Mesa Skins**, **Nazi Low Riders**, **O.C. Skins** and **Public Enemy Number One**.

DEC. 21 A federal judge in **New Jersey** sentenced **neo-Nazi** blogger and shock-jock radio host Harold C. “Hal” Turner to 33 months in prison for using his blog to threaten three federal judges, less the eight months Turner had served while awaiting trial. Still facing **Connecticut** state charges for threatening officials in 2009, Turner was allowed by a court there to fire his attorney and take on a public defender.

JAN. 14 **Kentucky’s** intermediate appellate court overturned a \$1.3 million judgment against Ron Edwards, former imperial wizard of the **Imperial Klans of America**. The court found insufficient evidence to support a state jury’s 2008 conclusion that Edwards bore some responsibility for the 2006 beating by several IKA members of a 16-year-old boy they mistakenly thought was Latino. The Southern Poverty Law Center, which represented the victim, later asked the Kentucky Supreme Court to reinstate the original verdict.

JAN. 26 **Jacques Pluss**, a former academic who claimed to have infiltrated a **neo-Nazi** group as part of his research but later turned out to be

an enthusiastic supporter, was arrested by **New Jersey** State Police for sending threatening E-mail messages to Abraham Foxman, national director of the anti-racist Anti-Defamation League. The one-time **National Socialist Movement** member was charged with intimidation, weapons violations and contempt of court, and released on \$25,000 bail.

MAR. 18 A federal jury in **North Carolina** convicted Bernard von NotHaus, who long sold an alternative currency to members of the **anti-government “Patriot” movement**, of manufacturing counterfeit coins with the intent to defraud. Von NotHaus, who faces up to 25 years in prison, advertised his currency as an inflation-proof alternative to U.S. dollars. Federal authorities later moved to confiscate seven tons of coins made of a variety of precious metals and worth an estimated \$7 million.

MAR. 25 Samuel Lynn Davis of **Idaho** pleaded guilty in a **Nevada** federal courtroom to 31 counts of bank fraud and money laundering, completing the fall of a man who had boasted of not filing a tax return since 1998. Davis, 56, is an antigovernment “sovereign citizen” who hawked the so-called “redemption” scam that claims that participants can get millions from the government by filing certain documents. An elder in the **Guardians of the Free Republics**, Davis faces up to 20

years in prison on each count when he is sentenced in late June.

MAR. 30 Four **South Texans** said to be members of the **Southern White Soldier Gang** — a reputed spinoff of the **Aryan Brotherhood** prison gang — have been charged in the March 23 murder of a 25-year-old man, believed to be a gang rival. The **Hardin County** sheriff said that Kenny Don Stanley

of **Vidor** confessed to the shooting, while Kristopher Leigh Guidry of **Humble**, Tanner Lynn Bourque of **Bridge City** and Vickie Starks Fitts of **Hull** admitted to participating.

APR. 7 Brandon Lee Hall, a member of the **Aryan Knights Brotherhood**, was sentenced in **Atlanta** to 30 years in prison for

possession of weapons and explosives. Hall was arrested a year earlier with a machete, handguns, black powder ball-bearing rounds, a possible bomb and a map of **Austin, Texas**. He also had an ominous note that read, “I’ll get a chance at being famous.”

APR. 7 Four **Hardy, Ark.**, men were indicted on federal civil rights charges for allegedly tossing a Molotov cocktail into the home of an interracial couple on Jan. 14. If convicted, **Jason Barnwell** faces up to 85 years in prison, while **Gary Dodson**, **Jake Murphy** and **Dustin Hammond** could receive 70. The couple was unhurt. Court documents describe Dodson and Barnwell as **white supremacists**.



Jacques Pluss



... male homosexuality has not traditionally been adult to adult, it's been adult to teenager. ... The gay movement is an evil institution. The goal of the gay movement is to defeat the marriage-based society and replace it with the culture of sexual promiscuity."

As of April, the harsh 2009 anti-gay legislation — with the death penalty provision intact — was still alive in the current session of the Ugandan Parliament. Sponsor David Bahati reportedly is willing to consider bargaining to remove the death-penalty provision.



Women of Westboro: Shirley Phelps (far left) and her sister Margie Phelps, members of the Westboro Baptist Church, speak at one of hundreds of press conferences held to claim that God is killing U.S. soldiers because America is a "fag-enabling" nation.

scheduled trial was postponed twice, though officials gave no explanation.

Kato reportedly had been beaten numerous times since coming out openly as a gay man, including, allegedly, at the hands of police. Animosity toward gays in Uganda runs so high that the Anglican priest invited to preside over Kato's funeral insulted the dead man — shouting that Kato was worse than a beast, because animals at least know the difference between a male and a female — and then refused to complete the ceremony, instead calling on gays to "repent," according to media reports.

In videos of his presentation in Uganda, Lively is seen stating that gays are "looking for other people to prey upon, and that when they see someone from a broken home, it's like they have a flashing neon sign over their head

EXTREMISM IN THE COURTS

Anti-Gay Westboro Baptist Church Wins Free Speech Case

In a case that tested the limits of the First Amendment, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled 8-1 that the Westboro Baptist Church (WBC), a vicious anti-gay hate group, was entitled to continue its practice of picketing funerals, school plays and other public events with signs that read, among other things, "Thank God for AIDS" and "God hates fags."

"Speech is powerful. It can stir people to action, move them to tears of both joy and sorrow, and — as it did here — inflict great pain," wrote Chief Justice John Roberts in the majority opinion. "On the facts before us, we cannot react to that pain by punishing the speaker. ... As a nation we have chosen a different course — to protect even hurtful speech on public issues to ensure that we do not stifle public debate."

Justice Samuel Alito dissented.

The suit began in 2006, when the church picketed the funeral of Lance Cpl.

and of Uganda's atmosphere of retribution against gays were abruptly muted a week later when a houseguest of Kato's, Enoch Sydney Nsubuga Balibagga, confessed to the murder. Nsubuga, described by police as a "known thief" (and, in one report, as a prostitute), reportedly claimed that Kato had agreed to pay him for sex but then did not.

Kato reportedly had bailed Nsubuga out of jail earlier and had allowed Nsubuga to stay at his home.

The arrest took the heat off Lively, although gay-rights activists remained suspicious of the account of the crime put forth by Ugandan authorities. According to the website AfricanActivist.org, Nsubuga's

Matthew Snyder in Maryland. Snyder's father won a \$5 million verdict against WBC, but the judgment was thrown out on appeal, a ruling that was affirmed by the Supreme Court's March ruling.

Founded by Fred Phelps and now led primarily by his daughter Shirley Phelps-Roper, WBC has been picketing since 1991 and began showing up at military funerals in 2005. The group says that God is punishing America for tolerating homosexuality and claims that God has chosen to use improvised explosive devices, or IEDs, to kill American soldiers because of an August 1995 attack on the WBC compound with a small explosive device.

Meanwhile, last Nov. 30, retired Sgt. Ryan Newell, a double-amputee who lost his legs to an IED, was arrested for stalking WBC. Police found his car packed with two handguns, an M4 assault rifle and 90 rounds of ammunition. Newell is charged with felony conspiracy to commit aggravated battery against WBC's leadership.

Other WBC opponents are turning to milder techniques to stop the group from spreading its message of hate. A group of hackers called "Anonymous" took WBC's website offline in late January. And counter-protesters have begun showing up at funerals that WBC says it will target, both to protect the privacy of mourners and to drive the Phelps clan away.

Still, WBC is adept at getting in the last word. In exchange for canceling

planned pickets of the funerals for victims of Jared Loughner, who shot U.S. Rep. Gabrielle Giffords in January, the group bartered for airtime on two radio shows — one based in Phoenix, the other Mike Gallagher's syndicated program. Gallagher has in the past offered similar deals: In 2006, the group called off its planned appearance at the funerals of five Amish girls shot to death in their school in return for time on his show. The next year, WBC canceled plans to picket the funerals of people killed in the Virginia Tech shooting spree in return for three hours of airtime.

"Make no mistake about it," Gallagher said recently in defense of his highly controversial offers. "I have only one goal, and that is to keep the Phelps from picketing."

HATE CRIMES

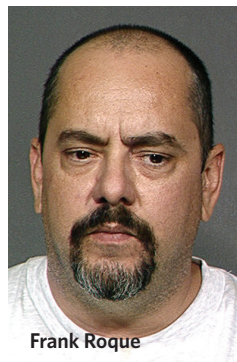
Two Sikhs Murdered in California Were Likely Mistaken for Muslims

In what may have been a hate crime committed by assailants who mistook their victims for Muslims, two elderly Sikh men were shot to death while taking their customary afternoon stroll in Elk Grove, Calif. — the latest evidence of what appears to be a year-long rash of anti-

Muslim hate (see also story, p. 14).

Surinder Singh, 65, died on the street where he was shot on March 4. His friend, Gurmej Atwal, 78, initially survived two gunshot wounds to the

Cut down in California: Navi Kaur remembers her grandfather, Surinder Singh, who was murdered during an afternoon stroll.



Frank Roque

chest, but died of his wounds about six weeks later.

Both men wore the dastars (traditional Sikh turbans) and beards common to men of their faith. Police, who could determine no other motive, suspected the men were victims of a hate crime.

Four months earlier, Harbhajan Singh, a Sikh taxi driver in nearby West

Sacramento, was severely beaten in what was determined to be a hate crime. Pedro Antonio Ramirez, 42, and Johnny Morales, 33, were arrested and pleaded no contest to felony assault. The pair and their wives had left a bar and got into Singh's taxi on Nov. 28, called him a Muslim, made references to Osama bin Laden, and assaulted Singh

with their fists, leaving him bloodied and suffering from facial and spinal fractures. Ramirez accepted a plea bargain of 13 years in prison; Morales, who played a lesser role in the assault, faced up to a year in jail.

Local residents affirmed that Sikhs have often been the target of attacks since 9/11 — even though Sikhs had nothing to do with those attacks. "The turban is a big problem for us," Gurjinder Singh Randhawa, chief editor of the Sikh newspaper *Punjab Mail USA*, told the *Sacramento Bee*. "We look the same as Afghan Taliban — but we are not Taliban."

According to the film documentary "Mistaken Identity: Sikhs in America," there were 295 attacks against Sikhs across the United States in the weeks following 9/11 (when attacks against people believed to be Muslims spiked 1,600%, according to FBI hate crime statistics). The attacks included the murder of Mesa, Ariz., gas station owner Balbir Singh Sodhi on Sept. 15, 2001. Frank Silva Roque, 44, was convicted of first-degree murder in the case. He reportedly told friends and a waitress at a local Applebee's restaurant the day of the 9/11 attacks that he planned to "go out and shoot some towel-heads." ▲



Revolution in Alaska

A young ‘sovereign’ militia leader with ties to key politicians is accused of plotting war against state troopers and judges

BY BOOTH GUNTER AND LEAH NELSON

Facing trial in two days earlier this year, Francis August Schaeffer Cox convened the “command staff” of his Alaska Peacemakers Militia to set his plan into motion.

The 27-year-old militia leader from Fairbanks had been arrested almost a year earlier for approaching a law enforcement officer without revealing that he was armed. His contempt for the legal process was obvious from the start. Cox, who holds antigovernment “sovereign citizen” beliefs, told a court officer that “we know where all the [state] troopers live, we have you outmanned and outgunned and could probably have you all dead in one night.”

It was apparently no idle threat.

By then, authorities allege, Cox had made a momentous decision. He would skip his trial and go underground. He began to prepare the small, trusted group of militiamen for the bloody “war” that could follow. “I know you’re ready to die, but you also have to be ready to kill,” Cox told them.

The alleged plan’s code name was “241” — meaning “two for one.” If he were arrested, two state law enforcement officers or judges would be kidnapped. If he were killed, two targets would be killed. If his house were taken, the houses of two targets would be attacked and burned.

Surveillance had already begun. And the weapons needed to carry out the assaults were stockpiled in secret caches. They included eight pineapple grenades, a grenade launcher, .50-caliber and .30-caliber machine guns,

dozens of high-powered assault rifles and thousands of rounds of ammunition. The signal for the attacks, Cox said, would come via his Twitter account — “00SchaefferCox.”

What Cox didn’t know was that the FBI was recording every word of the Feb. 12 meeting of his “command staff,” and that two FBI informants had infiltrated the ironically named Peacemakers.

On March 10, after a series of additional meetings (also overheard by FBI agents), Cox and four other members of the Fairbanks-area militia were arrested on a host of state and federal charges, including conspiracy to commit murder, kidnapping and arson. Four defendants — Cox, Lonnie and Karen Vernon and Coleman Barney — were held without bail. Bail for the fifth, Michael O. Anderson, was set at \$2 million. All have pleaded not guilty. Barney’s wife Rachel also was charged with harboring Cox while he was a fugitive. In addition, the Vernons stand accused of threatening to kill an IRS agent and the federal judge who oversaw their recent tax evasion case.

The case highlights the growing threat to law enforcement from radicals within the antigovernment “Patriot” movement, which encompasses armed militias as well as “sovereign citizens” who believe the government has no authority over them. The Alaska case also brings to mind a similar plot in Michigan that resulted in nine members of the Hutaree Militia being indicted in March 2010 on charges that included seditious conspiracy and attempted use of weapons of mass destruction. Prosecutors say they

Francis Schaeffer Cox is accused of masterminding a murderous revenge plot aimed at law enforcement and judicial officials. “I know you’re ready to die,” Cox told his followers in comments taped by the FBI, “but you also have to be ready to kill.”

conspired to murder a police officer and then attack the officer’s funeral procession with homemade missiles and bombs, potentially killing hundreds of other officers. The Hutaree leaders hoped to spark a war against the enemy they hated: the U.S. government.

Though it received scant national publicity, the Peacemakers case has raised eyebrows — not just because of the violence envisioned but because of Schaeffer Cox’s proximity to power in mainstream Alaska politics. He’s appeared at events alongside a number of conservative political luminaries in the state and claims to personally know former Gov. Sarah Palin and 2008 GOP Senate nominee Joe Miller.

Shortly after the Peacemakers arrests, a YouTube video surfaced that showed Cox with U.S. Rep. Don Young (R-Alaska)





"We know where all the troopers live, we have you outmanned and outgunned and could probably have you all dead in one night."

events. Authorities are now looking for Fulton, who they believe helped supply weaponry to the Peacemakers.

From media reports about Cox, a portrait emerges of an entrepreneurial but volatile young man who straddled the worlds of religion, politics and far-right militancy. A court document describes him as "extremely paranoid and narcissistic."

He was born the son of a Baptist preacher and named for the late Presbyterian theologian Francis August Schaeffer, credited by scholars with stoking the rise of the Christian right. He was home-schooled and raised as a fundamentalist Christian. With his parents, he moved from Colorado to Fairbanks around the year 2000, then received a high school diploma through a correspondence program and briefly attended the University of Alaska. In 2008, he ran for the state House of Representatives and received 37% of the vote in a Republican primary bid to upset a GOP incumbent. He also led the Alaska primary presidential campaign for Ron Paul.

In 2009, Cox formed the Second Amendment Task Force and sought, with what appears to be little success, to align it with the Tea Party movement. That November, he was listed as an Alaska delegate to the We the People Continental Congress, which brought together Patriot leaders, conspiracy theorists, tax protesters and other radical-right leaders. The "Congress" issued a document called "Articles of Freedom," which declares that the federal government "now threatens our Life, Liberty and Property." The document also echoes

sovereign citizen beliefs, calling for the rejection of the current legal system and an end to driver's licenses, auto registration and insurance. Like the anti-Semitic Posse Comitatus in the 1970s and 1980s, it asks that Americans treat county sheriffs as the highest legitimate police authority.

Cox's first known brush with the legal system came in March 2010, when he was arrested for punching and choking his wife during a car ride. He pleaded guilty to reckless endangerment and was sentenced to two years of probation.

A more serious charge followed later that month. As part of a group called the Liberty Bell Network, which claims to document instances of police abuse, he showed up at a residence that supposedly was being searched by police. He was arrested on a weapons misconduct charge when he allegedly failed to tell the police he was carrying a concealed pistol. It was this arrest that led to his "241" plan.

As his Feb. 14 trial date approached earlier this year, Cox filed numerous "nonsensical" pleadings demanding that the charges be dropped, according to court documents.

Meanwhile, authorities allege that Cox was plotting a murderous retaliatory strike. And he made plans to flee the state, saying he would take his wife and two small children to Montana but would return to Alaska to engage in "guerrilla warfare."

On the day of the trial, he met with Lonnie and Karen Vernon and another militia member at the Vernons' home. In remarks taped by the FBI, Lonnie Vernon suggested that the group form three two-man teams to attack the targets. One team would create a diversion by opening water hydrants or shooting electrical transformers. The others would go to their respective targets' house, cut the power and shoot the inhabitants as they came outside. Then, the teams would enter the houses, kill everyone else inside and set the houses on fire. The final act: Killing the responding officers.

Later, at another meeting, one militia member balked at the idea of murdering women and children. Cox allegedly responded that he "would not target a woman or child, but if their kids get killed in the process, so be it." He added that "if it gets the point across, I'm not against sending somebody's head in a box." ▲

at the 2009 signing of a "declaration letter" drafted by Cox and circulated by his Second Amendment Task Force. The video was shot during an "Open Carry Day" rally in which sympathizers — including Young, a member of the National Rifle Association's board of directors — wore unconcealed weapons into a fast-food restaurant. Cox's declaration called on "sovereign Americans" to "alter or abolish" any government that tries to "further tax, restrict or register firearms" or prevents individuals from exercising their "God-given right to self-defense [that] precedes all human legislation." A spokesman for Young later said the congressman "has absolutely no affiliation with Mr. Cox" and that the declaration simply encourages voters to choose candidates who will defend gun rights.

Miller, the 2008 Senate nominee, denies more than a passing acquaintance with the young militia leader. But the two *are* connected through Miller's former bodyguard, William Fulton, who made national news when he handcuffed a journalist at one of Miller's "Town Hall"



JIHAD against ISLAM

A decade after 9/11, anti-Muslim hatred is on the rise again. This time, a cadre of activists and officials are largely responsible

BY ROBERT STEINBACK ILLUSTRATION BY JAMES VICTORE LETTERING BY RUTH ROWLAND

RARELY HAS THE UNITED STATES SEEN A more reckless and bare-knuckled campaign to vilify a distinct class of people and compromise their fundamental civil and human rights than the recent rhetoric against Muslims.

It would also be hard to imagine a more successful campaign. In the span of the two years since the start of Barack Obama's presidency in early 2009, an astonishing number of people have

turned into a kind of political wolf pack, convinced that 0.6% of the U.S. population is on the verge of trampling the Constitution and imposing an Islamic, Shariah-guided caliphate in its place. Like the communists that an earlier generation believed to be hiding behind every rock, infiltrated "Islamist" operatives today are said to be diabolically preparing for a forcible takeover.

Ironically, the Constitution seems

more threatened by certain Americans who, prodded into paranoia by clever activists, opportunistic politicians and guileful media players, seem downright eager to deny Muslims the guarantees of religious freedom and the presumption of innocence.

"As an American Muslim, what is of most concern to me is that it is no longer only a small cadre of dedicated Islamophobes who are expressing bigotry

and even hatred towards the American Muslim community — but sadly, also many among our elected representatives and government officials,” Sheila Musaji, moderator of the website *The American Muslim*, wrote in an E-mail to the *Intelligence Report*. “It provides a veneer of respectability and reasonableness to what would otherwise be more easily perceived to be outright bigotry.”

And that bigotry has consequences. Recent news reports strongly suggest a spike in anti-Muslim hate crimes. In May 2010, for example, a bomb exploded at an Islamic center in Jacksonville, Fla. In August, a man slashed the neck and face of a New York taxi driver after finding out he was a Muslim. Four days later, someone set fire to construction equipment at the future site of an Islamic center in Murfreesboro, Tenn. This March, a radical Christian pastor burned a Koran in Gainesville, Fla., leading to deadly riots in Afghanistan that left at least 20 people dead. Hate crime statistics for 2010 won’t be released by the FBI until the fall, but it appears certain they will show increasing violence against Muslims.

The American public psyche has undergone a subtle but profound metamorphosis since 2001, moving from initial rage at the 9/11 mass murder to fear of another devastating attack by Muslim extremists to, most recently, a more generalized fear of Islam itself. That evolution from specific concerns to general stereotyping is the customary track of racism and xenophobia — and in Muslims, those inclined to bigotry may have found their perfect bogeyman.

Muslims are predominantly non-white. They practice an unfamiliar religion with unusual rituals. They are a small population in this land with a largely inconspicuous history here. They are regarded by many as a military enemy of the United States. They are perceived as a threat to the American social and cultural fabric. They have few ideological allies outside their own number. Never before has an American minority group had *all* of these factors arrayed against them.

And Muslims have one uniquely debilitating additional characteristic: a sliver of global Muslim society willing to resort to terrorism. It’s a small sliver, but it doesn’t need to be large. If 99.9% of the world’s



Muslims were firmly dedicated to peace and nonviolence, that would still leave hundreds of thousands posing a legitimate and very significant public danger. It took only 19 jihadist terrorists, after all, to kill 2,977 innocent people on 9/11.

Ginning Up Anger

Earlier this year, on Feb. 13, scores of middle-class Americans who could easily populate any pastoral suburban America tableau turned out in Yorba Linda, Calif., to protest the scheduled appearance of two highly controversial Muslim speakers at a dinner to raise money for local charitable projects. The speakers were Imam Abdul Malik Ali, who has made a series of undeniably anti-Semitic comments, and Imam Siraj Wahhah, who was a character witness for a blind New York City sheikh convicted of seditious conspiracy in a 1993 terrorist plot.

Although there may have been a reasonable basis for the initial protest, things got out of hand quickly. As attendees arrived, many with small children in tow, a break-away group of the protesters hurled scathing taunts, boos and hoots at them: “Go back home!” they chanted. Individuals yelled, “No shariah! Muhammad was a child molester! Muhammad was a pervert! You beat your women and you rape your children! Why don’t you go have sex with a 9-year-old! Get out of here! Eat sand! Take your Shariah and go home, you terrorist lovers!”

Soiled hands: U.S. Rep. Peter King (R-N.Y.) said he wasn’t demonizing anyone with his hearings into the “radicalization” of U.S. Muslims — but only after repeatedly defaming them with false accusations. On the opening day of his hearing, King also declared that “not one terror-related case in the last two years involved neo-Nazis.” One day earlier, a neo-Nazi was arrested for the attempted mass murder of Martin Luther King Jr. Day parade marchers in Spokane, Wash.

It was an ugly scene, made all the uglier by comments offered earlier from the podium of the main rally by Villa Park, Calif., Councilwoman Deborah Pauly, who described the fundraiser as “pure, unadulterated evil” and said she knew “quite a few Marines who will be very happy to help these terrorists to an early meeting in paradise.”

While such insinuations of violence from public officials have not yet become commonplace, consider just a little of what *has* happened since 2009:

- U.S. Rep. Peter King (R-N.Y.) — who has said there are “too many mosques” in America and asserted, without providing any evidence, that 80-85% were controlled by fanatical extremists — on March 10 held the first round of hearings into the “radicalization” of American Muslims. To most Muslims, the hearings seemed to be little more than an exercise in demonizing their communities and religion. Even many non-Muslims wondered how the public would react



Fueling the flames: Politicians like U.S. Rep. Louie Gohmert (R-Texas), who warned of Muslim women being brought to the United States to birth terrorists, and former House Speaker Newt Gingrich, who compared Muslims to Nazis, have been among the leading Muslim-bashers.

evidence of an intent to overthrow the Constitution. It would virtually criminalize Islam, theoretically subjecting Muslims who weren't careful

in their prayer practices to prison terms of up to 15 years.

- Former House Speaker Newt Gingrich, firing off an attack on Muslims during a controversy last summer over a planned Islamic cultural center near Ground Zero in New York City, said approving the center would be akin to allowing Nazis to erect a monument outside the U.S. Holocaust Museum.

- U.S. Rep. Louie Gohmert (R-Texas) took to the floor of Congress last August to warn of a plot to bring pregnant Muslim women to the United States to have babies — later lampooned as “terror babies” — who could then return here in 20 to 30 years as terrorists with American citizenship and passports. Challenged by the news media later, Gohmert could produce no evidence of any plot.

- Two elderly, turban-wearing Sikh men were shot to death on an Elk Grove,

Calif., street this March 4 in what police suspect was a hate crime committed by assailants who mistook their victims for Muslims (see also story, p. 11). At least one Sikh was murdered shortly after 9/11 by a man who thought his victim was Muslim, and many others were attacked.

Citizen protests have challenged perfectly legal mosque or Islamic center construction projects in New York City, Murfreesboro, Tenn., Temecula, Calif., Sheboygan, Wis., and elsewhere. Fox News host and conspiracist-in-chief Glenn Beck claimed that 10% of all Muslims — that is, about 157 million people worldwide, more than the entire population of Russia — were terrorists. The crackpot leader of a tiny fringe church in Florida generated a global controversy last fall with a proposed stunt he called “International Burn a Koran Day.” This March, Terry Jones followed through on the threat, burning a Koran and sparking riots in Afghanistan that left at least 20 people, seven of them foreigners, dead. A columnist for a Brooklyn, N.Y., neighborhood webzine wrote: “[W]here there are mosques, there are Muslims, and where there are Muslims, there are problems.”

Of course, there *has* been serious terrorism from homegrown Muslims in this country. The Triangle Center on Terrorism and Homeland Security reported earlier this year that there had been 161 terrorist plots involving Muslim Americans since 9/11, with 69 contemplating domestic targets. Eleven of those 69 actually carried out their attacks, killing 33 people — 13 at the hands of U.S. Army psychiatrist Major Nidal Malik Hasan, who opened fire at Fort Hood, Texas, in late 2009, and 11 by “Beltway Snipers” John Allen Muhammad and Lee Boyd Malvo. (It’s questionable whether or not Muhammad and Malvo are rightly seen as having been motivated by Islam, although some comments they made suggested that may have been the case.) In addition, a 2007 Pew Research Center survey found that 15% of American Muslims under the age of 30 believed that suicide bombing could be justified.

But the Triangle study found something else, too. Of the 120 suspected plots it said were foiled before execution, 48 — 40% — were brought to the attention

if congressional hearings were held into the radicalization of fundamentalist Christians because it is, after all, mainly fundamentalists who have attacked women’s clinics and doctors who provide abortions.

- Oklahoma voters last November passed a state constitutional amendment prohibiting judges from making rulings based on Shariah — the Islamic religious code of law and moral conduct — rather than U.S. law. The measure was legally pointless — no American judge can override U.S. law — but critics said it could hurt local companies doing business internationally. A federal judge indefinitely stayed implementation of the referendum, but at least 20 states have considered similar legislation recently to confront the feared Shariah takeover plot.

- Two Tennessee legislators in February introduced a bill that would establish certain Shariah practices as *prima facie*

of the authorities by other Muslims. Similarly, the Pew study found that 76% of American Muslims were very or somewhat concerned about the rise of Islamic extremism around the world, and a similar proportion opposed suicide bombing in all cases. At the same time, many law enforcement organizations have rejected the claim, made by Peter King in his hearings, that most Muslims don't cooperate with police.

All of this, especially the attacks on Muslims by public figures, is having a real effect. In an April 2009 *Washington Post*-ABC News poll, 29% of Americans said they felt mainstream Islam advocated violence against non-Muslims (it also found that 48% had an unfavorable view of Islam, the highest proportion since 2001). Sixteen months later, in August 2010, a Pew Forum survey found that 35% of Americans now felt Islam encouraged violence more than other religions. Finally, just this March, a Gallup poll found 36% of Americans believed that Muslims in the United States are too extreme in their religious beliefs. The latest poll also revealed that 28% of Americans—that works out to almost 90 million people—felt that Muslims who live in the United States are sympathetic to Al Qaeda.

Behind the Attacks

This apparently growing movement was not a case of spontaneous public-opinion combustion. In the decade since 9/11, a coterie of core activists—most importantly, hard-liners Robert Spencer, Brigitte Gabriel, Frank Gaffney, David Horowitz and David Yerushalmi (see profiles, p. 20), along with the more moderate Daniel Pipes and Steve Emerson—has been warning that the Islamic sky was falling. Independent journalist Max Blumenthal in December 2010 called it “the Great Islamophobic Crusade.”

“Erupting so many years after the September 11th trauma, this spasm of anti-Muslim bigotry might seem oddly timed and unexpectedly spontaneous,” Blumenthal wrote. “But think again: it's the fruit of an organized, long-term campaign by a tight confederation of right-wing activists and operatives who first focused on Islamophobia soon after the September 11th attacks, but only



attained critical mass during the Obama era. ... This network is obsessively fixated on the supposed spread of Muslim influence in America.”

This stalwart core of activists labored to find traction through the decade after 9/11. They created a slate of organizations dedicated to exposing and combating various aspects of the Muslim threat they perceived.

Two factors largely neutralized their efforts: The U.S. military presence in Iraq and Afghanistan, which many Americans may have considered an adequate response to 9/11, and a conservative president, George W. Bush, who consistently argued that terrorism, not Islam or Muslims in general, was the nation's enemy.

During that post-9/11 lull, the activists, many of them bankrolled by deep-pocket organizations including Aubrey Chernick's Fairbrook Foundation, began to hone strategies to take on what they saw as the spread of Muslim influence in mainstream America, Blumenthal reported. In 2004, they tried but failed to block the tenure application of Palestinian-born Columbia University professor of Middle East studies, Joseph Massad. Then they engineered a protest of a community center planned by the Islamic Society of Boston. That effort failed, too, and the center was approved in 2007.

The activists got their first taste of success when they contested the planned opening of a secular Arabic-English elementary public school in Brooklyn, N.Y. Its intended principal, educator Debbie Almontaser, was widely known

as a politically moderate Muslim, but opponents, under the banner Stop the Madrassa, succeeded in recasting her as a dangerous extremist. Though the school was ultimately approved, the opposition compelled Almontaser to resign when she lost the support of New York City Mayor Michael Bloomberg.

The New York Times described the effort that ruined Almontaser “the work of a growing and organized movement to stop Muslim citizens who are seeking an expanded role in American public life.”

“The fight against the school... was only an early skirmish in a broader, national struggle,” the *Times* reported. Daniel Pipes, one of the leaders of Stop the Madrassa, told the *Times*, “It's a battle that has really just begun.”

A Star is Born

Pipes was right. Circumstances turned favorable for this corps of anti-Muslim activists beginning in late 2008. A black man with an Arabic middle name—Hussein, also the name of an infamous American enemy in Iraq—had just won the presidency, exacerbating many whites' fears about the demographic “browning” of America. The public began to weary of protracted U.S. military involvement in the Middle East, realizing it might never yield triumphantly pro-Western results. The economy tanked. Conservatives began casting about for issues to emotionally fire up their temporarily staggered base, seizing first upon immigration.

At the same time, much conservative



The price of prejudice: The murders this March of two elderly Sikh men — apparently killed by assailants who mistook them for Muslims — shook the entire Sikh community in California. The men were memorialized by a leader of the Sikh Temple Sacramento (left) and the father and granddaughter of one of them.

and right-wing opposition to Obama came to be framed in the simplest terms, even though they were false: The president was a secret Muslim, a man with allegiances to people who weren't like real Americans. According to the Pew Research Center, 11% of Americans believed Obama was a Muslim in March 2009. By last August, it was 18%.

Then, in early 2010, a fortuitous gift arrived: An innocuous proposal by a New York City imam and his financier partner to renovate an abandoned building in lower Manhattan into a 13-story mosque and community center came to light. The gift was its address: 45-51 Park Place — two blocks from the site of the former World Trade Center.

Just then, a dazzling new anti-Muslim activist burst onto the scene: Pamela Geller, the well-to-do ex-wife of a Long Island used-car mogul who previously busied herself rearing her four children, writing blogs and posting slam poetry-style videos trashing all things liberal on her YouTube channel.

Geller had joined Stop the Madrasa and blogged often about the matter on her website, Atlas Shrugs. Blessed with sultry Hollywood sex appeal and a sassy, scythe-like wit — a personable Ann Coulter and articulate Sarah Palin rolled into one — Geller would ride the Park51 project protest to superstardom.

She first blogged against Park51 in

December 2009. Four months later, she and Robert Spencer joined forces to take control of the organization Stop Islamization of America (SIOA), then an insipid adjunct of a Denmark-based group called Stop Islamisation of Europe. Geller's charisma and Spencer's savvy blended to create a propaganda powerhouse. One of their first projects was buying controversial bus ads in New York and Miami that invited Muslims to reject Islam. The ad campaign created virtually instant notoriety for SIOA.

That June, Geller and Spencer staged a protest in Lower Manhattan to oppose Park51. The rally drew thousands, and plenty of media coverage. Drawing on tactics used against Almontaser, Massad and the Boston community center, SIOA strove to depict the American-born project leader, Imam Feisal Abdul Rauf — a man who had quietly led a small mosque in lower Manhattan for many years prior and worked with the FBI for years — as an anti-American “radical Islamist.” They insinuated, with scant evidence, that the project's financing might be tied to terrorists. They absurdly described it as an Islamic “victory mosque” celebrating the 9/11 attacks, modeled after Jerusalem's Dome of the Rock, though no Muslim had ever suggested such a thing. It wasn't long before prominent conservatives including Rush Limbaugh, Newt Gingrich and then-New York gubernatorial candidate Rick Lazio had embraced and rebroadcast much of SIOA's rhetorical fire.

Shariah as Pariah

The Park51 project secured all of its needed approvals and is currently moving ahead despite the opposition. (This time, Mayor Bloomberg took a different tack, coming out strongly in favor of the mosque's construction in the name of religious tolerance.) But despite Park51's apparent advances, anti-Muslim animosity in America has continued to grow, a brakeless bandwagon of hostility.

Brigitte Gabriel's ACT! for America, the core group's effort at creating a grassroots-mobilization movement, sought to derail the appointment of University of North Florida professor Parvez Ahmed to the Human Rights Commission of Jacksonville, Fla. But the video that ACT released in December 2010 supposedly

proving that he, too, was a clandestine extremist, fell flat. ACT, which claims 155,000 members and 500 chapters nationwide, also was instrumental in spurring protestors to go to the Yorba Linda community center, although a defensive Gabriel later argued that ACT had not “organized” the protest.

Perhaps the most bewildering “success” story of the anti-Muslim campaign has been the public panic over the feared imposition of Shariah law in America. Shariah is hardly a fixed concept; virtually every Muslim-majority country utilizes a different variant of it, from extreme, as in Saudi Arabia, to almost imperceptible, as in Turkey. It seems laughable to think it could ever take hold in the United States, a nation with 300 million non-Muslims and a Constitution that hasn't wobbled in 220 years. Still, legislators across the country are scrambling to be the first in their state to file anti-Shariah legislation — purposeless but propagandistic laws that inevitably will be challenged as unconstitutional and almost certainly thrown out.

Frank Gaffney's Center for Security Policy helped set off the Shariah panic with the September 2010 release of its report, “Shariah, the Threat to America,” which depicted Islamic Shariah law as a global threat comparable to Soviet communism a generation ago. “Shariah's pursuit in the United States,” the report asserted, “is tantamount to sedition.”

Even observers with deep concerns about radical Islam balked at endorsing such loopy paranoia. “This report makes this good point in a seriously bad way, which, if allowed to guide policy, will continue the discrimination against Muslims who are also good Americans,” observed John G. Stackhouse, professor of theology at Regent College in Vancouver, British Columbia.

The report is noteworthy, however, because so many legislators have bought into its extremism. One of its principal authors is attorney David Yerushalmi, who used virtually identical reasoning in drafting the astonishingly harsh anti-Shariah bill filed in Tennessee.

Two Key Tactics

This coordinated anti-Muslim movement relies heavily on two key tactics.

The first is arguing that the most radical Muslims — men like Osama bin Laden — are *properly* interpreting the Koran, while peaceful, moderate Muslims either don't understand their own holy book or are strategically faking their moderation. The primary architect of this theory is SIOA co-founder Robert Spencer, who has researched Islam outside academia for more than three decades. He says the Koran itself is innately violent and calls for the utter subjugation of non-believers. Critics charge that Spencer ignores other passages and centuries of interpretive scholarship that mitigate the Koran's occasional violent verses. Some also point out that the many violent admonitions of other holy books, including the Bible, are not usually taken literally by believers.

The second key tactic is to relentlessly attack individuals and organizations who purport to represent moderate Islam in America, painting them as secret operatives in the grand Muslim scheme (typically attributed to a conspiracy led by the Egypt-based Muslim Brotherhood) to destroy the West.

One doesn't have to probe very deeply to find the fingerprints of the eight central activists — Spencer, Pipes, Horowitz, Gaffney, Emerson, Gabriel, Geller and Yerushalmi — on almost every aspect of the recent surge in anti-Muslim fervor in America. The conservative media, led by FOX News personalities Sean Hannity, Glenn Beck and Eric Bolling and including the upstart Pajamas Media online network, evangelist Franklin Graham, and a contingent of sympathetic right-wing bloggers and commentators, have joined in to help construct a "movement" that 9/11 itself didn't generate.

It is particularly perplexing trying to discern the ultimate goal of this corps of activists. If their aim is to isolate and destroy the violence-prone fanatical Muslim fringe, then it doesn't make sense to undermine moderate Muslims and argue that only confirmed terrorists are interpreting the Koran correctly. But both tactics make perfect sense if the aim is to build a widespread, irrational fear and hostility against Islam in general — encouraging, rather than helping defuse, an eventual global confrontation between East and West. ▲

The Anti-Muslim Inner Circle

Activists attacking Muslims and Islam are springing up around the country. But there's a core group of 10 hard-liners

BY ROBERT STEINBACK ILLUSTRATION BY BRI HERMANSON

The apparent recent surge in popular anti-Muslim sentiment in the United States has been driven by a surprisingly small and, for the most part, closely knit cadre of activists. Their influence extends far beyond their limited numbers, in part because of an amenable legion of right-wing media personalities — and lately, politicians like U.S. Rep. Peter King (R-N.Y.), who held controversial hearings into the radicalization of American Muslims this March — who are eager to promote them as impartial experts or grassroots leaders. Yet a close look at their rhetoric reveals how doggedly this group works to provoke and guide populist anger over what is seen as the threat posed by the 0.6% of Americans who are Muslim — an agenda that goes beyond reasonable concern about terrorism into the realm of demonization.

Of the 10 people profiled below, all but Bill French, Terry Jones and Debbie Schlussel regularly interact with others on the list. Most were selected for profiling primarily because of their association with activist organizations. People who only run websites or do commentary were omitted, with two exceptions: Schlussel, because she has influence as a frequent television talk-show guest, and John Joseph Jay, because he is on the board of Pamela Geller's Stop Islamization of America group. Three other activists, Steve Emerson, Daniel Pipes and Frank Gaffney, have interacted with many of the core group as well and also have offended many Muslims, but they are somewhat more moderate in their views of Muslims than those who are profiled below.

BILL FRENCH

ORGANIZATION Heads the for-profit Center for the Study of Political Islam in Nashville.

CREDENTIALS

Former Tennessee State University physics professor; author of *Sharia Law for Non-Muslims* (2010; under the pen name Bill Warner).



SUMMARY French has no formal training or background in law, Islam or Shariah law — which in any case is not an established legal code, as the book title implies, but a fluid concept subject to a wide range of interpretations and applications. He garnered attention recently by leading the opposition to a proposed mosque in Murfreesboro, Tenn.

IN HIS OWN WORDS “The two driving forces of our civilization are the Golden Rule and critical thought. ... There is no Golden Rule in Islam. ... There is not really even a Ten Commandments.”

—QUOTED IN *THE [BLOUNT COUNTY, TENN.] DAILY TIMES*, MARCH 4, 2011

“This offends Allah. You offend Allah.”

—QUOTED IN *THE TENNESSEAN*, OCT. 24, 2010, SPEAKING TO OPPONENTS OF THE MURFREESBORO MOSQUE WHILE POINTING TO AN AMERICAN FLAG

BRIGITTE GABRIEL

ORGANIZATIONS Founder and head of ACT! for America and American Council for Truth.



CREDENTIALS Author of *Because They Hate: A Survivor of Islamic Terror Warns America* (2006) and *They Must Be Stopped: Why We Must Defeat Radical Islam and How We Can Do It* (2008).

Co-producer and co-host of weekly ACT! for America television show.

SUMMARY Gabriel views Islam in absolute terms as a monolithic threat to the United States, Israel and the West. She is prone to sweeping generalizations and exaggerations as she describes a grand, sophisticated Muslim conspiracy bent on world domination. Of the people profiled here, she alone has focused on building a grassroots organization, claiming 155,000 members and 500 chapters around the country. Questions persist about the accuracy of her autobiographical account of being a victim of Muslim militancy in Lebanon.

IN HER OWN WORDS “America has been infiltrated on all levels by radicals who wish to harm America. They have infiltrated us at the C.I.A., at the F.B.I., at the Pentagon, at the State Department.”

—QUOTED IN *THE NEW YORK TIMES*, MARCH 7, 2011

“The difference, my friends, between Israel and the Arabic world is quite simply the difference between civilization and barbarism. It’s the difference between good and evil and this is what we’re witnessing in the Arab and Islamic world. I am angry. They have no soul! They are dead set on killing and destruction.”

—FROM A SPEECH DELIVERED TO THE REV. JOHN HAGEE’S CHRISTIANS UNITED FOR ISRAEL CONVENTION, JULY 2007

“Tens of thousands of Islamic militants now reside in America, operating in sleeper cells, attending our colleges and universities, even infiltrating our government. They are here — today. Many have been here for years. Waiting. Preparing.”

—ACT! FOR AMERICA WEBSITE, UNDATED

P. DAVID GAUBATZ

ORGANIZATION Society of Americans for National Existence (SANE).

CREDENTIALS Co-author of *Muslim Mafia: Inside the Secret Underworld That’s Conspiring to Islamize America* (2009). As director of operations for SANE’s Mapping

Shariah project (see David Yerushalmi, below), a privately operated effort to infiltrate American mosques in an attempt to expose radical elements, Gaubatz was paid \$148,898, according to Sheila Musaji of The American Muslim website.

SUMMARY A civilian agent who worked in the Middle East for the U.S. Air Forces Office of Special Investigations, Gaubatz made it a personal project — and the theme of his book — to prove the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) is linked to international terrorism. In October 2009, four members of Congress led by Sue Myrick (R-N.C.) held an embarrassing press conference claiming the book revealed a Muslim plot to infiltrate government. Their hardest “evidence” was a document showing that CAIR had encouraged young Muslims to become Capitol interns — much like many other Washington, D.C., interest groups.

IN HIS OWN WORDS “As an ideology [Islam] is a terminal disease that once spread is hard to destroy. Once the ideology (cancer) takes hold it is like trying to remove millions of cancerous cells in one’s body. Not impossible to remove, but very, very unlikely.”

—ESSAY ON THE NORTHEAST INTELLIGENCE NETWORK WEBSITE, JUNE 10, 2008

“[T]he political ideology of winning over the West and the world for an Islamic Caliphate is NOT specific to some extremist group of Muslims. This is mainstream Islam and Shari’a.

... The goal remains the same: all of the non-Islamic world, and indeed all of the Islamic world, must submit to Shari’a. A Muslim who refuses to do so will be killed. ... A non-Muslim, assuming he is not a pagan (typically a Christian or Jew) might be given the opportunity to live in a subservient status in an Islamic society and pay a special head tax to prove his submission. But this option is left to the Caliph or ruler at the time.”

—ESSAY CARRIED BY THE ASSYRIAN INTERNATIONAL NEWS AGENCY, FEB. 13, 2008



PAMELA GELLER

ORGANIZATIONS Executive director and co-founder (with Robert Spencer; see below) of Stop Islamization of America (SIOA)

and the American Freedom Defense Initiative (AFDI), an umbrella group encompassing SIOA. Both are listed as hate groups by the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC). Runs the Atlas Shrugs blog.



CREDENTIALS Self-styled expert on Islam with no formal training in the field. Co-produced with Spencer the film "The Ground Zero Mosque: Second Wave of the 9/11 Attacks," which was first screened at the 2011 Conservative Political Action Conference. Co-author with Spencer of *The Post-American Presidency: The Obama Administration's War on America* (2010).

SUMMARY Geller has seized the role of the anti-Muslim movement's most visible and influential figurehead. Her strengths are panache and vivid rhetorical flourishes — not to mention stunts like posing for an anti-Muslim video in a bikini — but she also can be coarse in her broad-brush denunciations of Islam. Geller does not pretend to be learned in Islamic studies, leaving the argumentative heavy lifting to SIOA partner Spencer. She is prone to publicizing preposterous claims, such as President Obama being the "love child" of Malcolm X, and once suggested that recent U.S. Supreme Court appointee Elena Kagan, who is Jewish, supports Nazi ideology. Geller has mingled with European racists and fascists, spoken favorably of South African racists and defended Serbian war criminal Slobodan Milosevic. She is a self-avowed Zionist who is sharply critical of Jewish liberals.

IN HER OWN WORDS "Islam is not a race. This is an ideology. This is an extreme ideology, the most radical and extreme

ideology on the face of the earth."

—ON FOX BUSINESS' "FOLLOW THE MONEY,"

MARCH 10, 2011

"No, no, they can't. ... I don't think that many westernized Muslims know when they pray five times a day that they're cursing Christians and Jews five times a day. ... I believe in the idea of a moderate Muslim. I do not believe in the idea of a moderate Islam. I think a moderate Muslim is a secular Muslim."

—QUOTED IN *THE NEW YORK TIMES*, RESPONDING TO A QUESTION AS TO WHETHER DEVOUT PRACTICING MUSLIMS CAN BE POLITICAL

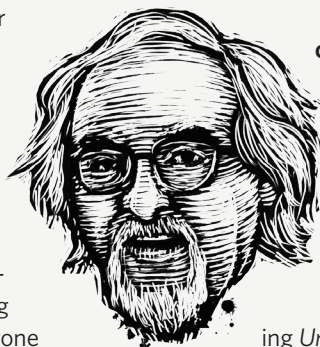
MODERATES, OCT. 8, 2010

"In the war between the civilized man and the savage, you side with the civilized man. ... If you don't lay down and die for Islamic supremacism, then you're a racist anti-Muslim Islamophobic bigot. That's what we're really talking about."

—QUOTED IN *THE NEW YORK TIMES*, OCT. 8, 2010

DAVID HOROWITZ

ORGANIZATION Front Page Magazine (online), published by the David Horowitz Freedom Center.



CREDENTIALS Organized "Islamofascism Awareness Week" which brought prominent anti-Muslim activists to college campuses in 2007. Author of several books includ-

ing *Unholy Alliance: Radical Islam and the American Left* (2004), which claims that American leftists support Islamic terrorists.

SUMMARY Horowitz, who spent his young years as a Marxist, has in recent years become a furious far-right antagonist of liberals and leftists. He also provides some funding support for other anti-Muslim ventures, including, according to the blog SpencerWatch.com, paying Spencer \$132,537 to run the JihadWatch website. Horowitz sees no philosophical gradations; if you're not in total agreement

with his view of Islam, you're in favor of Muslim hegemony. He believes the Muslim Brotherhood and "Islamofascists" control most American Muslim organizations, especially Muslim student groups on college campuses.

IN HIS OWN WORDS "I spent 25 years in the American Left, whose agendas are definitely to destroy this country. The American left wanted us to lose the Cold War with the Soviets and it wants us to lose the war on terror. So I don't make any apologies for that."

— ON THE "RIZ KHAN" SHOW, AL JAZEERA, AUG. 21, 2008

"Some polls estimate that 10 percent of Muslims support Osama bin Laden and al-Qaeda. An al-Jazeera poll put the number at 50 percent. In other words, somewhere between 150 million and 750 million Muslims support a holy war against Christians, Jews, and other Muslims who don't happen to be true believers in the Quran according to bin Laden."

—IN *THE COLUMBIA SPECTATOR*, OCT. 15, 2007

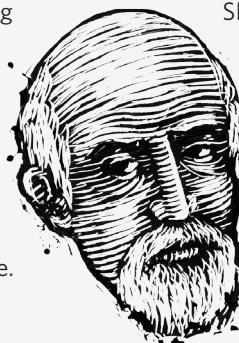
"There are 150 Muslim Student Associations on American campuses. The Muslim Student Associations were created by Hamas and funded by Saudi Arabia. ... [The associations] are Wahhabi Islamicists, and they basically support our enemies."

— ON FOX NEWS' "NEIL CAVUTO SHOW," AUG. 15, 2006

JOHN JOSEPH JAY

ORGANIZATION summer patriot, winter soldier (a website; Jay doesn't use capital letters in his website's name or in his writings). Board member,

SIOA. Listed as one of the founders of American Freedom Defense Initiative, SIOA's umbrella group (see also Pam Geller, above).



CREDENTIALS Jay worked for 25 years as a prosecutor and

criminal defense attorney in Washington, D.C. Geller's Atlas Shrugs blog describes him as a constitutional scholar. In addition to his anti-Muslim commentary, Jay blogs prolifically on the right to bear arms.

SUMMARY Jay is remarkable for his unreconstructed hatred of all Muslims. He believes attacks by Muslim terrorists justify any violence directed at any Muslim, adding that, as he sees it, the Koran itself justifies such blind retaliation.

IN HIS OWN WORDS "every person in islam, from man to woman to child may be our executioner. ... there are no innocents in islam. ... there is no innocence in islam. all of islam is at war with us, and ... all of islam is/are combatant[s.] ... islam has established without intellectual doubt that there are no innocent muslims, that the myth of the 'moderate muslim' is precisely that, and that muslims are no more entitled to exemption or protection from retaliation that [sic] any of the other 'non-innocent' combatants in the world. ... there are no innocent muslims. islam is subject to killing on grounds of political expediency on the same basis as islam kills its victims, and islam cannot ethically and morally claim otherwise."

—FROM HIS WEBSITE, JULY 14, 2010

"in short, dear muslims, g_d in his infinite wisdom saw in advance this struggle between men and religions to win his favor, and the only thing that is foreordained, is that the strong and the resolute shall win his favor, and so far, it has been amply demonstrated that he has chosen the jews as his people, and favored christianity with science, technology, culture and military power. to islam, he has given the hind and dry tit, and the sewers and the deserts of the world in which to inhabit, and in which to fester."

—FROM HIS WEBSITE, JUNE 27, 2010

TERRY JONES

ORGANIZATION Dove World Outreach Center of Gainesville, Fla. Listed by the SPLC as a hate group.

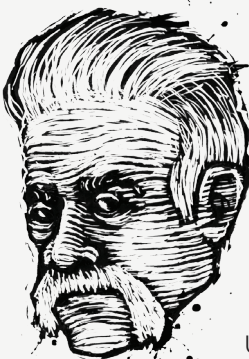
CREDENTIALS Pastor of Dove World; instigator of "International Burn a Koran Day,"

which was slated for Sept. 11, 2010, but canceled after worldwide protests and calls from senior officials of the Obama Administration. On March 20, however, Jones did burn a Koran, leading to several days of rampages in early April by religious rioters in Afghanistan, including the storming of a United Nations compound, that resulted in the deaths of at least 20 people. Jones showed no remorse over the deaths, which included at least seven foreigners. Author of *Islam is of the Devil* (2010). Jones has admitted never having read the Koran. He has no academic or theological degree; his "doctorate" is honorary.

SUMMARY A true fanatical extremist who seems to be driven mostly by the need for self-promotion and publicity. Operates entirely outside of the core circle of anti-Muslim activists. Jones is also virulently anti-gay.

IN HIS OWN WORDS "Here's your opportunity, all you so-called peaceful Moslems [Jones' pronunciation]. ... We are accusing the Koran of murder, rape, deception, being responsible for terrorist activities all around the world. ... Present to us your defense attorney who is going to defend the Koran. Let us really see. We challenge you: do it. Let us not talk. Let us have some action and proof. ... The Koran, if found guilty, can be burned ... Or the Koran will be drowned. Or the Koran will be shredded into little bitty pieces ... or the Koran will face a firing squad."

— FROM AN UNDATED VIDEO ON THE DOVE WORLD OUTREACH WEBSITE ANNOUNCING "INTERNATIONAL JUDGE THE KORAN DAY"



"The world is facing a great danger, which, if it is not stopped, will sooner or later be a threat to freedom in all nations and specifically to the United States. This danger is the growing religion of Islam."

—FROM THE INTRODUCTION TO *ISLAM IS OF THE DEVIL*, 2010

DEBBIE SCHLUSSEL

ORGANIZATION Columnist; eponymous website.

CREDENTIALS The granddaughter of Holocaust survivors, Schlusssel is a Detroit-based attorney and MBA. Frequent guest on conservative talk shows.



SUMMARY

Uncompromising, viciously anti-Muslim commentator who dismisses ostensible allies if they are willing to believe in the concept of moderate Islam. She has even berated Hollywood for its failure to depict Muslims as sufficiently villainous. She has referred to Muslims as "animals." Her intense animosity toward Muslims appears rooted in strong pro-Israel sentiments.

IN HER OWN WORDS "So sad, too bad, Lara. No one told her to go there. She knew the risks. And she should have known what Islam is all about. Now she knows. Or so we'd hope. ... How fitting that Lara Logan was 'liberated' by Muslims in Liberation Square while she was gushing over the other part of the 'liberation.' Hope you're enjoying the revolution, Lara! Alhamdillillah (praise allah) [sic]."

—FROM HER WEBSITE, FOLLOWING THE GANG SEXUAL ASSAULT ON CBS CHIEF FOREIGN AFFAIRS CORRESPONDENT LARA LOGAN IN CAIRO, FEB. 15, 2011

"[T]he fact is that the majority of Muslims support terrorism. The vast majority. Not just a few hijackers and a few suicide bombers. But the MAJORITY. This isn't me saying it. It's Muslims saying it. And not just in poll after poll of Muslims around the world including in America. Go to the streets of 'moderate Muslim' Dearbornistan [Dearborn, Mich.] and see how many Muslims dare condemn Hezbollah and HAMAS. It's like playing 'Where's Waldo?'"

—FROM HER WEBSITE, OCT. 8, 2008

ROBERT SPENCER

ORGANIZATION Runs the Jihad Watch website, a project of the David Horowitz Freedom Center. Co-founder with Pamela Geller (see above) of Stop Islamization of America and the American Freedom Defense Initiative.

CREDENTIALS Spencer has a master's degree in religious studies from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Co-produced with Geller the film "The Ground Zero Mosque: Second Wave of the 9/11 Attacks" (2011). Author of numerous books including *The Truth About Muhammad: Founder of the World's Most Intolerant Religion* (2007) and *The Politically Incorrect Guide to Islam (and the Crusades)* (2005).

SUMMARY Spencer is entirely self-taught in the study of modern Islam and the Koran. Critics have accused him of doggedly taking the Koran literally — Spencer considers it innately extremist and violent — while ignoring its nonviolent passages and the vast interpretive tradition that has modified Koranic teachings over the centuries. Spencer believes that moderate Muslims exist, but to prove it, they'd have to fully denounce the portions of the Koran he finds objectionable. Spencer has been known to fraternize with European racists and neo-fascists, though he says such contacts were merely incidental. Benazir Bhutto, the late prime minister of Pakistan, accused Spencer of "falsely constructing a divide between Islam and West" in her 2008 book, *Reconciliation: Islam, Democracy, and the West*. Spencer, she wrote, presented a "skewed, one-sided, and inflammatory story that only helps to sow the seed of civilizational conflict."

IN HIS OWN WORDS "Osama [bin Laden]'s use of these and other [Koranic] passages in his messages is consistent ... with traditional understanding of the Quran. When modern-day Jews and Christians read their Bibles, they sim-

ply don't interpret the passages cited as exhorting them to violent actions against unbelievers. This is due to the influence of centuries of interpretative traditions that have moved them away from literalism regarding these passages. But in Islam, there is no comparable interpretative tradition."

—FROM *THE POLITICALLY INCORRECT GUIDE TO ISLAM (AND THE CRUSADES)*, 2005

"Where is moderate Islam? How can moderate Muslims refute the radical exegesis of the Qur'an and Sunnah? If an exposition of moderate Islam does not address or answer radical exegeses, is it really of any value to quash Islamic extremism? If the answer lies in a simple rejection of Qur'anic literalism, how can non-literalists make that rejection stick, and keep their children from being recruited by jihadists by means of literalism? Of course, as I have pointed out many times, traditional Islam itself is not moderate or peaceful. It is the only major world religion with a developed doctrine and tradition of warfare against unbelievers."

—JIHAD WATCH, JAN. 14, 2006

DAVID YERUSHALMI

ORGANIZATION President of the Society of Americans for National Existence (SANE); principal of Stop the Madrassa.

CREDENTIALS General counsel for the Center for Security Policy (see Frank J. Gaffney Jr., above); also, an attorney representing SIOA. Yerushalmi drafted a proposed law filed this year in the Tennessee legislature that would subject anyone who advocates or adheres to Shariah customs to up to 15 years in prison; he drafted a similar bill in Georgia in 2008.

SUMMARY Yerushalmi equates Shariah with Islamic radicalism so totally that he

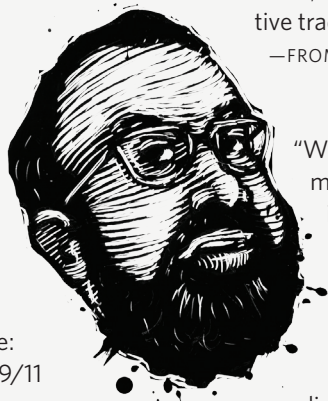
advocates criminalizing virtually any personal practice compliant with Shariah. In his view, only a Muslim who fully breaks with the customs of Shariah can be considered socially tolerable. He waxes bloodthirsty when describing his preferred response to the supposed global threat of Shariah law, speaking casually of killing and destroying. Ideally, he would outlaw Islam and deport Muslims and other "non-Western, non-Christian" people to protect the United States' "national character." An ultra-orthodox Jew, he is deeply hostile toward liberal Jews. He derides U.S.-style democracy because it allows more than just an elite, privileged few to vote.

IN HIS OWN WORDS "On the so-called Global War on Terrorism, GWOT, we have been quite clear along with a few other resolute souls. This should be a WAR AGAINST ISLAM and all Muslim faithful. ... At a practical level, this means that Shari'a and Islamic law are immediately outlawed. Any Muslim in America who adopts historical and traditional Shari'a will be subject to deportation. Mosques which adhere to Islamic law will be shut down permanently. No self-described or practicing Muslim, irrespective of his or her declarations to the contrary, will be allowed to immigrate to this country."

—A 2007 COMMENTARY ENTITLED "WAR MANIFESTO — THE WAR AGAINST ISLAM," AS REPORTED BY THE AMERICAN MUSLIM

"The more carefully reviewed evidence, however, suggests that because *jihadism* is in fact traditional Islam modernized to war against the ideological threat posed by the West against Islam proper, *there is no way to keep faithful Muslims out of the war*. If this is true, any Muslim who sticks his neck out of the mosque to yell some obscenity at the West should be considered an enemy combatant and killed or captured and held for the duration of the war. If you kill enough of them consistently enough, those disinclined to fight in the first place will find a way to reform their religion."

—REVIEW OF MARY HABECK'S BOOK *KNOWING THE ENEMY* ON THE AMERICAN THINKER WEBSITE, SEPT. 9, 2006 ▲



UPENDING THE CONSTITUTION

AROUND THE U.S., STATE LEGISLATORS ARE PROPOSING LAWS INFLUENCED
BY RADICAL-RIGHT IDEAS. MOST ARE FLATLY UNCONSTITUTIONAL

BY ALEXANDER ZAITCHIK ILLUSTRATION BY ANTHONY FRED A



In March, the Arizona State Senate passed a law that cut, in dramatic fashion, to the heart of a long-running debate in American history: What is the proper power dynamic between the states and the federal center? In the extremist style that has come to typify Arizona's state legislature under the influence of Republican Senate President Russell Pearce, S.B. 1433 came down with force on the side of "states' rights." The bill proposed nothing less than the creation of a 12-person body tasked with studying federal laws and nullifying any and all of those it deemed unconstitutional.

In essence, it was an attempted declaration of independence from Washington and a direct challenge to the United States Constitution, which explicitly states that laws made by the federal government and backed by the Supreme Court are "supreme."

S.B. 1433, which ultimately did not make it out of the Senate, was not the only bill of its kind to bubble up in legislatures across the country in the wake of the 2010 midterms. It exemplified a spate of challenges to federal power that illustrate how the Tea Party-fueled GOP surge of 2010 is a story playing out in every corner of the country. From Appalachia to Alaska, state lawmakers have introduced bills that challenge the authority of the federal government to execute powers granted by the Constitution. These bills target all three branches of federal power, often in language that reveals the influence of radical-right ideologues from bygone times. While the sponsors of the bills routinely point to last year's health care reform bill as the impetus for their legislation, the scope of their targets manifest a deep and longstanding animus against most of the landmark federal legislation of the modern era—from environmental protection, to reproductive rights, to the very idea of state-backed paper currency. Consider:

Virginia lawmakers have proposed the creation of an independent state currency, premised on "the destruction of the Federal Reserve System."

In Georgia, another currency bill would require banks to accept gold or

silver as legal tender, thus overriding federal monetary regulations.

A group of Kentucky Republicans introduced a law exempting the state from the jurisdiction of the Environmental Protection Agency. Montana's "Sheriffs First Act," would give local sheriff's veto power over any federal law enforcement activity in their counties; those who failed to comply would face jail.

So-called "birther bills"—inspired by far-right suspicions about President Obama's country of birth and requiring new proofs of citizenship for candidates—have been introduced in a dozen states, including the moderate New England state of Maine.

Many of these same states have also seen the introduction of harsh immigration bills modeled on Arizona's controversial S.B. 1070, which has been held up in the courts since the Obama Administration's Department of Justice sued to stop its enforcement last year.

Experts doubt the current bills will have much practical impact or leave a long-term legacy.

"These bills are nothing but symbolic grandstanding for conservative constituents," says Erwin Chemerinsky, dean of the Law School at the University of California at Irvine. "States cannot violate federal law or authorize the violation of federal law. The laws are clearly unconstitutional, but that does not keep conservative politicians from introducing them."

The bible for many of the Republican

legislators sponsoring states'-rights bills is Thomas Woods' *Nullification: How to End Federal Tyranny in the 21st Century*. Among Woods' main sources is the 1957 states' rights manifesto, *The Sovereign States: Notes of a Citizen of Virginia*, by James L. Kilpatrick, a chief ideologist of southern resistance during the civil rights movement.

"The ideology behind these new bills comes directly out of resistance to civil rights legislation in the 1950s," says Garrett Epps, a professor of constitutional law at the University of Baltimore School of Law. "They claim it goes all the way back to Jefferson, but it's really grounded in the resistance to the federal enforcement of civil rights. I expect that to be the next wave of bills—to nullify the Americans with Disabilities Act or the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This is lunatic fringe stuff that's coming out of the shadows at a moment when people see an opportunity to take us back to the 1950s."

In some cases, the sponsors of these bills have ties to extremist groups. Russell Pearce, the main sponsor of Arizona's S.B. 1070 and S.B. 1433 laws, has been a friend of neo-Nazi activist J.T. Ready, who is a former member of the National Socialist Movement. Georgia's State Rep. Bobby Franklin, sponsor of a bill that would reject the authority of the Supreme Court and essentially criminalize all abortions and even miscarriages, is a member of the Chalcedon Presbyterian Church, which is part the Christian Reconstructionist movement that seeks to impose draconian Old Testament law on the United States.

Lunatic fringe or not, the activists pushing these bills are often well organized. The driving force behind Utah's bill targeting Washington's power of eminent domain is a group called the Patrick Henry Caucus. With the help of allies like the archconservative Eagle Forum, the caucus has all but taken over the state GOP. Through events such as last year's Tenth Amendment Summit in Atlanta, it has established working contacts with state legislators in 30 states, from North Dakota to New York. The summit, organized by then-Georgia gubernatorial candidate Ray McBerry and the Tenth Amendment Center, was enthusiastically promoted by the far-right John Birch Society and the antigovernment Patriot Action Network.

As reported by the Birchers' *New American* magazine, participants agreed that the federal government is unconstitutionally seizing powers belonging to the states and the people. The answer, it suggested, was "through state nullification of unconstitutional federal laws." In addition to McBerry, speakers included Judge Andrew Napolitano, a far-right Fox News personality, and Roy Moore, the former Alabama chief justice who was thrown out of his job for defying federal court rulings against his placing of a Ten Commandment monument in the rotunda of his courthouse.

"The goal has always been to organize states' sovereignty activists nationwide," says Stephen E. Sandstrom, a Utah state representative and founding member of the Patrick Henry Caucus. "If we only fought health care and gun laws here in Utah, people would just dismiss us as, 'Oh, that's just right-wing Utah.' But if we get it done nationally, coordinating with like-minded people across the spectrum, we can truly have a huge impact."

What follows are state-by-state looks

at some of the more outlandish proposals emanating from legislators in 15 states since last November. The status in the legislative process of many may have changed since press time.

Arizona

Arizona is the state most Americans think of first when it comes to controversial state laws. For this distinction, the state can thank **S.B. 1070**, which last year all but mandated racial profiling and provided a template for state lawmakers around the country to whom enforcement-only immigration law appeals.

Republican lawmakers in the Copper State have not been resting on their laurels. Under the leadership of State Sen. Russell Pearce, they have since introduced a slew of other immigration-related bills, including **S.B. 1405**, which would require proof of citizenship before receiving treatment in the state's emergency rooms. Lawmakers have also passed **S.B. 1610**, which designates the Colt single-action army revolver the official state firearm. Perhaps the most drastic of the

proposed legislation is **S.B. 1178**, which would make all services performed in state and all goods grown or made for consumption in Arizona "not subject to the authority of Congress under its constitutional power to regulate commerce among the several states."

Even more sweeping is **S.B. 1433**, which would create a 12-person "Joint Legislative Committee on Nullification of Federal Laws" to "recommend, propose and call for a vote by simple majority to nullify in its entirety a specific federal law or regulation that is outside the scope of the powers delegated by the People to the federal government in the United States Constitution." State Sen. Sylvia Allen introduced **S.B. 1495** giving the governor the power to establish a "state guard" independent of the National Guard. Under the law, the governor could create this new force for "any reason the governor considers to be necessary."

Arkansas

Republican lawmakers in the Natural State crafted **H.B. 1292** "to prohibit illegal aliens from receiving any state benefit except in instances of emergency or when life-saving measures are required."

The bill has enjoyed the support of activists with the hard-right nativist group Secure Arkansas, an organization whose director, Jeannie Burlsworth, is on record describing a water conservation bill as a ruse to "[turn] America from a Republic into a Fascist, Communist order [that] will enable the globalist water masters to start working towards achieving centralized World Bank objectives which will severely limit our individual water use." While not as extreme as many bills making their way through state legislatures, it signifies a lurch rightward for a state dependent on undocumented workers for key industries such as industrial poultry farming.

Colorado

Colorado Republicans introduced **S.B. 54** to allow police to make warrantless arrests of those it suspected of being in the country illegally. **H.B. 1088** would require a court to consider (before setting bail) any "information" provided by the district attorney, a pretrial services agency or a law enforcement agency that



suggests there are “reasonable grounds” to believe a defendant is an illegal immigrant. The bill would also require a law enforcement agency to tell both the DA and pretrial services agencies if there are “reasonable grounds” to believe a person is an illegal immigrant.

Georgia

State Rep. Bobby Franklin — the self-described “conscience of the Republican Caucus” — made national headlines when he introduced **H.B. 1**. The bill would require women who have had miscarriages to provide evidence that they were not “at fault.” Those who could not do this would be subject to criminal investigations by the state.

The foundation for the bill is Franklin’s belief that the Supreme Court had no jurisdiction to hear *Roe v. Wade*, the 1973 case that legalized many abortions. Franklin’s bill states: “The State of Georgia has the duty to protect all innocent life from the moment of conception until natural death. We know that life begins at conception.” In the past, Franklin has expressed the view that the state has no authority to issue driver’s licenses or teach children.

On the immigration front, State Rep. Matt Ramsey introduced **H.B. 87**, known locally as the “Show Me Your Papers” law. It would require state and local law enforcement officers to investigate the immigration status of all individuals they “reasonably suspect” of being in the country illegally. **H.B. 72** would eliminate the ability to take the permanent driver license exam in a language other than English.

Finally, **H.B. 401** is among the most ambitious of the “birther bills” popping up around the country. It would give any registered voter a two-week window to challenge a candidate’s bona fides, even after the Georgia secretary of state certifies a candidate as native-born.

Kentucky

Republican state senators introduced **S.B. 99** to make their state a “sanctuary” from meddling by the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency. State Sen. Joe Bowen introduced a bill that would allow public schools to host classes about the Bible.



Montana

Republican legislators associated with the Tea Party in the Treasure State have been giving their counterparts in Arizona a run for their money. Within weeks of the opening of the new session, members of the House and Senate introduced a number of bills designed to nullify various pieces of landmark federal legislation. One targets the Endangered Species Act, which the right sees as inhibiting extraction industries operating in state. Another would make county sheriffs the supreme authority.

But these legislators’ respect for local sovereignty is not endless. The same bloc of lawmakers has introduced bills to smack down locally approved ordinances on marijuana and protections for gay people.

Nebraska

State Sen. Mark Christensen’s **L.B. 232** represents one of the most extreme pieces of anti-abortion legislation in memory. The bill would allow a mother or another person to use force — including deadly

force — to “protect a fetus.” While it was supported by anti-abortion groups such as Americans United for Life and Family First, fears that it would increase the threat of, and possibly sanction, violence against abortion providers led local law enforcement officials to join the ACLU and Planned Parenthood in speaking up against it.

Christensen is known for introducing controversial legislation. He is also the force behind recently proposed laws that would allow teachers to carry concealed weapons on school grounds; require presidential and vice presidential candidates to provide a “certified copy” of their “original long-form” birth certificates in order to be listed on the ballot; and prohibit Nebraska’s courts from citing Islamic religious, or Shariah, law in their rulings.

New Hampshire

Republican State Rep. Daniel Itse introduced **H.B. 343** to create a volunteer “permanent state defense force,” separate from the New Hampshire National Guard,

“to defend this state from invasion, rebellion, disaster, insurrection, riot, breach of the peace or imminent danger thereof, or to maintain the organized militia.” The legislation would require Gov. John Lynch to establish a state guard comprised of an undetermined number of volunteers who sign up for one-year stints. It would have an “inactive reserve” made up of all able-bodied adult state residents, with exemptions for conscientious objectors, state and federal officials and others.

Itse is a natural sponsor for such a bill. In February 2009, he said that the state of New Hampshire need not comply with federal legislation, citing Thomas Jefferson’s Kentucky Resolutions.

Ohio

State Rep. Lynn Wachtmann introduced **H.B. 125** to ban abortion as soon as a fetal heartbeat could be detected—before many even know they are pregnant.

Oklahoma

Republican lawmakers in the Sooner State have proposed nearly 30 bills dealing with various aspects of immigration. Two-thirds of them have come from the offices of State Rep. Randy Terrill, a member of the hard-line State Legislators for Legal Immigration, and State Sen. Ralph Shortey, a member of a newly set up joint immigration reform committee. The bills would crack down on undocumented residents of the state in numerous ways, ranging from restricting property rights of noncitizens to requiring school officials know the legal status of students.

The “Interstate Compact for Birth Certificates Act” is a direct challenge to the birthright clause 14th Amendment. Several bills require schools to identify undocumented students; one would allow school districts to charge students not lawfully present in the country, while others would prohibit them from resident tuition. With words echoing the Arizona immigration law enacted last year, one piece of legislation would allow law enforcement with “reasonable suspicion that a person is an alien” to “determine the person’s immigration status.”

South Carolina

State Sen. Lee Bright introduced legislation that backs the creation of an

“alternative” currency for the Palmetto State. The currency to be created by **S.B. 500** is predicated on the expectation of a breakdown of the Federal Reserve System. According to Bright’s bill, “many widely recognized experts predict the inevitable destruction of the Federal Reserve System’s currency through hyperinflation in the foreseeable future.”

South Dakota

Among the most controversial bills of recent memory was **H.B. 1171**, which became a flash point in the right’s broader national challenge to abortion rights. Introduced by Republican State Rep. Phil Jensen, the bill sought to widen the definition of “justifiable homicide” (usually restricted to self-defense) to include homicide committed to prevent harm to a fetus.

H.B. 1217, meanwhile, would force women to undergo counseling at a Crisis Pregnancy Center (CPC) before they can obtain an abortion. Critics note that CPCs are not regulated and are generally run by anti-abortion Christian groups and staffed by volunteers—not doctors or nurses.

State Rep. Hal Wick introduced **H.B. 1237**, a bill that would mandate that every resident of the state over the age of 21 purchase a firearm sufficient for their self-defense. It is, says Wick, his way of satirizing mandatory health care.

Tennessee

State Sen. Bill Ketron and State Rep. Judd Matheny introduced **S.B. 1028** to make the practice of Shariah law a felony. It is considered the strictest anti-Shariah law among more than a dozen such bills around the country that would bar judges from considering Shariah in legal decisions, according to the National Conference of State Legislatures.

The bill’s sponsors, who are also fighting the expansion of a mosque 30 miles southeast of Nashville, describe the bill as “a powerful counterterrorism tool.” Local Muslim groups fear the measure would outlaw central tenets of Islam, such as praying five times a day toward Mecca, abstaining from alcohol and fasting for Ramadan.

Texas

Nearly 60 pieces of immigration-related legislation have been filed in the Lone Star state legislature. The bills range from mandating that school districts report immigration status of children, to making it a felony to hire an undocumented individual, to denying birth certificates to children of the undocumented (another direct challenge to the 14th Amendment). Republican State Rep. Lois Kolkhorst has introduced a bill that would mandate law enforcement agents turn detained undocumented residents over to a U.S. senator’s office or congressmen’s office.

The Senate also saw the introduction of **S.B. 16**, requiring doctors to perform a sonogram at least two hours before an abortion takes place and to provide the woman with an opportunity to view it or hear the fetal heartbeat. The bill’s exceptions include cases of rape, incest or where the fetus has fatal abnormalities.

Utah

In the words of one longtime political analyst of the Beehive State, “Utah politics always has a lot of crazy to choose from.” This year offers a typically rich bounty.

The state has seen a raft of “Arizona-like” enforcement-only immigration bills, mostly notably **H.B. 497**, which would create a light trigger (misdemeanors) for the mandatory check of immigration status. Another bill would repeal resident tuition for state college students who are in the country illegally but graduated from a Utah high school.

And thanks to State Rep. Carl Wimmer, the Browning M1911 handgun is now the official Utah state firearm. (Wimmer is also pushing to liberalize gun laws with a “constitutional carry” provision which would allow anybody who isn’t mentally ill to have a loaded gun, anywhere, without a permit.)

And State Sen. Mark Madsen introduced **H.B. 220**, which states that the United States is a “constitutional compound republic” — not a “democracy” — and that Utah schools should make this clear in classrooms. Madsen says his bill stems from a desire to have “true history” taught. “Schools from coast to coast are indoctrinating our children to socialism,” he said. ▲



The Unwelcome Guest

The murder of a Latino immigrant in an aging Pennsylvania coal town was a tragedy. But was the town in some way responsible?

BY RYAN LENZ

SHENANDOAH, Pa. —The four white football players — stars of the Shenandoah Valley High School Blue Devils — wandered away from a party celebrating the Polish heritage of this rough borough in coal country. They were drunk and rambunctious, spoiling for a fight. After coming upon a Mexican man walking with his fiancée’s younger sister, they began taunting both with racial slurs and threats.

“Tell your Mexican friends to get the fuck out of Shenandoah,” one yelled to Luis Ramirez, whose nickname was “Caballo,” Spanish for horse. Ramirez raised his fists like a pugilist, bracing for a fight.

While the handful of eyewitness accounts differ over who threw the first punch, one horrific fact remains: Ramirez was ruthlessly beaten and left unconscious, foaming at the mouth. His eyes rolled backward as terrified onlookers called 911 for help. Days later, he would

die from the blunt-force head wounds he suffered that night. “It was,” said Crystal Dillman, Ramirez’s fiancée, stammering briefly in search of a word during an interview, “overkill.”

Ramirez’s death after the July 12, 2008, beating drew attention to what FBI statistics suggest was a nationwide surge of anti-Latino hate crime that began in the early 2000s. Five months later and 170 miles away, another gang of teenagers in Patchogue, N.Y., killed Ecuadorian immigrant Marcelo Lucero as part of a “sport” they called “beaner-hopping.”

Both killings came amid a powerful anti-immigrant movement cresting across the country — a movement that has produced civilian border patrols, draconian city and state laws designed to drive away undocumented immigrants, and even the



Slap on the wrist: Derrick Donchak (left) and Brandon Piekarsky were acquitted by a local jury of the most serious charges against them. But a federal jury later sent each of them to prison for nine years.

The town's reaction to Ramirez's death — charges of a police conspiracy to protect the four white teens and a local jury's highly controversial verdict in a criminal trial — did little to squelch the notion that the killing was the result of racism. To civil rights groups and Latino advocates, these developments exposed a pattern of disregard for Latinos in an out-of-the-way fiefdom ruled by a powerful group of local politicians and law enforcement officials who, when faced with outside scrutiny, circled the wagons.

Murder as Misdemeanor Assault

Two weeks after Ramirez died, Schuylkill County prosecutors charged Brandon Piekarsky, then 16, Derrick Donchak, 18, Colin Walsh, 17, and Brian Scully, 17, with state hate crime charges. The following April, U.S. attorneys announced they also would pursue hate crime charges against Walsh. That helped the state's case, because Walsh agreed to testify against his friends in exchange for a prison sentence of about four and a half years.

It looked to be a swift path to justice for the Ramirez family. But then, in 2009, an all-white state court jury in Schuylkill County acquitted Piekarsky of third-degree murder and Donchak of ethnic intimidation. Both were found guilty instead of misdemeanor assault. They each received a sentence ranging up to 23 months.

The verdicts shocked and enraged Latino and civil rights groups, reminding

many of the jury nullification that once freed white killers of civil rights activists in the South despite overwhelming evidence of guilt. More than 25,000 people signed an online petition asking for a Justice Department investigation, and Pennsylvania Gov. Ed Rendell wrote a letter to U.S. Attorney General Eric Holder requesting an intervention.

The Justice Department responded with force.

By the end of 2009, Piekarsky and Donchak had been indicted on federal hate crime charges. And federal prosecutors dropped a bombshell on the town: They charged three of the five officers in the town's all-white police department with conspiring to cover up the hate crime to protect its native sons.

Federal prosecutors alleged that Police Chief Matthew Nestor, Lt. William Moyer and Patrolman Jason Hayes orchestrated a scheme to conceal evidence, coach witnesses and stand in the way of investigators. Hayes, it turned out, was dating Piekarsky's mother, and Nestor had vacationed with her.

"The police did not do their job and they were partly involved with this cover-up," Schuylkill District Attorney James Goodman told *The Associated Press* early in the investigation.

"It was a sad situation all around," said former Shenandoah Mayor Thomas O'Neill, who resigned three years into his term after encountering stiff resistance from local officials unwilling to cooperate with federal investigators. "They're just bullies. That's just the way I see it."

Mean Streets

Something had gone awry in Shenandoah, an economically depressed, out-of-the-way borough still suffering from the collapse of the coal industry that a century before had fueled its economy. It had always been a rough place, but when immigrants began arriving to work in the surrounding farms, the cultural face of a town that has always been white began to change dramatically.

Some residents speak of pervasive aggression toward Latinos long before Ramirez's death. Young Mexican students were cursed at and spit on, resident Anna Marie Lopez explained as she and her husband, an immigrant from Mexico,

home-invasion murders of a 9-year-old Latina girl and her father by border vigilantes in Arizona (see story, p. 7).

Was Ramirez a victim of this nativist rage? The teens accused of committing a hate crime claimed they weren't motivated by hatred or bigotry toward Latinos, a pivotal question in the case against them. But the vitriol and outright bigotry surrounding the immigration debate, coupled with the racial slurs used that night, make it hard to escape the conclusion that the tragedy was the fruit of hatred and resentment toward Latino immigrants. Shenandoah, a once-thriving coal town in decline for almost a century, is just 20 miles down the road from Hazleton, which in 2006 became the first community in America to pass its own anti-immigration ordinance.

shoveled snow outside their Shenandoah home in January. “I could get myself in trouble for talking to you,” Lopez told the *Intelligence Report* timidly. “They’ll probably harass me.”

Her concern was understandable given a series of events that drew attention to Shenandoah and reinforced accusations of rampant anti-Latino sentiment.

In 2008, months after Ramirez’s death, Donchak reportedly wore a “Border Patrol” T-shirt to a Halloween party, and prosecutors said he occasionally played a racist song, “White Man’s March.” Later that year, a woman identified as JaeLynn Mackalonis interrupted a CNN interview to chastise another local woman who was speaking about the treatment of Latinos in Shenandoah. “Get your

sites, and You Don’t Speak For Me!, a front group created by the Federation for American Immigration Reform to look like a Latino group that opposes immigration. On Stormfront.org, the world’s leading white supremacist Internet forum, the rally was a topic of conversation for days.

Dillman, Ramirez’s white fiancée and a native of the town, attended the rally and brandished a Mexican flag in defiance. When she was identified, a mob surrounded and bombarded her with screams and accusations.

“They say they’re not a hateful town, but yet some of their remarks are hateful and ignorant,” Dillman said. “They seem to forget how my kids’ lives are never going to be the same, how my life was destroyed, how Luis lost his life at 25 years old. ... They seem to forget.”

City of Immigrants

Built in the late 19th century around the burgeoning coal industry, the borough of Shenandoah wears the narrative of its history on Main Street storefronts such as Kowalonek’s Kielbasy Shop and Luna’s Dimaggio Italian Restaurant, and in the coal dust that stains the roadside a midnight black — a lasting testament to the immigrant labor that worked the anthracite mines more than a century ago.

The town, which had a population of nearly 30,000 in 1920, has been slowly shrinking for decades. In the early 1990s, the predominantly European-American population began to change as Latino migrant workers came to the area to work in agricultural jobs and what remained of the once-prosperous coal industry. By 2009, the Latino population (excluding natives of Spain) had grown to about 13% according to the U.S. Census Bureau — a considerable portion of the borough’s 5,600 residents. Considering the total population had grown only fractionally since 2000, the shift drastically altered the borough’s cultural makeup.

Shenandoah had seen this before. Successive waves of immigrants



Luis Ramirez struggled for several days to survive, but ultimately succumbed to his injuries.

— English, Welsh, Germans, Irish and then Eastern Europeans including Lithuanians, Poles, Ukrainians and Slovaks — never co-existed comfortably. At the time of Ramirez’s death, the prevailing sentiment was that Latinos could have a place in town, but they’d have to earn it, explained Philip Andras, the principal of Shenandoah Valley High School. “They’re different,” Andras said. “And until there’s a commonality, a community commonality, it’s all too easy to make judgments.”

It had become so commonplace in highly ethnic Shenandoah to lob insults at others based on their race or heritage that many residents no longer viewed such slights as indicators of real racial hostility. In the wake of Ramirez’s death, many are still unwilling — or unable — to see the attack as a true hate crime.

“It’s not like the kids that were involved in this fight said that Saturday night, ‘Let’s go get a Mexican,’” said Andrew Szczygłak, the deputy coroner and former head of the City Council, during a conversation in the offices of Downtown Shenandoah Inc., a commercial revitalization effort. “I grew up in this town. It was always, ‘Oh, you’re a dumb Pollock.’ Or, if you’re Irish, ‘You’re a drunk.’”

Mary Luscvage, director of the revitalization project, chimed in: “I’m a wop.” Szczygłak nodded. “Because I call Mary a wop or a guinea, it doesn’t mean I’m going to kill her,” he said.

Yet something important seems to be lost in discussions with many Shenandoah residents about the crime. The locals’ minimizing the racial aspect of the killing

“They say they’re not a hateful town, but yet some of their remarks are hateful and ignorant. They seem to forget how my kids’ lives are never going to be the same, how my life was destroyed, how Luis lost his life at 25 years old. They seem to forget.”

story straight before you go babbling anything,” Mackalonis said. “It wasn’t a racial crime. If he wasn’t here illegally, I think it wouldn’t have happened.”

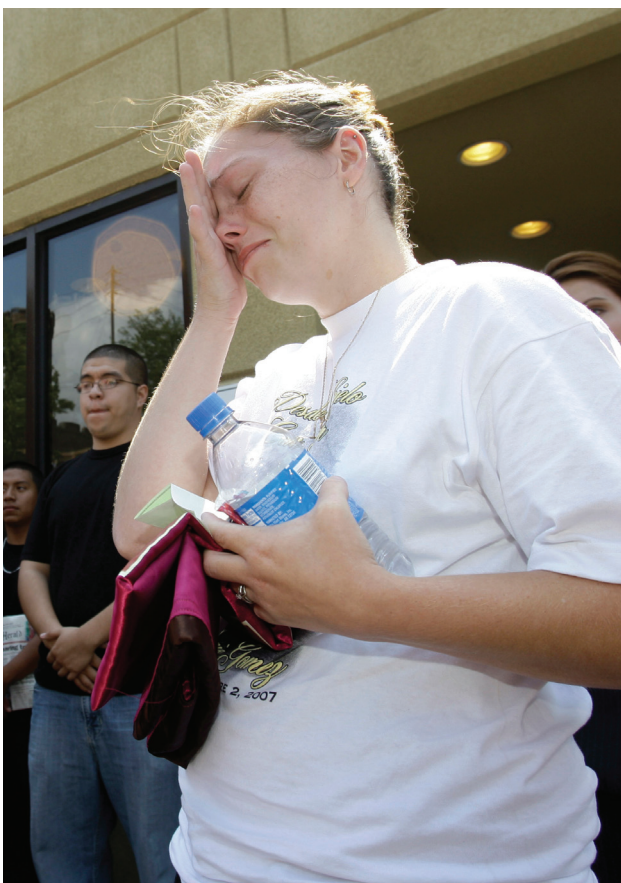
Then, that December, an anti-immigration rally to support Donchak and Piekarsky drew elements of the racist right, including demonstrators claiming to be Klan members. Also attending were members of nativist groups including United Patriots for America, a hard-line organization based in Linden, N.J., known for conducting surveillance of day-labor

only reinforces the image of pervasive racism that has spread since a Mexican man died as the sons of Shenandoah shouted “spic.”

Truth and Consequences

Piekarsky and Donchak were convicted by a federal jury last October and each sentenced to nine years in prison. Scully was tried in juvenile court, where the proceedings are not part of the public record. The officers — Nestor, Moyer and Hayes — were acquitted of conspiracy by an all-white jury in nearby Wilkes-Barre, Pa., but Nestor was found guilty of falsifying records and Moyer of lying to the FBI. They were to be sentenced this spring. (Nestor and his second-in-command, Capt. Jamie Gennarini, also faced unre-

Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF) who spent months in Shenandoah as a family advocate for Dillman after Ramirez’ death. Limon said town officials have become much more openly accepting to Latino families, but she worries that the benevolence will fade once the outside scrutiny goes away.



A tangled web: Crystal Dillman laments her late fiancé, while others in the area, like Debby Rabold (displaying her U.S. passport), found reasons to support the killers of Luis Ramirez. Meanwhile, police officer Jason Hayes, who was dating one of the killers’ mothers, was accused of helping orchestrate a cover-up.

The events that shook up this town, in many respects, reflect similar struggles going on in communities across

America. Demographic changes related to immigration are altering the look of the United States, and some Americans are reacting with rage and even violence. What can make the difference is how a community chooses to confront and deal with what some may see as uncomfortable changes.

During a cold morning in January, just off Main Street, the “Open” sign flickers on at La Casita de Familia at 10 a.m. The working men and women, both white and Latino, slowly drift in for steaming bowls of salsa verde and fresh corn tortillas. No one talks about the police department, which has replaced nearly all its officers, or the legal proceedings yet to come involving the death of another young man.

This summer, a civil lawsuit will go to trial in the Nov. 28, 2004, death of David Vega, 18, a Puerto Rican American who was found hanging in Shenandoah’s jail. The 6-foot-4 high school basketball player had been arrested for criminal mischief after an argument over a football game turned into a fight at his father’s house. The lawsuit, which seeks unspecified damages, names as defendants Chief Nestor, Capt. Gennarini and the borough of Shenandoah.

Carlos Vega swears his son’s death was an act of a town driven by an incomprehensible hatred of Latinos and an aggressive police department that knew no limits to its brutality. “They beat him to death, and to cover it up, they hanged him after he was in a coma,” Vega said through tears.

Vega’s claim has support. An independent autopsy report found no sign of several physical factors that normally accompany a suicide by hanging — a broken bone along the jaw (the hyoid bone), internal hemorrhaging along the neck, and burst blood vessels in the face. Instead, the report cited massive head injuries, a gash along Vega’s scalp and a dislocated shoulder. The Vega family’s attorney, Joseph Walsh, said a forensic pathologist determined that most likely, Vega was unconscious when he was strung up by his belt, which asphyxiated him.

Nestor’s attorney, Joseph Nahas, did not return calls seeking comment.

But during a deposition taken this February, Angela Pleva, Nestor’s former girlfriend, testified that when she confronted the chief he spoke chillingly of what had happened. “He said, ‘We went too far and we killed him,’” Pleva testified, according to the official transcript.

“Did he say anything else?” an attorney pressed.

“No,” she said. “He kind of laughed.” ▲

lated federal corruption charges involving multiple counts of civil rights violations and extortion, including an alleged attempt to shake down a local businessman for cash.)

“Things have shaken up this town,” said Gladys Limon, a Los Angeles attorney with the Mexican American

ANGER ON THE LAND

Once again, the antigovernment ‘Patriot’ movement is taking up Western land-use issues. Could a return to violence be next?

BY RYAN LENZ AND EVELYN SCHLATTER

DOLORES, Colo. — Douglas Maxwell spun on his heels and opened the creaky door of his dusty, two-tone Ford F-150 to rifle through a stack of papers. Months after beginning his daily protest outside the Public Lands Office, the angry taxidermist was armed and ready to pick a fight.

“They think they can intimidate the American people? They can go to hell,” he said, tugging on the bill of a “U.S. Border Guard” baseball cap. “Just the other day I told a forest ranger, ‘Do you want another Ruby Ridge or Waco?’ Because that’s the way this is heading.”

Lying there in the cab of his truck, as if to underline his seriousness, were a .357-caliber Magnum and a .32-caliber semi-automatic pistol.

Each day at sunrise, Maxwell sets up signs on sandwich boards and on the side of his truck that warn of the death of the San Juan National Forest and paint the forest rangers who work there as donkey’s asses. An ever-changing cast of supporters stops to exchange bits of intelligence about the federal government’s latest maneuvers and its pending “crackdown” on dissidents. Humvees, the stories go, are quietly lining the roads outside Las Vegas in preparation for martial law — and concertina-wired prison camps are rising up in the surrounding deserts.

Ever since the U.S. Forest Service issued a draft plan last year to sharply limit motor-vehicle access to the 2.5 million acres of the San Juan forest, Maxwell and growing numbers of like-minded Westerners have been organizing against

a government they see as tyrannical. In Dolores County, Maxwell’s compatriots have threatened to “arrest” federal officials. They’ve hanged Smokey Bear in effigy and demanded the return of “liberty.”

What is happening in this sparsely populated and economically depressed southwest corner of Colorado is a

reprise of other Western land-use uprisings of the past 40 years, including the “Sagebrush Rebellion” and the “Wise Use” and “County Supremacy” movements. But in a more immediate way, it is a part of the second wave of the antigovernment “Patriot” movement that roiled America and spawned much violence in the 1990s. And like that movement, it has blended issues of genuine concern, such as the federal management of Western public lands, with a staggering dose of radical-right conspiracy theories.

The rebellion is finding allies in local elected officials, some of whom argue — against well-established law — that they have a legitimate right to defy federal laws and regulations. In Montezuma County, the recently elected sheriff, who takes four-hour classes from a local “constitutionalist,” appeared on a white supremacist radio show in February to assert that county sheriffs are “the ultimate law enforcement authority.”

Joining him in opposing the Forest Service’s proposed road closures are a legion of self-described Patriots — people who have subscribed to the idea that the government is leveraging Colorado’s public lands against U.S. debt to China, or preparing the way for foreign troops

to help impose martial law, or taking the first steps toward implementing a global socialistic government to be known as the New World Order. Others see the evil hand of the United Nations behind the move to close off public lands. That fear harkens to the 1990s, when Patriots commonly believed the U.N. was working to depopulate the United States in order to create an idyllic “biosphere” for animals.

Similar conflicts have sprung up in recent months in Idaho, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah and elsewhere. They are arising as the Patriot movement enjoys a powerful renaissance. The Southern Poverty Law Center documented 824 Patriot groups, including armed militias, operating across the country in 2010. That’s a startling 576% increase from the 149 groups active in 2008. It’s also the most since the height of the first Patriot movement in 1996, when there were 858.

The land-use battles exemplified by the struggle in Dolores and Montezuma counties have led to political violence in the past. The 1990s were marked by attacks in the West on the Forest Service, the Bureau of Land Management and similar agencies with oversight over federal lands. And Dolores is just 10 miles from the town of Cortez, where three extremists stole a water truck in 1998 and murdered a police officer who tried to stop them. They fled into the wilderness, where they were found dead, each a suspected suicide, months and years later. The armed vigil outside the Public Lands Office in Dolores is in many ways reminiscent of that dark and violent period.

Every so often, as Maxwell leaned heavily over the side of his pickup, a motorist from one of the surrounding communities would show support with a honk — all the validation Maxwell needs to support his resistance.

“They’re raping us all,” Maxwell



Army of one: Douglas Maxwell, who has led local protests against the closure of national forest roads, says the conflict could lead to violence.



Bristling with images of weaponry, Douglas Maxwell's truck is the most visible sign of a resurgent antigovernment "Patriot" movement in the West. As in the past, the movement blends issues of genuine concern, such as use of public lands, with a wealth of bizarre conspiracy theories.

growled. “So God bless America, and fuck the bastards. If they push violence on us, it’ll come back on them. Guaranteed.”

Patriot with a Badge

Montezuma County Sheriff Dennis Spruell is an unlikely figure at the forefront of the Patriot groundswell in Colorado. He was elected last year on a platform that romanticized him as an ironclad patriot ready to fight any federal effort seen by the radical right as an offense to the Constitution.

“Warning: Sheriff Spruell reads the constitution,” one election placard stacked neatly against a wall in his office reads. Another says, “Our modern day Knight” and depicts the sheriff as a burly medieval warrior. The signs are more than campaign rhetoric; with Spruell’s election last year, the Patriot movement found a career lawman willing to champion its beliefs.

“I didn’t give myself the constitutionalist title, but I wear it proudly,” Spruell told the *Intelligence Report*. “I am standing up to the federal government because I think they are wrong. ... I love this country, and I don’t want to see bureaucrats destroy it.”

In many regards, Spruell is the epitome of a small-town Western sheriff. Affable, with folksy charm, he knows how to wear a smile. In his office, the mounted head of a 10-point buck competes for prominence alongside pictures of K-9 dogs named Zolton, Lobo and Justice — dogs Spruell used when he was a narcotics officer in the Cortez Police Department.

But the depth of his rage against the “incursion” of the federal government sets Spruell apart from his fellow law enforcement officers. He eagerly recounts the story of how he felt after seeing a bulldozed road during a hunting trip in the San Juan. Bulldozing roads is a technique used by the Forest Service to return forestland to a more natural state. But each destroyed road represents a bit more of the forest that is harder for hunters like Spruell to reach. “They accomplished nothing, except destroying Mother Earth, and that aggravated me,”



Spruell said. “And then I started hearing from all of my constituents, and I knew the fight was going to be on.”

That was all it took for Spruell to embrace the idea of county supremacy, the belief that the county is the highest government authority. This idea originated with the Posse Comitatus — a violent, anti-Semitic and white supremacist movement that sprang up in the early 1970s and provided much of the ideological underpinning for today’s Patriot movement — although there’s no evidence at all that the sheriff has any idea of its origins or any affinity for racist sentiments.

Now, every other Saturday, Spruell sits for a class on the “principles” of the Constitution with Michael Gaddy, former president of the New Mexico chapter of the Minuteman Project, one of the first of the anti-immigrant groups to patrol the Mexican border in Arizona beginning in 2005.

“He knows more about the Constitution than I’ll ever know,” Spruell said one Saturday, after having just returned from the Western States Sheriffs’ Association annual convention in Las Vegas, where the authority of sheriffs was a hot topic. “He’s opened my eyes.”

Spruell’s enlightenment was on full display when he and Gaddy in February appeared on “The Political Cesspool,”

Public anger over actions of the U.S. Forest Service and the Bureau of Land Management has been growing across the West, a reprise of earlier antigovernment movements.

an unabashedly racist radio show that is hosted by James Edwards and features a Who’s Who of the radical right as guests. (Spruell later said he was unaware of Edwards’ white nationalist views.)

During the interview, Spruell threatened to arrest any federal agent in his county who, in his view, violates the Constitution. “The sheriff, he’s the ultimate law enforcement authority because he’s elected by the ultimate power, and that’s the people,” Spruell told Edwards. “If the federal government comes in and violates the law, it’s my responsibility to see that it stops.” He later told the *Durango Herald* that such violations could include closing or blocking forest roads.

Gaddy regaled Edwards’ listeners with a hefty inventory of conspiracy theories that have long provided the kindling that ignites the Patriot movement. He claimed that federal land-use policies in the West are part of an orchestrated effort to hide the fact that mineral rights on public lands are being transferred to China.

When Edwards asked if he believed those ideas, too, Spruell said, “I’m not a conspiracy guy. ... But I wonder if that’s not what they’re trying to do to us.”

Roads to Nowhere

Under the Forest Service's new rules for the San Juan, some 155 miles of roads are tagged for permanent closure. The agency also is erecting earthen berms and moving large boulders into place to block unauthorized trails, cutting off access to large swaths of backcountry used by hunters on all-terrain vehicles. The actions are intended to encourage the revegetation of damaged forestland and to protect wildlife habitat and the forest's streams. But residents of communities that have relied on the forest say they are being denied the resources, including food from game, that have long helped sustain them.

In the wake of those changes, a growing number of radical thinkers have emerged with claims that the federal government authority is limited by legal precedents related to an obscure, 145-year-old federal law called Revised Statute 2477. (The law was intended to promote the development of public lands in the West by granting, without federal review, rights-of-way across federal lands for road construction.) They come armed with binders of news clippings, government filings and antiquated interpretations of historical documents like the Magna Carta and the Constitution.

Ron Heaton in Dove Creek, Colo., and Dennis Atwater in Cortez, both retired, have done the lion's share of spreading the idea the federal government has insidious reasons for the land-use changes.

"We view our public lands differently than the rest of the nation," Atwater explained. "The lands are a way of life, and we depend on this land not only for our livelihood but also our happiness." (Atwater also told the *Intelligence Report* that he suspects a building in Durango is an outpost for a nascent one-world government led by the United Nations.)

These pseudo-intellectuals have looked to an increasingly broad body of modern polemics, including *Statehood: The Territorial Imperative* by William Redd and William Howell, published in 2005, and *War on Rural America* by Fred Kelly Grant. The books promote an idea that the federal government has vastly overreached by imposing its will on local governments.

During a town hall meeting earlier this year, about 200 concerned citizens filled the Dolores Community Center to listen

to Howell and Redd, a former San Juan County, Utah, commissioner, give a four-hour lecture on the "first principles" of the Constitution and the "entitled sovereignty" of American citizens. They heard a rant about a loss of freedom and an evil government in their back yards.

"They want the West to be cleared of population," Redd yelled into a microphone, adding that the government has "some international treaties in place that will do it."

Dolores County Commission Chairwoman Julie Kibel, who has



Montezuma County (Colo.) Sheriff Dennis Spruel, who takes weekly classes from a local "constitutionalist," is one of many speaking out against the federal government in Colorado.

distributed Kelly's book and similar literature, said the public has a right to be informed. "We're not trying to incite a revolt; we're trying to prevent one. Our hope is that as we work through the issues, we're not giving the OK to take up arms."

The Rhetoric of Resistance

With all its bravado, the current resurgent movement in the West, at times, calls up memories of its own violent history. In 1994, a county commissioner in Nevada who likened the struggle over public lands to "a second Civil War" took a bulldozer to a forest road and refused to stop for two rangers who fled his approach. In the next two years, some extremists took a guerrilla-style approach in Nevada, bombing the Forest Service office in Carson City and the Bureau of Land Management office in Reno.

These acts of violence stand as testament to the threat posed when the rhetoric of war and resistance to federal authority reaches a crescendo and either a lone Patriot or a group takes the message to heart. While no violence has yet occurred in Colorado, with armed citizens sitting on a street corner threatening forest rangers by name, it's easy to imagine what could come.

The Forest Service and others in the community are increasingly aware that the current struggle in Colorado continues to heat up dangerously. "The difficult thing is to get by the heated rhetoric and feelings right now," said Mark Stiles, director of the San Juan National Forest. "There is definitely a segment of the community that is concerned about a loss of liberty."

Temperatures are rising over this specific grievance just as some of the most outspoken and prominent leaders of the nationwide Patriot movement are calling outright for violence and insurrection.

Sonny Frazier, the town manager in Dolores County's Dove Creek, said the "arrogance" of forest rangers working as law enforcement officers, dressed in flak vests and carrying tactical weapons, has left many feeling as if they already live in a police state where communities are slowly being robbed of their liberties.

The endgame is simple, Frazier said, before offering an ominous warning. "If you dress up like you're wanting a war, you're gonna get a war." ▲



Inside the DHS

The federal agency's former lead domestic terrorism analyst says it bowed to political pressure and may have left America more vulnerable

Daryl Johnson has been battling extremist groups for two decades. He got his start in the field in 1991, when he worked on counterterrorism for the U.S. Army. In 1999, Johnson left the Army for the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, where he was a subject-matter expert on violent antigovernment groups. In 2004, officials at the newly created Department of Homeland Security (DHS) approached Johnson to take a key post as the senior domestic terrorism analyst. He accepted and, for six years, Johnson led a team of experts on domestic extremist groups.

While at DHS, Johnson and his team wrote the April 7, 2009 report, “Right-wing Extremism: Current Economic and Political Climate Fueling Resurgence in Radicalization and Recruitment.” The report, which was intended for law enforcement only, was quickly leaked and caused a firestorm among some on the political right who accused DHS of painting all kinds of conservatives as potential Timothy McVeighs. In fact, it had merely pointed out that some domestic extremists focused on single issues like immigration and abortion and also noted that extremists were interested in recruiting military veterans returning from Iraq and Afghanistan. Its analysis of the causes of the surge of right-wing radicalism — the election of the nation’s first black president and the economy, among other things — still seems completely accurate and is in line with similar findings by the Southern Poverty Law Center.

But DHS ultimately reacted to criticism from conservative columnists and groups like the American Legion by withdrawing the report. (Ironically, given the criticism of his report, Johnson describes himself as a registered Republican who “personifies conservatism.”) In the months following the leak, Johnson says in the interview below, DHS gutted its domestic terrorism analysis unit.

Events in the immediate aftermath of DHS’ suppression of its report seemed clearly to exonerate its conclusions. In late May 2009, abortion provider George Tiller was shot and killed by an anti-abortion fanatic — just the kind of person the DHS report had warned of in one section. In June 2009, neo-Nazi James von Brunn killed a security guard at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C., while trying to storm into the building. Many similar attacks and planned attacks by the radical right have followed, right up to the present day.

Since leaving DHS last year, Johnson has formed a company, DT Analytics, to consult and offer training on issues related to violent domestic extremism and homeland security. He also is writing a book that he hopes will set the record straight on what really happened at DHS as well as help state and local law enforcement officials better confront the continuing threat of domestic terrorism.

JOHN HEALEY

When did you become interested in domestic terrorism?

Way back in 1983, when I was only 14 years old. At the time, the white supremacist terrorist group the Covenant, the Sword and the Arm of the Lord, or CSA, was generating a lot of media attention. I was fascinated by CSA and a little bit scared by it too. It made me curious to understand why people would quit jobs, leave their families and move to remote Arkansas to start arming themselves for Armageddon. I even sent a letter in 1986 to then-Sen. John Warner [R-VA], as part of my Eagle Scout requirements, that talked about the increasing terrorist activity abroad and I wondered, “How much longer will it take until terrorism arrives in the United States?” In the letter, I wrote, “If terrorism does come to the United States, which I think it will shortly, it will either be started or contributed by the militia.” Nine years later, Timothy McVeigh, who was affiliated with the militia movement, blew up the Alfred P. Murrah Federal building in Oklahoma City, killing 168 people. Ultimately, I turned that interest into a career.

How did your official work in this area begin?

When I was with the U.S. Army as a civilian intelligence analyst in the years after the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing, we had a lot of militia cases involving threats to the military in U.S. These groups were stealing military materials, recruiting U.S. soldiers, conducting surveillance of armories, and plotting to attack bases. They thought the “New World Order” was staging its troops on our bases and that the Federal government was creating citizen detention camps using the U.S. military. They also claimed alleged black helicopter sightings. I remember learning that the Republic of Texas had conducted surveillance of military installations in Texas, that another militia group in Michigan had stockpiled illegal weapons and plotted to attack military bases in Battle Creek, and then there was the Ft. Hood plot, too. *[Editor’s note: In 1997, two men, who were associated with the militia movement, were arrested. They had planned to attack Ft. Hood, near Killeen, Texas, and slaughter foreign troops which they wrongly believed were housed there, along with innocent civilians.]*

What was your mission at DHS?

DHS’s mission was identified in the 2002 Homeland Security Act. Part of the department’s responsibilities includes identifying and assessing possible terrorist threats to the homeland and notifying law enforcement officers of those threats. We looked at extremist groups who had histories of violent activities, but who might not necessarily be doing anything right now. We also studied radicalization: the process of adopting an extremist belief system and showing a willingness to use or facilitate violence to change the world. We wanted to know how a law-abiding person becomes radicalized to the point of being willing to hurt people. No one else was doing this work from a uniquely domestic, non-Islamic perspective.

How did your unit work?

I was the senior intelligence analyst for the domestic terrorism unit. I oversaw five analysts who worked directly for me, and we had support from other analysts outside our unit. Each person had a different account—the white supremacist movement, militias and sovereign citizens, single-issue extremists, and so on.

“Napolitano asked us four questions: Are we seeing a rise in domestic right-wing extremism? If so, is it related to the election of a black president? What are the chances of it escalating to violence? And what are we going to do about it?”



We also had anarchists and leftwing terrorists as topics. There was an analyst who supported us through alternative analysis—that’s where you think about the future and try to figure out what domestic terrorism will look like down the road. Another analyst conducted most of our Internet research. Three of my staff members were considered subject-matter experts. Combined, we had 50 years of experience in analyzing domestic extremism.

What was it like day-to-day at DHS?

We were responsible for providing answers to state and local law enforcement agencies. They would submit questions, and we would help out, usually by telling them what is happening throughout the country, identifying emerging trends and explaining the history, organization structure, capability and activities of extremist groups. The fusion centers would send in information, and we’d analyze it and respond. We had a monthly newsletter, and we wrote several assessments and reference aids that provided background information on extremist groups who had violent histories. Most valuable, I think, were the dozens of presentations we gave to state and local law enforcement agencies each year. We often received positive feedback and letters of appreciation from our stakeholders.

How did your work with DHS differ from the FBI’s?

The FBI is the lead agency on terrorism, so no one else in the federal government has the resources they have. They have a core cadre of agents and analysts in D.C. devoted to this issue. DHS complemented the FBI counterterrorism mission. The FBI is a law enforcement agency, so they have rules and legal parameters in which they must operate. DHS was not constrained by these same rules because we were part of the intelligence community. We had a different set of rules to abide by. At the time, we had more latitude to look at extremist groups who talked about violence or who had histories of conducting violent acts, although not currently

engaged in violence. And we were an alternate and sometimes dissenting voice to the FBI. This is an important aspect of intelligence work, because it prevents “group think” and biased analytical judgments by a single agency.

Can you describe what led to the creation of the right-wing extremism report?

Back in 2005, we were worried about the ELF [Earth Liberation Front, a left-wing extremist group] and ALF [Animal Liberation Front] because of their sabotage and arson activities. But in 2007, we started seeing a shift as right-wing extremism was becoming revitalized. We still had analysts covering animal rights extremism and eco-terrorism, but we began spending more time focused on white supremacists and militias.

The report evolved in a complicated way. It began after a phone call from the U.S. Capitol police in January 2007. They wanted help with then-Sen. Barack Obama’s announcement of his candidacy for president. We monitored the Internet for about a month or so looking for threats to Obama. We didn’t see anything threat-related, but I started thinking, “What if the U.S. elects a black president? What impact will this have on extremism in this country?” It seemed pretty clear to me that it would lead to a radicalization and recruitment boom by white supremacists, militias and other right-wing extremists, because this is what they fear the most—a black president, the ultimate symbol of a minority population’s integration into U.S. society.

When Obama looked as though he was going to win the nomination [in August 2008], we started an outline. Between April and October 2008, we were immersed in collecting data. My team was still writing a draft of the report when Janet Napolitano became the new DHS secretary in January 2009.

Three months into Obama’s administration, Napolitano asked us four questions: Are we seeing a rise in domestic right-wing extremism? If so, is it related to the election of a black president? What are the chances of it escalating to violence? And what are we going to do about it?

At first, I thought I would do a Q&A for Napolitano, but given that we had a report in draft form, I was directed to write an

assessment that would not only answer Napolitano’s questions, but also help state and local police prepare for an anticipated change in the domestic threat environment.

How did you feel about her appointment?

We were actually somewhat optimistic and excited because Napolitano was the former Arizona attorney general. She had been involved in the prosecution of Michael Fortier, who was part of the Oklahoma City bombing investigation of Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols. And she was also involved in the Viper Militia case back in 1996. *[Editor’s note: Members of the militia were accused of surveilling Federal facilities in Phoenix as part of an alleged bombing plot. In the end, several were convicted of weapons charges.]* So, here we had a secretary with experience in working domestic terrorism cases. We thought we had a potential advocate and ally.

Did your report generate controversy inside DHS?

This is how it happened. I got a tasking from the secretary, which demanded a quick turnaround. We went through all the necessary coordination; many people reviewed the draft and made comments. Several people signed off on the report: two supervisors, the Office of General Counsel, multiple editors, etc. The Office of Privacy signed off, and the Office of Policy had no suggestions.

The secretary doesn’t oversee agency reports. She couldn’t do it, given the number of agencies generating multiple reports a day. As a result, heads of DHS’ agencies have authority to review work, coordinate with other agencies, approve and disseminate reports.

One office raised issues — the Office of Civil Rights and Civil Liberties [CRCL]. At the time, we weren’t required to give them the report, but my boss thought we should run it past them. They had edits, but the main issue related to the definition of right-wing extremism. That office wanted a narrow definition limited to violent groups and individuals. Our subject-matter experts and management felt the definition needed to be broader.

Under CRCL’s definition, if you were in the Klan, burned crosses, had a terrorist in your house and donated money to groups advocating violence, you still

would not qualify as a right-wing extremist. Our attorneys basically told them, “We appreciate your input, but we are approving the more broad definition.” This ended up being a sore point with CRCL once the document was released.

Did Napolitano know about the report?

Analysts generally have little interaction with the secretary. I know she was briefed on the report a few days before it went out. The day after it went out, I met with Napolitano to talk about the four questions she had asked. My division director thought we could answer the first three questions, but couldn’t answer the last. So, we gave the last question to the FBI, and they came to the briefing.

The report had yet to be leaked. I gave Napolitano a summary of the report and gave her a map of where new militia extremist groups had recently organized. She held the report and nodded her head with agreement as I was talking. It was a cordial meeting. She listened and thanked us all, and she seemed pleased.

Any idea who leaked it?

The report went to the fusion centers [joint federal, state and local terrorism task forces] and various law enforcement agencies. They, in turn, blasted it out to many more people. It’s virtually impossible to know who leaked it, though I have some hunches. Obviously, the person who leaked the report didn’t agree with it and had a political agenda.

How did you react when the report came under attack?

It was an extremely frustrating time, to see conservatives and media folks taking the report out of context and misinterpreting it. [Conservative columnist] Michelle Malkin called it Obama’s “hit job” to target conservatives and others said it called everyone “on the right” a terrorist.

They would have been shocked to know that I personify conservatism. I’m an Eagle Scout. I’m a registered Republican. I’m Mormon. In fact, I was helping the Boy Scouts with a fundraiser when I heard the report being attacked on the news.

How were Malkin and other commentators wrong?

This report was not politically motivated.

“When the right-wing report was leaked and people politicized it, my management got scared and thought DHS would be scaled back. DHS stopped all of our work and instituted restrictive policies. Eventually, they ended up gutting my unit.”



It was based on a phone call from the Capitol Police that got me thinking about what having a black president would mean to extremism in the U.S. We wanted to warn LEOs [law enforcement officials] about a growing threat.

Sad to say, we were right on this one. History has shown that. I'd also like people to know that we were not directing LEOs to do anything. We were prohibited from doing so. All we could do was say there is a trend emerging, and if you have these folks in your jurisdiction, perhaps

you should think about how you are using your resources. Malkin and others totally misconstrued this.

Others criticized the report's points as being obvious, meaning that the bad economy and Obama were fueling this resurgence. Nonetheless, we were the first ones in law enforcement to connect these dots and to write about them.

What happened after the leak?

I got to the office, and there were lots of phone calls. Citizens were angry. People

wanted to speak to DHS authorities. I was very distraught. I felt I could talk to my peers, but beyond that, I couldn't speak for myself. The public affairs office was doing all the PR and media response. We weren't consulted on anything. If I could have responded, I would have said this is why we wrote this. But the response DHS provided just fueled the public's speculation.

What about Napolitano?

Napolitano initially supported the report. She issued an official press release [on April 14, 2009] that said DHS has the authority to look at all types of threats. And we need to be vigilant. It was very supportive and direct.

Unfortunately, not too many people listened, and they kept applying political pressure. She held a couple of press conferences, trying to put out that same message. And people just kept continuing the pressure, especially after Congress got involved. *[Editor's note: For example, U.S. Rep. Pete Hoekstra (R-Mich.), then the ranking member of the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, wrote to Napolitano to complain about what he called "a shoddy, unsubstantiated, and potentially politicized work."]*

I don't know whether her staff advised her to, but she eventually backtracked. The DHS press spokesman came up with this story that it was all unauthorized and orchestrated by a rogue group of analysts. DHS caved in.

How did you feel?

I felt as if I had been betrayed. I had been the recipient of numerous awards at DHS. Our team was considered to be a very productive team that knew its customers. Our co-workers, field representatives and law enforcement counterparts respected us. Many thought we were doing great work.

What ultimately happened?

Napolitano eventually told Congress that DHS was going to remove the report from its websites. Some of the people in the media assumed they were recalling the report. That never happened. There is actually a formal process involved when you want to rescind a report. The only reason you do so is if there was something erroneous in the document. Napolitano



“These incidents are starting to add up. Yet our legislators, politicians and national leaders don’t appear too concerned about this. This is what keeps me up at night.”

also told Congress that DHS was going to pull this report back and refashion it into a much more usable format. It never happened.

Is it off the DHS website today?

Yes. It was removed from various law enforcement computer systems, and classified systems too. But they never sent out an official recall notice saying, “Hey, you need to destroy this document, it’s erroneous.”

What happened to your DHS unit?

When the right-wing report was leaked and people politicized it, my management got scared and thought DHS would be scaled back. It created an environment where my analysts and I couldn’t get our work done. DHS stopped all of our work and instituted restrictive policies. Eventually, they ended up gutting my unit. All of this happened within six to nine months after the furor over the

report. Analysts then began leaving DHS. One analyst went to ICE [U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement], another to the FBI, a third went to the U.S. Marshals, and so on. There is just one person there today who is still a “domestic terrorism” analyst.

Since our report was leaked, DHS has not released a single report of its own on this topic. Not anything dealing with non-Islamic domestic extremism—whether it’s anti-abortion extremists, white supremacists, “sovereign citizens,” eco-terrorists, the whole gamut.

What do you think this means for our country’s safety?

We are more vulnerable. I mean, we lost five good analysts, four of them, including myself, very well-seasoned, considered experts in their topics. We obviously have this serious threat coming from Al Qaeda, or some other international terrorist group, which can result in a mass casualty-producing attack. But I feel that

the government has a lot of good intelligence analysts focused on Al Qaeda and similar threats.

What worries me is the fact that our country is under attack from within, from our own radical citizenry. There have been a lot of small-scale attacks lately, whether it’s three mail bombs sent to U.S. government facilities in Maryland and D.C., or a backpack bomb placed near a [Martin Luther King Jr. Day] parade in Spokane, Wash., or two police officers gunned down at a traffic stop in West Memphis, Ark., [by antigovernment extremists in May 2010].

These incidents are starting to add up. Yet our legislators, politicians and national leaders don’t appear too concerned about this. So, my greatest fear is that domestic extremists in this country will somehow become emboldened to the point of carrying out a mass-casualty attack, because they perceive that no one is being vigilant about the threat from within. That is what keeps me up at night. ▲



BLACK VS. BLUE

A network of bloggers that may include the remnants of a black supremacist religious cult is savaging police around the nation

BY LEAH NELSON ILLUSTRATION BY BRIAN HUBBLE

On Nov. 29, 2009, a fugitive identified by police as Maurice Clemmons walked into a Lakewood, Wash., coffee shop and shot four police officers to death execution-style. Two days later, Clemmons was shot to death by a Seattle police officer.

The shocking case made national headlines, mostly scrutinizing former Arkansas Gov. Mike Huckabee, whose decision to reduce Clemmons' 108-year prison sentence for a string of felonies during his teen years led to the convict's release in 2000. But the case also generated a second controversial story line: While most people were saddened by the tragedy, one shadowy group of extreme fanatics cheered the officers' deaths.

The day after Clemmons died, two blogs — The Last Crusade and Black Male Felon — announced that the Seattle chapter of a little-known organization called the National Black Foot Soldiers Network (NBFSN) would hold a rally to celebrate Clemmons as a "Crowned BOW (Black on White) martyr" who did his part to destroy the "white terror racist police regime."

The story raced through the blogosphere, where outraged writers — including nationally syndicated right-wing columnist Michelle Malkin, who wove the announcement into a baseless screed accusing the political left of launching a "War on Cops" — sounded off.

There was no rally. It's possible no one had ever seriously contemplated one. While the NBFSN is memorable for its bloodthirsty rhetoric, it's unclear what kind of a street presence it is capable of mounting. Several requests to the network for comment went unanswered by press time. But at a minimum, what the critics had run across was one tentacle of a sprawling network of viciously anti-white black nationalist bloggers whose forte is celebrating the deaths of white people and police officers.

Black Male Felon is one of at least 18 blogs in the National Black Foot Soldiers Network bearing such names as Shittycop, Amerikkka the Beautiful, Ultraviolet Holocaust and Mass Media Killers. The authors use pseudonyms such as "Slaughter Lightfoot," "Creaux Steele" and "Antioch Hades." Even the network itself goes by multiple names: National Black Foot Soldiers Network,



Prophet to prison: Dwight York has claimed to be a prophet, a space alien, and God in the flesh, even as he took a variety of elaborate names. In the end, York was reduced to being a convicted child molester serving a 135-year sentence.

the New Day Nigrescent Hebrew Pagans, Black Hebrew Pagans, the Yacub (or Yakub) Muslims, the Yacub 7 Ali Sun Worshipers and The Yacub 13 X Sun Worship Movement, among others.

By all appearances, the bloggers in the network are mainly involved in E-talk — but it's racially charged trash talk of the highest caliber. Their writings, usually styled as journalistic reporting or press releases, refer to a set of institutions, holy men, experts, and individuals that only rarely appear on the Internet. The ideology, such as it is, is a mish-mash of ideas drawn from the religious doctrines of various black nationalist groups of the past century. It is those ideas that provide a key clue as to the identity of those behind the NBFSN. They are likely the remnants of a group with a violent history.

God Damn America Day

The NBFSN lays out some of its thinking on Collective Underground, a site that links to several blogs in the network and says it is a part of the "Underprivileged Media Network." Among other things, NBFSN claims to be a "non religious movement whose mission and ideology

are rooted in securing reparations for the unrestituted for crimes committed by America against the millions of descendants of the Trans Atlantic Slave Trade."

The substance of the network's message can be distilled into four themes.

Whites owe reparations for centuries of oppressing blacks. Blacks who commit crimes against whites are sometimes referred to as "slave avengers" or "reparations protestors."

White police are "state commissioned racial terrorists." Black officers are viewed as race traitors.

The people who call themselves Jews today are actually impostors and "birth-right thieves." Black people are the "real" descendants of the Hebrews of the Bible, the true chosen people. (This idea, commonly known as Black Hebrew Israelism, is widespread among black nationalist groups and is one of many that give the lie to the network's self-description as a "non religious movement.")

God hates white people and, in a 2012 cataclysm that the bloggers call the "Ultraviolet Holocaust," all whites will die. They declare that ultraviolet light — because of its link to skin cancer — "is the Fire of the 2nd Rapture of God." "The Sun of God," they say, "hates white people."

The bloggers certainly hate America. On its 2008 announcement of "God Damn America Day," memorializing New York City's police officers' accidental shooting of a young black man, the network offered a prayer including the lines, "Lord bless neither this land nor her people. Not even her itty bitty children are worthy to be saved. Won't you send another flood and wash them all away? ... Let the sun stay in the sky, in fires let them fry."

God Damn America Day, the network claimed falsely, was endorsed by a host of prominent black individuals, including Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan (whose black supremacist theology does contain some similarities to the network's but who does not celebrate cop killers and the like), activist Rev. Al Sharpton, former NAACP Chairman (and current Southern Poverty Law Center board member) Julian Bond, liberal radio host Tom Joyner, and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. — who died 40 years before allegedly "signing off" on the festivities.

The God Damn America Day



The murders of St. Petersburg, Fla., police officer David Crawford (memorial, top photo) and Norfolk, Va., officer Victor Decker were celebrated in guttural language by one of the racist blogs in the National Black Foot Soldiers Network.

observance, like the Clemmons celebration, never happened.

'DEAD AT LAST!'

Of the blogs in the NBFSN, Shittycop most often catches the public's attention; it is where the pseudonymous Creaux Steele aggregates the network's "press releases" celebrating the deaths of law enforcement officers. These writings never explicitly call for violence — in fact, Shittycop

states that it "does not advocate violence or hatred. Shitty Cop advocates justice." They prefer to rejoice in their purported enemies' demise after the fact.

One example: Victor Decker was a 25-year-old bicycle patrol officer in Norfolk, Va., who was murdered by an unknown assailant in 2010. About a year and a half earlier, Decker had killed 19-year-old suspect Marlon D. Sanders during a shootout that Sanders initiated. Sanders was black. Decker was white.

After Decker's death, Shittycop took the opportunity to dance on his grave: "Norfolk's 2009 Pig Of Year, Racist Police Regime Terrorist Victor Decker OUT OF THERE! 'DEAD AT LAST! DEAD AT LAST! THANK GOD ALMIGHTY, HE'S

DEAD AT LAST!' ... 'Fuck Decker Funeral Protest Party' Reportedly 'In Works.'"

Another example: St. Petersburg, Fla., police officer David S. Crawford was fatally shot while responding to a call about a suspicious person this February. A grand jury has indicted 16-year-old Nicholas Lindsay, who is black, for first-degree murder. Crawford was white.

Shittycop crowed the day after Crawford died: "Another One Bites The Dust! ... Let Us Show The City, County & State No Respect As They Mourn This Devil Dressed As Pig Death & Introduce Them To Niggers & The Ghetto on the Day of His Funeral."

On the ground, no funeral protest materialized.

Coming to Nuwaubia

Although there may be many NBFSN bloggers, there are certain features of their writings — capitalizing every letter in their headlines, referring to themselves by colorful *noms de plume*, calling their faith by multiple names, and most of all, their heterodox, pseudo-Islam-themed theology — that are common and point to a common source.

They are, in fact, trademarks of a man who has over the years used dozens of names including Malachi Z. York, As Sayyid Isa al Haadi al Mahdi, Chief Black Eagle, and many more. At various times he has claimed to be a space alien, a prophet, and God in the flesh.

To the law, however, he is a federal inmate named Dwight York, currently serving a 135-year sentence for multiple counts of child molestation, racketeering, and other crimes. For more than four decades, York served as supreme leader of the Ansaaru Allah Community (AAC), a black separatist cult that came to be known as the United Nuwaubian Nation of Moors in the 1990s, when many of its members moved from New York to a rural Georgia compound.

The bloggers do not explicitly identify themselves as followers of York, a former Black Panther who had already done three years in prison when he founded AAC in Brooklyn in 1970. There is an "official" Nuwaubian website, Nuwaubianfacts.com, but the NBFSN does not appear to link to it directly.

Still, allusions to York's highly unusual

theology are sprinkled through the network, and there is plentiful use of his distinct phraseology. Based loosely on the teachings of the Nation of Islam, the religion is a concoction of elements plucked from myriad versions of black nationalist theology, plus a large dose of York's own musings on life and the universe. A central tenet of Nuwaubianism — like the ideologies of NBFSN and other black nationalist formations including Farrakhan's Nation of Islam — is that whites are the devil incarnate.

The Nuwaubians remained in New York through the early 1990s, when an FBI report accused the group members of participating in a spectrum of criminal activity including trafficking in narcotics, arson for profit, bank robbery, illegal weapons purchases and “muscling” their way into security contracts with businesses in tough parts of New York City.

Around the same time, rumors that York was sexually abusing the women and children among his followers started a “mass exodus” from the AAC, one of his grown children, identified only as “Jacob,” told the *Intelligence Report* in 2002. Also, the FBI began looking into the suspicious 1979 murder of a Brooklyn community leader who'd spoken out against York and the cult.

With the heat rising in New York, York and many of his remaining followers relocated to sparsely populated Putnam County, Ga. For a time, the locals considered them odd but harmless — York's minions would hand out fliers proclaiming their leader a savior from the Planet Rizq who would lead the “chosen ones” back to his home galaxy on May 5, 2000, to escape Planet Earth before its destruction. But the group also had earthly aspirations: Claiming to be an indigenous tribe called the Yamassee Native American Moors of the Creek Nation, it applied for a casino license, only to be rejected. Undaunted, York's followers then began calling themselves the United Nuwaubian Nation of Moors and started to erect Egyptian pyramids and statuary at their compound, which they called Tama-Re.

A zoning battle broke out in 1997 when the sheriff tried to shut down an illegal club at Tama-Re. The Nuwaubians countersued and played the race card, handing out flyers to passersby. “The Whites in

Putnam County Hate Blacks,” screeched one. Using York's trademark capitalization, it spelled out the Nuwaubians' plan to strike back: “We Want Revenge! Because Our People Have Been Unjustly Hurt, We Will Make Sure That They And Theirs Are Hurt.”

In 2001, a second “mass exodus” began. Aided by York's son Jacob, women and children left the Nuwaubian compound and told authorities about years of serial psychological and sexual abuse at the hands of their spiritual leader. In May 2002, authorities arrested York, charging him with 116 counts, mostly for child molestation and illegal weapons possession. York was convicted in 2004 and is incarcerated in Florence, Colo., at the U.S. Penitentiary Administrative Maximum Facility — Supermax. The Tama-Re compound was eventually sold at a government forfeiture auction and all the Egyptian accoutrements bulldozed.

Melanoma and the Third Eye

There is a case to be made that the NBFSN — the bloggers of Shittycop, Collective Underground, And God Made Light, Waldorf Caruthers, The 4th Angel, Black Male Felon, Ghetto Bragging Rights and countless others, along with whoever may stand behind them — are remnants of the Nuwaubians, or at least Nuwaubian-inspired. Many of the Nuwaubians slipped below the radar after York's fall from grace, leaving Georgia for points unknown.

The network is replete with images from the Nuwaubian *Holy Tablets*, which York claims is a “renewed” translation of the Torah, Scripture, the Koran, and the *Book of the Dead* that he undertook in order to give his followers “guidance from this to the next world and on.” Much of the pseudo-scientific jargon used to explain NBFSN's beliefs precisely matches that of the Nuwaubians.

Though claiming to be secular, the NBFSN links to blogs promulgating Nuwaubian race theory. Collective Underground cites Fard Muhammad, reputed founder of the Nation of Islam, as the source of its information: “When Moses (who was black) found whites in the Caucasus Mountains they didn't bathe, had sex with animals, didn't know what fire was, were having sex with their

parents and children and eating raw meat,” it reads.

Not all of the bloggers' beliefs adhere to known Nuwaubian theology, however — and most of those elements are in any case shared with many other black nationalist religious doctrines. The NBFSN writers, for instance, boast about their ability to conduct “melanoma executions,” in which they claim to inflict melanomas on white people with merely a look by focusing ultraviolet light through an invisible third eye.

Andy Caress of Cincinnati, who was 24 when he died of melanoma last Aug. 4, spent his last years building Mela-KNOW-More, a foundation devoted to educating people about melanoma prevention. Four days after his death, the NBFSN blog And God Made Light crowed, “THE ANDY CARESS MELANOMA EXECUTION: ‘IT IS COMPLETE;’ Cincinnati Yakub Muslims Praise Completion Of Skin Sinner's Execution, Condemn ‘Mela-Know-More’ Foundation, Admonish Whites: ‘Learn Laws Of New Sun Of God Era & Apply For Mercy.’”

Other than dying of melanoma — and being white — it is not clear what “offense” Caress committed against black people.

Identifying the ‘Foot Soldiers’

The late David Mills, a popular blogger whose online handle was “Undercover Black Man,” identified the pattern of unique terms referenced by the NBFSN blogs and concluded they were a hoax perpetrated by someone trying to provoke whites into hating blacks. Mills, a former newspaper reporter and Emmy-winning writer for HBO's “The Wire,” devoted substantial effort to exposing them, and several times exchanged angry words online with various members of the network, who were especially enraged when they learned that he was black.

After Mills died from an aneurism in 2010, a post on one network blog implied that Mills, though black, was essentially white and had earned his early demise. “David Mills' soul got blue eyes,” it said.

The NBFSN also has been much discussed on white nationalist hate sites. Members of Stormfront, the Web's largest white racist forum, seem to agree

continued on page 48

FOR THE RECORD

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 2011. Any additional listings can be found on the Intelligence Project's website at www.splcenter.org.

ALABAMA

Mobile • Jan. 22, 2011

Thomas Hayward Lewis, 24, was sentenced to a year and a day in prison for violating one count of the Church Arson Act after spray-painting threatening graffiti and neo-Nazi symbols on a local synagogue in January 2009. His accomplice, Christian Rodney Ice, pled guilty earlier to violating the Church Arson Act and is serving two years of probation.

CALIFORNIA

Anaheim • March 12, 2011

A page torn from a copy of the Koran, with an expletive written on it, was taped to a Muslim woman's car. Foam was sprayed on the driver's seat and the vehicle was vandalized with a key.

Arroyo Grande • March 22, 2011

An 11-foot cross was stolen from a church and set afire next to a black family's residence.

Fresno • Jan. 31, 2011

Andrew Kerber, 22, pled guilty to violating the civil rights of the congregants of a Modesto synagogue by spray-painting anti-Semitic and neo-Nazi graffiti on the building in February 2006. Kerber also admitted he and two other men spray-painted anti-Christian graffiti on two Modesto churches.

Long Beach • Feb. 15, 2011

Oliver Saintvictor, 23, was charged with two counts of felony vandalism and a hate crime allegation in connection with the vandalism of two gay businesses in Long Beach and a gay bar in Redondo Beach.

Los Angeles • March 3, 2011

A swastika was drawn on the sidewalk outside a synagogue.

Madera • March 10, 2011

Donny Eugene Mower, 37, was

arrested on federal arson charges for allegedly throwing a brick through the window of an Islamic center and leaving signs that read, "Wake up America, the enemy is here" in August 2010.

Riverside • March 2, 2011

Four members of the racist skin-head gang C.O.O.R.S. Family Skins, Justin Tyme Hayes, 23; Derek Shane O'Brien, 24; Scott James Siewert, 25; and Mark Wisler, 19, were found guilty of a 2008 beating in Hemet that left a Latino man in a coma for several weeks. Hayes was convicted of attempted murder, assault with a deadly weapon and carrying out the attack to benefit a criminal street gang; O'Brien of attempted murder and a gang enhancement; Siewert of assault and Wisler of attempted murder and assault and gang charges, along with a premeditation charge.

Rowland Heights • Feb. 23, 2011

Jachin Yi, 18; Peter Kim 19; Hwan Joon Huh, 29; and Jae Du, 25, all reported members of a Korean-American street gang, the Asian Mafia Assassins, were arrested for allegedly beating and robbing a Chinese man outside a restaurant on Feb. 6 after they learned his ethnicity.

DELAWARE

Wilmington • Feb. 17, 2011

Jason Patton, 29, was charged with three counts of a hate crime, terroristic threatening, menacing and endangering the welfare of a child after he allegedly used racial epithets while threatening a family in his apartment building.

FLORIDA

St. Petersburg • Feb. 4, 2011

Bradley Kent Strott, 52, allegedly stabbed a Muslim man during a

conversation at a bar after the man told Strott he was a Muslim. Strott, who allegedly said "Muslims are the root of the problem" during the attack, was charged with hate crime aggravated battery.

IDAHO

Idaho Falls • March 14, 2011

Steven Glen Shelton, 38, was charged with felony assault and battery of a police officer and misdemeanor trespassing, disturbing the peace, malicious harassment and assault by verbal threats after he allegedly used racial slurs and asked a female neighbor for help in getting rid of his black neighbors. When the woman and her family refused and told Shelton to leave he allegedly threatened to kill them and then threatened a police officer with a power saw.

ILLINOIS

Mount Vernon • Feb. 7, 2011

A 6-foot-tall cross was burned in an interracial couple's yard.

IOWA

Fairfield • March 6, 2011

Usama Alshaibi, 41, an Arab-American filmmaker was repeatedly punched and kicked by at least four men because of his ethnicity after entering a residence where a party was being held.

LOUISIANA

Monroe • Jan. 31, 2011

Jeremy Matthew Moro, 33; James Moro, 25; and Sonya Marie Hart, 31, pled guilty to burning a cross near their cousin's home in 2008 because she was involved in an interracial relationship.

Shreveport • Jan. 26, 2011

William Payne, 31, was arrested on charges of attempted murder and the commission of a hate crime after he allegedly threatened a gay

man at a local bar because of the man's sexual orientation and then attacked him with a pool cue.

MAINE

Biddeford • Jan. 15, 2011

Several white men allegedly yelled racial epithets and beat a black man in a hotel room. Dale M. Pinkham, 20, was charged with disorderly conduct, carrying a concealed weapon and aggravated assault; Darren Crawford, 20, was charged with elevated aggravated assault, and Michael Gagne, 18, was charged with aggravated assault.

MARYLAND

Crisfield • Jan. 22, 2011

Two black men, Michael Eugene Tilghman, 44, and William Jones, 46, were arrested for allegedly yelling racial epithets while stabbing and beating a white man at an apartment complex. Jones was charged with attempted murder, assault, reckless endangerment and hate crime, and Tilghman faces similar charges.

MASSACHUSETTS

Suffolk • Jan. 13, 2011

William Braxton, 50, was charged with assault and battery with a dangerous weapon and violating a person's civil rights after he allegedly punched and kicked two women when he spotted them holding hands.

MICHIGAN

Bath • Feb. 19, 2011

A 24-year-old black Michigan State University student was arrested on charges that included ethnic intimidation and resisting arrest after he allegedly assaulted five people at an apartment complex and allegedly said he had a problem with white people and that "black people are the best."

MINNESOTA

Brainerd • Feb. 6, 2011

A black man was called a racial slur and beaten outside a bar. Lucas Eastwood, 27, was charged with felony first-degree assault, felony kidnapping to facilitate a felony or flight, felony third-degree assault and gross misdemeanor fourth-degree assault motivated by bias. Travis Campbell, 29, was charged with felony first-degree assault, felony third-degree assault and gross misdemeanor fourth-degree assault motivated by bias.

NEVADA

Sparks • Feb. 4, 2011

Damon Lee Dunagan, 38, pled guilty to sexual assault with a deadly weapon, open and gross lewdness, robbery with the use of a deadly weapon and burglary with a deadly weapon after he raped a local woman in her home at gunpoint, then stole items from her house in March 2010. Dunagan has a tattoo with the letters "ISP,"

which allegedly stand for Insane Peckerwood Syndicate, a white supremacist prison gang.

NEW JERSEY

Bass River • Feb. 16, 2011

A cross was burned near a black family's residence. Nicholas Comis, 22, and Christopher Hurrell and Daniel Enders, both 21, were charged with bias intimidation in connection with the incident.

Gloucester • Jan. 21, 2011

David T. Pomianek, 32, was sentenced to serve a 270-day jail term on weekends after taunting a black co-worker, locking the man in a cage and calling him a monkey in front of co-workers.

NEW YORK

Manhattan • March 11, 2011

Jeffrey Bieda, 26, allegedly threatened a woman with a knife after yelling anti-gay slurs at her.

New York • Feb. 15, 2011

Frederick Giunta, 45, pled guilty to hate crime assault for hitting a black patron at one of the city's oldest gay bars while using a racial

epithet and an anti-gay slur last October. Giunta also pled guilty to attempted robbery for grabbing at another man's wallet and punching him at another bar earlier that night. He was sentenced in March to 3 1/2 years in prison.

Queens • Jan. 26, 2011

Dario Reid, 46, was sentenced to 3 1/2 years in prison for stabbing a gay man in the leg in 2009 while mocking his sexuality. Reid pled guilty earlier in the month to a hate crime charge. His son, Dario Reid Jr., 20, pled guilty to an assault charge.

NORTH CAROLINA

Raleigh • Jan. 26, 2011

Steven Ernest Emerson, a 55-year-old white man, faces charges of ethnic intimidation, disorderly conduct and assault and battery after he allegedly pulled a knife on a black woman at a bus terminal, called her a racial epithet and said she needed to go back to Africa.

OHIO

Akron • March 9, 2011

Ronald Pudder, a 23-year-old white man, was sentenced to four years and three months in prison for setting fire in November to a church with a mostly black congregation.

Marengo • March 3, 2011

A cross with the words "KKK will make you pay" on it was burned in front of a black family's house.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh • Feb. 10, 2011

Michael Bealonis, 19, pled guilty to interfering with the housing rights of another in connection with a November 2009 cross burning at the residence of a family with several children, one of whom is black.

Shenandoah • Feb. 23, 2011

Derrick M. Donchak, 21, and Brandon J. Piekarsky, 19, were each sentenced to nine years in prison for their parts in the fatal beating of an undocumented Mexican worker in 2008.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Charleston • Feb. 22, 2011

Dwayne Cochran, 18, was sentenced to 30 days in jail for using anti-gay slurs and assaulting two gay men in a store parking lot.

TENNESSEE

Knoxville • March 19, 2011

Steven D. Archer, 50, was sentenced to six months in federal prison for burning a cross in an interracial couple's yard in 2008.

Memphis • March 21, 2011

Dale Mardis, a 57-year-old white man, pled guilty to the 2001 murder of a black man, Mickey Wright.

TEXAS

Arlington • Feb. 23, 2011

Henry Glaspell, 34, pled guilty to a hate crime for setting fire to playground equipment at a mosque in July. He also admitted he stole and damaged mosque property, threw used cat litter at the front door of the mosque and shouted racial or ethnic slurs at individuals at the mosque.

Hardin County • March 30, 2011

Kenny Don Stanley, 29; Kristopher Guidry, 26; Vickie Fitts, 47; and Tanner Bourque, 31, were arrested for allegedly murdering a man on March 16, putting his body in the trunk of a car and then setting the vehicle on fire. The four are said to be part of the white supremacist Southern White Soldier gang, a reported spin-off of the Aryan Brotherhood prison gang.

WASHINGTON

Tacoma • Jan. 29, 2011

Kory Boyd, 25, was sentenced to 34 months in prison after pleading guilty in November to interference with a federally protected right. Boyd was among three men who allegedly yelled racial slurs and assaulted a black man at a sports bar in January 2010. Co-defendant Lawrence Silk pled guilty to malicious harassment and was sentenced to two years in prison. Another man, Zach Beck, was awaiting trial. ▲

BLACK VS. BLUE CONTINUED FROM PAGE 46

with Mills' theory, while posters on the racist and anti-Semitic Vanguard News Network believe the blogs are created by Jews as a way to foment tension between blacks and whites.

These theories seem dubious at best. Far more likely, judging from the scant evidence available on their websites, the people who make up the NBFSN are drawn from the world of racist black nationalism.

In fact, it seems very likely that they include many of the hundreds of Nuwaubians who largely disappeared from view after their leader's imprisonment. They also may well include former followers of Yahweh ben Yahweh, a terrifying cult leader who was convicted of conspiracy to murder white people as an initiation rite at his Florida-based Nation of Yahweh, which reportedly once owned properties around the country valued at \$100 million. Since his death in 2007, hundreds of his followers in the U.S. and Canada have dropped out of sight as well.

Whether they are active Nuwaubians, people drawn from other black supremacist cults like the Nation of Yahweh, or free-lancers who have created an entirely new concept, the National Black Foot Soldiers Network has brought Dwight York's apocalyptic hatred of whites into the 21st century. York, whose release isn't scheduled until the 22nd century, would be proud. ▲

End of Time

Fox News host Glenn Beck fretted endlessly about the end times. But it was really Beck's hourglass that was running out

BY LEAH NELSON

IN HIS FIVE YEARS ON CABLE NEWS, far-right superstar Glenn Beck spent countless hours charting signs that the end was near. From the "New World Order" to Islamist conspirators, and from economic disintegration to the wars of Gog and Magog as imagined in popular apocalyptic fiction, no end-times theory seemed to strike the chalk-wielding doomsayer as too outrageous.

"The increased tension between Iran and the west, is it just one more piece in the puzzle, one more chess move towards the final apocalyptic vision of Iran's maniacal leaders? Are we, indeed, living in the end times?" he wondered in March 2007, while still at CNN Headline News.

"Is the apocalypse almost upon us? Are the cataclysmic events of 9/11, Katrina, tsunami, famine and the threat of global pandemic signs we're living in the end times? One world government, one world economy, one world vision. Are we creeping even closer to the Book of Revelations' countdown to doomsday? And does an age-old prophecy foretell a Russian-Iranian alliance against Israel as well as a nuclear showdown? Apocalypse now?"

Cautioning his audience to prepare for imminent collapse, he declared himself a "watchman" for harbingers of the end. As Beck saw it, they were everywhere: monetary policy, Sino-American relations, weather events and French politicians could all augur that the end was nigh.

A little over a year later, Beck was at it again. "There is a global meltdown coming. It is a global depression. And one world currency and one world financial system is the endgame," he asserted in October 2008. "China said last week they want one global currency. France said yesterday or the day before that they want one world order, a new

world order, at the end of this event."

Apparently, France didn't get its wish, because the amateur eschatologist — who insists that agents of the New World Order will nab him as soon as they seize power — was still around in February 2009, this time as a Fox News host, to defend his end-times rants. "If you say stuff like this, it sounds like a conspiracy theory," he said. "And I'm not saying cats and dogs are going to be sleeping with each other, etc., etc. — what I'm saying is there's going to be a change coming. ... By the way, America, I hope I'm nuts."

Beck must have given up that hope, because last Nov. 13 he was back in one of the four horsemen's saddles. "[B]race yourself," he thundered. "We went to two or three experts yesterday, [and] one of them said that by next year a quarter of this nation will not be able to afford food." Another, he claimed, told him that, within months, a Hershey's bar would cost \$15.50.

Outfoxed: Fox News host Glenn Beck made millions frightening Americans about a supposedly imminent apocalypse. But in the end, Beck cost Fox too much credibility, and he was ejected from the cable channel's den.

"Every night, I come to you and I say there is a storm coming — every night," Beck said two weeks later. "But I tell you, I'm very, very close to just saying — time to close the door on the cellar, guys. If you're not seeing it yet, you never will — because it's time just to start talking to the people who will pay attention, who will pull their head out and start paying attention."

Even if you were paying attention, a Hershey's bar can still be purchased for less than a dollar. There has been no apocalypse, no New World Order, no global currency, no mass starvation. But Glenn Beck just kept right on going.

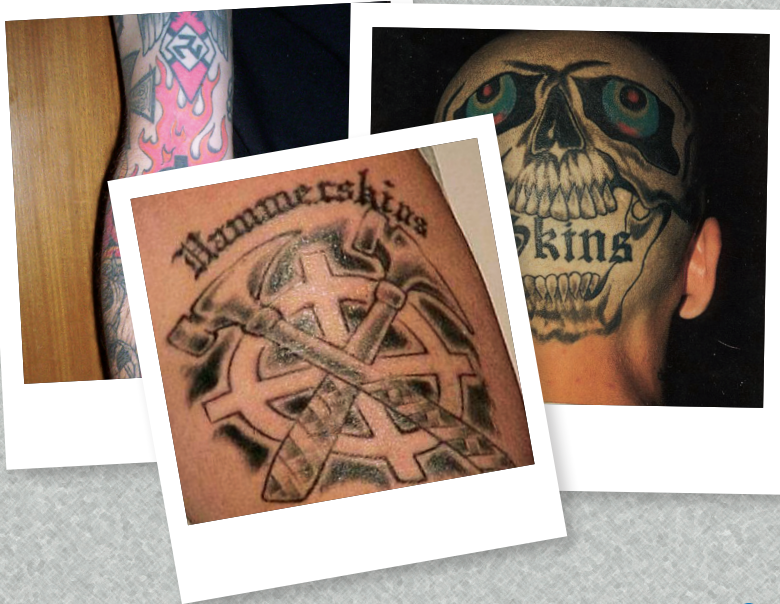
Evaluating the natural disaster that devastated Japan this March 14, he said: "I'm not saying God, you know, is causing earthquakes. ... I'm not not saying that either. God — what God does is God's business. But I'll tell you this: Whether you call it Gaia or whether you call it Jesus, there's a message being sent and that is, hey, you know that stuff we're doing? Not working out real well. Maybe we should stop doing some of it."

Three weeks later, after enduring years of embarrassing criticism of its "news" host and a highly effective boycott of Beck's advertisers, Fox announced that Beck would be "transitioning" off the screen by the end of the year. At the finale, it seems, Fox decided that it should stop doing some of what it does regularly. It turns out it wasn't the world that was ending — just Glenn Beck's job in it. ▲



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