

NORWAY ATTACKS TERRORIST WAS INFLUENCED BY U.S. ANTI-MUSLIM EXTREMISTS



Intelligence Report

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TEN YEARS AFTER



THE U.S. HAS KILLED OSAMA BIN LADEN AND ERODED AL QAEDA'S ABILITY TO LAUNCH
9/11-STYLE ATTACKS FROM AFAR. NOW, **JIHADISTS AIM TO RADICALIZE MUSLIMS
ALREADY IN AMERICA** AND USE THEM TO STRIKE U.S. TARGETS

Christian or Muslim — Still a Terrorist

BY MARK POTOK



IN THE LAST ISSUE, WE WARNED about the dangers of Islamophobia and profiled 10 activists who have mounted a reckless campaign to convince Americans that Muslims — a tiny sliver of our population — will somehow destroy our culture and impose upon us a caliphate governed by Islamic religious law.

This idea seems so far-fetched as to not merit attention.

But it is precisely the kind of fear that motivated Anders Behring Breivik. Envisioning himself as a Christian crusader — a member of the Knights Templar (which actually disbanded in 1312) — he acted on his fantasy by bombing a government building in Oslo, Norway, and then calmly shooting Norwegian children at an island retreat. At the end, 77 people were dead.

The atrocity was intended to jolt Europe into recognizing what he viewed as the threat of multiculturalism and into stemming the tide of Muslim immigration.

As in many other cases of terrorism and hate violence in recent years, there is a direct line between Breivik's radical beliefs and the fear-mongering provocateurs who specialize in demonizing "the other." In this case, Breivik left a 1,500-page manifesto in which he admiringly cites U.S.-based anti-Muslim activists dozens of times. He particularly enjoyed the work of Robert Spencer, one of the people we profiled in the last issue. There can no longer be any doubt that the words of these Islamaphobes have consequences. The irony is that while these activists demonize all Muslims based on the actions of a few terrorists, the same case could be made about Christians. After all, wasn't Breivik a self-declared Christian? Didn't the Ku Klux Klan cloak its violence in Protestantism and the Bible?

The truth is, Islamic terrorists and their ideological sympathizers do represent a threat. Hence, our cover story in this issue focuses on homegrown Muslim extremists — many of them U.S. citizens and some of them alleged terrorists — who became radicalized while living in this country. We cannot afford to ignore this threat, just as we should not ignore the threat from right-wing terrorists like Breivik or those who bomb abortion clinics while invoking God.

Unfortunately, as we also wrote in the last issue, the Department of Homeland Security has drastically cut back

the resources it devotes to non-Islamic domestic extremists. This is a serious mistake. We've urged Homeland Security Secretary Janet Napolitano to reverse course immediately.

As we studied the 10 Muslim extremists profiled in this issue, we discovered a commonality: All spent many hours imbibing extremist rhetoric on the Internet, typically during the process of their radicalization. The same appears to be true with Breivik.

Just as globalization and its offspring, migration, are fueling the rise of nationalism in the U.S. and Europe, advancing technology is giving extremists the tools to spread their poisonous ideology far and wide. When these ideological extremists portray their culture and their civilization as fac-

ing an existential threat — and when mainstream politicians and media figures take up the banner — is it any wonder that someone like Breivik will act?

Unfortunately, some U.S. commentators, like the white nationalist Pat Buchanan, have found common cause with Breivik. Buchanan says that Breivik's views "may be right."

That is wrong. And it's the kind of talk that breeds further hate and violence.

Speaking out against such Islamophobia is particularly important as we mark the 10-year anniversary of 9/11, an event that changed America in many ways.

Jihadists were responsible for the deaths of nearly 3,000 Americans on Sept. 11, 2001 — a fact that should never be forgotten. But the idea that Muslims are dangerous because they are Muslims — pushed by the likes of former House Speaker Newt Gingrich, who compared all Muslims to Nazis, and other public figures who support the banning of mosques in this country — is false.

Not only that, it is un-American. John F. Kennedy had that right in his famous 1960 campaign speech taking on bigoted anti-Catholic critics.

"[T]his year it may be a Catholic against whom the finger of suspicion is pointed, in other years it has been, and may someday be again, a Jew — or a Quaker — or a Unitarian — or a Baptist," the future president said. "Today I may be the victim — but tomorrow it may be you — until the whole fabric of our harmonious society is ripped at a time of great national peril." ▲





ON THE COVER

18 Ten Years After

The killing of Osama bin Laden in May underscored U.S. success — 10 years after 9/11 — in reducing Al Qaeda’s ability to strike America from afar. But now, officials fear attacks by homegrown jihadists. Ten Muslim extremists who were radicalized in the U.S. are profiled in an accompanying story (p. 22). A timeline shows a rising number of terrorist plots in recent years (p. 20).



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The killing of an Arizona man who tried to wrestle a Taser away from a police officer has drawn attention to the “Republic for the united States,” a “sovereign citizens” group in which he was a leading official. Now, with some members itching for revenge, authorities are worried about the group’s potential for violence.



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The appearance of so-called “Moors” around Fort Wayne, Ind., illustrates the growing trend of black Americans joining the tax- and law-defying “sovereign citizens” movement — despite its racist roots. Many new black sovereigns also are folding key beliefs of an early black nationalist leader into the ideological mix.



41 The Company They Keep

Youth for Western Civilization, a burgeoning new campus group that held its first national conference this summer, says it is not racist and merely wants to work to defend “our” culture. But the history of the group and its principals, including taking fundraising help from a key white supremacist organization, suggests otherwise.

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The terrorist who slaughtered children in Norway saw himself as a Christian crusader and was heavily influenced by anti-Muslim extremists in the U.S.



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ACT! for America says its only concern is "radical" Islam. But a review of its founder's comments makes it clear that that isn't so.

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Mention of Scientology brings its many white celebrity members to mind. So why is an anti-white hate group asking its members to train themselves in its methods?

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.





NEO-NAZIS

10-Year-Old Son of NSM Leader Held in Father's Slaying

The 10-year-old son of prominent neo-Nazi Jeffrey Hall stands accused of murdering his father at their Riverside, Calif., home with the man's own handgun. Hall, who led the Southern California chapter of the National Socialist Movement (NSM), was asleep on his couch when the boy allegedly shot and killed him before dawn on May 1.

Hall, 32, advocated for a "white nation" and often led rallies of white supremacists giving stiff-armed Nazi salutes and waving swastika-adorned flags amid hundreds of angry counter-protesters. He made armed trips to the Mexican border to hunt undocumented immigrants. He was considered

something of a rising star in the neo-Nazi universe, and made news last fall when he quietly submitted his name as a candidate for the Western Municipal Water District board of directors in Riverside County. He affirmed his neo-Nazi beliefs when confronted by the media as the election approached, losing the race, but still receiving almost 28% of the vote.

Hall apparently involved the 10-year-old in at least some NSM activities. Along with using his home as headquarters, he gave the child a belt bearing the SS insignia and was teaching him to shoot a gun. The NSM is notorious for attempting to draw

Jeffrey Hall, a California leader in the National Socialist Movement and a rising star among neo-Nazis, was shot dead as he slept on May 1. His 10-year-old son is accused.

children in at a very young age — it has a specialized organization called the Viking Youth Corps that is open to children of "European descent."

A *New York Times* reporter who was working on an in-depth profile of the Southern California chapter of the NSM at the time of the killing characterized Hall as an "engaged father" who — when he wasn't leading followers in chants of "Sieg Heil" and "Six million wasn't enough" — seemed to live a "sunny suburban life." Hall interacted lovingly with his five children and "gamely officiated at a sack race for his children" outside a house decorated with family photographs, according to the newspaper.

HATE IN THE MAINSTREAM

“Just like termites, they managed to get some of their people in key positions.”

— **DAN RAMOS**, chairman of the Bexar County, Texas, Democratic Party, in comments later denounced by the head of the Texas Democratic Party, describing gays inside the Democratic Party in a **March 11** interview with the *San Antonio Current*

“Yup and his mouth is open, his glasses are off, he’s ready, little fag Jew boy.”

— Schuyler County, Ill., Sheriff **DON SCHIEFERDECKER**, replying on **March 17** to a Facebook comment, “Look, I found a fag,” posted under a picture of one of his co-workers

“[W]e are now awash in the disastrous social consequences of people who rut like rabbits.”

— American Family Association official **BRYAN FISCHER**, in an **April 7** blog post on how welfare “destroyed the African-American family” and “incentivized fornication”

“Now you know why no birth certificate.”

— Orange County, Calif., Republican Party Central Committee member **MARILYN DAVENPORT**, in remarks later condemned by the county GOP chairman, in an **April 15** E-mail to friends containing a picture depicting President Obama as a chimpanzee

“And now the Homosexual Lobby is out there spreading wall to wall perversion about ‘cross dressers’ and ‘transvestites.’”

— **EUGENE DELGAUDIO**, head of the conservative lobbying group Public Advocate of the USA, in an **April 26** communication to his followers complaining about activists highlighting a recent attack on a transgender woman

“I’ve taught school, and I saw a lot of people of color who didn’t study hard because they said the government would take care of them.”

— Republican Oklahoma state Rep. **SALLY KERN**, explaining on **April 27** why she thinks a high percentage of prison inmates are black while defending a proposal to end affirmative action in state government

“[I]f someone is attending speeches ... promoting the violent overthrow of our government ... they should be deported or put in prison.”

— U.S. Sen. **RAND PAUL** (R-Ky.), in remarks on profiling terror suspects on the **May 27** edition of Premiere Radio Network’s “The Sean Hannity Show” that ignored constitutional guarantees of free speech and assembly

“They’re aborigines.”

— Republican Alabama state Sen. **SCOTT BEASON**, referring to black people who go to casinos during a taped conversation with other GOP legislators that was played on **June 15** during a corruption trial in which Beason is a government witness

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

A darker picture began to emerge later in May. The *Los Angeles Times* reported that the boy apparently had been pushed to the breaking point by his father’s abuse of him and his step-mother, 26-year-old Krista McCary, and that the boy was terrified that he’d have to choose between them if his father’s behavior led to a divorce.

The Associated Press reported that McCary had told police that Hall “hit, kicked and yelled at his son to punish him for being too loud or getting in his way,” and that Hall had also abused her and the boy’s younger sisters. Other articles said that the Hall home was squalid, its floors strewn with unwashed laundry and empty beer bottles and its bathrooms stinking of urine.

At press time, the boy’s lawyers were considering a plea of not guilty by reason of insanity. He was facing trial in juvenile court.

McCary allegedly left the loaded pistol used to kill Hall on a low shelf where the five children in the house could easily access it. She was charged with five counts of child endangerment and four counts of criminal storage of a firearm, and the other four children were taken from her.

With 50 chapters in 32 states, the NSM is currently the largest neo-Nazi group in America. Its roots are in the original American Nazi Party, which was founded in 1959 by former Navy Cmdr. George Lincoln Rockwell. Rockwell was murdered by a fellow neo-Nazi in 1967.

ANTI-LATINO MOVEMENT

Undocumented Immigrants Targeted in Propaganda, Attacks

U.S. Sen. John McCain, Republican of Arizona, set off a wildfire of his own when he appeared to blame undocumented immigrants for starting about a half-dozen range fires raging in **southern Arizona** in June, including the massive Wallow fire that has scorched more than 800 square miles.

“We are concerned about, particularly areas down on the border, where there is substantial evidence that some of these fires were caused by people who have crossed our border illegally,” he said a June 18 press conference. “They have set fires because they want to signal others; they have set fires to keep warm; and they have set fires in order to divert law enforcement, agents and agencies from them,” he added. “So the answer to that part of the problem is to get a secure border.”

U.S. Forestry Service officials told reporters that there was no evidence that the June fires, although certainly started by humans, were ignited by unauthorized border-crossers. The culprits are known in four of the fires burning in areas smugglers frequent — and all of them were American citizens, said Bill Edwards, lead ranger at the Coronado National Forest.

Two days later, a McCain spokeswoman said that the senator was referring only to past fires that have broken out on the Arizona-Mexico border.

Although there was no evidence that the fires were related to immigration, the allegations unleashed animosities on both sides of the issue. Rancher Ed Ashurst, speaking to *The New York Times*, said: “Who set the fire? It’s obvious. There’s a few people in America who don’t think man walked on the moon in 1969. To say illegal aliens didn’t set the fire is like saying that Neil Armstrong didn’t walk on the moon.”

That kind of talk troubled Roberto Reveles, the founding president of the Phoenix-based Latino civil rights group Somos America. “It just seems like we have an epidemic of, ‘Blame it all on the illegal aliens, blame it all on the Mexicans,’ Reveles told *The Associated Press*. “It’s amazing that



As wildfires swept across southern Arizona in June, U.S. Sen. John McCain pointed the finger at undocumented immigrants — even though there was no evidence.

2010 after the two men reportedly argued over Arizona’s contro-

versial immigration statute, S.B. 1070, which had become law 13 days earlier.

According to the initial police report, Kelley shouted, “Hurry up and go back to Mexico or you’re gonna die,” before pulling a gun and fatally shooting Varela, who was a third-generation U.S. citizen. Kelley faced up to 22 years in prison for the murder and another 21 years for threatening Varela’s brother.

• **Two Green Forest, Ark.,** men who in June 2010 used their pickup truck to chase down and ram a car carrying five Latino men, all of whom were injured in the ensuing crash and fire, became the first people convicted under the federal Matthew Shepard and James Byrd Jr.

Hate Crimes Prevention Act this May. Frankie Maybee, found guilty by a federal jury, faced up to 55 years in prison and a fine of up to \$1.5 million. His co-defendant, Sean Popejoy, pleaded guilty to the six-

count indictment just

before going to trial. • Gary Thomas Kelley of **Phoenix** was convicted in April of gunning down and killing his neighbor, Juan Varela, in May

• An attempted arson in **Racine, Wis.,** may be related to an immigrant-rights organization’s protest over sale of an offensive bumper sticker that reads, “Illegal immigrant hunting permit.” Maria Morales, coordinator for the group Voces de la Frontera, said a youth on foot threw a small incendiary device at her house, setting off a small blaze under her bedroom. A passing police officer managed to extinguish it. Morales had planned a demonstration against a Racine County Citgo station that sold the bumper sticker, but dropped her plans after the business voluntarily pulled the item from its shelves. Morales received hate mail during her campaign.

ANTI-GAY MOVEMENT

Christian Right Direct-Mail Guru Named in Custodial Kidnapping

A woman who fled the country with her biological daughter rather than surrender custody of the child to her lesbian former partner in Vermont was assisted



Sen. John McCain



Lisa Miller (above) fled the country with her daughter rather than surrender custody to her lesbian former partner, Janet Jenkins (left).

by a prominent Christian direct-mail guru, according to an FBI affidavit.

Lisa Miller and her daughter — missing since 2009 — have been living at a beach house in Nicaragua owned by Philip Zodhiates, who runs the marketing company Response Unlimited in Waynesboro, Va., according to the affidavit.

Zodhiates told *The Advocate* magazine that the pair were not living at his house in Nicaragua and called the accusations “absurd.”

Miller’s custody battle with her former partner, Janet Jenkins, has received widespread publicity because of the questions it raised about the rights of non-biological parents in same-sex unions. Miller, who renounced homosexuality and became an evangelical Baptist, lost custody of her daughter after failing to grant Jenkins her court-required visits, citing her objections to Jenkins’ “homosexual lifestyle.” The two had been joined in a civil union in Vermont in 2000. Miller was artificially inseminated and gave birth to her daughter, Isabella, in 2002.

Zodhiates’ alleged involvement in the case was first reported by *The New York Times* on April 23.

In 2006, the Southern Poverty Law Center revealed that Zodhiates’ company was charging \$100 for the rental of every 1,000 names of subscribers to *The Spotlight* newspaper. Founded by infamous anti-Semite Willis Carto, *The Spotlight* carried anti-Semitic and wildly conspiracist articles interspersed with ads for Klan, neo-Nazi and related hate groups, not to mention bizarre health remedies. According to Response Unlimited’s website at the time, purchasers of the subscriber list included the Republican Governors Association, the anti-union National Right to Work Foundation, the nativist U.S. English group, and the archconservative *Washington Times*.

Zodhiates also peddled lists of subscribers to the *American Free Press*, which replaced *The Spotlight* when that tabloid was shut down amid legal and financial troubles. The *Free Press* began immediately after *The Spotlight* fizzled in 2001 and picked up many of its predecessor paper’s propagandists. Like *The Spotlight*, it has carried

stories on secret “New World Order” conspiracies, American Jews and Israel. Mixed in have been advertisements for outfits like the late Pete Peters’ Scriptures for America and Kingdom Identity Ministries — practitioners of Christian Identity, a theology that claims that Jews are the literal descendants of Satan.

The Miller case also resulted in the arrest of a Tennessee pastor who is accused of aiding in the “international parental kidnapping” of Miller’s daughter, *The New York Times* reported. Pastor Timothy David Miller of Crossville, Tenn., allegedly helped Miller flee the country after a Vermont court in 2009 granted Jenkins primary custody of the girl, now 9.

According to the affidavit, the FBI, using court-approved searches, found E-mails from Pastor Miller that appear to arrange Lisa Miller’s flight to Nicaragua. The E-mails also suggested that Zodhiates arranged to send them supplies, the document said.

ANTI-MUSLIM HATE

Mystery Company Markets Pig Fat Gun Oil To Deny Paradise to Muslims

A mysterious company called Silver Bullet Gun Oil has begun selling a line of products for automatic weapons that allegedly contains 13% liquefied pig fat for the express purpose of denying Muslims killed by the weapons “a place in paradise.” The oil is being pitched to soldiers and Marines deployed to Iraq and Afghanistan.

“No longer is paradise guaranteed to the so-called ‘Martyrs’ who die for

Allah,” one YouTube video advertisement brays, going on to tell Muslims: “You are fools, on a fool’s mission. Lied to and led by False Prophets and Cowards. ... You cannot win, and Will be consigned to

Silver Bullet Gun Oil supposedly contains pork fat.



Allah's Hell for eternity if you die from a weapon using Silver Bullet Gun Oil!"

Consumption of pork is forbidden in Islam, so the theory behind the oil is that a Muslim killed by a bullet that has traveled down the barrel of a gun greased with pig fat would be barred from entering heaven. Even if the gun oil is never used, the manufacturer boasts, its mere existence will terrorize Muslims and result in an effective "counter-Islamic terrorist force multiplier."

The identity of the oil's manufacturer is unknown, but the individual goes by the *nom de guerre* "Midnite Rider — Servant of Yahweh," an Old Testament name for God. It's also unknown where the company is based, although an order of the oil sent to the *Intelligence Report* was mailed from Courtland, Va.

In an E-mail to the *Report*, Midnite Rider affirmed his intent to offend Muslims. "It is designed as an affront to an entire belief structure," he wrote. "You have seen what the people this oil is designed for did to folks who draw simple cartoons or burn certain pieces of paper, right?"

Midnite Rider claimed that police tactical teams and "many members" of all U.S. military branches use the oil. It could not be determined if there is any truth to this claim.

The theological rationale for the claimed effect of Silver Bullet Gun Oil is weak at best. Nothing in Islam suggests that inadvertently coming in contact with a pork product at the moment of death would deny the victim entry into heaven. Also, while the Koran forbids the voluntary consumption of pork, Muslim religious leaders have long taught that Allah forgives doing so if it is unavoidable to, for example, avoid starvation. The assertion that Muslim fighters would be

"terrorized" by a type of gun oil seems sophomoric at best.

Boyd Collins, a civilian spokesman for the U.S. Army Materiel Command, which oversees the Army's equipment, said he had never heard of the gun oil, though he conceded that a soldier or Marine could theoretically purchase the oil on his or her own and use it on the battlefield.

ANTI-MUSLIM EXTREMISM

As Muslim-Bashing Propaganda Swells, Shariah Scare Takes Off

With the 2012 presidential campaign season getting under way, a rising tide of experts, politicians and pundits are warning of "creeping Shariah" — the notion that any day now, the U.S. Constitution will be swept away by Islamic religious law. Never mind that it isn't true and isn't possible. It plays well in certain quarters.

In May, for instance, Frank Gaffney's anti-Muslim think tank, the Center for Security Policy, released a study listing 50 legal cases it claimed proved how Shariah was undermining U.S. constitutional law and public policy.

A month later, Daniel Pipes' equally anti-Muslim Middle East Forum published a survey co-authored by polemicist David Yerushalmi

that dubiously claimed that 81% of American mosques surveyed advocate violent jihad and the overthrow of the



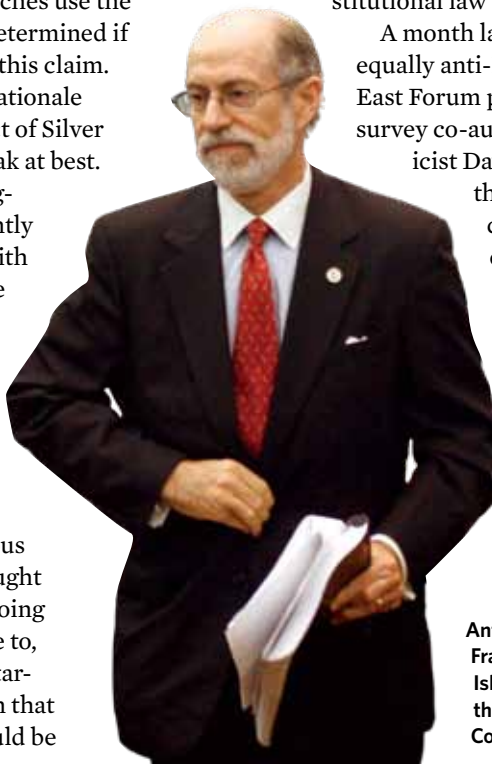
Koran-burning pastor Terry Jones was jailed briefly in Dearborn, Mich., before holding an anti-Muslim protest.

U.S. government. This provocative conclusion was largely based on the fact that ancient Islamic texts containing passages endorsing violence were found their libraries. (The Bible, of course, also has passages endorsing violence.)

Even further to the political right, Joseph Farah's online WorldNetDaily published a three-part series on the alleged Shariah threat by actor and martial arts enthusiast Chuck Norris (well, he penned at least some of it; the Wonkette website claims that portions of it were plagiarized from other sources). The April series recycled unsubstantiated claims of a "vast network" of foreign extremists operating inside the U.S. and suggested that President Obama practices "advocacy for Shariah law."

Meanwhile, anti-Muslim sentiment continued to spread through rhetoric, provocations and, apparently, criminal acts.

Vituperative Muslim-basher Walid Shoebat, a Muslim convert to Christianity who claims to be a former Palestine Liberation Organization terrorist, spoke in May to a conference of South Dakota law enforcement representatives as an "anti-Muslim terrorist expert." Shoebat has declared that "Islam is not the religion of God — Islam is the devil" and, in 2008, said, "Every single ... Islamic terror organization in the world supports Barack Hussein Obama. ... No one is called



Anti-Muslim activist Frank Gaffney claims Islamic religious law threatens the U.S. Constitution.

Hussein unless he is Muslim.”

Terry Jones — the obsessively anti-Muslim Florida pastor whose March burning of a Koran touched off violent demonstrations in Afghanistan that resulted in more than 20 deaths — traveled to Dearborn, Mich., in April for yet another bid for political attention. Local officials, fearing violent counter-demonstrations in a city with the nation’s highest concentration of Muslims, hauled Jones and colleague Wayne Sapp before a judge to ask that they be required to post a “peace bond.”

The pair, saying they were standing up for free speech, refused to post the symbolic \$1 bond set by the judge and were briefly jailed. Jones returned to Dearborn a week later to protest in front of City Hall — a move that drew scores of angry counter-protesters.

Not all the attacks on Muslims were rhetorical. In Stockton, Calif.,

investigators determined that an April fire at a local mosque had been deliberately set. Another fire the same month at a mosque in Houston also was ruled a case of arson and was being investigated as a hate crime.

TAX DEFIERS

A Day Late and a Dollar Short, ‘Sovereigns’ Say Sorry

Macho tax defiance — a hallmark of many of those professing to be “sovereign citizens,” people who do not accept most criminal and tax laws — has a way of melting into humble contrition in the face of harsh consequences.

Samuel Davis of **Council, Idaho**, pleaded guilty to laundering \$1.3 million on behalf of men who turned out to be undercover FBI agents. Officials described Davis as a sovereign citizen

who traveled around the country teaching its ideology. Davis and a co-defendant, Shawn Rice, previously claimed they did not have to pay taxes and considered U.S. currency invalid, and also used sovereign-style “paper terrorism” against the officials attempting to bring them to justice. But Davis admitted his guilt in court, without the benefit of a plea agreement, and apologized to the judge. “He decided to do what he felt was right and take responsibility for what he had done,” his lawyer, Todd Leventhal, explained.

Davis wasn’t the only sovereign to effectively say sorry.

In **Ulster County, N.Y.**, the first of three self-professed sovereign citizens who filed \$1.24 trillion in unjustified liens and bills against state officials who were enforcing traffic and trespass violations against them was sentenced to 21 months in federal prison for mail fraud.



MAY 28-29, 2011 • AALBORG, DENMARK

A private seminar on religion and politics entitled “Revolt Against Civilization” brought together some of the leading lights of U.S. and European white nationalism and anti-Semitism. Hosted by Christian Lindtner (far right) of the Danish Society for Historical Research, the seminar was broadcast in America by Connecticut-based Voice of Reason (VOR) Radio, which specializes in racist materials. Those attending included (from left) Tomislav Sunic, a Croatian author and frequent guest speaker at American extremist events; Alexander Jacob, whose academic work focuses on a return to “European ideals” to combat Jewish intellectualism; David Duke, the U.S. neo-Nazi and former Klan leader who won a majority of the white vote in his 1991 bid to become Louisiana’s governor; Helmuth Nyborg, a Danish psychology professor; and Kevin MacDonald, a psychology professor at California State University, Long Beach, who wrote a trilogy of books that attack Jews and are revered by neo-Nazis. VOR identified all participants as “doctors,” and they may all be. But Duke “earned” his doctorate at an anti-Semitic Ukrainian institution that’s been described as a “diploma mill” by the State Department. Despite his own heated attacks on Martin Luther King Jr. as a plagiarist, Duke is known for having cribbed large portions of a book from MacDonald’s trilogy, including 232 footnotes that exactly or nearly match MacDonald’s.

Updates on Extremism and The Law

APR. 14 A federal jury convicted Michael Jacques of the racially motivated arson of a predominantly black church in **Springfield, Mass.**, the night of Barack Obama's 2008 election. Two of Jacques' friends earlier pleaded guilty to roles in the same fire. In a similar but unrelated case, Jeffrey Smith of nearby **Medford, Mass.**, pleaded guilty on April 8 to sending letters to seven churches and four NAACP offices expressing racial hatred and threatening to burn them down.

APR. 20 A **Chicago** federal judge overturned the conviction of neo-Nazi Bill White for using his website to make illegal threats of violence. White, who once led the neo-Nazi group **American National Socialist Workers Party**, published information about the jury foreman in the trial that convicted another neo-Nazi, **World Church of the Creator** leader Matthew Hale. But the judge found that prosecutors had not proved that White, who was released after the ruling, intended to solicit violence.

MAY 5 A federal jury in **Boise, Idaho**, found self-described "attorney for the damned" Edgar Steele guilty on charges of trying to hire a hitman to kill his wife and mother-in-law. Steele was little known until 2000, when he unsuccessfully defended members of the neo-Nazi **Aryan Nations** in a lawsuit brought by the Southern Poverty Law Center. Soon after, he became an active anti-Semite. The Aryan Nations was largely destroyed as a result of the suit and the 2004 death of founder Richard Butler.

MAY 25 A man was arrested after accidentally shooting a pistol in

his **Madison, Wis.**, motel room and then telling police that he was there to kill a doctor at a local Planned Parenthood clinic. Found with Ralph Lang was **anti-abortion** literature, a U.S. map marked with apparent targets and the handwritten words, "Blessed Virgin Mary says Hell awaits any woman having an abortion." Lang faces state and federal charges.

MAY 26 A federal judge sentenced Ronald Wayne Edwards, former imperial wizard of the **Kentucky-based Imperial Klans of America**, to four years in prison for drug and gun violations. Both Edwards and his long-time girlfriend, Christina Gillette, had pleaded guilty earlier to charges connected to trafficking methamphetamines and painkillers. Gillette was sentenced to serve a year and a day.

JUNE 1 Two former police officers were acquitted of most charges connected to allegedly trying to cover up the murder of a Mexican immigrant in **Shenandoah, Penn.** But former Shenandoah Police Chief Matthew Nestor was sentenced to 13 months for falsifying police reports and former Lt. William Moyer received three months for lying to the FBI. The charges stemmed from an investigation into the July 2008 slaying of Luis Ramirez by a group of local high school football players.

JUNE 7 A federal grand jury indicted 51 alleged members of the **Latino Azusa 13** gang for conspiring to terrorize black residents into leaving **Azusa, Calif.**, something the indictment said the gang



Fifty-one members of the Latino Azusa 13 gang were charged in a campaign of intimidation, threats and violence aimed at black people in Azusa, Calif.

adopted as principle nearly 20 years ago. The case is the latest evidence in recent years of Latino gangsters in California targeting black people for racial reasons in certain areas.

JUNE 7 Long-time **white supremacist** activist August Byron Kreis III, indicted earlier in **Columbia, S.C.**,

on felony charges of filing fraudulent statements to obtain veterans benefits, surrendered to federal authorities in **Obion County, Tenn.** Kreis, who a week earlier had threatened to shoot agents who came to arrest him, leads a tiny splinter of what was once a powerful group, the **neo-Nazi Aryan Nations**.

JUNE 9 Yusef Bey IV, the **black supremacist** leader of **Your Black Muslim Bakery**, a business at the center of a militant Black Muslim network in the **Oakland, Calif.**, area, was convicted of three counts of first-degree murder for ordering the 2007 slayings of journalist Chauncey Bailey and two other men. Bey, who was trying to prevent Bailey from reporting on the bakery's financial troubles for *The Oakland Post*, was to be sentenced on July 8 along with the bakery associate convicted of actually carrying out the murders.

Ed Parenteau apologized for his role in harassing the government officials and told the judge, “I have learned my lesson and I will never do anything like this again,” Co-Defendants Jeffrey Burfeindt and Richard Ulloa were to be sentenced this summer.

Federal government employee Janet Jaensch — who lives near **Alexandria, Va.**, and once claimed “not to be a party to the Constitution of the united [sic] States of America” and thus not obliged to pay taxes — admitted failing to file tax returns for eight years, at the direction of her husband. Richard Jaensch has been indicted on charges of corruptly endeavoring to impede the IRS, filing a false refund claim and failing to file four tax returns. He was scheduled to be tried in July.

And in **Kansas City, Mo.**, Roderick and Amber Catrice Moore were sentenced after pleading guilty to mail fraud and conspiracy to commit mail fraud, respectively, for attempting to pay \$220,000 in taxes with a bogus “Registered Bond Promissory Note.” He received a 13-month prison sentence and she was given three years of probation. Like many sovereigns, the Moores believed they could use such instruments to tap into funds from secret treasury accounts the federal government supposedly sets up in every citizen’s name at birth. Amber Moore also admitted to filing fraudulent liens against the U.S. Bankruptcy Court.

Other cases involving the sovereign citizens movement, which has been growing explosively over the last two or three years, continued to pop up around the nation. Among them:

- Mark D. Leitner, who lives near Pensacola, Fla., was indicted in April for filing \$339 billion in unjustified property liens against federal prosecutors, investigators and court personnel who were involved in an earlier federal trial against him in March 2010. In the earlier trial, Leitner was convicted of conspiracy to defraud the IRS.

Only Taitz, known as “Queen of the Birthers,” wasn’t satisfied when President Obama released his birth certificate.

- A federal court barred Gerald A. Poynter II of Kansas City, Mo., from preparing tax returns for others and promoting the notion that money held in secret government accounts can be accessed to pay debts. Poynter is accused of helping at least 165 clients file fraudulent refund claims totaling more than \$64 million.

- Federal prosecutors asked a court to keep Monty Ervin of Dothan, Ala., locked up until his trial on multiple felony tax evasion charges. Past statements Ervin has made, prosecutors say, mark him as a sovereign citizen who flouts government authority and is a flight risk. The government said that Ervin — who has proclaimed himself governor of Alabama — has “demonstrated an absolute disdain for federal authority.”

EXTREMIST PROPAGANDA

Hard-Line ‘Birthers’ Soldier On After Certificate’s Release

The White House this spring released the president’s “long-form birth certificate” after declining to do so for years. It confirms that Barack Hussein Obama II was born on Aug. 4, 1961, in Honolulu — precisely what the president has been saying for his entire life.

Presented with the very document they’ve been demanding, denizens of the “birther” movement instantly shifted

strategy, declaring that the long-form birth certificate was a fraud and developing ever more elaborate interpretations of the meaning of the term “natural born citizen” to insist that Obama is not one.

Orly Taitz, often described as “Queen of the Birthers,” found herself in a yelling match with host Lawrence O’Donnell on MSNBC. Taitz demanded that the camera zoom in on what she claimed was a copy of Obama’s draft records — new proof, she insisted, of a fraudulent presidency — but was quickly silenced by O’Donnell, who was clearly infuriated by her shifting attack.

Taitz was rapidly joined by others on the far right.

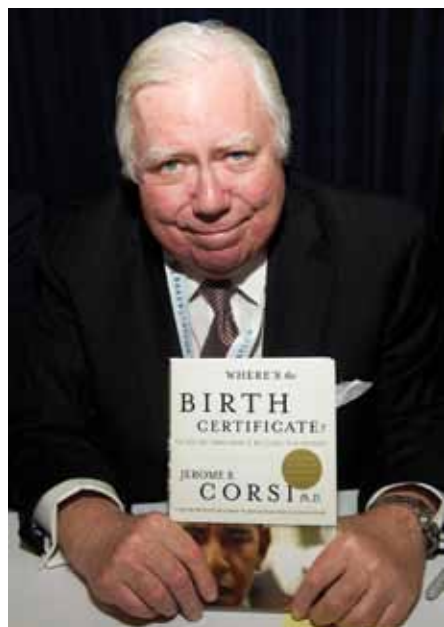
The Council of Conservative Citizens, a white nationalist group that has described black people as a “retrograde species of humanity,” accused the White House of doctoring Obama’s birth certificate, claiming to have uncovered computer coding that suggests it had been digitally altered. Similarly, over at the far-right WorldNetDaily website, Joseph Farah — who has sponsored billboards with the text “Where’s the birth certificate?” — declared: “It would be a big mistake for everyone to jump to a conclusion now based on the release of this document, which raises as many questions as it answers.”

Right-wing attack dog Jerome Corsi — whose second book questioning Obama’s honesty, *Where’s the Birth*



NICK UTAP IMAGES

Certificate? The Case That Barack Obama is not Eligible to be President came out three weeks after the certificate was released — took only a day to regroup. “Obama’s presidency now depends upon the White House being able to support the veracity of all the information contained in the birth document released yesterday morning,” he wrote in *WorldNetDaily*, publisher of his book.



Jerome Corsi's second book about President Obama's birth certificate was researched, in part, by the racist host of a "pro-white" radio show.

"I'm going to be telling the entire world about this scandal over the next few weeks, [and] this is going to make Watergate look like a political sideshow in comparison," Corsi added on May 17, the day his book was finally released, in an interview with right-wing radio host Steve Malzberg.

The same day, James Edwards, racist host of the "pro-white" radio program "The Political Cesspool," congratulated himself for helping Corsi research his screed — a fact that Corsi acknowledged on page 270 of his book. The radio show has hosted an array of Klan and neo-Nazi leaders.

Only New York City real estate mogul and reality TV star Donald Trump, a relative newcomer to the birther game,

seemed to take pleasure in the birth certificate's release. At a news conference held the day the document was released, Trump — then the nation's most prominent birther — bizarrely claimed that the victory was his. "I'm very proud of myself, because I've accomplished something that no one else has been able to accomplish," he said.

HATE CRIMES

Government Survey: Hate Crimes Trending Downward

The Department of Justice (DOJ) has released a major new report showing that hate crimes have decreased nationally since 2003 — a trend that mirrors a general drop in all kinds of violent crime over the same period.

The June 16 study by the DOJ's Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) was based on detailed surveys of a statistically representative sample of the population. It found an annual average of 195,000 hate crime victimizations between 2003 and 2009, with the numbers bouncing around from year to year but declining overall, from 239,400 in 2003 to 148,400 in 2009. An earlier BJS study, using the same survey methodology but examining hate crimes during the 2000-2003 period, found an average of 210,000 hate crime victimizations per year.

The decline, Northeastern University criminology professor and hate crimes expert Jack McDevitt told the *Intelligence Report*, appears to be part of a national decline in violent crime overall. The apparent reasons for that decline, which likely apply to hate crimes as well, include the shrinking of the national population of 16- to 24-year-olds, who are by far the most crime-prone population cohort; the rise of effective community policing strategies around the country; and the diminished use of particularly crime-associated drugs like crack cocaine and methamphetamines, he said.

The FBI each year publishes the number of hate crimes reported by law enforcement departments to the states, which then report to the FBI. But those numbers have always been small

— between about 6,000 and 10,000 a year, depending on the year. When the BJS published its first study based on victimization surveys, examining the 2000-2003 period, it showed for the first time that the real level of hate crime was almost certainly vastly higher than the FBI national statistics suggested.

McDevitt said that although the numbers based on the victimization surveys are considered more accurate than those reported by police departments — in part, because they include crimes never reported to authorities — they are still only an estimate based on a fairly small sample. But he said he has been independently studying the statistics recently and has seen a similar drop in hate crimes over recent years, although a drop less precipitous than that of violent crime overall.

McDevitt added that the fact that the two BJS studies had similar findings — the earlier study, for instance, found that 56% of hate crimes were not reported to police, while the new one found that number was 55% — added to his confidence level. "So we know there are a lot of unreported hate crimes," he said. "I just wouldn't hang my hat on either set of numbers definitively, the BJS or the FBI numbers. But I do think that between those two, the real level is closer to the BJS numbers."

The new report included several other interesting findings:

- Violence was involved in far higher percentage of hate crimes than non-hate crimes — 87% compared to 23%. The earlier BJS study found a similar trend.
- Hate crime victims knew their victimizers 37% of the time, compared to 50% for non-hate crime victims.
- Between 2003 and 2009, on average, 32% of hate crime victimizations occurred at or near victims' homes, while 24% occurred in a street, parking lot or on public transportation. Another 18% took place at school.
- The majority of violent hate crimes were interracial, while the majority of non-hate crime violent crimes were intraracial. In a related finding, nearly 90% of hate crimes victimizations during the 2003-2009 period were perceived by their victims to be racially or ethnically motivated. ▲

Christian Crusader

The terrorist who slaughtered Norway's children was heavily influenced by American anti-Muslim extremists

BY RYAN LENZ

The radicalization of Anders Behring Breivik, the terrorist who slaughtered 77 people in Norway, didn't occur in a vacuum. Like Timothy McVeigh, who was inspired by the writings of a neo-Nazi leader to bomb the Oklahoma City federal building, Breivik was heavily influenced by a cacophony of extremist voices decrying the supposed takeover of the Western world by Islamic fundamentalists.

Breivik saw himself as a Christian warrior in the midst of what he called an "existential conflict" with Islam – a modern knight confronting foreign hordes at the gates of the West. His 1,500-page manifesto, titled "2083: A European Declaration of Independence" and released just hours before the July 22 massacre, is a call to arms against "cultural Marxism" – a term describing the white nationalist

notion that multiculturalists are working to destroy Western civilization.

"We are sick and tired of feeling like strangers in our own lands, of being mugged, raped, stabbed, harassed and even killed by violent gangs of Muslim thugs, yet being accused of 'racism and xenophobia,'" Breivik wrote.

Most of his inspiration seems to have been derived from a small but influential group of American "experts" who have waged a populist campaign of vilification – not only against the threat of Islamic terrorism but also against Muslims in general. Their frequently inflammatory rhetoric invokes fear among many on the political right that Islamic fundamentalists are on the verge of trampling the U.S. Constitution and imposing a caliphate guided by Shariah law.

In his manifesto, Breivik quotes figures such as Pamela Geller, a Manhattan socialite who rose to prominence for her vitriolic opposition to the Park51 mosque near the site of the 9/11 attacks in Manhattan, and Andrew Bostom, an

American doctor who has written extensively about the intersection of jihad and anti-Semitism.

But among those inspiring Breivik, none seem to have been as influential as Robert Spencer, co-founder with Geller of Stop Islamization of America (SIOA) and the administrator of Jihad Watch, an Internet portal that attacks Muslims under the banner of news and analysis. Breivik references Spencer dozens of times and suggests that he should win the Nobel Peace Prize. "About Islam I recommend essentially everything written by Robert Spencer," Breivik wrote.

Spencer, who was profiled in the Spring 2011 issue of the *Intelligence Report*, is an entirely self-taught "expert" in the study of modern Islam



Anders Behring Breivik, 32, seen at right in a photograph released with his 1,500-page manifesto, bombed a government building in Oslo (far right) on July 22, killing eight. Less than two hours later, dressed as a policeman, he began shooting teens and others at a youth camp on the island of Utoya (left), killing 69 people.

AP PHOTO/MATT DUNHAM (BOAT); MORTEN EDVARDSEN/SCANPIX (MAGNET); AP IMAGES/SCANPIX (BREIVIK)

and the Koran, who often takes the Koran literally as an innately extremist and violent text. “As I have pointed out many times,” Spencer wrote in 2006, “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.”

Breivik’s fear of multiculturalism reflects a broader trend. On both sides of the Atlantic, nationalist fevers are rising amid changing demographics brought on, mainly, by immigration. In Europe, the targets of radical-right extremists are typically Muslims because they make up a large share of European immigrants. In the U.S., until recently, nativist rage has been directed mostly at Latinos and Latino immigrants.

What ties, if any, that Breivik may have had with extremist groups in Europe remained unclear in the immediate aftermath of the attacks. *The Daily Telegraph* of Great Britain reported that Breivik sent his manifesto to more than 1,000 contacts an hour before he began his rampage with the bombing of a government building in Oslo. Those receiving the



Breivik cited U.S.-based anti-Muslim extremists dozens of times in his manifesto, including the co-founders of Stop Islamization of America, Pamela Geller and Robert Spencer.

manifesto included the anti-Muslim English Defence League and Combat 18, a neo-Nazi skinhead group.

In the U.S., anti-Muslim activists angrily denied any connection between their incessant demonization of Muslims and Breivik’s acts of terror.

“If I was indeed an inspiration for his work,” Spencer wrote on Jihad Watch, “I feel the way the Beatles must have felt when they learned that Charles Manson had committed murder after being inspired by messages he thought he heard in their song lyrics.”

As much as Spencer would like to think that, there were no messages in “Helter Skelter” that could possibly be construed as portraying actress Sharon Tate and four others murdered by Manson’s followers as an existential threat. The same cannot be said of Jihad Watch.

Breivik predicted the onset of a war that would kill or injure

more than a million people as he and his small group of warriors seize “political and military control of Western European countries and implement a cultural conservative political agenda.”

His attorney said, “He believes that he’s in a war. ...He believes this war will continue for 60 years, and in 60 years this war will be won.”

In preparation for this conflict, the manuscript lays out plans for the formation of a Christian army, known as the Knights Templar, to wage “guerilla warfare against the Multiculturalist Alliance through a constant campaign of shock attacks.” (The Knights were an army of Christian soldiers that fought the Crusades during the Middle Ages.)

“The objective is to continue to demoralize them,” Breivik wrote. “It is a simple strategy of repeated pin-pricks and bleedings that will sap the will of the [multiculturalists] to continue.”

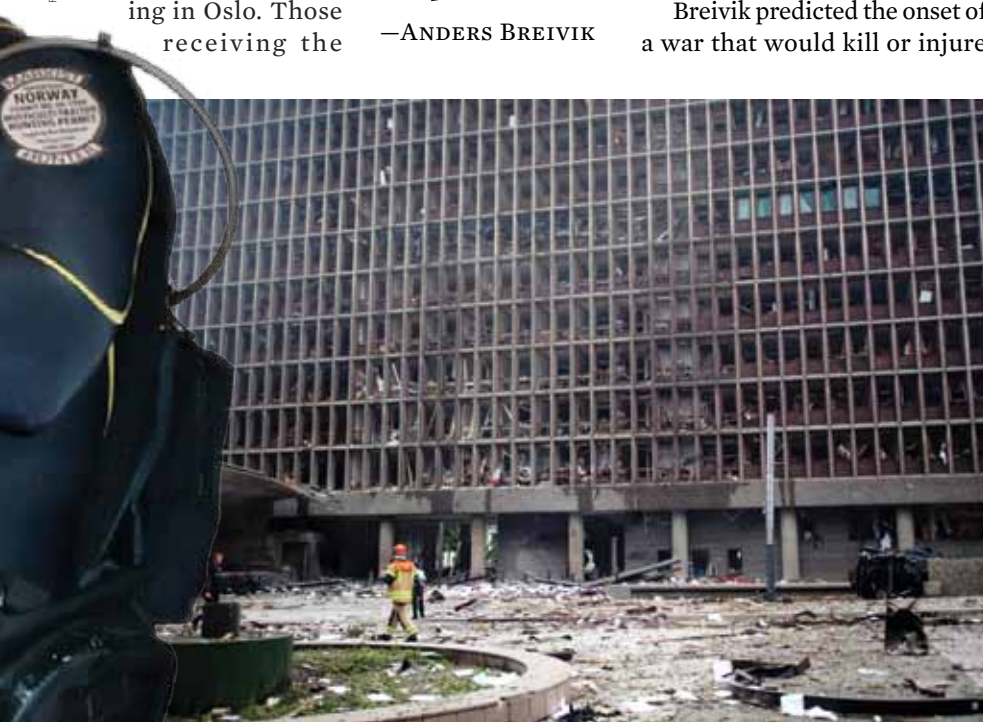
As shocking as that is, already some white nationalists and prominent conservatives, including columnist and MSNBC contributor Pat Buchanan, have defended Breivik’s ideas in spite of the bloody aftermath that has left Norway reeling. To them, terrorists like Breivik are not the threat – Muslims are.

“[A]wful as this atrocity was, native-born and homegrown terrorism is not the macro-threat to the continent,” Buchanan wrote for World Net Daily, a far-right online “news” service. “That threat comes from a burgeoning Muslim presence in a Europe that has never known mass immigration, its failure to assimilate, its growing alienation, and its sometimes sympathy for Islamic militants and terrorists.”

Such support for the ideology of a terrorist, from such an influential U.S. commentator, may only embolden others who share Breivik’s view of an existential threat to his culture. We need only look at Norway or Oklahoma City to see the likely results. ▲

“About Islam I recommend essentially everything written by Robert Spencer.”

—ANDERS BREIVIK





A wave of fury has been directed at Muslims since controversy erupted last year over a planned Islamic center near the site of the 9/11 attacks in Manhattan.

One More Enemy

Anti-gay and anti-immigrant groups are joining in attacks on what may now be America's most vulnerable minority

BY ROBERT STEINBACK

It is one of the least plausible conspiracy theories to ever take hold in the political mainstream: Muslim operatives, placed in sensitive positions throughout U.S. society, are engineering a complex plot to take over the United States, topple the Constitution, and force the country into a gigantic caliphate that will be ruled under brutal Shariah law that punishes religious transgressions with death.

But as silly as it is, this theory and variations of it have gained traction across the United States, driving new laws and new fears and providing fodder for politicians and others willing to ignore reality in order to boost their image as defenders of a beleaguered population. Leading the

charge, Oklahoma last year passed a law to ban the use of Islamic religious law in state courts — even though that is not possible under the Constitution except in certain civil cases involving contracts. Tennessee and Louisiana followed suit, and a dozen other states are considering similar laws.

Now, the fury directed at Muslims is spreading further.

In case after case, extremist groups with other primary targets — in particular, religious-right groups focused on the alleged evils of gay men and lesbians, and nativist groups who see immigrants as the chief threat facing our nation — have widened their focus in recent months to include the supposed Muslim menace.

While some of this is doubtless due to these groups' perceptions of a real threat, it may also be part of a cynical attempt to remain politically relevant and financially solvent.

The first wave of anti-Muslim rage that swept over this country came in the immediate aftermath of 9/11, for reasons that are obvious. But that ended quickly, as hate crime statistics show, largely because then-President Bush repeatedly gave speeches emphasizing that Muslims were not our enemy — only Al Qaeda was.

The current wave of hysteria is different. It caught fire last year, propelled by professional rabble-rousers like Pamela Geller and opportunistic politicians like

Newt Gingrich who raised a storm over Park51, an Islamic center planned for lower Manhattan, two blocks from the site of the 9/11 World Trade Center attack. It has leaked into state politics around the country, showing a remarkable resilience even as expert after expert points out that while there is undoubtedly a real threat from radical Islamists (see story, p. 19), it is routinely and wildly exaggerated.

The nightmarish vision of an overarching Muslim threat has deep roots, most obviously in Al Qaeda's mass murder of some 3,000 Americans in 2001. But it also connects powerfully to fears among many conservatives that the nation's first black president — whose grandfather converted to Islam — is not really Christian at all, but a secret Muslim bent on subjugating this country and its citizens.

Expanding the Franchise

The Traditional Values Coalition (TVC), which improbably claims to represent 43,000 churches, has long been one of the nastier groups targeting LGBT people as threats to Christian morality and the family. It has been listed as a hate group by the Southern Poverty Law Center for most of the last decade because of its routine use of provably false propaganda in its efforts to defame gay men and lesbians.

But this April, TVC dipped into new waters, launching an anti-Shariah campaign tied to an appeal for donations. In a mass mailing entitled "Should Islamic Law (Shariah) Be Allowed in America?," TVC President Andrea Lafferty wrote that

"Our public schools are sneaking into their curricula pro-Islamic teachings that actually promote Sharia law. An entire generation of our children is being brainwashed."

Shariah "is the biggest threat to our nation we've ever faced! I know first hand. For over five years I have studied, investigated and infiltrated the secretive world of Islam and the growing influence of Shariah law in America." Lafferty did not explain how a blonde white woman "infiltrated the secretive world" she described.

The Christian Action Network (CAN) is another group so focused on bashing gay men and lesbians that the SPLC lists it as a hate group. In 2005, for example, after actress Ellen DeGeneres came out as a lesbian on her popular sitcom, CAN President Martin Mawyer warned, "If we allow the tidal wave of gay and lesbian smut to continue to pour into our homes, it will utterly consume us in no time at all!"

By 2009, however, CAN was showing interest in the issue of radical Islam, producing a "documentary" called "Homegrown Jihad: The Terrorist Camps Around the U.S." that claimed there were three dozen such camps on American soil. And that interest has only expanded as Americans grew more receptive. CAN recently announced a "Counter-Jihad Summit" for this August, saying, "Our public schools are sneaking into their curricula pro-Islamic teachings that actually promote Sharia law. An entire generation of our children is being brainwashed!" (The similarity between this claim and anti-gay groups' claims about gays is hard to miss.)

The American Family Association (AFA), also listed by the SPLC as an anti-gay hate group, is known chiefly for the unbelievably vituperative attacks on LGBT people by its chief spokesman,



Those stoking fear of Muslims in America include (clockwise from top left) Pamela Geller, Newt Gingrich, Martin Mawyer, Bryan Fischer and Andrea Lafferty.

Bryan Fischer. But by last August, at the height of the controversy over the so-called "Ground Zero Mosque" in New York, Fischer had enthusiastically joined in on the Muslim-bashing. "Muslims cannot claim religious freedom protections under the First Amendment," he wrote then. "They are currently using First Amendment freedoms to make plans to destroy the First Amendment altogether. There is no such thing as freedom of religion in Islam, and it is sheer and utterly folly for Americans to delude themselves into thinking otherwise."

Terry Jones, pastor of the tiny Gainesville, Fla., church known as Dove World Outreach Center, was another one who jumped on the anti-Muslim bandwagon as protests against the New York Islamic center heated up last summer. Up to that point, Jones had been known for his schoolyard-style attacks on "homos," especially a particular candidate for mayor of his city. But as the New York situation began to get national publicity, Jones announced plans to burn a Koran on the anniversary of Sept. 11 — an idea

he backed off from only after personal pleas from several leading officials of the Obama Administration. But this spring he decided to go ahead anyway, and burned a Koran. Mobs in Afghanistan reacted with fury, killing 20 people.

Anti-immigrant groups that previously said little or nothing about Muslims have also joined in. The best example of that came last December, when *The Social Contract* — a racist journal published by John Tanton, the country's leading nativist ideologue — published a special issue entitled "The Menace of Islam." K.C. McAlpin, who heads Tanton's funding arm, U.S. Inc., argued separately that religious discrimination is an effective and laudable national security tool. "We contend that it is not 'religious bigotry' to defend oneself, or one's family and community, from people who profess a particular religion, and whose adherents have repeatedly tried to attack and murder you in the name of their God," he wrote. "A ban on immigration of the entire class of such people is a rational self-defense measure when it is impossible to distinguish between those members of the group who pose a threat and those who do not."

Behind the Hate

It's not clear just what has driven groups with one very specific enemy to jump into what often appears to be an entirely different battle. While their fears may be real, recent history suggests that there may be an element of raw self-interest.

For decades, organizations on the religious right focused their attacks on abortion, and for many years they drew much support, financial and otherwise, from the public. But the anti-abortion movement grew increasingly isolated as public opinion grew more favorable and as many of the remaining anti-abortion activists grew more extreme, resorting to clinic invasions and even arson and murder.

Many of those organizations refocused on the alleged threat of the "homosexual agenda," warning shrilly



Anti-Muslim activists fear that Islamic religious law will take hold in America. Oklahoma, Tennessee and Louisiana have enacted legislation banning Shariah law.

that gays were infiltrating the schools as part of their sex-starved efforts to "recruit" children. But once again, these groups have grown more isolated as many Americans come to personally know LGBT people who bear little resemblance to the supposed predators they had been warned about. By last year, for the first time, a majority of Americans supported

same-sex marriage. This June, New York became the largest state to allow gay couples to marry.

Immigrants are still very much a target of right-wing vitriol. But in the last year or so, much of the steam seems to have gone out of the more extreme wing of the grassroots nativist movement as state legislatures have taken up anti-immigrant



Pastor Terry Jones sparked a deadly riot in Afghanistan, which killed 20 people, when he burned a Koran in his small Gainesville, Fla., church.



Acting Out

ACT! for America now claims that its only concern is ‘radical’ Islam. But that’s not what a history of its founder suggests

BY RYAN LENZ

NASHVILLE, Tenn. — In a Baptist church here long after the day’s services have ended, about two dozen members of ACT! for America stir in the pews waiting for a presentation on a threat they fear is growing quickly in America. This threat, they believe, lurks in nearly every mosque, in the Koran and, above all, in the tolerance America affords Muslims.

The night’s speaker is Bill French, a last-minute replacement for Robert Spencer, who runs the website Jihad Watch, one of the major Internet portals for anti-Muslim speech. French, too, is a major player in the movement; his Center for the Study of Political Islam serves as a think tank guiding populist anger against Islam through a “scholarly” interpretation of the Koran.

But on this night, his attention has turned away from textual analysis and toward talk of an ideological war in a speech entitled “Persuading the Near Enemy.”

“We have two enemies,” says French, a former Tennessee State University physics professor. “We have Islam, which is the far enemy, and then we have the near enemy — the professors, the person at work, the cousin who doesn’t want to listen.” Audience members, all part of the local ACT chapter in Nashville, respond with periodic whippers of “Amen.”



Brigitte Gabriel rocketed into the media spotlight after publishing two controversial books portraying Islam as a threat to America.

Since ACT started in 2007 in the spare bedroom of founder Brigitte Gabriel’s home, the group has eagerly tapped into a groundswell of anti-Muslim rage and done what it could to fan the flames. It claims to have an astounding 180,000 members organized into 573 chapters across the nation, with more coming on monthly. By far, the largest chapters are here, in Tennessee, which ACT leadership calls the “tip of the spear.” Chapter members have successfully lobbied the state to pass two bills: one prohibiting courts from recognizing Islamic Shariah, or religious law, a largely symbolic piece of legislation; and another giving the state greater say in how political refugees are resettled. The group has also taken on the Islamic Center of Murfreesboro,

Tenn., a frequent lightning rod of anti-Muslim sentiment.

Gabriel, who is closely aligned with the American political right on many fronts, has repeatedly made statements that conflate all Muslims with terrorists. (“Islamic terrorists ... are really just very devout followers of Muhammad,” she wrote in 2006. “They are following his example and doing exactly what the Koran teaches and their mullahs exhort them to do.”) She angered a Jewish audience in a 2004 speech in which she reportedly referred to Arabs as “barbarians,” prompting a public apology from her hosts. *The New York Times Magazine* has described her as a

legislation. As a result, many of the nativist groups that popped up in recent years have weakened. “A few years ago, extremists like [Jim] Gilchrist [leader of the Minuteman Project], [Chris] Simcox [founder of the Minuteman Civil Defense Corps] and even [William] Gheen [head of Americans for Legal Immigration PAC] were prominent in the press and in the debate,” said Frank Sharry, head of the pro-immigrant group America’s Voice. “Now, they’ve been marginalized as the debate has become more of a legislative fight at the state and federal level.” That may mean that the issue works less well than it did to energize groups and donations.

It now seems likely that more and more groups will take up the anti-Muslim banner, probably carrying the issue into the 2012 election. Certainly, many of the groups that have newly taken up Muslims as the next great threat facing Americans seem to hope so. As the Christian Action Network put it in an alert this August: “Fighting homegrown terrorism and the creeping infiltration of radical Sharia Law MUST be front and center as the big issue of the 2012 elections.” ▲

“radical Islamophobe,” and even a publicist for one of her books cheerfully called her views “extreme.”

But this summer, in response to several critical news reports, ACT tried to white-wash many of those statements. “ACT! for

During a 2007 lecture Gabriel gave to the Defense Department’s Joint Forces Staff College as part a course on Islam, for example, she reportedly told U.S. military and national security personnel that Muslims should be prohibited from serving in public office on the basis of their faith. “If a Muslim who has — who is — a practicing Muslim who believes the word of the Koran to be the word of Allah, who abides by Islam, who goes to mosque and prays every Friday, who prays five times a day — this practicing Muslim, who believes in the teachings of the Koran, cannot be a loyal citizen to the United States of America,” she said.

Gabriel, a Lebanese Christian whose real name is Hanah Kahwagi Tudor, started the group in 2007, a year after publishing *Because They Hate: A Survivor of Islamic Terror Warns America*. The book was a call to action based on the “truth” behind Islam she says she learned about as a child during the civil war in Lebanon. She followed that book in 2008 with *They Must Be Stopped: Why We Must Defeat Radical Islam and How We Can Do It*. (From the introduction: “In the Muslim world, extreme is mainstream.”) The books were hugely controversial but shot Gabriel into the media spotlight to offer “expert” opinion on Islam and what ACT calls the “secret Islamification” of the West.

This March, Gabriel told *The New York Times*: “America has been infiltrated on all levels by radicals who wish to harm America. They have infiltrated us at the CIA, at the FBI, at the Pentagon, at the State Department.” The message was

offered again on the ACT website. “Tens of thousands of Islamic militants now reside in America, operating in sleeper cells, attending our colleges and universities. ... They are here — today.”

That was the underlying message of ACT’s National Conference and Legislative Briefing, held this June in Washington, D.C. The three-day conference combined the fanfare of a candidate’s barnstorming tour with the rhetoric that was pervasive across the political spectrum following Sept. 11, 2001. (The conference also included panels with at least one radical-right propagandist. Cliff Kincaid, an official of the extremist Accuracy in Media who has long vilified the LGBT community and, more recently, Muslims, gave a presentation on Al Jazeera. “It’s Jihad TV,” he said. “It’s the voice of Islamic terrorism.”)

During a private legislative briefing in the basement of the Capitol, congressmen — many of them rising stars in the Tea Party movement where Gabriel has made many inroads — spoke freely about the danger supposedly posed by Muslims. “This jihadist, Islamist, terrorist ideology, it is more dangerous than the Nazi ideology,” Rep. Trent Franks (R-Ariz.) told about 250 ACT members who attended. “As evil as the Nazis were, they wanted to live.”

ACT defends itself against charges of broad-brush hatred of Muslims by claiming to promote the efforts of “reformist” Muslims such as Tawfik Hamid, an Egyptian author who opposes Islamic fundamentalism. In 2009, Hamid wrote a piece in the *Wall Street Journal* calling on Islam to prove its peacefulness. The same year, in a column written for *The Washington Examiner*, Hamid was one of the first to spread the groundless fear of Shariah law. “Concessions to Islamic Shariah law can serve as a provocation to radical Islam, as it gives the radicals the impression that the West should bow to their Islamic laws.”

If that’s the work ACT endorses as proof of its moderate views, it seems hard to disagree with the conclusion of a March 2011 *New York Times* profile of Gabriel: “She presents a portrait of Islam so thoroughly bent on destruction and domination that it is unrecognizable to those who study or practice the religion.” ▲



A Lebanese Christian who appears frequently before conservative and Christian groups, Brigitte Gabriel once referred to Arabs as “barbarians.” *The New York Times Magazine* described her as a “radical Islamophobe.”

America does not believe, nor advocate, that all Muslims are engaged in stealth jihad. ACT! for America does not believe, nor advocate, that all Muslims ‘must be stopped,’” said a statement distributed via E-mail in July. “The mission of ACT! for America is to combat the ideology of radical Islam and those who advocate it.”

That’s not the way Gabriel usually sounds. For her, it seems clear, the problem is not “radical” Islam — the problem is Islam itself.



Ten Years After

Osama bin Laden is dead, and Al Qaeda's ability to strike from afar is fading. But homegrown jihadists are proliferating

BY BOOTH GUNTER WITH BRIAN LEVIN ILLUSTRATION BY SEAN MCCABE

ON SEPT. 8, 2009, NAJIBULLAH ZAZI RENTED A CAR IN COLORADO AND DROVE TO NEW YORK CITY, where he had spent his childhood. His visit was no social occasion. For two months, he had been buying chemicals from beauty supply stores so that he could make triacetone triperoxide, a highly explosive compound favored by Islamic terrorists and dubbed by them the “Mother of Satan.” Zazi and two friends planned to strap explosives to their bodies, board trains at two of the city’s busiest subway stations — Grand Central Station and Times Square — and blow themselves up during rush hour.

If not foiled by an FBI investigation, the suicide bombing undoubtedly would have killed and maimed many New Yorkers — and sent shockwaves of terror across America.

Nearly eight months later, on May 1, 2010, Faisal Shahzad parked a Nissan Pathfinder along West 45th Street near Times Square. Inside was a crudely built incendiary device containing three 20-gallon propane tanks, 152 M-88 firecrackers and a metal gun locker filled with 250 pounds of urea-based fertilizer. Fortunately, a T-shirt vendor spotted smoke coming from the SUV, and the device was defused by a bomb squad. It’s unlikely it would have exploded because of its faulty construction, but if it had, police said, it packed enough wallop to send a fireball high into the Manhattan sky and spray pedestrians in the crowded theater district with killing shrapnel.

Zazi and Shahzad shared something in common: Both are Muslim extremists who received explosives training at terrorist camps in the northern Pakistan region of Waziristan, along the Afghanistan border. Zazi's laptop, in fact, contained images of nine pages of hand-written notes on how to make and handle bombs.

But what makes them even more significant is that they represent a new and growing breed of Islamic terrorists who threaten America — homegrown jihadists who were radicalized in the United States. Zazi, though Afghani, is a legal resident of the U.S.; Shahzad is a naturalized citizen from Pakistan.

Ten years after the September 11 attacks, which killed nearly 3,000 people and led to two protracted foreign wars, U.S. intelligence and law enforcement officials say that homegrown Islamic extremists are now more worrisome in many respects than the type of foreign Al Qaeda operatives who flew planes into the World Trade Center and Pentagon.

“One of the most striking elements of today's threat picture is that plots to attack America increasingly involve American residents and citizens,” Homeland Security Secretary Janet Napolitano told Congress in February.

There is little question that after a decade of America's “War on Terror,” Al Qaeda's ability to strike the United States has been reduced significantly. The dramatic killing of Osama bin Laden by a team of U.S. Navy Seals in May only underscored that success. The fact is, Al Qaeda has not been able to carry out an attack in the West since the 2005 bombings in London.

But terrorist groups like Al Qaeda and their affiliates have adapted — and



Targets of homegrown extremists include (clockwise from top left) the Sears Tower in Chicago, a subway station near Madison Square Garden, Grand Central Station, O'Hare International Airport, Times Square, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and Fort Hood in Texas.

adopted a new strategy. They “are trying to inspire individuals in the West to launch their own, smaller-scale attacks, which require less of the advanced planning or coordination that would typically raise red flags,” Napolitano said. “The logic supporting these kinds of terrorist plots is simple: They present fewer opportunities for disruption by intelligence or law enforcement than more elaborate, larger scale plots by groups of foreign-based operatives.”

These plots also rely on people who are well-versed in the language, the culture and the vulnerabilities of the United States — and who have no trouble getting into or moving around the country. While attacks may be inspired by Al Qaeda and its extreme ideology, they are now mostly



carried out without operational support from the group, either by “lone wolves” or small cells operating independently. In some cases, the radicalized Americans receive training at terrorist camps overseas or — like the New Mexico-born cleric Anwar al-Awlaki — actually join terrorist groups in Yemen, Somalia, Pakistan or elsewhere.

A report by the Congressional Research Service in December found that jihadist plots by U.S. citizens or permanent residents have increased substantially in the past several years. In the nine years between 9/11 and last November, the Department of Justice lodged criminal charges in 43 such plots or attacks. Slightly more than half of those, 22, occurred since May 2009 — an ominous sign.

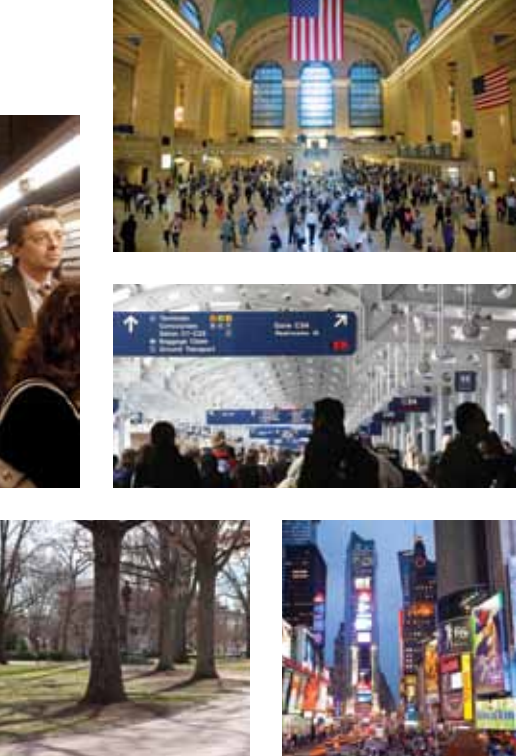
NADIA M. B. HUGHES/GETTY IMAGES (SEARS TOWER); JAY JANNER/AP IMAGES (FORT HOOD); FRANK RICHMOND/IA/PA IMAGES (SUBWAY); ED FREEMAN/GETTY IMAGES (CHAPEL HILL); ALAN DIAZ/AP IMAGES (PADILLA)

30 Terrorist Attacks and Plots by Homegrown Jihadists on U.S. Soil Since 9/11

Most plots thwarted by tips and police work



May 2002 Muslim convert **Jose Padilla** is arrested at O'Hare Airport in Chicago on suspicion of planning to explode a radioactive “dirty bomb.” He becomes the first American citizen arrested on U.S. soil to be declared an “enemy combatant.”



“One of the most striking elements of today’s threat picture is that plots to attack America increasingly involve American residents and citizens.”

—HOMELAND SECURITY SECRETARY JANET NAPOLITANO

citizens or immigrants living here to join their quixotic but deadly quest for a totalitarian, global caliphate ruled by Islamic fundamentalists? Who is most susceptible to the anti-Semitism and other hatreds spread by these terrorist organizations?

These questions have been the subject of intense scrutiny over the past two years as U.S. officials have struggled to respond to this emerging threat. At the same time, the government has intensified efforts to combat a sprawling network of propagandists, clerics, radical Islamic organizations and other facilitators who play key roles in the radicalization and recruitment process.

While experts say it is impossible to predict who will become a jihadist, there is one commonality in virtually every case of an American becoming radicalized and attempting to either join a terrorist group or launch an attack at home: the Internet.

In recent years, there’s been a phenomenal growth in the number and sophistication of English-language jihadist websites and chat rooms, making the message of violence and its ideological underpinnings far more accessible than in the past. These sites typically contain rhetoric that demonizes Jews and justifies the slaughtering of innocents in the name of Islam. Some sites, increasingly, specialize in do-it-yourself instructions for potential terrorists.

A widely cited 2007 study of radicalization by the New York Police Department found that the Internet is both a “driver

and enabler” in the radicalization process. First, it “provides the wandering mind of the conflicted young Muslim or potential convert with direct access to unfiltered radical and extremist ideology.” Second, “it allows the aspiring jihadist to view the world and global conflicts through this extremist lens.” Third, it “serves as an enabler — providing broad access to an array of information on targets, their vulnerabilities and the design of weapons.”

Many of the homegrown extremists arrested on terrorism charges are known to have frequented extremist websites early in the radicalization process. A typical example is Bryant Neal Vinas. He grew up on Long Island and converted to Islam after being discharged early from the Army following basic training. He began visiting pro-Al Qaeda websites, and then attended Al Qaeda training camps in Pakistan. After he was arrested in 2008, he admitted that he plotted with terrorists to bomb the Long Island railroad and helped fire rockets at a U.S. military base in Afghanistan.

While some Americans may believe that Muslim communities are teeming with young men anxious to fight on the side of Al Qaeda, that simply isn’t the case. The vast majority of Muslims reject extremist ideology and violence. Those who have studied the radicalization process say that deeply held religious beliefs typically are not the primary motivation for joining jihad; for many recruits, it’s more about gaining a

The success rate of these homegrown jihadists is, thus far, abysmal. Experts say their terrorist tradecraft is generally poor, and many are simply incompetent. A great number of planned attacks have been thwarted by FBI investigations involving undercover informants. Only two plots, both by lone gunmen in 2009, resulted in deaths. But just one successful attack can have a devastating impact. The deadliest occurred on Nov. 5, 2009, when Army Major Nidal Malik Hasan, a Virginia native, allegedly opened fire on soldiers at Fort Hood, Texas, killing 13 and injuring 43. Five months earlier, on June 1, U.S.-born Muslim convert Abdulhakim Muhammad allegedly killed an Army private and wounded another at a military recruiting station in Little Rock.

What would inspire Hasan and Muhammad to commit such acts? How do Islamic terrorists persuade American

destroy the bridge by severing its cables.

June 2003 Eleven men from Northern Virginia — known as the “Paintball” terrorists — are accused of being part of a jihadist network that sought to wage war against nations deemed hostile to Islam. Two others are later charged,

including spiritual leader Ali al-Timimi, an Iraqi-American U.S. citizen. Eleven of the men are U.S. citizens.

June 2003 U.S.-born Muslim **Ahmed Omar Abu Ali**, raised in Northern Virginia, is arrested in Saudi Arabia on charges

that he plotted to assassinate President George W. Bush and launch a 9/11-style attack in the U.S.



May 2003
Ilyan Faris, a Pakistani-born naturalized U.S. citizen, pleads guilty to surveilling

the Brooklyn Bridge and sending coded E-mail messages to Al Qaeda operatives about a highly improbable plan to



sense of identity or the prospect of glory on the battlefield. A Rand Corporation report in 2010 found that only about 100 Muslims in this country have joined jihad — about one in 30,000, based on a population estimated to be 3 million. A Pew Research Center poll in 2007 found that only 5 percent of American Muslims expressed a positive view of Al Qaeda. And, a study released this February by the Triangle Center on Terrorism and Homeland Security in North

Carolina, found that Muslims have been the top source of tips to law enforcement that thwarted terrorism attacks.

Still, though they are not part of the Muslim mainstream, there is no denying that a constellation of homegrown Islamic extremists is operating within our borders — part of a concerted strategy to turn Americans into terrorists. What follows are profiles of 10 leading Islamic extremists who have become radicalized

while living in the United States. Some use the pulpit to spread a theology of hate and violence. Some use their Internet savvy to radicalize others, to network and to disseminate instructional materials. Some fight for their newfound cause alongside terrorists overseas. All share a virulent, anti-Semitic, anti-human rights ideology that sanctions the killing of innocent men, women and children in pursuit of a world dominated by Islamic fundamentalists.>>

Grown at Home



Officials increasingly fear terrorist attacks from U.S. citizens and legal residents who become radicalized in America, not overseas. Here are 10 leading Muslim extremists who were either born in the U.S., grew up here or became legal residents. Some of have joined terrorist groups. Others help spread Al Qaeda-like propaganda.

BY HEIDI BEIRICH WITH BRIAN LEVIN ILLUSTRATIONS BY SUNNY PAULK

THE LECTURER

AMIR ABDEL MALIK ALI

BORN | 1958

CURRENT LOCATION | Oakland, Calif.

In March, several hundred people turned out to protest a fundraising dinner for an Islamic charity in Yorba Linda, Calif. The gathering turned into an ugly Muslim-bashing scene when some of the protesters broke off and starting yelling insults at attendees — insults like “Muhammad was a child molester” and “You’re a terrorist.” One of the two speakers whose presence sparked the demonstration was Amir Abdel Malik Ali — a charismatic imam who promotes anti-Semitism, violence and conspiracy theories that blame the U.S. government and Jews for attacks by Islamic terrorists.

Ali leads the Masjid al Islam mosque in



Oakland and has for more than a decade been a leader in the radical As-Sabiqun, or “vanguard,” movement. He’s a frequent speaker on college campuses, particularly in California, who stirs controversy with his nakedly anti-Semitic views and rhetorical support for terrorism.

Born Derek Gilliam, Ali is an alumnus of San Francisco State University and a former member of the Nation of Islam (NOI), a black nationalist organization listed as a hate group by the Southern Poverty Law Center due, in part, to its virulent anti-Semitism.

Although neither Ali nor his mosque have been tied to criminality or terrorism, he makes no secret of his goal for America. He wants a revolution to establish a strict Muslim theocracy. “The recipe for how we come to power: From an Islamic movement we graduate to an Islamic revolution, then to an Islamic state,” he told the Muslim Student Association West at the University of California, Berkeley, in 2004. “When it’s all over, the only one standing is gonna be us. ... We must implement Islam as a totality ... [where] Allah controls every place — the home, the classroom, the science lab, the halls of Congress.”

August 2004

Just days before the GOP national convention, James Elshafay, a U.S.



citizen, and a Pakistani immigrant are arrested on charges of planning to bomb a subway station near Madison Square Garden in New York City.

August 2004 Two Albany, N.Y., men are arrested as the result of an FBI sting operation involving a plot to assassinate a Pakistani diplomat with a shoulder-fired missile in New York City. Yassin M. Aref, an imam at the Masjid As Salam mosque in Albany, is a refugee from Kurdistan. Mohammed Mosharref Hossain is an immi-

grant from Bangladesh who had lived in the U.S. for decades.

August 2005 Four men are charged with planning to attack Jewish institutions, military installations and the airport in Los Angeles. Leader Kevin James, a U.S. citizen and Muslim convert, formed a jihadist group and recruited

one of the other defendants while in prison.

December 2005 A Pennsylvania man, Michael Curtis Reynolds, is charged with plotting to blow up a Wyoming natural gas refinery. He sought to enlist Al Qaeda operatives to engage in attacks on pipelines and refinery targets.

Ali, who has expressed his support for Hamas and Hezbollah, unabashedly praises violence in the form of suicide bombings aimed at civilians. “We will fight you until we are either martyred or victorious,” he told a 2006 audience about his preferred manner for solving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

He’s at his most hyperbolic when talking about Jews. Using standard anti-Semitic canards, Ali argues that Jews run the U.S. government. “Barack [Obama] is owned, he’s owned by the Zionists,” he told listeners at a University of California, Irvine event in 2009. Ali asserts that Jews also run the media. “Liars, straight up liars, Rupert Murdoch Zionist Jew, Zionist Jew owns Fox News,” Ali said in a typical tirade in 2006.

Ali has repeatedly said that Zionist Jews plotted with the U.S. government to stage the 9/11 attacks. “You know what I’m saying, because they’re [Zionists or their supporters] the ones who did it anyway,” Ali said during his speech at UC Irvine in 2009. In 2007, Ali said that Zionist Jews were also behind the 1993 World Trade Center bombing. “They do things to make people think that it’s Muslims when it is actually them behind the scenes.”

One of Ali’s more bizarre theories is that Obama’s former chief of staff, Rahm Emanuel, formulated the recently enacted Matthew Shepard and James Byrd Jr. Hate Crimes Prevention Act as part of a plot to criminally sanction people who criticize Israel, Zionist Jews and the accepted version of the Nazi Holocaust. “If you talk about the disproportionate numbers of Jews, Zionist Jews, in the media, in finance and foreign policy, that’s a crime, that’s a crime,” Ali said at UC Irvine in 2009.

The federal hate crime law, of course, does not punish hateful speech, which is protected by the First Amendment.

RAPPING JIHAD

**ABU MANSOOR AL-AMRIKI
(OMAR SHAFIK HAMMAMI)**

BORN | 1984

CURRENT LOCATION | Somalia

Omar Hammami was an intellectually gifted, popular teen in a small Gulf Coast town in Alabama who once was compared by a classmate to the mischievous, coming-of-age movie hero “Ferris Bueller.” He dated one of the prettiest girls in school, became class president as a sophomore and seemed poised for a bright future — until he became Abu Mansoor al-Amriki, international terrorist.

Now, at 27, he’s the public face of one of the most barbaric terrorist organizations in the world — the Somalia-based al-Shabaab, a group whose members in 2008 stoned to death a 13-year-old rape victim in a stadium filled with spectators.

And he’s a wanted man, under federal indictment for terrorist activities. He’s known for releasing videos with English-language rap songs intended to promote jihad to Western youth. The Anti-Defamation League says that al-Amriki uses anti-Semitic and anti-Israeli rhetoric to justify violent attacks against Jews, Israel and the U.S.

But not only does al-Amriki — whose new name means “The American” — play a major propaganda and recruiting role for al-Shabaab, he apparently commands guerrilla forces in combat against Somali soldiers, organizes terrorist attacks and plots strategy with Al Qaeda operatives.

His remarkable journey from the sleepy town of Daphne, Ala., nestled along Mobile Bay, to jihadist stardom in Somalia illustrates the growing and unsettling — importance of Muslim-American extremists in the global network of Al Qaeda-linked terrorists.

“To have an American citizen that has risen to this kind of a rank in a terrorist organization — we have not seen that before,” a senior U.S. law enforcement official told *The New York Times* in 2010.

Al-Amriki was born to an unlikely set of parents. His father was a Muslim immigrant from Syria. His mother was a Southern Baptist. He grew up as a Christian, a well-liked, outgoing boy known for his personal magnetism.

But after his sophomore year in high school, things began to change. Following visits to Syria, al-Amriki began to doubt his commitment to Christianity. After converting to Islam in his junior year, he swore at his English teacher for being Jewish and tried to choke a student who interrupted him while he was reciting the Koran. Skipping his senior year of high school, likely due to a suspension, Hammami enrolled early at the University



March 2006 **Mohammed Reza Taheri-Azar**, a naturalized U.S. citizen from Iran, drives an SUV into a crowd at a popular student gathering spot at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

April 2006 ➤ Two Atlanta men are charged with



conspiring to support foreign terrorists. Authorities say Virginia-born **Ehsanul Islam Sadeque** and **Syed Haris Ahmed**, a naturalized citizen from Pakistan, video-taped targets in the Washington, D.C., area, including the U.S.

Capitol, the World Bank and a fuel farm.

June 2006 Seven men, led by former Chicago delivery truck driver Narseal Batiste, are arrested for plotting to blow up the Sears Tower in Chicago, the FBI building in North Miami Beach and other government buildings in Dade

of South Alabama, where he took to wearing ankle-length gowns used by Gulf Arabs and adopted a strict personal code of conduct. He dropped out in 2002.

After moving to Toronto, Canada, where he married a Somali woman, he became more deeply troubled about the U.S. involvement in Iraq and Afghanistan and, apparently, more radical as he networked within the city's large Muslim community. He then moved to Alexandria, Egypt. One day, he left home and later told his wife he was in Somalia.

He first surfaced publicly in October 2007, when the Arabic TV network Al Jazeera aired a report about the links between Al Qaeda and militants in Somalia, who were fighting to install a radical Islamic state. Al-Amriki was described as "a fighter" and "military instructor," but his face was concealed.

In April 2009, al-Amriki reportedly showed his face for the first time, appearing in a sophisticated 30-minute recruitment video with anti-American hip-hop music and images of Osama bin Laden. It depicted al-Amriki leading al-Shabaab militants in an ambush of Somali forces.

One of his rap songs, "Make Jihad With Me," is featured on a video that shows al-Amriki calling for attacks on the U.S.: "Attack America now! Martyrdom or victory. ...We are wiping Israel clear off the globe!"

U.S. officials believe several Americans charged with terror-related offenses have been influenced by al-Amriki's recruitment propaganda. Authorities arrested two American citizens who had watched his videos in June 2010 as they attempted to board separate flights to Egypt with the intention of joining al-Shabaab in Somalia. Also, Shirwa Ahmed, believed

to be the first American suicide bomber, appeared in one of al-Amriki's videos before blowing himself up as part of a coordinated vehicle bomb attack in October 2009 that killed more than a dozen people in northern Somalia.

Earlier this year, Somali authorities said al-Amriki might have been killed during fighting with government forces. But he soon resurfaced with two new songs that appeared on the Internet — including one, "Send Me a Cruise," in which he begs for martyrdom.

THE IMMODERATE IMAM

MOHAMMAD AL-ASI

BORN | 1951

CURRENT LOCATION | Washington, D.C.

The Islamic Center of Washington is perhaps the most famous mosque in America. President Dwight D. Eisenhower attended its opening, and 44 years later President George W. Bush spoke there after the 9/11 attacks in an effort to reassure an angry American populace that Muslims were not the enemy. The ornate structure, with its 162-foot minaret, presents a striking picture along the capital's lush Embassy Row.

Each Friday, rain or shine, Mohammad al-Asi holds a prayer service on a sidewalk outside its white limestone walls. But he's not affiliated with the mosque — the country's largest — at all. In fact, he was ousted as its imam in 1983, after only two years of service, because of his radical views and outspoken support for Iranian revolutionary leader Ayatollah Khomeini. Al-Asi has long been on the radar screen of U.S. intelligence officials, who consider him a close ally, if not an agent, of Iran.

Today, the longtime Washington-area

resident continues to voice support for the authoritarian Islamic regime in Iran. He's one of the most prominent members of the Iranian-oriented Institute of Contemporary Islamic Thought, a global



network of activists that promotes anti-Semitic, anti-American and anti-Israeli views through its speakers and its online magazine Crescent.

A native of Grand Rapids, Mich., al-Asi left the U.S. for Lebanon at age 11, returning as an adult and eventually serving as a pharmacy technician in the Air Force.

During his brief tenure at the Islamic Center of Washington, al-Asi referred to the U.S., Israel and Saudi Arabia as "the great Satan." He was forced out by the mosque's Saudi-dominated board of directors, according to the *Washington Post*.

Al-Asi then moved on to the Islamic Education Center in Potomac, Md., where he stayed until 1997. In 1994, he wrote an open letter to Khomeini swearing his allegiance "to you as leader of the Muslims." U.S. intelligence officials believed the Center, which was funded by the New

County, Fla. The group includes five U.S. citizens.

December 2006 **Derrick Shareef**, an American Muslim convert, is arrested in Rockford, Ill., on charges he planned to set off hand grenades at a mall just days before Christmas.



May 2007 Six men — including Mohamad Ibrahim Shnewer, a U.S. citizen from Jordan, and Serdar Tatar, a Turkish-born legal permanent resident — are arrested in a plot to attack and kill soldiers at Fort Dix in New Jersey with assault rifles and grenades.



June 2007 **Russell Defreitas**, a U.S. citizen from Guyana and former airline cargo handler, is arrested as the ringleader in a plot to blow up a jet fuel artery running through residential neighborhoods near JFK Airport in New York.

York-based Alavi Foundation, was a vehicle of the Iranian government to obtain information on U.S. technology and on Iranians in the U.S., provide a gathering place for pro-Iranian activists, and promote Iranian interests. In 2009, the Obama Administration launched civil proceedings to seize the foundation's assets, including the Center and a building in New York City. And in April 2010, the foundation's president, Farshid Jahedi, was sentenced to three months in prison after pleading guilty to obstructing justice; FBI agents had seen him discarding shredded pertinent documents the day after he was issued a grand jury subpoena.

As do many of his fellow Islamic extremists, al-Asi devotes much of his energy to criticizing Jews and disseminating anti-Semitic propaganda. He contends that Jews are enemies of Islam who control the U.S. government, the American news media and the nation's economic system.

Al-Asi promotes the lie that Jews, particularly those in the Mossad, the Israeli intelligence service, were behind the 9/11 attacks. Shortly after 9/11, he appeared at the National Press Club with fellow conspiracy theorists Alim Musa (see profile, p. 30) and New Black Panther Party leader Malik Zulu Shabazz. He called the attacks a "grand strike against New York and Washington" and pushed the falsehood that Jews were forewarned. "There's 4,000 to 5,000 Israeli Jews who were supposed to be in those two buildings on Sept. 11," he said. "Why didn't they go to work?"

In 2007, he wrote in the *Crescent*: "Considering the sort of behavior and attitude coming from Jewish religious figures, it is rather less surprising to see the actions of a secular Jewish state. It is precisely what qualifies Yahud [Jews] for

displacement, dispossession and depression. That is why they have been stamped with shame, mortification and the wrath of the Almighty"

Al-Asi has other extremist connections as well. He co-lectured at his Islamic Education Center with notorious Swiss Holocaust denier Ahmed Huber. Huber's tapes were also sold there. Huber, who died in 2008, was a neo-Nazi and Muslim convert civilly sanctioned by the federal government in 2001 for his role in financing terrorism. Huber had met with individuals linked to Al Qaeda.

MARKED FOR DEATH

ANWAR AL-AWLAKI

BORN | 1971

CURRENT LOCATION | Yemen

Three days after American commandos killed Osama bin Laden in Pakistan, U.S. Special Forces launched a drone attack in a remote region of Yemen in an effort to kill Al Qaeda operatives there. The principle target of the missile strike: Anwar al-Awlaki, a radical, U.S.-born Muslim cleric who has been officially designated by the U.S. government as a global terrorist.

Al-Awlaki apparently survived the attack. He is believed to be in hiding in Yemen, where he has been sentenced in absentia to 10 years in prison for inciting a Muslim teen to kill a French citizen.

Born in New Mexico, al-Awlaki is a leader in Al Qaeda's affiliate in Yemen, known as Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP). He's been associated with a number of known terrorists and linked to at least 15 plots, including the attempted car bombing of New York City's Times Square in May 2010

by a Pakistani American. Two of the 9/11 hijackers met with him at his mosques in California and Virginia, according to *The 9/11 Commission Report*. He also exchanged E-mails with alleged Fort Hood shooter Nidal Malik Hasan (see timeline, p. 27).

President Obama has authorized al-Awlaki's assassination without any judicial proceedings, a rare order targeting an American citizen. Al-Awlaki's father challenged the order in court, but a federal judge dismissed the suit in December, ruling the father had no standing — though the judge wrote that the suit raised "stark and perplexing questions" about using executive power to target U.S. citizens.

In July 2010, the Treasury Department announced that it had frozen al-Awlaki's U.S. assets and prohibited transactions with him. "He has involved himself in every aspect of the supply chain of terrorism — fundraising for terrorist groups, recruiting and training operatives, and planning and ordering attacks on innocents," Under Secretary for Terrorism and Financial Intelligence Stuart Levey said in a written statement.



June 2008 Christopher Paul, a U.S. citizen from Columbus, Ohio, is arrested on terrorism charges after joining Al Qaeda overseas and plotting to launch bomb attacks in the U.S.

November 2008 Muslim convert Bryant Vinas, the U.S.-born son of immigrants from Peru and Argentina, is

arrested in Pakistan on U.S. terrorism charges after receiving Al Qaeda training and helping fire rockets at a U.S. military base in Afghanistan. He later admits plotting with Al Qaeda to bomb the Long Island Rail Road.



May 2009 Three U.S.-born citizens — **James Cromite**, David Williams and Onta Williams — and a Haitian immigrant are

arrested for conspiring to blow up a Bronx synagogue and Jewish center with car bombs while simultaneously shooting down a military plane with a Stinger missile.

The New York Times calls al-Awlaki “perhaps the most prominent English-speaking advocate of violent jihad against the U.S.” He uses the Internet to reach large global audiences with radical sermons that mix religious stories and incitement to violence. He has promoted the conspiracy theory that Jews were behind the 9/11 attacks and, according to the Anti-Defamation League, he “reviles Israel and Jews.”

U.S. authorities consider him an especially dangerous terrorist recruiter because of his excellent English language skills, his familiarity with U.S. culture, and his persuasive advocacy.

Al-Awlaki is the son of a prominent Yemeni figure who once served as the country’s agriculture minister and who is a close associate of authoritarian President Ali Abdullah Saleh. Though born in the U.S., al-Awlaki moved to Yemen at age 7 and stayed there until he returned to pursue undergraduate and graduate studies at state colleges in Colorado and California.

He claims to have been a nonviolent moderate until the U.S. invaded Iraq and Afghanistan. “We’re totally against what the terrorists have done,” he told the *Washington Times* in October 2001. The 9/11 Commission, however, explored suspicions that he had been a secret Al Qaeda agent in the U.S. long before the attacks.

Al-Awlaki has held positions at various mosques in Denver, San Diego and Falls Church, Va. In California, he was twice arrested for soliciting prostitutes and pleaded guilty to related charges in 1996 and 1997. Prior to 9/11, two of the hijackers attended his Rabat mosque in San Diego, where authorities later surmised he had served as their spiritual

advisor. He may have also met Hassan, the Fort Hood shooter, while working at the Virginia mosque.

In 2002, he moved to Britain after U.S. authorities stepped up their efforts against him. In 2004, he left Britain for Yemen. While in Yemen, with prodding from the U.S., he was incarcerated for 18 months. It was after that period that he publicly identified with Al Qaeda and became its most inspirational figure in the recruitment of disaffected westerners.

THE TRAITOR

ADAM YAHYE GADAHN

BORN | 1978

CURRENT LOCATION | Pakistan

The strange odyssey of Adam Yahye Gadahn, from son of a hippie goat farmer with Jewish roots to spokesman for Al Qaeda and a spot on the FBI’s “Most Wanted Terrorists” list, is something of a case study in the small but growing realm of homegrown jihadists.

In 2006, the Muslim convert gained the distinction of becoming the first American since 1952 to be charged with treason. That charge followed a federal indictment a year earlier for providing material support to Al Qaeda. Gadahn is now thought to be hiding in Pakistan, and the FBI is offering a \$1 million reward for his capture.

Since 2004, when he emerged as one of Al Qaeda’s chief English-language spokespersons, Gadahn, also known as Azzam al-Amriki (Azzam the American), has appeared in a series of jihadist videos aimed at U.S. audiences. In the first, he says that his new allegiance is to “a movement waging war on America,” whose goal is “killing large numbers of Americans.” He

uses anti-Semitic rhetoric to justify attacks against Israel and the U.S., warning that that “the streets of America shall run red with blood.”

In his videos, Gadahn “exudes the zealotry of a convert, and of youth,” wrote Raffi Khatchadourian in *The New Yorker*. “Sometimes, his syntax is so baroque, his sentiment so earnest, that he sounds like a character from ‘The Lord of the Rings.’”

Shortly before the fifth anniversary



of 9/11, Gadahn spoke for nearly 45 minutes in an Al Qaeda documentary entitled “An Invitation to Islam.” The video begins with an introduction by Ayman al-Zawahiri, who recently succeeded the slain Osama bin Laden as head of Al Qaeda. In another video this June, Gadahn urges Americans to kill their own: “America is absolutely awash with easily obtainable firearms. ... So what are you waiting for?” In that video, he describes President Obama as “treacherous, bloodthirsty and narrow-minded.”

In a 2009 Internet video, he discussed

June 2009 A U.S.-born Muslim convert allegedly shoots and kills an Army private and wounds another at the U.S. Army-Navy Career Center in Little



Rock, Ark. **Abdulhakim Muhammad**, born in Memphis as Carlos Leon Bledsoe, claims ties to Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula.

September 2009 North Carolina resident Daniel Boyd, a U.S. citizen, is indicted along with his son and one other person in a plot to attack the Marine Corps base at Quantico, Va. Boyd, who trained with terrorists in Pakistan and Afghanistan, obtained armor-piercing ammunition and maps of the base.



September 2009 **Najibullah Zazi**, a legal U.S. resident from Afghanistan, is arrested in New York City

for plotting a suicide bombing of the city’s subways. He and two others planned to strap on explosives and board

his Jewish heritage, saying his grandfather “was a Zionist and zealous supporter of the usurper entity and a prominent member of a number of Zionist hate organizations.”

Gadahh was born Adam Pearlman in Oregon and raised on a small farm in the Southern California town of Winchester. His mother was Catholic. His father, Philip Pearlman, was the son of a respected Jewish urologist, Dr. Carl Pearlman, an Anti-Defamation League board member and supporter of Israel.

In the 1960s, Gadahn’s father was a prominent counterculture figure and musician. He and his wife raised and homeschooled their children on an isolated goat farm, where they produced their own electricity and had no telephone or running water in their home.

Gadahh, who was a fan of death metal music as a youth, developed a difficult relationship with his parents. In June 1995, he moved to Santa Ana, Calif., to live with his paternal grandparents. Once there, the 16-year-old explored religion on the Web and turned to Islam.

In November 1995, Gadahn converted to Islam at a mosque in Garden Grove but was later kicked out after becoming involved with extremists. In 1997, he pleaded guilty to assault charges after punching a mosque official, but never completed his required community service.

Shortly after that episode, Gadahn left for Pakistan. While there, he married an Afghani and reportedly had a child. He also began serving as an Al Qaeda translator. He spent time with Abu Zubaydah, who helped shuttle recruits from Pakistan to terrorist training camps in Afghanistan. And he met Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, the 9/11 mastermind, who reportedly

tried to recruit Gadahn to blow up gas stations in Maryland. Gadahn declined, saying he was newly married and his wife was pregnant.

THE BLOGGER

SAMIR KHAN

BORN | 1986

CURRENT LOCATION | Yemen

Last summer, Al Qaeda’s branch in Yemen launched a slick English-language, online magazine devoted to inspiring home-grown jihadists in the West. Its name, in fact, was Inspire. U.S. officials, alarmed by its sophistication and how-to instructions for potential terrorists, figured it was the work of Samir Khan, a young jihadist blogger now living in Yemen.

It wasn’t Khan’s first trailblazing foray into online publishing.

Before the 9/11 attacks, and even for a few years afterward, it was virtually impossible to find fully functioning

English-language websites devoted to radical Islam and Al Qaeda’s fight against the West. That changed, however, thanks in large part to Khan, a U.S. citizen born in Saudi Arabia to Pakistani parents.

In 2005, while still a teen, Khan launched a blog called “InshallahShaheed” from his parents’ house in Charlotte, N.C. Among the offerings were translations of anti-U.S. screeds and links to secret websites where readers

“I am acutely aware that body parts have to be torn apart ... and blood has to be spilled.”

could obtain what *The New York Times* called “the latest blood-drenched insurgent videos from Iraq.”

Khan left for Yemen in October 2009, and the first issue of Inspire appeared the following July. The magazine has featured instructional articles like “Make a Bomb in the Kitchen of Your Mom” and another describing how to use a pickup truck to “mow down the enemies of Allah.” It also



has carried articles purportedly written by Osama bin Laden and the radical cleric Anwar Al-Awlaki (see profile, p. 25), a leader in the Yemen-based Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP).

In April, the FBI’s assistant director for counterterrorism, Mark F. Giuliano, said that AQAP figures like Khan and Al-Awlaki represent a more serious threat than the older Al Qaeda organization, because they “understand our culture, our limitations, our security protocols, and our vulnerabilities.” Their ability to exploit social media also makes them particularly dangerous. “They realize the

trains at Grand Central Station and Times Square during rush hour. Authorities charge 11 others in the Al Qaeda-orchestrated plot.

September 2009 A U.S. citizen who had converted to Islam while in



prison is arrested after allegedly driving a van he thought was loaded with explosives to a federal building in Springfield, Ill. Prosecutors say **Talib Islam**, who changed his name from Michael C. Finton, tried to detonate the fake, FBI-

provided bomb with a cell phone.

October 2009 Pharmacist Tarek Mehanna, a dual U.S. and Egyptian citizen from a Boston suburb, is arrested on charges he plotted with two other men to kill two U.S. politicians and shoot people at a shopping mall.

November 2009 U.S. Army **Maj. Nidal Malik Hasan**, the son of Palestinian immigrants who was born and raised in Virginia, allegedly opens fire at the **Soldier Readiness Center** at



importance and value of reaching English speaking audiences and are using the group's marketing skills to inspire individual attacks within the homeland," Giuliano said. "In many cases they are attempting to provide them with the knowledge to do so, without having to travel or train abroad."

While Khan today is a vital part of AQAP's communications apparatus, he started out much like a regular kid from Queens.

Khan's family moved to New York from Saudi Arabia when he was 7. As a teen, he wore baggy pants and talked in local slang like his peers. In August 2001, at age 15, he reportedly attended a summer program run by members of Tanzeem-e-Islami, a radical group based in Pakistan with a long history of anti-Semitism (it now operates in the U.S. as the Islamic Organization of North America). Khan became a devoted Muslim, praying regularly and dressing modestly.

In 2003, he began blogging. But his earlier posts advocated nonviolence. In 2004, Khan's family moved to Charlotte, where he launched InshallahShaheed with posts that consisted mainly of materials about Tanzeem-e-Islami. He soon became a conduit for Al Qaeda and an unabashed supporter of violent jihad. He also was a catalyst in the creation of a series of English online extremist essays called "Jihad Recollections."

Khan once consulted an attorney so that he could avoid running afoul of the law with his Web postings. He may have avoided prosecution, but he lost his job at a billing services company that contracts with the federal government after a Charlotte TV station publicized his activities. Now, he's a full-fledged AQAP operative seeking nothing less than a global Islamic caliphate.

In the October 2010 issue of Inspire, Khan writes that the U.S. must be defeated in order to "implant Islam all over the world." He adds: "I am acutely aware that body parts have to be torn apart, skulls have to be crushed and blood has to be spilled."

FROM JEWISH TO JIHADIST

YUSEF AL-KHATTAB

BORN | 1968

CURRENT LOCATION | New York City

Yousef al-Khattab is an unlikely Al Qaeda supporter. Born and raised in Brooklyn, N.Y., as Joseph Leonard Cohen, he converted from Judaism to Islam while living in the Middle East. Then he moved on to advocating the destruction of Israel and cheering acts of terror against the U.S. as an Internet provocateur while working as a pedicab driver in New York City.

Al-Khattab is best known for co-founding the Revolution Muslim (RM) organization in 2007, with fellow Muslim convert Younes Abdullah Muhammad (see profile, p. 29). The group became known for issuing a threat against the creators of the animated TV sitcom "South Park" for the suggestion in one episode that a figure wearing a bear costume was the Prophet Muhammad.

According to a 2011 FBI affidavit, RM was formed for the purpose of "establishing Islamic law in the U.S., destroying Israel, and taking al-Qaeda's message to the masses." The website has been a conduit for messages from extremist clerics, including American-born Al Qaeda operative Anwar al-Awlaki (see profile, p. 25).

Both al-Khattab and his RM co-founder previously were associated with the Islamic Thinkers Society, an American affiliate of a banned British militant group called al-Muhajiroun, founded by radical cleric Omar Bakri Muhammad and described by the New York Police Department as "anti-Western, anti-democratic, anti-U.S., pro Al Qaeda."

RM had a small membership but an influential, jihadist website, which often featured gory scenes, including photos of the bodies of Palestinian children. It also contained anti-Semitic posts, including one by al-Awlaki, who wrote that Jews "have a hidden agenda" and have infiltrated every government in the world.

The website's violent messages have been tied to a string of terrorist plotters. In October 2010, NPR reported that of two dozen homegrown Islamic terror plots in the previous year, RM was linked to one-third. The perpetrators of those plots included Pennsylvania convert Colleen LaRose, or "Jihad Jane," who pleaded guilty to the attempted murder of Dutch cartoonist Lars Vilks; Virginia Muslim



JAY JANNER/AP IMAGES (FORT HOOD); AP IMAGES (SHAHZAD); AP IMAGES (CAR)

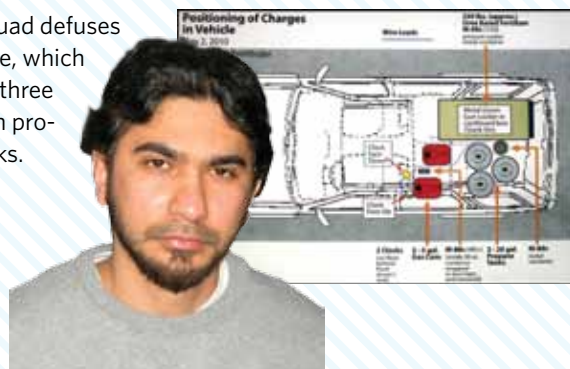


Fort Hood in Texas. Thirteen people are killed and another 43 are injured. Hasan, a psychiatrist who was about to be

deployed to Afghanistan, is shot and taken into custody.

May 2010 **Faisal Shahzad**, a Pakistani-born U.S. citizen, parks a SUV containing a crude incendiary device near **Times Square** in New York City. A T-shirt vendor alerts police after seeing smoke coming from the vehicle. A

bomb squad defuses the device, which contains three 20-gallon propane tanks.



convert Zachary Chesser, who was sentenced to 25 years in federal prison in February for threatening the creators of “South Park” and for his support of the Somalia-based Al Qaeda affiliate al-Shabaab; and Antonio Martinez, who pleaded guilty in January to a plot to bomb a military recruiting station in Catonsville, Md.

Al-Khattab still has an active blog. Its “humor” has included a puppet show depicting the beheading of Jewish *Wall Street Journal* reporter Daniel Pearl. Al-Khattab also has lavished praise on Osama bin Laden and on alleged Fort Hood shooter and former Army Major Nidal Malik Hasan (see timeline, p. 27), dubbed an “officer and gentleman.”

Al-Khattab has a deep-seated hatred for Orthodox Jews. Even before he founded RM, he came to the attention of New York authorities because of a 2002 post about a local rabbi. He urged his followers to “contact” the rabbi and posted his picture and address so that he could “understand what it’s like to suffer under lies.” In a similar vein, al-Khattab posted a video on RM’s website that ended with gunshots and included detailed information about the Orthodox Jewish sect Chabad-Lubavitch’s headquarters. The video appeared only weeks after Pakistani terrorists massacred 164 people, including six people at the Chabad Center, in Mumbai, India, in 2008.

Though he has written that he grew up in a secular Jewish family, in 1988 al-Khattab entered a yeshiva, or Orthodox Jewish religious school. After marrying a Moroccan Jew studying in New York, he moved to Israel. At age 31, he met online a Muslim from the United Arab Emirates and decided to read the Koran. He converted to Islam in 1999, moved with his wife to East

Jerusalem, then to the West Bank, then to Morocco and finally back to New York.

Al-Khattab resigned as “Amir” of RM in 2009 and now says the site was “an idiotic thing” that served as a “bug light for Muslim misfits.” He told CNN in December, “I regret anybody that would hurt an American civilian.” It’s hard to know if these sentiments are real, given that his current blog still praises bin Laden.

THE ‘BRAINS AND WHIP’

YOUNES ABDULLAH MUHAMMAD

BORN | 1978

CURRENT LOCATION | Morocco

In November 2010, a young Latino man who had converted to Islam was arrested after trying to detonate what turned out to be a fake, FBI-supplied car bomb outside of a military recruiting station in Maryland. Authorities noted that one of the extremist websites the suspect had been reading was that of Revolution Muslim (RM), a tiny New York group co-founded by Younes Abdullah Muhammad.

Abdullah Muhammad, considered by the other co-founder as the “brains and whip” behind the now-defunct RM, was arrested on May 27 in Morocco and awaits extradition to the U.S. He was indicted by U.S. prosecutors earlier in May for communicating threats, via the RM website, against the creators of “South Park” after the animated comedy series suggested in an episode that a figure inside a bear costume was the Prophet Muhammad. A government affidavit cites a 2009 interview with CNN in which Abdullah Muhammad says, “We’re commanded to terrorize the disbelievers.”

The RM website, known for glorifying and justifying acts of terrorism like the Fort Hood shooting, has been implicated in influencing other homegrown jihadists. In addition to operating the website, the group of just five to 10 members was known for distributing anti-Semitic material outside of mosques in New York City. One of its members, Zachary Chesser is now serving 25 years in prison for the “South Park” threat and for attempting to travel to Somalia to join the terrorist group al-Shabaab.

Some Muslim groups have suggested that RM was a false-flag operation designed to make Muslims look bad. The group, and its website, was disbanded after the “South Park” controversy and rebranded as Islam Policy.

A convert to Islam, Abdullah Muhammad is a former Brooklyn resident and Grateful Dead fan previously known as Jesse Curtis Morton. He reportedly holds an M.A. degree from Columbia University’s School of International and Public Affairs.

Abdullah Muhammad, called RM’s



October 2010

Farooque Ahmed, a Pakistani-born U.S. citizen, is charged after conspir-

ing with undercover FBI agents posing as Al Qaeda operatives to bomb subway stations in Washington, D.C.

November 2010 Somali-

born U.S. citizen **Mohamed Osman Mohamud**

is arrested moments after trying to detonate a van he believed to be packed with explosives during



a Christmas tree lighting in Portland. The dummy explosives were supplied by the FBI in a sting operation.

December 2010 A

Baltimore man is arrested after allegedly trying to blow up a military recruiting station in Catonsville, Md. **Antonio Martinez**,



a U.S. citizen who recently converted to Islam, parked an SUV in front of the station, but the bomb was a fake supplied by an FBI informant.

“most articulate spokesman” by the Anti-Defamation League, co-founded the group with Yousef al-Khattab (see profile, p. 28) in 2007.

Both men had previous affiliations with the Islamic Thinkers Society, an American affiliate of a banned British militant group called al-Muhajiroun, founded by radical cleric Omar Bakri Muhammad and described by the New York Police Department as “anti-Western, anti-democratic, anti-U.S., pro Al Qaeda.”

In “By All Means Necessary,” a mission statement for RM released in 2008, Abdullah Muhammad lays out the organization’s vision for the establishment of an Islamic state and a response to the West’s “War on Islam.” The statement praises Osama bin Laden and the “19 blessed souls [who on September 11, 2001] sacrificed their selves [sic] in a preemptive and retaliatory attack on America’s military, economic and government capitals.”

The website once mocked the beheading of *Wall Street Journal* reporter Daniel Pearl by Al Qaeda and posted a prayer calling for the murder of other Jews.

When al-Khattab left RM in December 2009, an interim director took over until Abdullah Muhammad removed him in April 2010. By mid-2010, when Muhammad returned to the helm of RM, scrutiny from law enforcement and the intelligence community had increased.

In November 2010, RM’s website was removed from the Web after officials in the United Kingdom objected to a post glorifying the attacker of Parliament member Stephen Timms. Roshonara Choudhry stabbed Timms in May 2010 because of his support for the war in Iraq; Timms survived. Choudhry said that she was inspired by RM as well as

online sermons by Anwar al-Awlaki (see profile, p. 25).

Almost immediately, Abdullah Muhammad set up a new website, Islam Policy, in an attempt to rebrand the group as an Islamic policy think tank.

THE PROPAGANDIST

ABDUL ALIM MUSA

BORN | 1945

CURRENT LOCATION | Washington, D.C.

The Masjid Al-Islam Mosque sits in a quiet neighborhood in southeast Washington, just a short distance from Capitol Hill. From here, Imam Abdul Alim Musa leads a small, radical movement known as As-Sabiqun that calls for Islamic revolution to replace the U.S. government.

The organization, founded by Musa in 1995, has branches in Los Angeles, Oakland, Sacramento, Calif., San Diego and Philadelphia. As-Sabiqun’s website says its “paramount goal” is the “establishment of Islam as a complete way of life in America.”

The anti-Semitic, conspiracy-mongering

cleric, who has presided over the mosque for more than two decades, was born Clarence Reams in Arkansas. He embraced Islam while imprisoned on federal drug trafficking charges in Leavenworth, Kan.

On the mosque’s website, Musa describes a decades-long odyssey to radical Islam. Musa says he grew up in Oakland during the 1960s and was a prominent drug dealer. Later, he set up a drug smuggling operation in Colombia, where he says he “uncovered” the CIA’s involvement in drug trafficking. After being arrested on drug and assault charges, he fled to Algeria. There, he met “several exiled Black Panther leaders” before returning to the U.S. to turn himself in.

While Musa maintains he wants change in the U.S. to come peacefully, he makes frequent exhortations to violent jihad on his website and in his speeches. He is a senior member of the extremist Institute of Contemporary Islamic Thought, a pro-Iranian and pro-Hezbollah organization that distributes anti-Semitic material through its online magazine *Crescent*.

For Musa, the world is divided between oppressed Muslims and African Americans and a Western cabal led by the “biggest monster of our age, the Zionist American monster.” In 2009, he said that President Obama was put in power “by the American and Israeli lobby to escalate tension between black people and Muslims in the U.S.” Musa blames the U.S. and “Zionists” for the 9/11 attacks, the 1993 World Trade Center bombing and the attempted airliner bombing over Detroit on Christmas Day in 2009. For Musa, Osama bin Laden is worthy of admiration and the late Iranian revolutionary leader Ayatollah Khomeini is a “hero.”



May 2011 Two North African immigrants from Queens are arrested in a sting operation for plotting to attack an undetermined Manhattan synagogue and the Empire State Building. Algerian immigrant Ahmed Ferhani, a permanent U.S. resident, and Mohammed Mehdi Mamdouh, a naturalized Moroccan, are accused by

state prosecutors of attempting to purchase a hand grenade and guns to attack the synagogue.

June 2011 Two men are arrested for allegedly planning a suicide raid against a military processing center in Seattle. Prosecutors say the men hoped to use grenades,



machine guns and assault rifles to kill soldiers and recruits

they believed would eventually fight Muslims in Iraq and Afghanistan. Muslim convert Abu Khalid Abdul-Latif and **Wali Mujahidh** are both U.S.-born citizens.

Musa has met with Iranian leader and Holocaust denier Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, whom he often compliments. He is tied to anti-Semite Imam Abdel Malik Ali (see profile, p. 22), who preaches a similar message from his mosque in Oakland.

In 2001, Musa, al-Asi and the New Black Panther Party's Malik Shabazz held a bizarre event at the National Press Club that was aired by C-SPAN. Musa blamed Zionists for oppressing African-Americans and Muslims, while joining the other speakers in shifting blame for 9/11 away from Al Qaeda.

In 2009, Musa was one of 16 individuals banned from the United Kingdom for fostering extremism or hatred.

Musa is an outspoken supporter of radical Muslims accused of violence in the U.S. He disseminated a flyer saying that the alleged Fort Hood shooter, Army Major Nidal Malik Hasan, was a "target of psychological warfare." He also defends former Black Panther H. Rap Brown, now Jamil Abdullah al-Amin, as the target of a vast government conspiracy. Brown is serving a life sentence for shooting two African-American sheriff's deputies, killing one, in Fulton County, Ga., in March 2000.

THE ENGLISH TEACHER

KAUKAB SIDDIQUE

BORN | 1943

CURRENT LOCATION | Kingsville, Md.

He teaches at the oldest of the nation's historically black universities, an institution that should know a thing or two about prejudice. But Kaukab Siddique's own intolerance last year sparked a



debate about where to draw the line on academic freedom.

During a pro-Palestinian Labor Day rally in Washington, D.C., in 2010, Siddique railed against Jews and called for the destruction of Israel. "We must stand united to defeat, to destroy, to dismantle Israel, if possible by peaceful means," he said. "Dear brothers and sisters, unite and rise up against this hydra-headed monster which calls itself Zionism."

The remarks, caught on tape and later broadcast by the Christian Broadcasting Network, prompted a storm of protest from state legislators and others who called for Siddique's firing from Lincoln University in southeastern Pennsylvania.

It was an embarrassment for Lincoln, whose graduates include famed writer Langston Hughes and former U.S. Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall. University officials condemned the speech as "an insult to all decent people" but said that Siddique, an associate professor who teaches literature and mass communications, could not be fired because he was tenured and was expressing his private views in a public forum.

But the episode prompted critics to unearth other anti-Semitic comments and writing by Siddique, a Muslim originally from Pakistan. There were plenty.

He has called the Holocaust a "hoax" and "the main source of funds for international Jewry ... Israel's milk cow." He frequently invokes Holocaust denier David Irving as a historian despite a British judge having found Irving to be an "anti-Semite" who "has portrayed Hitler in an unwarrantedly favorable light."

Siddique has also written: "The Jews are a small minority in America, yet they have taken over this country by devious and immoral means. They control the government, the media, education, the libraries, the book chains, the banks, Hollywood, Wall Street, Madison Avenue."

Siddique leads a small but vocal Baltimore-area organization called Jamaat al-Muslimeen (JAM), or "group of Muslims," that promotes Holocaust denial and anti-Jewish conspiracy theories. Siddique claims the group is "not against the Jews as a collective." But a JAM-related Internet magazine edited by Siddique, called New Trend, has published articles by Muslim extremists and Holocaust deniers, including pieces in support of Irving.

Siddique was the chief organizer of JAM's 2008 national conference in Baltimore, which featured a variety of extremist speakers, including Holocaust

denier Mark Weber; anti-Semite Mark Glenn; Hesham Tillawi, a Palestinian-American whose TV show reportedly is a haven for Holocaust deniers and white supremacists; and Warith Deen Umar, an imam who said in 2009 that the Holocaust

happened to the Jews "because they were serially disobedient to Allah."

Siddique has not been accused of terrorist activities, but in late 2010, the Investigative Project on Terrorism reported that a man arrested for plotting to blow up an Army recruiting center in Maryland attended a mosque run by JAM. Siddique was listed as one of the mosque's four trustees.

Siddique is also a longtime champion of Sheik Omar Abdel-Rahman, the blind Egyptian cleric. Siddique headed a committee to free the cleric, who is serving a life sentence in federal prison for seditious conspiracy for his role in terror plots targeting New York City-area tunnels, a bridge and the United Nations. ▲

FROM FACEBOOK



July 2011

Army private

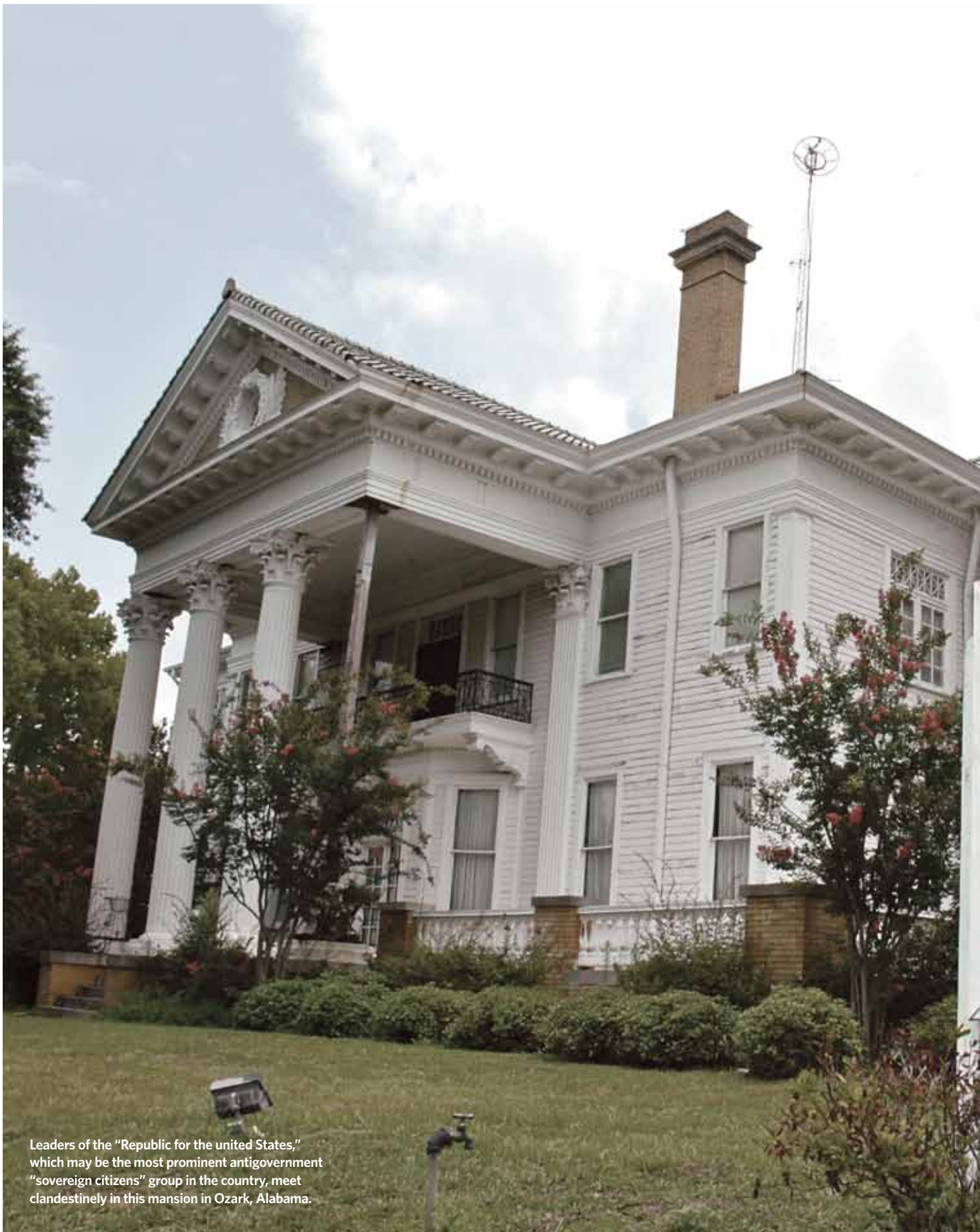
Naser Jason

Abdo, who

grew up in a

Dallas suburb, is arrested on charges that he plotted to attack soldiers at Fort Hood in Texas with guns and a bomb. Police say they found weapons and instructions for making a bomb.

SOURCES: CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR; CONGRESSIONAL RESEARCH SERVICE; THE NEW YORK TIMES; SEATTLE TIMES; WALL STREET JOURNAL; WASHINGTON POST



Leaders of the “Republic for the United States,” which may be the most prominent antigovernment “sovereign citizens” group in the country, meet clandestinely in this mansion in Ozark, Alabama.

‘Sovereign’ President

Tim Turner says his ‘Republic for the united States’ is all about peaceful change. But recent events have authorities worried

BY RYAN LENZ



On June 19, 2011, a police officer responding to a domestic violence call shot and killed William Foust, a prominent businessman who ran a marine outfitter with his wife in Page, Ariz. The death was unfortunate — a police call that soured as Foust tried to wrestle away the officer’s Taser during an argument. But it opened a window on Foust and the antigovernment group he helped lead in Arizona.

Foust, it turned out, was a principal of the so-called “Republic for the united States of America” (RuSA) — an Alabama-based organization that in the last year has grown in lockstep with the explosive rise of the “sovereign citizens” movement. In Arizona, Foust was RuSA’s “chief justice,” the man designated to serve as the state’s leading legal officer once the group, as it hopes, finally comes to power.

Conceived during a private meeting last year at a guest ranch in Spring City, Utah, RuSA may now be America’s most prominent group of sovereign citizens, people who believe they are immune from most federal laws and taxes. It certainly is the most ambitious, with preparations to build a national government-in-waiting and 50 state governments well under way. It promises freedom from taxes and other government meddling to all who sign up. And if RuSA’s views seem merely bizarre in the extreme, the Department of Homeland Security nevertheless has warned that some of its demands could be interpreted “as a justification for violence.”

Foust, apparently pumped up with fears of an evil government, certainly seems to have felt that he needed to use violence to resist the officers who responded to reports of a heated argument between him and his wife. And now, reacting to the “execution” of Foust, some members of RuSA are suggesting a response in kind, a notion that worries RuSA’s leader, who frequently denounces violence.

“Many feel angry and may want revenge,” James Timothy Turner, 55, told his followers three days after Foust’s

killing this summer. “This is understandable, but this was an isolated incident and will not cause any problems.”

Turner has outlined a plan to “reinhabit” the U.S. government, which he says has been unlawful ever since the Civil War. He describes it as “a bold, achievable strategy for behind-the-scenes peaceful reconstruction of the de jure institutions of government without controversy, violence or civil war.” But in March 2010, RuSA sent letters to all 50 state governors demanding they step down immediately, causing at least one state to beef up security at the capitol, and there apparently are new plans to send similar letters to more than 5,000 sheriffs nationwide. That, plus the fact that sovereign citizens unrelated to RuSA have engaged in numerous crimes, including the murder of two Arkansas police officers in May 2010, has raised concerns.

RuSA, which has gotten the attention of authorities in Alabama, Arizona, California, Florida and other states, teaches a whole panoply of practices typical of the sovereign citizens movement — the filing of fraudulent property liens against enemies, ways to halt the foreclosure process and cancel debts, and arcane methods that are intended to wrest millions of dollars from the federal government — all while claiming that the current United States government is utterly illegitimate. But some of what Turner has to say is far out even by the standards of the sovereigns.

“Get ready to hear things that sound absolutely impossible,” Turner’s chief spokesman, Kelby Smith, says regularly at the start of a weekly conference call to several hundred followers that was monitored by the *Intelligence Report* this spring over a period of several months. All of these impossible things come compliments of one man — a former commercial fisherman and devout evangelical Christian from Skipperville, Ala., who is known to his followers as “Mr. President.”

Birth of a ‘Republic’

Tim Turner burst onto the sovereign citizens scene in 2007, offering a series of highly popular seminars that promised attendees they could pay off their mortgages, credit card debts, and income tax bills using the “power of negative

As part of a shadow government created by the “Republic for the United States of America,” William Foust was designated the “chief justice” for Arizona. He was killed in June during an altercation with a police officer who responded to a domestic disturbance call.



averment” — a technique of turning statements into questions in a bid to shift the burden of argument to opponents. The programs cost an average of around \$400 and came with a package of “Freedom Documents,” which were forms and instructions for the filing of bogus liens and dozens of other pseudo-legal documents.

Turner taught clients to file such groundless court documents and, when the opposing parties didn’t respond accordingly, to file absurdly large retaliatory property liens against them. In one foreclosure case in which Turner was not even a party, he personally filed nine baseless liens totaling more than \$158 billion against bank and court officials. While he told followers that he won the case, the truth was that the court had actually slammed Turner with a \$22,500 fine.

At some point, Turner became a principal in a new sovereign group called the Guardians of the Free Republics (GFR), which had been founded by, among others, Dr. Glenn Richard Unger (alias “Dr. Sam Kennedy”) of Clifton Park, N.Y. Another principal, GFR “elder” Samuel Lynn Davis of Boise, Idaho, last year had \$53,000 in outstanding state and federal tax liens against him; this year, Davis also was convicted on 31 counts of bank fraud and money laundering.

In March 2010, the GFR made national headlines when it mailed letters to the governors of all 50 states demanding they step down. Although the letters did not spell out what would happen if they did not, the state of Nevada, at least, decided to add metal detectors to the Capitol and closed all but one entrance. “We just decided that it was appropriate to err on the side of caution,” an official

said then.

That same month, the GFR issued a rambling list of its goals and maxims that it called the Restore America Plan. It vowed to end “unjust” taxation, destroy the Internal Revenue Service, and dismiss all constitutional amendments after the 13th, which abolished slavery (the 14th made the freedmen citizens). It said a “European prince” had promised to fund a new government. “These are the words of Tim Turner,” it added, “an intelligent, courageous Sovereign man of God.”

On March 29, the Department of Homeland Security and the FBI sent police agencies a confidential “Intelligence and Analysis Note” about the GFR’s demand that governors step down. “[L]aw enforcement should be aware that this could be interpreted as a justification for violence or other criminal actions,” it said.

That May, a veteran Sarasota, Fla., police detective heard about Turner and his promises from his brother. Det. Tom Laughlin went on to file documents in the local courthouse calling himself an “American National Sovereign.” Two weeks later, on May 20, 2010, two police officers were murdered by a pair of sovereign citizens in West Memphis, Ark., an event that drew national attention to the nature of at least some sovereigns. Laughlin was fired as a result of his filing.

Renaming the Revolution

In the months that followed, Turner cemented his leadership role in the GFR



Tim Turner, a former commercial fishermen known to followers as “Mr. President,” has outlined a plan to “reinhabit” the U.S. government. He also claims the government has tried to assassinate him and that all industrialized nations have treaties with aliens.

them supposedly promising to financially back Turner’s new government. On each weekly phone conference, followers asked how preparations were progressing. During one, Turner said he

would be leaving “in a few days. We’ve been held up because of paperwork. ... But the Lord is delivering that situation right now.”

Turner disappeared from the weekly calls in the middle of March, and his associates told followers that he had finally left the country. But local officials say he simply stayed at home with his wife on a secluded piece of property, holding meetings in a rundown mansion some 10 miles away.

Many of Turner’s followers didn’t swallow his story. They asked about the promised foreign money, and about the status of the developing Republic. Dozens left as more and more of them began to question Turner’s representations.

Turner fired back in April. “There are many out there who accuse me of being a liar,” he said. “But if every one of those people go back and analyze the words that I’ve said, I’ve not lied to anybody. ... God will vindicate me on [sic] the time that I’m supposed to be vindicated, and that time is getting very near.”

Impossible Things

Is James Timothy Turner a prophet or a confidence man?

It seems clear that some of his followers are beginning to suspect it’s the latter. And it’s certain that some of what Turner associate Kelby Smith refers to as “things that sound absolutely impossible” are, in fact, clearly untrue. And that’s not even counting Turner’s predictions, promises, and bogus legal theories.

Turner has said that he cured leukemia in five days.

He repeatedly regales his followers with vague but electrifying accounts of attempts to assassinate him by the federal government. “It didn’t work out so well, not for them at least,” he told followers of one supposed attempt in Virginia. “But you have to remember, these attacks, even though they appear to be personal, really don’t have anything to do with me. It’s an attack on the Republic.”

Earlier this year, he promised followers he would disclose certain “state secrets” following an economic collapse he predicted would happen by March. March came and went, but Turner never revisited the subject.

In one of his weekly calls, a follower asked Turner to explain what really happened when, as some people believe, an alien spacecraft crashed in 1947 near Roswell, N.M. His jaw-dropping reply: “I’m not going to tell you they [aliens] exist or don’t exist. What I’m going to say is every nation on Earth, or every industrialized nation on Earth at least, has a treaty with them.”

And he regularly claims to have “hundreds of thousands” of followers.

At press time, RuSA was still roiled with anger at the death of William Foust, who many Turner followers believe was purposely murdered by the police. In late June, Kelby Smith made a plea to increasingly angry acolytes. “I formally ask everybody to stand down,” Smith said. “We are a law-abiding people that simply know the truth, and our job is simply to share it, even with the cops.”

For his part, Turner keeps pressing on, apparently unfazed by the death of Foust, the bank fraud conviction of Samuel Lynn Davis, the questions about his own leadership, or even the rising talk of violence among his members.

“We may be in a hard place due to the power of the [government] that seems to care little for the law or the American people,” he wrote his followers recently. But, he said, “We will overcome their violence and oppression... . If we remain faithful to the principles even in these hard times, God is faithful and will deliver this Republic into its proper place among the governments of the world.”▲

and ultimately pushed Unger out of the group. Then, in a secretive Nov. 13, 2010, gathering in Spring City, Utah, Turner and other GFR “delegates” decided to change the name of the group to the Republic for the united States of America. (Many sovereigns believe if they do not capitalize the “U” in United States, they will avoid acknowledging the federal government is legitimate and thus capitulating to it.)

This February, Turner caused a stir among his followers when he sent them a letter insisting that the future “Republic” he hopes to create will be a Christian nation — an idea that many sovereigns do not agree with. He lambasted a series of nine U.S. presidents, blaming them for everything from an exploding national debt to “rampant homosexuality” to the “intentional poisoning of our people.” And Turner focused in on President Obama: “He is not even a lawful American citizen,” he said. “He is a Muslim which [sic] are sworn to kill anyone who is not Muslim.”

Around the same time, Turner announced that he was forming a militant wing of RuSA, to be called the American Rangers. Although it’s unclear if that ever really happened, law enforcement officials near his south Alabama town said they have seen armed “marshals of the Republic” patrolling in the area.

This spring, Turner told his followers that he would soon be leaving the country to consult with prime ministers and princes in 80 countries, all of



‘Sovereigns’ in Black

Members of ‘Moorish’ groups and other black Americans are taking up the ideas of the radical ‘sovereign citizens’ movement

BY LEAH NELSON

O

n March 29, John McGauley, county recorder for Allen County, Ind., came

home to find a disturbing message on his answering machine.

“Mr. McGauley, this is Jabbar Gaines-El. I’m calling about your article about the Moorish Americans,” it said. “I just wanted to let you know that if you ever have any problem with members of the Moorish Nation, you can call me.”

As it happens, McGauley, whose county encompasses the city of Fort Wayne, was having trouble with members of the “Moorish Nation.”

Starting in December 2010, nearly a dozen black men had come into his office and recorded bogus documents purporting to change their names, grant themselves “power of attorney general” *over themselves*, and proclaim their “Unalienable and Substantive Rights to Be, to Enjoy, and to Act, distinct in my aboriginal customs and culture; and determining my own political, social, and economic status of the state.”

McGauley was not thrilled to learn that their leader, who calls himself “Sheik” Jabbar Gaines-El, had uncovered his home number. “I got a very distinct impression from the phone call that they wanted me to know that they know where I live,” he told the *Intelligence Report*. “I’ve never wanted to own a gun in my life, but the phone call I got made me think about it for a second.”

The situation never turned violent, but McGauley’s gut sense that something was amiss was correct. Gaines-El, who politely declined the *Report*’s request for comment, is a 38-year-old Indiana native whose real name is Jabbar C. Gaines. He’s one of a growing number of black Americans who, as members of outlandishly named “nations” or as individuals, subscribe to an antigovernment philosophy so extreme that some of its techniques, though nonviolent, have earned the moniker “paper terrorism.” Communicating through social media and learning from an ever-expanding network of websites and online forums, they perplex and often harass law enforcement

officials, courts, and local governments across the country.

What may be even stranger about Gaines and his black Fort Wayne cohorts is that the “sovereign citizens” ideology to which they adhere — a conspiratorial belief system that argues that most Americans are not subject to most tax and criminal laws promulgated by the government — was originally thoroughly anti-black. But its racist roots have been virtually forgotten by increasing numbers of black Americans who have melded it with selective interpretations of the teachings of pioneer black nationalist Noble Drew Ali, who founded the exclusively black Moorish Science Temple of America (MSTA) almost 100 years ago.

The core ideas of the sovereign citizens movement originated in the racist and anti-Semitic Posse Comitatus group, which roiled the Midwest in the 1970s and 1980s and believed that the county sheriff is the highest legitimate law enforcement authority. Posse ideologues argued, in effect, that God gave America to the white man and therefore the government cannot abridge most rights of whites unless they submit to a “contract” with that government. But black people were only made citizens by the 14th Amendment, they argued, meaning that they have permanently contracted with the government and therefore must obey all its dictates.

The movement of sovereign citizens — most of whom are clearly unaware of the ideology’s racist roots — has grown extremely rapidly in the last two or three years. And, while black Americans remain a relatively small fraction of the estimated 300,000 sovereign citizens nationwide, it seems clear that their numbers are growing. In the last year, more and more black sovereigns, including several arrested in



Many sovereigns practice “paper terrorism,” burying their enemies in a blizzard of bogus court filings (above). Jabbar Gaines-El carries a “Nationality and Right to Travel” card (left) that includes a “Tax Immune Number.”

Georgia and elsewhere for using bogus documents to try to steal houses, have been implementing the movement’s basic ideas and techniques, which have spread into a number of radical black nationalist groups.

That convergence may not be entirely surprising, given that the MSTA’s Noble Drew Ali taught that black “Moors” were America’s original inhabitants and are therefore entitled to self-governing, nation-within-a-nation status. (Many American black nationalist groups refer mistakenly to the people of northern Africa as black; in fact, the Moors were a mix of Arabs, Berbers and black people.) Today, black nationalists who see themselves as Moors and white sovereign citizens both believe they have key rights that pre-date by eons the present government.

‘Paper Terrorism’

In practice, the conduct of “Moors” can be nearly identical to that of their white counterparts in the sovereign citizen movement.

The weapon of choice for both is paper. A simple traffic violation or pet-licensing case can provoke dozens of court filings containing hundreds of pages of

pseudo-legal nonsense. These fake documents typically are written in nonsensical language that is all but incomprehensible to non-sovereigns.

“The first five or six or eight times we saw these guys, they were belligerent, they were hard to get along with,” McGauley recalled. “They came in here and immediately said, ‘We aren’t subject to these rules.’ They’re standing there at the counter lecturing my staff on their independence from the recording statutes and the fees that go along with them, and basically saying, ‘We aren’t governed by the laws of Indiana.’”

They refused to pay the fees associated with filing the documents, McGauley said, and seemed unconcerned when he explained that their name-change and other documents had no legal validity.

But McGauley’s alarm bells really went off when he learned that at least one Moor had used his “Power of Attorney General” document to open a bank account and pass a number of bad checks. Concerned that the others would use similar bogus papers to commit fraud, he contacted law enforcement and the local media.

Soon afterward, the *Fort Wayne Journal Gazette* published an article describing what the Moors were doing and warning locals to be on alert for official-looking documents that seemed “off.” The article quoted McGauley extensively. Two days later, he found Gaines’ message on his answering machine.

A few weeks after that, *Frost Illustrated*, a weekly newspaper aimed at black readers in Fort Wayne, turned over its front page to Gaines, who accused McGauley of racism and excoriated him for “spewing” what Gaines characterized as “negative propaganda.”

“It is my contention there exists a conspiracy within the local halls of government to deliver ‘smear’ tactics against the Moorish Republic with the aim and attempts to discourage unregistered Moors ... from declaring their true and authentic nationality,” Gaines wrote in an editorial laced with sovereign theory.

Roots of the Moors

The Moorish Science Temple of America was founded in Newark, N.J., in 1913 by

Timothy Drew, a North Carolina native who changed his name to Noble Drew Ali and proclaimed himself a prophet. Drew Ali taught that the earth’s original single continent, called Amexem, was inhabited entirely by Moors. A massive earthquake split the continent and created the Atlantic Ocean, leaving those in what became the Americas as that continent’s first inhabitants, long before the arrival of the ancestors of American Indians.

God eventually sent European colonists to enslave the Moors as punishment for their forgetting their history and ways, Drew Ali said. The only way for black



The Eye of Providence (above) is a popular symbol among Moorish sovereigns. Many claim its presence on the dollar bill signifies a contract between the founding fathers and the supposedly “indigenous” Moors of Amexem.

Americans to regain their heritage, he preached, was to “proclaim their nationality and their Divine Creed ... and know that they are not Negroes, Colored Folks, Black People or Ethiopians, because these names were given to slaves by slave holders.” Instead, MSTA members were given cards and passports identifying them as Moorish Americans.

Unlike the white-dominated sovereign citizen movement today, however, MSTA was explicitly *not* antigovernment. Asserting their noble Moorish heritage was supposed to enable blacks to gain the government’s recognition

and respect as full citizens rather than second-class descendants of slaves. Drew Ali exhorted young MSTA members to “see the duty and wisdom of at all times upholding ... obedience to law, respect and loyalty to government,” and “not to use any assertion against the American flag.”

Many white sovereign citizens today also carry fake IDs proclaiming themselves members of imaginary nations, but these are supposed to show that they are *outside* U.S. jurisdiction and therefore not subject to codes, statutes or courts.

The MSTA fragmented rapidly after Drew Ali’s death in 1929, but his call for reclaiming a proud heritage has captured the imagination of tens of thousands of black Americans — including Jabbar Gaines-El and his fellow travelers in Fort Wayne. They, like those in many MSTA offshoots and other black nationalist and black Muslim groups, took to adding suffixes like “Ali,” “El,” “Dey,” “Bey,” and “Al,” to their last names.

Today, the head of MSTA is none too happy to see its prophet’s words used to encourage antigovernment activity.

MSTA’s grand sheik, Brother R. Jones Bey, is arbiter of orthodoxy for the movement’s members. He believes the behavior of groups like Gaines’ is utterly out of line with the prophet’s teachings.

“We do not follow ‘sovereignty.’ The prophet never talked about that,” he told the *Intelligence Report*. “Our organization has been misunderstood by people who see the value of our religion but don’t want to conform,” he said. “They are not members of our organization. I don’t know what they’re doing, because they’re misrepresenting the Moorish Science Temple of America.”

Jones Bey said that the proliferation of non-members claiming ties to the MSTA and Noble Drew Ali and imbued with sovereign ideas came to his attention about a year ago. MSTA immediately added to its website a note stating that it does not endorse sovereign ideas or behavior. “We are citizens of the United States of America, and we want to make our contribution to the United States of America, not tear it down,” Jones Bey said.

That’s not how Gaines-El sees it. He

predicates his argument that Moors are not U.S. citizens on the U.S. Supreme Court's 1857 Dred Scott ruling, which described black people as "beings of an inferior order, and altogether unfit to associate with the white race, either in social or political relations, and so far inferior that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect."

In his *Frost Illustrated* article, Gaines-El noted — as many white sovereign citizens also do — that the Dred Scott decision was never reversed. (It was rendered moot by passage of the 14th Amendment). He went on to argue that, as indigenous Moors, black people *never agreed* to become U.S. citizens. The Moors had simply "granted permission for the Europeans to settle." The presence of the "all-seeing eye" on the dollar bill, he says, is proof that the "visiting European nations" made a contract with the Moors — a contract, he says, that remains in effect today.

Other Moorish Offshoots

Sovereign ideas have leaked into other black Moorish groups as well.

R. V. Bey, Noble Nature El Bey and Taj Tarik Bey, lead polemicists of the Moors Order of the Roundtable, propounds a nearly indecipherable political theory that melds sovereign concepts and an antigovernment reinterpretation of MSTA doctrine.

Central to their thesis is a rejection of the 14th Amendment, claiming it merely created a set of "artificial persons... . Black, Negro, Coloreds and African-Americans are not living people; these 'tags' are politically and lawfully 'brands' that have been put upon the Aboriginal Indigenous Moors of Morocco." They refer instead to actual treaties made between the United States and Morocco (the traditional home of the Moors) in the late 18th century, which described a category of "Free Moor" who could not be enslaved or subjected to U.S. law, even as other Africans were being packed into ships and sent to the New World as chattel.

They advise Moors not to cooperate with the police or the courts. Government officials, he says, know they have no

"It is my contention there exists a conspiracy within the local halls of government to deliver 'smear' tactics against the Moorish Republic."

—JABBAR GAINES-EL

jurisdiction over Moors — and as long as Moors refuse to comply, there is nothing the courts can do.

Queen Renita Bey, a lecturer on Moorish nationality and sovereignty who is affiliated with a group called the Great Seal Moors, argues that as descendants of "visiting" Europeans who were never granted citizenship by the Moors, white people can never be sovereign in this land. "If they want to be sovereign, they've got to go home. They cannot be sovereign here," she said in a 2008 lecture posted on YouTube. "If you walk into a courtroom and nobody else has the status to be there, automatically challenge the jurisdiction of the court. There's nothing else that you need to state. There's nothing else that needs to be said. Stand mute. Let them proceed, because, guess what, they cannot proceed."

Oh, yes, they can, retired judge Robert McLeod, who was on the bench for 17 years in the municipal courts of Asbury Park, Holmdel, and Keyport, N.J. — recent hotbeds of Moorish activity — told *The Intelligence Report*.

"They'd show up, sometimes wearing fezzes, sometimes in robes, and they'd

pull out excerpts from treaties that were signed in the 1780s and the 1790s between the United States and the Barbary Coast states," McLeod — who also happens to be a history buff — said of the Moors he encountered in court.

"Those treaties were with nations that existed independently for a short period of time, [and] any treaty was totally abrogated by subsequent events initiated by the Barbary states. ... I simply rattled that off at them, and they looked at me blankly, took off their robes and fezzes, and went back to their birth names, and pled guilty."

Most of the Moors McLeod encountered were summoned for failing to pay tickets for motor vehicle violations.

"They were abiding by other laws; it's just that they had these absurd notions which were taught to them," the retired judge recalled. "If they persisted in it after I gave them my little lecture, I'd tell them they were in contempt of court."

'Free and Sovereign'

Not every judge can claim as much success as McLeod. Gaines-El, for instance, appears to have been summoned to court several times on minor violations, but his experience has not deterred him from repeated attempts to expatriate himself, dating back to December 2000. Just months before joining the U.S. Army in July 2001, Gaines-El recorded a "Declaration of Indigenous Identity" as "kin and family to this soil whose indigenous name is '*Turtle Land*' and whose fictitious corporate name is America," at the Allen County Recorder's Office.

The phony document proclaimed that he belonged to the Great Council of the Thirteen Fires of Justice, United Mawshakh Nation of Muurs (some Moorish groups use that spelling of Moors). He also recorded a "Declaration of Nationality" stating, "I, Jabbar Gaines-El, declare that I am a free and sovereign individual of this land... . Any and all past and present affiliations implied by operation of law or otherwise with foreign entities are hereby, now, and forever dissolved and revoked."

While serving in the army, Gaines became active on a message board on

which members of similar “indigenous” tribes exchanged thoughts about uniting to form a more powerful movement. He dropped off the Moorish map after being honorably discharged in 2005 due to a combat-related injury, but took another stab at sovereignty in November 2010, acquiring a “Nationality and Right to Travel” card from the Autonomous Autochthon International Muurish Gansul.

The official-looking card identifies him as Jabbar-C:Gaines-El, of Moorish-American nationality and Naga Asiatic race. The card, which has no expiration date, also includes a “Tax Immune Number.” (The strange punctuation in Gaines’ name is straight out of the sovereign citizen playbook: Sovereigns believe that by writing their name that way, they are indicating to government officials that they are not subject to U.S. jurisdiction.)

In an interview this April 15 — Tax Day — with a local Fort Wayne TV news program, Gaines-El said that he does pay taxes, “but I do so under the threat of arrest or coercion.”

In early June, a new face — El Clay Kenyatta Blackburn Bey — hit the county recorder’s office with a fresh set of documents demanding proof from Indiana’s Superior Court that it has jurisdiction over his traffic violation case. If he did not receive a copy of the oath of office, oath of ethics, and “bond number” for “all state/government officials, employees, Judges, prosecutors, agents, clerks, and anyone who has touched or is in any way involved with this case” within 21 days, he wrote, he would presume that jurisdiction could not be proved.

Blackburn Bey may care only about getting out of a couple of tickets, but his actions reflect how the local movement Jabbar Gaines-El started in Fort Wayne — like similar Moorish movements inflected with sovereign ideas — is picking up speed. At the County Recorder’s office, John McGauley and his employees are keeping in touch with law enforcement and have begun to discuss strategies for handling the Moors’ filings.

McGauley doubts he’s seen the last of them. “They are absolutely organized,” he told *Intelligence Report*. “There may not be a hundred of them, but they’re absolutely organized.” ▲

Memphis Stew

In Tennessee, officials are being overwhelmed with bogus filings from a particularly unusual group of ‘sovereign citizens’

BY LEAH NELSON

Roane Waring III, senior assistant city attorney in Memphis, Tenn., was sitting in for a vacationing judge when he first encountered Allison DeVante.

Flanked by a pair of black-clad men, DeVante was dressed all in white and crowned with a headdress Waring described to the *Intelligence Report* as “something you’d see on Queen Nefertiti of ancient Egypt.”

“They marched in, all three of them, [and] handed me this gobbledygook to prove they were ‘sovereign citizens,’” Waring said of his first encounter with the Chakchiuma Sektchi Washitaw Clan, 33rd Tribe of Empire Washitaw de Dugdahmoundyah Indigenous Autochthon Nation, which DeVante apparently heads. The “clan” is part of what was once known more simply as the Washitaw Moorish Nation, which, like all “Moorish” groups (see related story, p. 37), was a kind of radical black group with a highly unusual set of religious and political ideas. Like other groups in the swelling sovereign movement, it believes its members are not required to abide by most federal criminal and tax laws.

Scratch the surface and DeVante has all the makings of a Moorish sovereign: a trail of bad debt, a beef with the government (she says she was sexually assaulted by a superior officer at New York’s Fort Drum), and a fondness for dramatic millinery.

It’s the surface itself that’s odd: DeVante is white.


Odd — but not unheard of in the Washitaw Nation, whose leader, the elderly “Empress” Verdiacee Tiari Washitaw-Turner Goston El-Bey, does not play by the same book as other black sovereigns. Though the empress has long asserted that the Washitaw are descended from a race of “black and bushy-headed” shipbuilders who crossed the Atlantic

from Africa to become the first people in what is now north Louisiana, the nation she invented has seen its share of white members. Goston El-Bey once even signed a treaty with a neighboring, mostly white “nation” called the Republic of Texas, whose leadership claims that Texas was illegally annexed by the United States in 1845.

In the months since Waring first encountered them in the courtroom, the Washitaw have ramped up their activities in Memphis, assailing the city with a full battery of sovereign scams and tactics. When police pulled a group of them over several months ago for traffic violations, they sued the mayor personally for “allowing” his police to infringe on their “right to travel unencumbered and unmolested.” That suit was dismissed, but the papers keep coming: meaningless lawsuits, bogus liens, forged quitclaim deeds transferring homeownership from vacationing Memphis residents to members of the Washitaw Nation. A group of Washitaw facing home foreclosure has harassed and intimidated one Memphis foreclosure attorney to the point that he requested — and received — a police escort to and from his car at work, officials said.

Back in the city attorney’s office, Waring is frustrated and anxious. Tennessee doesn’t have an adequate statute to stop the meaningless filings where they begin, he said, so they must be dealt with one by one — a costly and time-consuming process.

Recently, the Washitaw asked Waring about the city’s policy toward Native Americans. If they’re mimicking other “indigenous” Moors, they may be planning to request a casino license or claim rights reserved to federally recognized tribes. Memphis had better be prepared.

A photograph of Kevin DeAnna, founder of Youth for Western Civilization, speaking at a podium. He is wearing a dark suit, a light blue shirt, and a red tie. He has a white name tag on his lapel. His right arm is raised, with his index finger pointing upwards. His mouth is open as if he is shouting or speaking emphatically. A microphone is visible on the left side of the podium.

In a recent fundraising letter, founder Kevin DeAnna warned of “radical multiculturalism” and boasted that he had “defended western culture.”

The Company They Keep

Youth for Western Civilization says it’s a non-racist group that’s merely defending ‘our’ culture. The facts suggest otherwise

BY MARK POTOK AND EVELYN SCHLATTER

YOUTH FOR WESTERN CIVILIZATION (YWC) — a 5-year-old ultraconservative student group whose first national conference in the Washington, D.C., area this June was billed by its leader as the organization’s “real birth” — asserts that it is “not a racist group.” Its only purpose, says the group that claims a swelling presence on U.S. campuses and even abroad, is to defend “Western civilization.”

But what exactly does YWC mean by that?

The answer to that question was never clearer than this April, when racist ideologue Jared Taylor wrote a

cover letter to his subscribers asking for support for YWC and its leader, Kevin DeAnna, who Taylor described as “an eloquent and distinguished young man who knows how important our cultural identity is.”

After reminding his backers that “race and race conflict” are at the core of the problems the West faces, Taylor said DeAnna “has agreed to continue our struggle on college campuses throughout the nation and dedicated himself to reaching our children and grandchildren.” For his part, DeAnna warned in an accompanying letter of the perils of “radical multiculturalism,” boasting that he had “defended western culture” against the “far left” that is trying to “destroy our people and culture.”

DeAnna’s fundraising partner, Jared Taylor, edits *American Renaissance*, a journal that specializes in issues of race, intelligence and the “psychopathology” of black people. In it, Taylor once mused: “When blacks are left entirely to their own devices, Western civilization — any kind of civilization — disappears.” Taylor’s biannual conferences have featured a Who’s Who of radical-right leaders, including former Klan boss David Duke and an array of leading neo-Nazi activists.

YWC is not some tiny Klan group on the margins of society. It claims a presence at nearly a dozen American universities, along with others in Canada and the United Kingdom. It appeared at the Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC), a key Washington political venue, in 2009 and 2011, when it sponsored a panel on immigration. In 2010, it launched its own Internet radio show, “Western Resistance Radio.” Its honorary chairman is former

Colorado congressman Tom Tancredo, a well-known immigration opponent and Tea Party favorite. Perhaps most worrying of all are YWC’s close ties to The Leadership Institute, an organization with a budget of some \$10 million that claims to have trained close to 100,000 “future conservative leaders” — people like top Bush advisor Karl Rove — and that now employs DeAnna as a leading official of its campus leadership program.

The key question, as YWC attempts to organize new campus chapters around the country, is whether it will continue to grow.

Roots of Radicalism

It seemed to begin with resentment towards women.

A decade ago, in 2001, Kevin DeAnna started at the College of William & Mary, a well-regarded school in Williamsburg, Va., where he joined the staff of a right-wing campus newspaper, *The Remnant*. He was soon joined there by Marcus Epstein, who six years later would be arrested for his attack on a black woman. By 2003, DeAnna was managing editor and Epstein was editor-in-chief. The next year, DeAnna replaced Epstein,

who had gone to New Orleans for a semester to study Austrian (libertarian) economics and became the paper’s “Editor in Exile.”

During these years, *The Remnant* became known for its sneering attitude toward women. It railed on about a campus art exhibit of nude females, aged birth to 100, saying the people depicted “were simply disgusting and not appealing” and the entire exhibit was “filth.” It claimed that the wage gap between men and women was due to women’s “different work habits” and “occupational preferences,” rather than any kind of discrimination. But most notably, *The Remnant* in this period seemed to delight in attacking alleged rape victims, saying in 2003 that “feminist lies about supposed rape designed to demonize all men should be exposed.”

In 2004, DeAnna wrote a long article demanding an apology from a 16-year-old girl after prosecutors dropped charges against a student she had accused of raping her at a fraternity party. The next year, after a rash of reported sexual assaults on students, *The Remnant* again attacked

an alleged rape victim, saying she had lied, that she was a “wannabe victim” and “con artist,” and that she should be criminally charged. In 2006,



Jared Taylor, who edits the racist journal *American Renaissance*, signed a fundraising letter for Youth for Western Civilization.



YWC leader Kevin DeAnna works for The Leadership Institute, a group that has trained such conservatives as (from left) former Bush adviser Karl Rove, convicted lobbyist Jack Abramoff, DeAnna and Christian-right activist Ralph Reed.

MATT YORK/AP IMAGES (ROVE); GERALD HERBERT/AP IMAGES (ABRAMOFF); WESTERNYOUTH.ORG (DEANNA); JOE MARQUETTE/AP IMAGES (REED)

after DeAnna's 2005 graduation, the girl who was 16 in 2004 sued DeAnna, Epstein, and three other *Remnant* staffers for defamation. The lawsuit was voluntarily dismissed for reasons that are not clear from the court record.

The paper had other interests as well. In a section titled "Rebel Yell," a reference to the Confederate battle cry, it argued that the Civil War was not fought over slavery — a claim that virtually no serious historian agrees with. It approvingly quoted the late Sam Francis while he was the chief editor of the white supremacist Council of Conservative Citizens, a hate group that opposes interracial marriage and has described black people as a "retrograde species of humanity."

And, in 2003, it sponsored a talk, "Was There a Civil Rights Revolution?" by the radical-right professor Paul Gottfried, who argued that Martin Luther King Jr. had pushed the nation onto a path that "had more to do with political coercion and relentless indoctrination than with appeals to conscience," as he put it in an essay under the same title as his William & Mary presentation. (Last year, Gottfried scoffed at criticism of Richard Nixon's slurring of various minority groups. "Was Nixon unusual in noticing that Jews are pushy, that the Irish have a tendency to imbibe too much, that Italians can be intemperate, or that Blacks generally don't excel at intellectually demanding activities?" Gottfried asked.)

DeAnna wrote up the talk in a long, enthusiastic review.

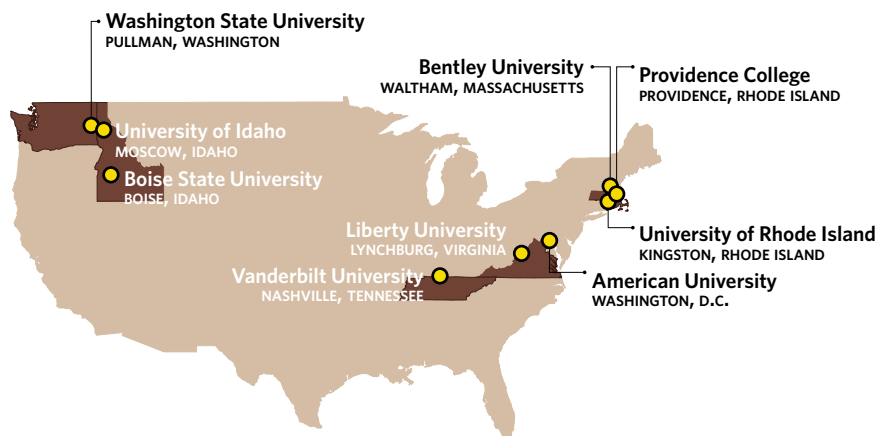
DeAnna has written that he is "a former director" of the right-wing campus group Young Americans for Freedom (YAF), apparently during his time at William & Mary. In 2005, he also began to blog at the Smash Left-Wing Scum website, where Craig Burgers — who would later join DeAnna on

the first board of YWC — also was a blogger. At the time, Burgers was a member of the Michigan State University chapter of DeAnna's organization, known as MSU-YAF.

That same year, presumably after graduating, DeAnna became a field representative with The Leadership Institute, which says it trains some 10,000 future leaders every year. (In addition to Rove, graduates have included Christian Coalition founder Ralph Reed, lobbyist-turned-felon Jack Abramoff and prostitute-turned-White House corre-

Buchanan and his sister Bay Buchanan that seeks to "promote traditional American values." He also became executive director of Team America, a political action committee "dedicated to securing our nation's borders" that is headed by Bay Buchanan and Tom Tancredo, who would later become YWC's honorary chairman.

Also that year, DeAnna, Epstein, a white nationalist named Richard Spencer and one other man started a group called the Robert A. Taft Club. According to the journalist Max Blumenthal, one



CAMPUS CRUSADE

Youth for Western Civilization held its first national conference in June, but the 5-year-old, ultraconservative student group already has chapters on nine campuses.

spondent Jeff Gannon.) DeAnna was later promoted to deputy field director for campus leadership programs, a post he retains today. Epstein once had an internship at the institute as well, reportedly in 2006. The institute did not respond to requests for comment on its relationship to YWC.

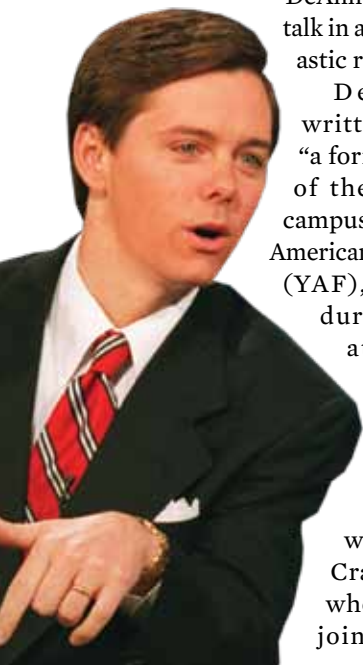
Crossing the Rubicon

The year 2006 was a critical one for DeAnna and his friends as they cast about, looking for an organization that would serve as a base for their increasingly radical views. By year's end, they had finally decided to create their own.

In spring 2006, Marcus Epstein graduated and was hired as executive director of American Cause, a group led by white nationalist commentator Pat

invited speaker that year was the man who would later write a fundraising letter for DeAnna's YWC — Jared Taylor. (This may well be where DeAnna and Taylor first met.) Also attending a club meeting, Blumenthal reported, was Luke Pelican, who was a former president of MSU-YAF. Later in the year, with DeAnna and Burgers, Pelican would join YWC's first board.

In a related effort, DeAnna helped create a Facebook page in 2006 for what he called the European American Students Association. He was an administrator of the page, along with an apparently new friend — Kyle Bristow, who that spring had become the radical new head of MSU-YAF. Answering a request for comment from the *Intelligence Report*, DeAnna said this May that "that was



never a real group but an online parody of all the race-based groups you see on any college campus.”

Shortly after taking the reins of MSU-YAF, Bristow began to develop a reputation as a racist and homophobic radical, and within months the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) was talking to reporters about his activities. The SPLC announced its first listing of MSU-YAF as a hate group in April 2007.

DeAnna, in his comments to the *Report*, said that he had never been a member of MSU-YAF and Bristow had never belonged to YWC. And he said that he had known Bristow when he was “involved in mainstream Republican circles” and that Bristow only later chose “to go further to the right,” adding that he had “nothing to do with” Bristow’s later views. But the truth is that Bristow was already a well-known radical by the time DeAnna worked with him on Facebook. Bristow had posted a 13-point agenda in the spring of 2006, including the goals of defunding all “non-heterosexual student organizations,” the creation of a “Caucasian Caucus,” and the elimination of minority group representation in student government.

In May 2006, DeAnna and “Craig Burgess”— an apparent *nom de plume* of Craig Burgess — wrote an article in a conservative magazine about a new YAF chapter at Liberty University, a Christian evangelical school in Lynchburg, Va., protesting Republican Sen. John McCain and the immigration reform law he co-sponsored. “This action,” they enthused, “is part of an effort to revitalize Young Americans for Freedom and create a real right-wing youth movement to mobilize against the Republican leadership for secure borders and national sovereignty.”

But they later apparently decided that YAF could not be revitalized. On Dec. 4, 2006, DeAnna incorporated Youth for Western Civilization in Falls Church, Va. Its first board of directors was composed of DeAnna, Burgess and Pelican.

Into the Wild

Much of YWC’s early activism seems to have been an angry response to the SPLC’s criticism of MSU-YAF, then run



by Bristow and the former home of both Burgers and Pelican. One sign of that was the 2007 Facebook group called End the Southern Poverty Law Center that gave MSU-YAF’s E-mail address as its point of contact. One of the page’s two administrators was YWC’s Pelican.

On July 7 of that year, an episode occurred that would later bring great embarrassment to the avowedly non-racist YWC. Drunkenly walking through the streets of northwest Washington, D.C., Marcus Epstein, reportedly in the midst of a tirade about non-whites, saw a black woman walking by and called her a “nigger.” He then tried to physically attack the woman but was stopped by her husband, who briefly detained him until he broke free and fled. Epstein didn’t make it far, however, as a passing Secret Service agent saw the attack and detained him.

It would be almost two years before this became public, after Epstein pleaded guilty to assault and agreed to undergo alcoholism treatment, stay away from the couple in question, and donate \$1,000 to the United Negro College Fund. When it did, YWC worked to put distance between itself and Epstein. This spring, DeAnna told the *Report* that he and Epstein had discussed the possibility of his becoming YWC vice president only in early 2011, but that Epstein had never taken the post.

That’s strange, because in 2009, a Vanderbilt University alumni newspaper ran a clarification of an earlier article about the YWC, apparently after DeAnna contacted the paper to complain. “The original article misidentified

The YWC’s honorary chairman is former U.S. Rep. Tom Tancredo of Colorado, a Tea Party favorite and outspoken opponent of immigration.

Marcus Epstein as one of the founders of YWC,” it said. “According to ... DeAnna,” it explained, “Marcus Epstein is a vice president of the national YWC. Epstein also identifies himself as vice president of YWC on the American Cause website.”

Epstein disappeared from visible activism after his arrest was publicized in 2009 and DeAnna drafted Devin Saucier, the co-founder of a YWC chapter at Vanderbilt University, as YWC vice president. In 2009, Saucier complained in a student newspaper that today’s immigrants are not assimilating: “[Y]ou can move to a Mexican ghetto or something like that and retain your same language, retain your same culture, root against the U.S. at sporting events, hang a Puerto Rican flag from your visor ... and it’s not the same dedication to America that there used to be.” That December, Saucier attended a two-day Leadership Institute training.

Making Friends

YWC got its first introduction to the wider conservative world in February 2009, when it appeared at the Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC) as a sponsor, or funder, and ran a booth in the conference’s main exhibition hall. It also hosted an “Inaugural Reception” in a ballroom at a nearby hotel.

Since that time, evidence of YWC's radicalism has only accumulated:

- Current YWC Vice President Devin Saucier in 2009 brought in Richard Spencer, president of the white nationalist National Policy Institute, a racist think tank that normally avoids guttural language but has featured interviews with rabid anti-Semites like Kevin MacDonald and the Rev. Ted Pike. Spencer was a founder, with DeAnna and Epstein, of the Taft Club.

- At a 2009 American University event organized by YWC, Tancredo gave a speech with an explicitly racial theme. "Throughout history, people who are not white Anglo-Saxon have become American by adopting a white Anglo-Saxon culture," he said, according to the student newspaper. "Today, this cult of multiculturalism emphasizes our differences." He reportedly went on to identify Latinos and Muslims as members of "problem" cultures.

- DeAnna spoke the same year to a conference of the H.L. Mencken Club founded by Paul Gottfried, the same radical professor whose William & Mary speech he had enthused about in 2003. Other guest speakers included Richard Spencer and Jim Russell, an editorial adviser to *The Occidental Quarterly*, which writes on topics like eugenics and "the Jewish Mafia."

- In a June 2010 speech at an anti-immigration rally sponsored by the Phoenix Rising Tea Party, DeAnna said America cannot survive being "Balkanized" by immigrant groups that do not assimilate to American culture. "If we lose this battle," the YWC president told his listeners, "we lose everything"

- In October of that year, DeAnna spoke to a conference hosted by *The Social Contract*, a racist nativist journal that has fretted that "Europhobia" is making white people strangers in their own land. DeAnna told his listeners that what was needed was to "destroy the multicultural paradigm on campus."

- During the same month, Tim Dionisopoulos, president of the Providence, R.I., chapter of YWC, spoke at a rally hosted by the nativist Rhode Islanders for Immigration and Law Enforcement, citing racist ideologue Sam Francis.

Recent blog items on YWC's website also suggest an underlying antipathy towards blacks and Latinos. One unattributed 2010 posting complains that we are "importing a servant class of ground-keepers, nannies and pool boys from the

Third World." Another blamed "permanently aggrieved racial and ethnic minorities" for corporate diversity training, which it described as "a form of affirmative action in that it provides middle class jobs for those without any other marketable skills." Another said it was a "tragedy" that so many blacks ended up "behind bars or growing up in broken homes. This can be attributed to personal failings though, not the American system." And still another mentioned "how largely Jewish intellectual elites have utterly transformed American social and political discourse."

At times, YWC can sound like a parody of its own racial fears. Last year, a blog item complained that the Obama White House was using "politically correct" recyclable paperboard eggs in its Easter egg hunts rather than "fattening" real eggs. "But that's not their most objectionable characteristic," the defenders of Western civilization huffed. "Real eggs have the misfortune of being white!"

The Beat Goes On

This year, YWC returned to the February CPAC conference, hosting a panel called "Will Immigration Kill the GOP?" DeAnna moderated the panel, while panelist Tom Tancredo, who warned in 2003 that immigrants "are coming here to kill you and to kill me and our families," told his listeners that multiculturalism "is the dagger pointed at the heart of Western civilization." According to the Anti-Defamation League, DeAnna had his own provocative language: "Even if you prove to me ... that [curtailing illegal immigration] would hurt the economy, I would still be opposed to immigration because it's about our dispossession as a people."

In the audience were several people



Marcus Epstein, formerly vice president of YWC, was arrested in Washington, D.C., for assaulting a black woman on the street.



About 150 people attended a YWC discussion about the rise of Islam in the West, held at Liberty University.



“Even if you prove to me that [curtailing illegal immigration] would hurt the economy, I would still be opposed to immigration because it's about our dispossession as a people.”

—KEVIN DEANNA AT THE FEBRUARY 2011 CPAC CONFERENCE

not often seen at CPAC gatherings: Jim Gilchrist, founder of the nativist Minuteman Project; William D. Johnson, chairman of the American Third Position hate group and a man who has advocated deporting any American with an “ascertainable trace of Negro blood”; and Jared Taylor.

Two months later, Taylor Rose of the YWC chapter at Liberty University, the evangelical college started by the Rev. Jerry Falwell, met in Belgium with members of the Vlaams Belang political party. In 2004, under the name of Vlaams Blok, the party was outlawed because of its racist views; the party later reorganized under the new name to get

around the prohibition. Rose also gave a speech in early May to an anti-Muslim demonstration in Germany hosted by two groups classified by the German government as “right-wing extremist.” DeAnna scoffed at that designation, telling the *Report* that European officials “recklessly” use “smear words.”

At around the same time, subscribers to Jared Taylor’s *American Renaissance* began to receive the envelope containing fundraising pitches for YWC from both Taylor and DeAnna. Now, DeAnna claims that he had nothing at all to do with that. In an E-mail to the *Report*, DeAnna said YWC

world of fundraising consultants, who virtually never mail out letters on a client’s behalf without first securing the client’s approval of every word. DeAnna declined to identify what he called the “third party fundraising firm.”

Today, YWC is only starting to really become known on the national conservative scene, although it’s clear that it has developed a network of friends both on the extreme right and among some more mainstream conservatives. Currently, it has active chapters at American University (Washington, D.C.), where DeAnna is pursuing a master’s degree in international relations; Vanderbilt University (Tennessee); Washington State University; Liberty University (Virginia); Bentley University (Massachusetts); Providence College (Rhode Island); the University of Rhode Island; Boise State University (Idaho); and the University of Idaho.

DeAnna said recently that the “real birth” of YWC would come at its first national conference, which was held this June 17-19 at an undisclosed location in the Washington, D.C., area. “All the work we have been doing over the last couple of years will come together at this conference,” DeAnna enthused before the gathering. “It will be YWC’s real birth as a national organization with a support structure to build and maintain at campuses all around the country.”

The question that remains is whether it will be a stillbirth — a group like so many others that ventured from mainstream concerns into clearly racist thinking and withered — or instead manage to fool people into seeing it as a healthy newborn. ▲

WESTERNOUTLOOK



The YWC chapter at Vanderbilt University protested a bank’s support for the nonprofit group ACORN.

had asked an outside conservative fundraising group to “get lists for us.” The firm, he said, went on to contact Taylor “without my knowledge” and organized the entire mailing without ever showing it to YWC officials. While this may be so, it would be extremely rare in the

FOR THE RECORD

INCIDENTS OF APPARENT HATE CRIMES AND HATE GROUP ACTIVITIES LISTED HERE ARE DRAWN primarily from media sources. These incidents include only a fraction of the approximately 195,000 reported and unreported hate crimes that a 2011 Bureau of Justice Statistics report estimated occurred annually between 2003 and 2009. This listing carries a selection of incidents from the second quarter of 2011. Any additional listings can be found on the Intelligence Project's website at www.splcenter.org/get-informed/hate-incidents.

ARKANSAS

Little Rock • May 16, 2011

Sean Popejoy, 19, pleaded guilty to one count of committing a hate crime and a second conspiracy count and Frankie Maybee was found guilty on May 20 of five counts of committing a federal hate crime and one count of conspiring to commit a federal hate crime in connection with a June 2010 attack on five Latino men. Popejoy and Maybee followed the Latino men's vehicle and rammed it with their truck, causing the men's vehicle to crash and burst into flames. All five men were injured.

CALIFORNIA

Arroyo Grande • April 27, 2011

Two 15-year-olds and one 14-year-old were arrested on suspicion of hate speech, burglary, vandalism and criminal conspiracy after graffiti that included swastikas and racial and ethnic slurs was written in classrooms at a middle school where the teens were former students.

Calabasas • April 23, 2011

Swastikas and anti-Semitic and racial epithets were spray-painted on doors, walls, sidewalks and a stop sign on a high school campus. Three students were arrested on suspicion of vandalism.

Coto de Caza • April 6, 2011

A man was allegedly beaten and robbed in a park by two men who shouted anti-Semitic epithets.



Matthew Gregor Branstetter and **Nolan John Wickham**, both 19, were charged with aggravated assault and second-degree robbery with hate crime enhancements.

Elk Grove • June 5, 2011

Joel Olivarez, 30, was charged with aggravated battery as a hate crime after he allegedly shouted anti-gay slurs and attacked a man in the parking lot of a bowling alley.

Escondido • May 3, 2011

Richard Jason Mazon, 18, was arrested on suspicion of assault with a deadly weapon, exhibiting a deadly weapon, criminal threats, a hate crime and carrying a concealed weapon for allegedly threatening a black man with a hatchet and yelling racial epithets at him in a parking lot.

Lancaster • June 27, 2011

Anti-gay graffiti that advocated killing homosexuals was spray-painted on three businesses.

Meiners Oaks • June 30, 2011

Two teens, one of them Latino, were allegedly threatened by a man and a woman. Self-identified skinhead Daniel Dockery, 22, was charged with suspicion of making criminal threats, a hate crime enhancement and possession of a controlled substance after he allegedly said he hated "Mexicans," shouted racial and sexual slurs at the youths and slapped one in the face. Shauna Criner, 29, was charged with suspicion of making criminal threats and possession of a controlled substance.

Santa Ana • June 19, 2011

Marten Joseph Brandel, 45, was arrested on suspicion of a hate crime for allegedly hanging a noose in the doorway of a gay

rights organization in October.

Santa Monica • May 4, 2011

A black high school student allegedly found a brown mannequin with a noose tied around its neck in the school's wrestling practice room. The student then was allegedly chained to a locker by two fellow members of the wrestling team who made racial remarks.

Stockton • April 23, 2011

A mosque was set afire.

Vallejo • May 14, 2011

Racial epithets were written on the doorway and mailbox of a community radio station founded by a black man. The slurs were also written on a vehicle owned by the man's son.

Van Nuys • June 9, 2011

Reported Latino gang member Martin Soletto, 25, was sentenced to life in prison plus 40 years for his part in the 2008 racially motivated drive-by killing of a black man. Richard Bordelon, the alleged shooter, was sentenced to life in prison without parole plus 47 years to life.

CONNECTICUT

Bridgeport • June 22, 2011

William Bolton, 32, a former member of the white supremacist group Battalion 14, was sentenced to 2 1/2 years in prison and three years of supervised release for robbery, conspiracy and sale of a firearm to a felon after he participated in a plan to sell a sawed-off rifle to members of the Ku Klux Klan in 2010.

FLORIDA

Davie • April 25, 2011

A gay man was allegedly punched and kicked by a man who shouted anti-gay epithets. **John William**



Koontz, 62, was charged with aggravated battery and a hate crime. The victim also alleged Koontz has verbally harassed him in the past.

Tampa • May 3, 2011

Marc A. Balentine, 42, a reported member of the white supremacist European Kindred, was sentenced to more than seven years in prison for selling pipe bombs to undercover agents. Balentine pleaded guilty to the crime in January.

IDAHO

Boise • June 11, 2011

Anti-Semitic graffiti was written on a Jewish center.

ILLINOIS

Chicago • April 20, 2011

William A. White, founder of the neo-Nazi American National Socialist Workers Party, was freed after spending more than two years in prison. This followed a judge's decision to throw out a January jury decision that convicted White of using his website to encourage violence against the foreman of a jury that convicted a fellow white supremacist in 2004.

Chicago • June 26, 2011

Tires on floats in the annual gay pride parade were punctured the day after the New York state senate voted to legalize gay marriage.

LOUISIANA

Houma • April 17, 2011

William Blackford, 52, was

charged with simple criminal damage to property and committing a hate crime for allegedly kicking a glass door of a shop out because the owners are Muslim. Police said Blackford called them to say he did it because of the owners' heritage, saying, "I want to kill them all. We need to get them out of our country."

Lecompte • April 28, 2011

Johnny Mathis, 47, pleaded guilty to interfering with the right to fair housing and using a firearm during a crime of violence. Mathis fired a gun at the home of three Latino neighbors in 2008 during a racially motivated attack.

Shreveport • April 28, 2011

Jeremy Matthew Moro, 33, and Joshua James Moro, 23, were sentenced to a year and a day in prison for their roles in a 2008 cross burning near the home of an interracial couple.

MAINE

Portland • May 2, 2011

Anti-Islamic graffiti was painted on the city's largest mosque following the death of Osama bin Laden.

MARYLAND

Poolesville • June 13, 2011

Graffiti that included a swastika, an ethnic slur and the letters "KKK" was spray-painted on the basketball court and outside walls and windows of a high school. Two 16-year-olds and a 14-year-old were charged with burglary and destruction of property.

MASSACHUSETTS

Lowell • May 31, 2011

Shamon J. Jarrett, 45, was charged with two counts of civil rights violations for allegedly yelling racial slurs at a Latino police officer who intervened in a confrontation between Jarrett and another man, who said Jarrett told him to "go back to (his) country."

Springfield • June 28, 2011

A gay man allegedly was beaten by nine people, some of whom yelled anti-gay slurs. Shay Andre

Edwards, 19, and eight juveniles were charged with robbery and civil rights violation with injury.

Woburn • June 1, 2011

William Tronsen, 41, pleaded guilty to charges of attempted arson of a dwelling, attempt to burn a motor vehicle, civil rights violation, malicious destruction of property and filing a false police report after he screamed racial slurs as he attempted to set fire to a duplex where his ex-wife, who is black, and his Cambodian neighbors lived in December 2009.

MICHIGAN

Southfield • May 12, 2011

A vehicle owned by a Muslim man of Indian heritage was vandalized and an ethnic slur was written on it.

NEW JERSEY

Montgomery • May 7, 2011

A racial epithet was spray-painted on a wall outside a high school.

Newark • June 20, 2011

Alrashim Chamber, 24, was indicted on murder and bias intimidation charges for allegedly killing Victoria Carmen White, a transgender woman he met at a nightclub in September 2010.

NEW YORK

Binghamton • May 14, 2011

A swastika was spray-painted on the walkway of a bridge.

Brooklyn • June 28, 2011

A Turkish man and woman were allegedly attacked by a next-door neighbor who yelled anti-Arab slurs and called them terrorists. Simchon Schwartz, 46, was charged with felony assault and felony criminal mischief, both as hate crimes; resisting arrest, obstructing police, menacing and harassment after he allegedly shoved the woman against a car and poured beer on her head and then punched her husband in the face.

New York • June 1, 2011

Javier Ortiz Jr., 16, was charged with menacing and aggravated harassment, along with weapons possession and hate crime charges,

after he and six other people allegedly used anti-gay slurs and threatened to beat up a man.

New York • June 23, 2011

Six teenagers were each charged with murder as a hate crime for allegedly making anti-gay remarks and then beating and stomping to death an 18-year-old youth the teens believed to be homosexual.

Queens • June 5, 2011

Gustavo Rojas, 26; Abel Cabrera-Rojas, 31; and Luis Franco, 27, were arrested for allegedly using anti-gay epithets and punching and kicking two women and one man after a gay pride parade.

OKLAHOMA

Sapulpa • June 23, 2011

A burned cross was left on the lawn of a black church.

PENNSYLVANIA

Huntingdon • June 26, 2011

Kory R. Hook, 20, and Joshua T. Wirt, 21, were charged with burglary, criminal conspiracy, criminal trespass and simple assault for allegedly beating a man in his home. Hook faces additional charges of aggravated assault and ethnic intimidation for allegedly using a racial epithet against the victim.

Pittsburgh • June 25, 2011

White supremacist **Richard Poplawski**, 24, was convicted of three counts of first-degree



murder and 25 other crimes in connection for the deaths of three Pittsburgh police officers in a 2009 ambush. He was given three consecutive death sentences.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Rock Hill • April 9, 2011

Bobby Wilson, 30; Cortezio Laquise Douglas and Darenco Markie Wilmore, both 21; and

Lajames Mitchell and Lortarius Duncan, both 22, were all charged with assault and battery of a high and aggravated nature for allegedly calling a gay man an anti-gay slur then hitting him in the head with a beer bottle and beating him.

TENNESSEE

Murfreesboro • June 6, 2011

The words "white power" were written on a black couple's car.

Turtletown • June 13, 2011

A piece of a cinder block with a racist death threat taped to it was thrown through the window of an interracial couple's mobile home. Two weeks later the couple's dog was found dead with a rope tied several times around its neck.

TEXAS

Beaumont • May 25, 2011

Brent Stalsby, 30, was sentenced to life in federal prison after pleading guilty to committing a violent crime in aid of racketeering activity for murdering a member of the white supremacist Aryan Brotherhood and his girlfriend in 2007 on the orders of Carl Carver, a leader in the group. Charles Cameron Frazier, 29, was sentenced on June 21 to life in federal prison for his role in the murders and on June 28 Carver was sentenced to life in prison for ordering the murders.

WASHINGTON

Vancouver • June 8, 2011

Former Aryan Nations member Zachary Beck, 32, was convicted of conspiracy to violate civil rights, interference with a federally protected right and witness tampering for shouting racial epithets while attacking a black man in a Vancouver bar in January 2010.

WISCONSIN

Sheboygan • June 30, 2011

Neo-Nazi material and a series of threatening notes claiming that bombs had been placed in police and army buildings and that the city would be destroyed were left at a public library. ▲

The Odd Couple

The overwhelmingly white Church of Scientology and the black supremacist Nation of Islam share more than just spaceships

BY MARK POTOK

WHEN SCIENTOLOGY COMES UP, WHAT comes to mind for most folks is a bizarre belief system practiced by fabulously wealthy, fabulously famous movie actors and other white denizens of Hollywood. Think Tom Cruise and John Travolta.

The Nation of Islam, for most, conjures up a very different picture — stern-looking, bow-tied black men standing on street corners in tough neighborhoods, selling newspapers promoting the Nation's white-bashing theology.

What could these two religions have in common?

As it turns out, more than most people ever imagined — and that's true despite the persistent stories about the allegedly virulent anti-black racism of the late founder of Scientology, L. Ron Hubbard. What's more, it's not just that both these highly unusual belief systems include elaborate accounts of spaceships.

For about a year now, Nation of Islam (NOI) leader Louis Farrakhan has been telling his followers to embrace the Church of Scientology (COS) in order to move closer to perfection in preparation for the end times. According to the NOI's *Final Call* newspaper, nearly 700 NOI members have become Certified Hubbard Dianetics Auditors, and more will be trained in COS techniques "to prepare better servants and saviours of the people by helping to clear up their minds and lives."

COS "auditors" are said to help people ascend to higher levels of consciousness by teaching them to "clear" troublesome thoughts and memories, ultimately achieving a state of perfect self-control.

Farrakhan's new efforts coincide with his view of the imminence of the end times. Nearing 80, the NOI leader has recently ramped up his apocalyptic warnings, identifying natural disasters, the uprisings of the "Arab spring," and U.S. attacks on Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi, a long-time NOI ally, as evidence.

This spring, he predicted that the world as we know it will soon be destroyed.

"Have you ever noticed why none of our organizations really reach what they're supposed to reach?" Farrakhan asked his followers last Feb. 27 in a speech marking Saviour's Day, the NOI's most important annual event. "Let's go to the root of it, because the sickness is not somewhere else. It's right in our minds. We are Muslims but if Scientology will help us be better, then I want the technology of [Scientology] to help us be better Muslims."

Chip Berlet, senior analyst at Political Research Associates and an expert on millenarianism, said Farrakhan is probably thinking he has limited time left to prepare his followers for their journey to the "Mother Wheel" and is desperate to see them ready before he dies. In NOI theology, the Mother Wheel is an artificial planet where the elect will be transported while smaller, divinely guided spaceships destroy everything left on Earth — typically described as including all whites, although NOI has occasionally suggested that a few "blue-eyed devils" might survive.

COS has its own UFO-friendly creation story, although it was a closely guarded secret for many years. Hubbard wrote that billions of beings were transported to Earth 75 million years ago by an alien overlord named Xenu who stacked them around volcanoes and set off hydrogen bombs in the volcanoes that scattered the traumatized "thetans" into the atmosphere. These bodiless beings now cluster around human beings, causing the problems that "auditing" is meant to clear.

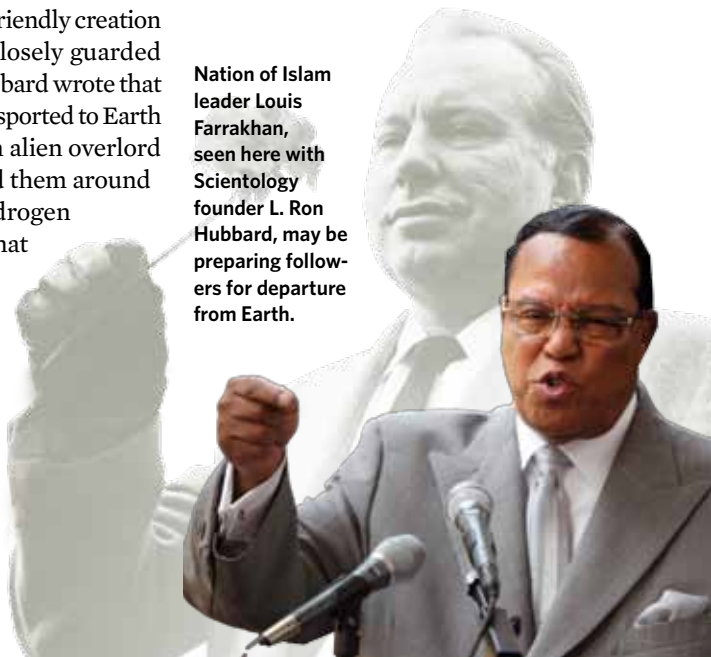
It turns out that the relationship between the NOI and the COS — which does have a handful of black adherents — goes

back further than most people realize. Farrakhan reportedly was introduced to Scientology in the late 1990s by the black actor Isaac Hayes, who was then the spokesman for the COS-backed World Literacy Crusade that was started by a black California minister. In 2006, Farrakhan was one of four black clerics honored at COS' "Ebony Awakening" awards.

This isn't the first bizarre alliance sought by the NOI. In the past, Farrakhan has participated in events with Klan and other white supremacist groups under the theory that both sides want racial separation — not to mention the anti-Semitism that NOI shares with most American white supremacists.

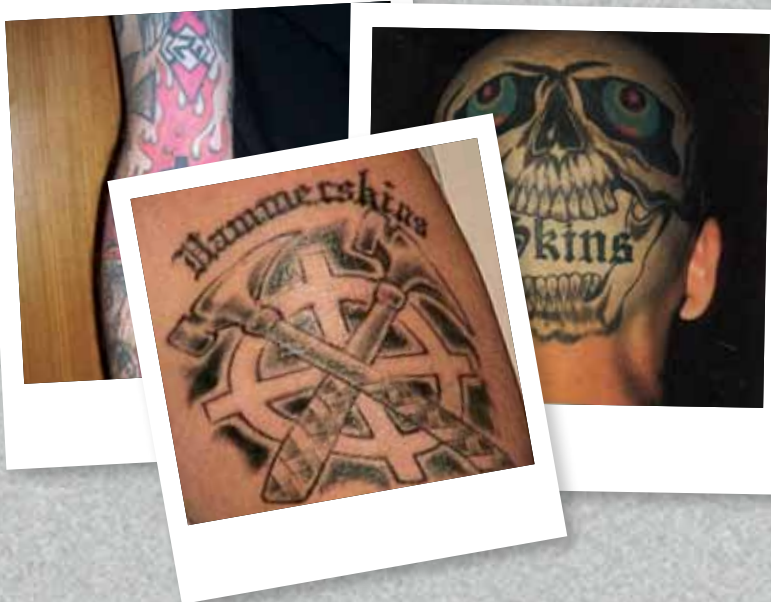
But unlike his meetings with white hate groups, Farrakhan's close encounter with Scientology seems to have affected a core racial element of his thinking. "All white people should flock to L. Ron Hubbard," the NOI leader said in unusually conciliatory remarks this February. "You can still be a Christian; you just won't be a devil Christian. You'll still be a Jew, but you won't be a satanic Jew." ▲

Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan, seen here with Scientology founder L. Ron Hubbard, may be preparing followers for departure from Earth.



The SPLC *Intelligence Report* Offers Online Investigative Resources

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



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