



SPECIAL ISSUE

PLUS
HATE GROUP
MAP & LISTING
INSIDE

Intelligence Report

PUBLISHED BY
THE SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER

SPRING 2012 | ISSUE 145

THE YEAR IN HATE & EXTREMISM

THE 'PATRIOT' MOVEMENT EXPLODES

As the election approaches, radical antigovernment groups skyrocket

Georgia on our Mind

BY MARK POTOK



LAST NOVEMBER, THE FBI ARRESTED four men in Georgia, members of a militia group who were accused of a wide-ranging plot to attack cities with the deadly ricin toxin, blow up federal buildings, and kill federal law enforcement officials and IRS agents. “When it comes time to saving the Constitution,” said one of the members of the self-described “covert group,” “that means some people gotta die.”

The men were elderly, in their late 60s and early 70s, and cupped their ears at their first court appearance, straining to hear the judge’s words. Several of their wives described them as infirm patriots, men who liked to talk big and nothing more. A defense lawyer conceded that there was “ridiculous” talk about manufacturing ricin on the tapes secretly recorded by informants going back to March 2011, but insisted that the conversations were “like an old man in the stages of senility.”

But if the allegations are to be believed, this case was no joke. Officials say the men took concrete steps toward carrying out their conspiracy, casing two federal buildings for bombing, obtaining an illegal silencer for assassinations, attempting to buy a briefcase-sized explosive, and trying to manufacture ricin.

After all, who would have believed that Timothy McVeigh — an awkward loner who once visited Area 51 to check out rumors of alien life there — would manage to murder 168 people in Oklahoma City? Or that a strange Norwegian given to Internet pontifications would last July murder 77 of his countrymen, most of them teenagers, because he thought they were enabling Muslim immigration?

The men in Georgia are innocent until proven otherwise. But their alleged plot is only the latest evidence, accumulating with gathering speed in recent years, that we are living through a dangerous period of antigovernment backlash.

In this issue, we report on the third year of explosive growth on the American radical right. The number of hate groups rose slightly in 2011, we found, continuing a significant expansion that goes back more than a decade. But the stunning growth came in the antigovernment “Patriot” movement, where the count rose from 824 in 2010 to 1,274 last year, more than 400 groups higher than the previous all-time high of 1996, when the first wave of the militia movement peaked.

This remarkable expansion, which has been dramatic in the last three years, is in large part an angry backlash against the changing racial demographics of the country, as represented in our first black president. It is also a response to serious economic dislocations and the spread of demonizing propaganda.

The growth of these groups is one explanation for the rash

of domestic terrorism, most of it non-Islamic, that most experts agree has plagued the country since the 2008 election of Barack Obama. Last December, the National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, an academic center associated with the Department of Homeland Security, issued a study based on a sampling of the Southern Poverty Law Center’s lists of hate groups between 1990 and 2008. It found that 21% of the hate groups had members who committed at least one violent act, while 9% had members who had committed six or more violent crimes.

The consortium also found that “far rightists” between 1990 and 2010 had been involved in more than 345 “homicide incidents,” and that far rightists killed almost 50 law enforcement officials during the same two decades.

The violence is, in large part, a response to a changing world. Economic globalization has opened up Western economies, resulting in major immigration flows that have altered the demographics of formerly more homogenous nations. At the same time, many people, nostalgic for a more stable past, are embracing anti-modern causes like opposition to same-sex marriage, non-Christian immigration, the social advances of non-white people, and even the freedom of women.

In this issue, we offer counts and lists of hate, Patriot and “nativist extremist” groups from last year, along with analyses of the radical right and its continuing response to societal change and modernity.

We also look at a particularly exotic manifestation of this anti-modernism — the hard fringe of the “men’s rights” movement, woman-haters who have produced frightening rhetoric and some astounding mass murders. Oddly enough, Norwegian mass murderer Anders Breivik was a part of that world, attacking divorce law in his final manifesto. His last girlfriend told a Norwegian newspaper that Breivik was a “male chauvinist” who mistakenly saw her as a “gold digger.”

There is an enormous amount of political vitriol coursing through both the United States and Europe, where many nations are suffering with a similar radical-right expansion. In America, the hatred has centered on the president and, partly as a result, the government at large. As one of the Georgia plotters allegedly said: “The first ones that need to die are the ones in the government buildings.” ▲

CORRECTION In our last issue, a photo caption misattributed a quote calling white people “the new Al Qaeda” to Internet television host Glenn Beck. In fact, as the accompanying article said, the comment was made by conspiracist Alex Jones. We regret the error.



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HATE GROUP LISTING
'PATRIOT' GROUP LISTING
STARTING
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Little noticed in the mass media, a Massachusetts man burned himself alive outside a courthouse last year to protest the treatment of men by family courts. The death of Thomas Ball, who left a manifesto calling for violent attacks on courts and police, opened a window into a dark world of woman-hating “men’s rights” activists.

ON THE COVER

38 The Year in Hate & Extremism

For the third year in a row, the American radical right grew explosively in 2011, driven by fears related to economic dislocation, the country’s changing racial makeup, and the prospect of four more years under our first black president. The growth was led by the antigovernment “Patriot” movement, while hate groups grew more slowly and the vigilante anti-immigration movement largely collapsed.



26 'Queer' Science

The National Association for Research and Therapy of Homosexuality, which energetically pushes therapy that supposedly “cures” homosexuality, bills itself as a counterweight to recognized mental health groups. But to many, it’s the preeminent source of “junk science” that demonizes homosexuality as a mental disorder.

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Nestled in a rural California compound, the little-known Church at Kaweah boasts of a “militant Christian separatist worldview” and is training its congregants for armed combat against the “New World Order” and other forces of evil. The church also is forging alliances with white supremacists, “Patriots” and other radicals.

Intelligence Report

INTELLIGENCE REPORT EDITOR
Mark Potok

INTELLIGENCE PROJECT DIRECTOR
Heidi Beirich

SENIOR EDITOR
Booth Gunter

STAFF WRITERS
Ryan Lenz, Leah Nelson, Evelyn Schlatter

CHIEF INVESTIGATOR
Joseph Roy Sr.

SENIOR INTELLIGENCE ANALYST
Laurie Wood

INFORMATION MANAGER
Michelle Bramblett

RESEARCH ANALYSTS
Anthony Griggs, Janet Smith

PROGRAM ASSOCIATE
Karla Griffin

RESEARCHERS
Angela Freeman, Karmetriya Jackson

DESIGN DIRECTOR
Russell Estes

DESIGNERS
Valerie Downes, Michelle Leland, Scott Phillips

DESIGN PRODUCTION ASSISTANT
Sunny Paulk

WEB PRODUCTION DIRECTOR
Ryan King

MEDIA AND GENERAL INQUIRIES Mark Potok

LAW ENFORCEMENT INQUIRIES Joseph Roy Sr.

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

PUBLISHED BY
THE SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER'S
INTELLIGENCE PROJECT



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The *Intelligence Report* is published quarterly by the staff of the Intelligence Project of the Southern Poverty Law Center and provided free of charge to law enforcement officials, journalists, scholars and others. The Southern Poverty Law Center is supported entirely by private donations. No government funds are involved. © 2012 Southern Poverty Law Center. All rights reserved.



12 Militia Madness

Four members of a Georgia militia were in their late 60s and 70s, but officials say that didn't stop them from planning assassinations, bombings and biological attacks.

22 Negotiation is Over

Floridian Camille Marino is the newest star on the radical animal rights scene, and she's frightening. "If I have my way," she says, "you'll be praying to us for mercy."

31 One More Victim

Breaking a long silence, the son of a neo-Nazi murderer goes on the record to describe how his father ruined his life. Now, Erik von Brunn is just trying to survive.



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The UN's Agenda 21 accord is a voluntary global sustainability initiative. But to antigovernment hard-liners, it's the leading edge of one-world totalitarianism.

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Bad press, internecine quarrels and co-optation of their issue by state legislatures have almost halved the number of hard-line anti-immigration groups in America.

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

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Glenn Beck has kicked off a new reality show about surviving the end times. But in his \$20,000-a-month Texas rental home, Beck doesn't seem too personally worried.

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.





Getting even: Samuel Mullet Sr., the bishop of a rogue Amish clan in Bergholz, Ohio, is accused of leading a conspiracy to punish his religious enemies.

Amish Indicted for Hate Crime in Forcible Beard-Cutting

In the first case of its kind, a federal grand jury in Cleveland on Dec. 20 indicted 12 Amish people on hate crime charges for cutting the hair and beards of other Amish men and women, a form of religious degradation they allegedly viewed as punishment.

The 10 men and two women “forcibly restrained multiple Amish men and cut off their beards and head hair with scissors and battery-powered clippers, causing bodily injury to these men while also injuring others who attempted to stop the attacks,” according to a statement issued by the U.S. Justice Department.

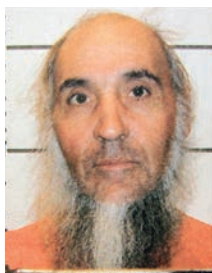
Among the defendants was Samuel Mullet Sr., who became the bishop of an Amish clan in Bergholz, Ohio, in 2003. He stands accused of leading the hate crime conspiracy.

Mullet was apparently angry that people he had excommunicated were allowed to join other clans after their

bishops determined his actions weren’t in keeping with Amish teachings and scripture. His team of attackers used horse mane shears, among other tools, to carry out the attacks and photographed the victims afterward, court documents say.

The case is unusual in that the Amish are pacifists who denounce violence. The charging documents allege Mullet has “forced extreme punishment and physical injury” against those in his community who defy him. He has forced his followers to “sleep for days

at a time” in a chicken coop and allowed members of the Bergholz clan “to beat other members” who disobey him. Mullet also “has been counseling the married women in the Bergholz clan and taking them into his home so that he may cleanse them of the devil with acts of sexual intimacy.”



Levi Miller



Johnny Mullet



Lester Mullet

AMY SANCETTA/AP IMAGES (MULLETT); JEFFERSON COUNTY SHERIFFS DEPARTMENT/AP IMAGES (MILLER, MULLETT, AND MULLETT)

HATE IN THE MAINSTREAM

“If this dam breaks, the tidal wave will be just an outright sexual paganization of society.”

— **RICHARD LAND**, president of the Southern Baptist Convention’s Ethics & Religious Liberty Commission, discussing the consequences of legalizing gay marriage on his **Sept. 24** radio show

“burn the mosques. period.”

— Anti-Muslim activist **JOHN JAY**, who helped found Pamela Geller and Robert Spencer’s American Freedom Defense Initiative, in an all-lowercase **Sept. 26** blog post that also called for the murder of journalists and members of Congress

“The election board needs people of integrity, not those who live a perverted lifestyle.”

— An unsigned **Sept. 29** editorial from the **TULSA BEACON** on Gov. Mary Fallin’s appointment of a gay man to the Oklahoma State Election Board

“If it were up to me we would just throw them off the Sunshine Skyway bridge.”

— Florida State Rep. **BRAD DRAKE** (R-Eucheeanna), who wants to replace lethal injection with electrocution or firing squads in capital cases, quoted on **Oct. 11** in the *Florida Current*

“It’s kind of like having a house ... and allowing any kind of vagrant, or animal ... to come in.”

— U.S. Rep. **JEFF DUNCAN** (R-S.C.), discussing undocumented immigration during an **Oct. 31** forum at Greenville’s Furman University

“We cannot have Muslims in our military because we cannot trust them.”

— Tennessee State Rep. **RICK WOMICK** (R-Rockvale), speaking on **Nov. 11** at an anti-Muslim conference near Nashville, Tenn.

“This movement is a third-world rot that will infect us all if we do not sterilize it now.”

— WorldNetDaily columnist **PHIL ELMORE**, in a **Nov. 16** column calling for the use of flame-throwers and truncheons to remove the “shiftless human filth” of the Occupy Wall Street movement

“If Joseph Goebbels was around, he’d be very proud of the Democrat Party.”

— U.S. Rep. **ALLEN WEST** (R-Fla.), discussing the party’s “propaganda machine” while reacting on **Dec. 15** to polls showing public dissatisfaction with his party

“Assassinate the fucken nigger and his monkey children.”

— **JULES MANSON**, who ran unsuccessfully as a Libertarian last year for the Carson, Calif., City Council, in a misspelled **Dec. 18** Facebook post that earned him a visit from the Secret Service

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.



Paul Hill



Bobby Joe Rogers

The defendants all pleaded not guilty on Jan. 11. Because they refused to wear electronic monitoring devices, Mullet and six other men have been detained without bond. The rest of the defendants were released on bond, and all were scheduled to appear in court on March 2.

ANTI-ABORTION EXTREMISM

Florida Abortion Clinic, Long a Target, Firebombed

A Pensacola, Fla., clinic at the epicenter of anti-abortion violence for nearly 30 years was firebombed and destroyed by a homeless man in January.

Bobby Joe Rogers, 41, who was charged with one count of damaging a building by fire, told investigators he used a Molotov cocktail fashioned from a 32-ounce beer bottle filled with gasoline. He lit it with a wick made from an old shirt.

Rogers also told police he threw the bomb against the American Family Planning clinic and watched it burst in flames, the *New York Daily News* reported. He hid in an abandoned car wash while the building burned. “He stayed at the car wash just long enough to make sure the fire was going and recalled hearing a lot of crackling and popping,” a law enforcement affidavit stated.

The two-story clinic, formerly known as The Ladies Center Clinic, was a frequent target of anti-abortion attacks in the 1980s and 1990s. Indeed, this year’s fire wasn’t the first to burn the clinic to the ground. A pipe bomb destroyed it in 1984. It was rebuilt, but that only brought more violence.

In 1994, anti-abortion activist Paul Hill gunned down a clinic physician, Dr.

MARK FOLEVAP IMAGES (HILL); ESCAMBIA COUNTY JAIL/AP IMAGES (ROGERS)

John Britton, and his bodyguard, James Barrett, at close range. A year earlier, Dr. David Gunn, also an abortion provider, was shot to death outside another clinic in the Florida Panhandle city, Pensacola Women's Medical Services.

Hill, a Presbyterian minister who had been excommunicated the year before the murders, never expressed remorse, claiming the Bible justified his acts. In 2003, he became the first person in America to be executed for murdering an abortion provider.

Judith Selzer, vice president for public policy at the Florida Association of Planned Parenthood Affiliates, said the latest firebombing occurred amid "an incredibly hostile environment attacking women's right to choose" in Florida. "It's very scary now," she said.

The arson came in the wake of the Florida Legislature's passage of several anti-abortion measures. One of the five laws passed in 2011 mandates ultrasounds before all abortions, even if doctors say they're not needed — "an intimidation tactic," Selzer said. Another put a proposed amendment stripping privacy rights from the state constitution on the 2012 ballot, "and we're worried about how this could affect women seeking abortions."

BIRTHING CONSPIRACY

Sheriff Arpaio Seeks Attention, Dislikes What He Gets

Sheriff Joe Arpaio of Maricopa County, Ariz., complained about a supposed "blackout" on news of his investigation into the validity of President Obama's birth certificate. He finally got the media coverage he craved — though hardly to a tune of his liking.

In recent months, the man who bills himself as "America's toughest sheriff" became the subject of a federal civil rights investigation into racial profiling. Also, Maricopa County budget officials reported that Arpaio had improperly spent nearly \$100 million in jail funds to pay for other

operations, including immigration patrols and raids.

Then, in December, The Associated Press reported that Arpaio's office had "inadequately investigated" more than 400 sex-crime cases between 2005 and 2007, many involving children of undocumented immigrants. Investigators in the town of El Mirage, which paid the sheriff's office \$2.7 million for police protection during those years, told the AP that an "overwhelming majority" of the cases — including at least 32 involving child molestation — hadn't been worked at all.

The parade of criticisms came just months after the sheriff grumbled to a handful of news outlets (most notably the far-right, online WorldNetDaily) that no one was paying attention to his promise to use his all-volunteer "Cold Case Posse" to get to the bottom of Obama's origin.

That promise, in fact, made Arpaio something of a figurehead in the so-called "birther" movement, prompting arch-birther Jerome Corsi to exclaim: "It's a serious investigation. ... They're collecting hundreds of pages of documentation, they're talking to multiple experts, they're corroborating statements. It's ongoing — and it's widening!"

Arpaio did little to quash that claim. He appeared on a local television news program and promised the *Globe*, a

supermarket tabloid, a "bombshell world exclusive."

According to an unnamed source in one *Globe* report, the sheriff's "posse" had broadened the scope of its inquiry to include rumors that the president's father was left-wing poet and activist Frank Marshall Davis. The tabloid also said that Arpaio's investigators, unsatisfied with the "long-form" birth certificate the president released in April, were planning to request the document in its original "ink-and-paper" form.

HATE CRIME

Racist Couple Could Face Death in West Coast Murder Spree

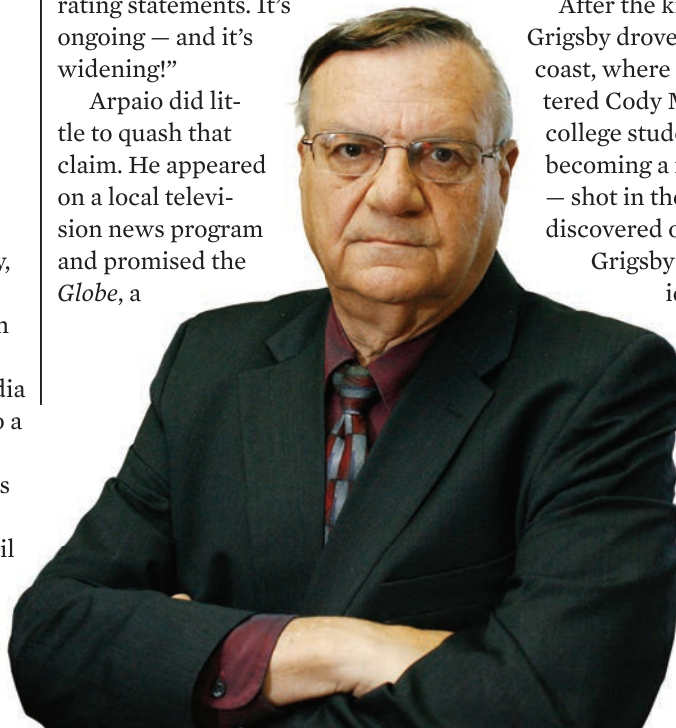
An Oregon couple linked to four murders in three states will have to wait until April to learn if prosecutors will seek the death penalty.

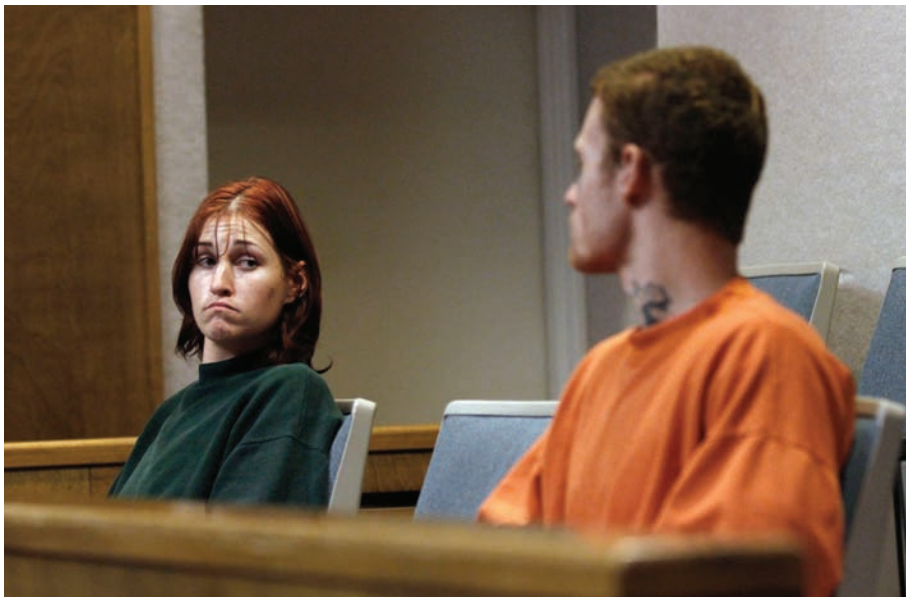
David "Joey" Pedersen, 31, and his girlfriend, Holly Grigsby, 24, are charged with aggravated murder in the shooting death of Pedersen's father, "Red" Pedersen, and the cutting death of his stepmother, Leslie "DeeDee" Pedersen, in Everett, Wash., on Sept. 26.

After the killings, Pedersen and Grigsby drove south to the Oregon coast, where they allegedly encountered Cody Myers, a 19-year-old college student who had talked of becoming a minister. The teen's body — shot in the head and chest — was discovered on Oct. 4. Detectives said Grigsby told them the Oregon res-

ident was "killed because his last name made them think he was Jewish." She also allegedly said she and Pedersen "were on their way to Sacramento to kill more Jews."

Their spree ended on Oct. 5, when police arrested them while driving Myers' stolen car in Marysville,





Fatal attraction: Holly Grigsby exchanges glances with her boyfriend, David "Joey" Pedersen, in a California court appearance. The pair are accused of a Bonnie-and-Clyde murder spree in three states, and allegedly were heading to Sacramento "to kill more Jews" when they were apprehended.

Calif. The next day, Pedersen — who has the letters "SWP" (an acronym for "Supreme White Power") tattooed prominently on his neck — admitted to yet a fourth murder, the shooting death of a black man named Reginald Clark in Eureka, Calif., police said.

Three days later, Pedersen told a reporter that he alone was responsible for the crimes.

At least one court document casts doubt on that version of events. "[T]he day the couple were booked into jail a note was found written by Pedersen, sent to Grigsby," it says. "In it he appears to lay out a plan whereby he will take all the blame for everything."

Both the suspects have police records. Grigsby has five prior felony convictions in Oregon — three for identity theft and two for unauthorized use of a motor vehicle. Pedersen has four prior felony convictions — two for robbery, one for assault, and one for threatening a federal judge.

Pederson's connections with white supremacists aren't fully known, but there is speculation he may have

developed racist views while in prison in Colorado and Oregon. In 1999, while incarcerated at the Oregon State Correctional Facility, Pedersen was punished for racial, religious, or sexual harassment. In February 2000, he was convicted for threatening to murder a federal judge who handled the "Ruby Ridge" case of white separatist Randy Weaver. Weaver's wife and son were killed, along with a federal marshal, on an Idaho mountaintop in a 1992 standoff that became a cause célèbre for the radical right.

Pedersen allegedly told authorities he killed his father because the elder Pedersen had sexually abused a daughter — the suspect's sister — when the two were children. That claim has not been verified. In December, his attorneys successfully petitioned to have their client's mental health evaluated. A trial for the murders of Pedersen's parents was set for September 2012.



ANTI-MUSLIM HATE

Lowe's Entangles Itself in Brouhaha over Muslim Reality Show

Avoiding controversy was the stated aim when Lowe's, the home improvement giant, bowed to pressure from a Florida evangelical group and pulled its commercials from a TV reality show that makes Muslims look like ordinary Americans rather than terrorists.

Instead, the chain's act boomeranged into a PR nightmare, attracting an avalanche of attacks in social and traditional media, outrage from political and religious leaders, and on-site protests.

Behind the campaign against Lowe's sponsorship of "All-American Muslim" was the Florida Family Association (FFA), a conservative evangelical group. In an E-mail campaign, the group targeted dozens of companies that have advertised on the TLC network's reality show, which chronicles the lives of five Muslim families in Dearborn, Mich. The FFA urged its followers to tell companies they shouldn't sponsor the show because it depicts Muslim Americans as something other than jihadists.

The group bragged that dozens of companies had pulled their ads, but Lowe's was the only one to confirm that the FFA campaign was the reason. (Another company, Kayak.com, apologized to "anyone who was offended" by its pullout of sponsorship. But its chief marketing officer said he thought TLC had misrepresented the show, so that advertisers didn't know the controversy it would generate, adding that Kayak didn't want to be part of the maelstrom.)

Responses to the decision by Lowe's ranged from mockery to outrage. "The Daily Show" lampooned the chain for supposedly contributing to terrorism by selling everything

Public deflations: An avalanche of criticism greeted Lowe's decision to bow to pressure from an Islamophobic Florida group.

RICH PEDRONCELLI/AM IMAGES (GRIGSBY AND PEDERSEN); THE CANADIAN PRESS—STEVE WHITE/AP IMAGES (LOWE'S)

anyone would need to put together a primitive bomb. Prominent politicians including Newark, N.J., Mayor Cory Booker, Minnesota Congressman Keith Ellison (the first Muslim elected to Congress), and California state Sen. Ted Lieu publicly scolded Lowe's and asked it to reverse course. A cast of celebrities and religious figures also joined the fray, as did online organizers. A petition at SignOn.org urging advertisers to stick with the show gained 33,864 signatures in less than three days.

In Paterson, N.J., which has the second-largest per capita concentration of Muslims in the U.S. after Dearborn, protesters descended on Lowe's. But Muslim leaders were largely conciliatory. "Lowe's here in Paterson has been decent to Muslims," Mohamed El-Filali of the Islamic Center of Passaic County told the *Intelligence Report*. But the company's leaders "seem to be disconnected from the reality of the world and think that Muslims can be excluded from the fabric of America."

The FFA, founded 24 years ago, is known mostly for its virulently anti-gay positions. The group has targeted advertisers on the hit show "Modern Family" because it includes a gay couple with an adopted child. It has campaigned against a Teen Nick show, "DeGrassi: The Next Generation," because it has a transgender character. The FFA also pushed hard for a Florida state amendment that bars same-sex marriages and a ban on gay parents adopting children.

Meanwhile, Lowe's direct competitor, Home Depot, acted quite differently with respect to a similar boycott attempt. This January, some two years after the American Family Association (AFA) launched a boycott of Home Depot because of its support for LGBT people, AFA leaders bizarrely claimed victory. But Home Depot disagreed, writing, "We have never changed our commitment to diversity and inclusion of all people, and we have no intention of doing so."

'SOVEREIGN CITIZENS'

One 'Sovereign' Leader Dies as Others Head to Prison

The swelling "sovereign citizens" movement — made up of antigovernment extremists who believe they are exempt from most laws and don't have to pay taxes — lost a leader when LeRoy M. Schweitzer, 73, died of apparently natural causes at the federal supermax prison in **Florence, Colo.**, on Sept. 20. He was serving a 22-year sentence for crimes related to the longest police standoff in U.S. history.

Schweitzer's extremism dates to at least 1977, when he clashed with the IRS over \$700 he owed in back taxes. Over the years, he mingled with some of the country's most radical extremists, attending meetings of the anti-Semitic Posse Comitatus (a precursor to today's sovereign citizens movement) and letting members of a neo-Nazi terrorist group called The Order train on his ranch.

In the mid-1980s, he moved from **Washington to Montana**, where he led the heavily armed Montana Freeman, an antigovernment group whose "Justus Township" compound became a gathering place for radicals. His arrest in 1996 prompted 16 other Freeman to barricade themselves there for 81 days before surrendering peacefully to the FBI. He was convicted in federal court on 25 counts, including conspiracy, bank and wire fraud, failure to file federal tax returns, fugitive possession of a firearm, and threatening a federal judge.

When he was sentenced in 1997, Schweitzer stood gagged, chained and handcuffed before the judge. After his gag was briefly removed, he shouted that was a citizen of "the country of Montana."

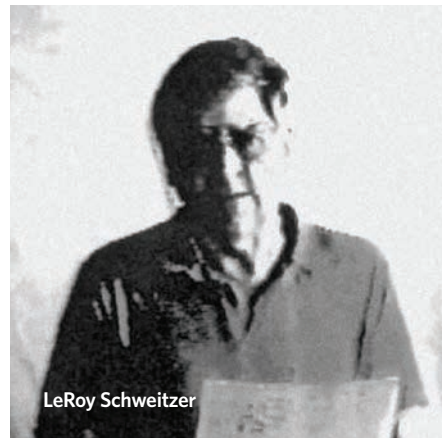
Schweitzer's death wasn't the only event to punctuate the latest chapter of sovereign history.

• On Dec. 22, the FBI, aided by the Arizona Department of Public Safety and a SWAT team from the Yavapai County

Sheriff's Office, successfully negotiated the surrender of "Rabbi" Shawn Talbot Rice, 49, a longtime sovereign citizen and fugitive who had barricaded himself, his wife and his two children inside a home in **Seligman, Ariz.**

Rice, who purports to be a rabbi and a lawyer, had been on the lam since July 2009, when he and partner Samuel Lynn Davis, 56, of **Idaho**, were indicted on 31 counts of bank fraud and money laundering. Together with Davis, the "rabbi" — who also faces weapons charges — allegedly collected about \$96,000 for laundering \$1.3 million for undercover FBI agents who told the pair the money came from stolen and forged bank checks.

Davis, who pleaded guilty in March, was sentenced to 57 months in prison by a **Las Vegas** federal judge on Oct. 27. He was also ordered to pay \$95,782 in restitution to the FBI. In his glory days, Davis was an "elder" in the antigovernment Guardians of the free Republics and a promoter of a sovereign scam called "redemption," which supposedly allows participants to tap into secret



LeRoy Schweitzer

cash accounts they think the government is keeping in their name.

• The sovereign movement in **Washington** also sustained a major blow, with three members of the so-called Sovereign Assemblies, a prominent antigovernment group, facing possible prison time.

On Nov. 1, Timothy George Garrison, 59, an accountant from **Mount Vernon, Wash.**, pleaded guilty in a **Seattle**

federal court to two counts of assisting in the filing of false federal tax returns, cheating the government out of an estimated \$2.5 million. Garrison had operated a tax preparation business from his home since 1988, preparing between 200 and 400 returns annually. Federal prosecutors said they intended to recommend a sentence of four years in prison.

Also in **Seattle**, David Russell Myrland, a fellow member of the Sovereign Assemblies and friend of Garrison's, was sentenced in federal court, on Dec. 2, to 40 months in prison for threatening to use "deadly force" to arrest various government officials. He pleaded guilty in August after telling federal agents that he threatened government officials in the belief that Washington state law allows him to arrest any person he thinks committed

a felony. The threats stemmed from his 2010 arrest for driving without a license plate or driver's license — a common practice for sovereigns. Myrland allegedly told the officer who stopped his car that Washington traffic laws didn't apply to him and that, if arrested, he would be "constitutionally authorized to come to the officer's residence and arrest him at any time."

According to the sentencing memo, he believed that "powers of a citizen's arrest allowed him to force entry to the homes of any 'felon' and use any force required, including deadly force, to arrest them." Police who searched his home found illegal drugs, 22 ammunition magazines and 2,000 rounds of ammunition for a 9mm pistol, along with fake arrest warrants for Washington's governor, Kirkland's mayor, and a Kirkland assistant city attorney.

A third member of the Sovereign Assemblies aimed his attacks higher. Kenneth Wayne Leaming (or, as he prefers to call himself, "Kenneth Wayne, sovereign man") was arrested in November by the FBI Joint Terrorism Task Force for sending bogus legal documents to the homes of the chief justice of the United States and the director of the FBI, and filing fraudulent commercial liens against numerous other government officials.

A self-described international lawyer and "attorney-in-fact," Leaming, a felon, allegedly filed the fake liens on behalf of a former "business" partner, David Carroll Stephensen, who was convicted in 2005 of multiple counts of conspiracy to defraud the United States and failing to file tax returns. According to the criminal complaint filed in **Seattle** federal court, Leaming faces



SEPT. 23-24, 2011 • FARMERVILLE, LA.

About 50 white supremacists gathered at Lake D'Arbonne State Park near Farmerville for the first Aryan Nations World Congress since 2004, the year that Aryan Nations founder Richard Butler died. The gathering was small compared to the heyday of the neo-Nazi group, which ended after a successful Southern Poverty Law Center lawsuit against it in 2000, but it did reflect some gathering momentum. That minor resurgence has come since Morris Gulett (left inset photo, second from left), emerging from prison after a sentence for conspiring to rob a bank, was proclaimed the group's "World Leader" in late 2010. The group has apparently benefited from the troubles of other hate groups. Jeremy Parker (right inset) used to head the Brotherhood of Klans, but apparently shut down that group in the last year to take up permanently with Aryan Nations. Billy Roper (left inset, second from right) also closed down his White Revolution group last year, although it doesn't appear that he joined Aryan Nations. Another movement stalwart, David Pringle (left inset, far right), is the former membership coordinator of the neo-Nazi National Alliance who now lives in Louisiana; he gave a presentation on weapons and self-defense. The larger photo is of Aryan Nations members and speakers, including Monica Stone (in pants suit), a former South African resident who spoke on white "genocide."

Updates on Extremism and The Law

SEPT. 16 Hal Turner, the outspoken neo-Nazi radio talk show host and blogger who became an FBI informant, was acquitted by a jury in **Connecticut** of charges he had threatened and incited violence against state officials on his blog. The 49-year-old white supremacist's comments were "outrageous" and "distasteful," but the prosecution failed to prove Turner had engaged in criminal conduct beyond a reasonable doubt, jurors said after the verdict. Turner is in prison until later this year based on a 2009 federal conviction for making other threats.



Hal Turner

OCT. 18 James Robertson, a member of the racist skinhead group **Blood & Honour**, was convicted in the 1998 beating deaths of Alfred Williams, 62, and Richard Arseneau, 44 — both homeless men in **Tampa, Fla.** At the time of the murders, at least four members of Blood & Honour were on a violent rampage on the streets of Tampa as part of a game they called "bum rolling."

NOV. 9 Edgar J. Steele, a self-described **white separatist** and "attorney for the politically incorrect," was sentenced to 50 years in federal prison for plotting to murder his wife. Steele, tried in **Coeur d'Alene, Idaho**, was arrested in 2010 after Larry Fairfax, Steele's handyman, told the FBI that Steele had given him \$10,000 in silver coins to build bombs to kill his wife and her mother. After the arrest, a pipe bomb was found on the underside of the car driven by his wife.

NOV. 16 Wayde Lynn Kurt, once a member of an Odinist white supremacist gang called **Vanguard**

Kindred, was indicted in **Spokane, Wash.**, on a host of charges related to his planning an act of domestic terrorism. In secret tape recordings made by an FBI informant in 2010, Kurt allegedly said he intended to do something "to make sure everyone is fed up with Obama." Court documents allege that Kurt also said "he didn't want innocent people to die but it was possible they would die."

NOV. 21 Brandon McInerney, who shot and killed a gay classmate in **California** because he believed the boy was flirting with him, was sentenced to 21 years in prison as part of a plea bargain. McInerney was 14 in 2008 when he pulled a handgun from his backpack and shot Larry King twice in the head in a classroom. McInerney's first trial for the **anti-gay** murder ended in a mistrial when jurors could not reach a unanimous verdict.

NOV. 25 Ex-Klan leader David Duke was arrested in **Germany** while on his way to address a group of right-wing extremists, and later expelled. After German authorities said the globetrotting **white supremacist** was "obliged to leave German territory without delay," Duke responded by sending a maudlin message to his ac-

lytes, asking for money and help with his "sacred struggle."

NOV. 29 Ronald James Davenport, a self-proclaimed antigovernment "**sovereign citizen**," was convicted of filing more than \$20 billion in false liens on properties owned by four government officials in **Eastern Washington**. The properties were owned by a former U.S. attorney, an assistant attorney, a court clerk, and an Internal Revenue Service officer. Davenport's wife said afterward that her husband might "go Ruby Ridge" if the government attempts to seize his home.

DEC. 5 Joshua John Clough, a member of the **Hutaree Militia** in **Michigan**, pleaded guilty to a federal weapons charge in connection with a plot to murder police officers. Nine members of the Hutaree were arrested in March 2010 in a plot to murder a police officer, then attack that officer's funeral with homemade bombs and missiles, in hopes of sparking a war against the government.

DEC. 14 August B. Kreis III, the self-appointed director of a splinter remnant of the neo-Nazi **Aryan Nations**, was sentenced to six months of home arrest and ordered to repay almost \$193,000 for trying to defraud the federal government. He was indicted last May in **South Carolina** on charges related to false statements he made to obtain veterans benefits. In January 2012, he announced that he was stepping down as Aryan Nations leader in a bid to prevent the government from seizing donations to that group.



David Duke

three counts of “retaliating against a federal judge or law enforcement officer by false claim.” Officers’ discovery of seven firearms in his home may result in additional charges.

• In **Lakota, N.D.**, a months-long standoff with a family of sovereign citizens ended peacefully on Nov. 6 when authorities took into custody Rodney Brossart, two adult sons, an adult daughter and a school-aged child. The standoff began last August when the Brossarts failed to appear in court to face charges stemming from an earlier, 16-hour standoff.

The whole thing began last June when the elder Brossart refused to return six cows that had wandered onto his property. Police at the time used an unmanned Predator drone to locate him on his property so they could arrest him, making him the first American citizen to be apprehended with the aid of such a device. But the arrest was not easy: The 55-year-old sovereign had to be subdued with a stun gun, police said. Brossart’s sons allegedly threatened officers with rifles, and his daughter allegedly struck a deputy. They, too, were arrested.

After the family members failed to appear at a court hearing in August, a new standoff began.

This time, Nelson County Sheriff Kelly Janke and a deputy found Brossart and his son Jacob working in a field, presumably finishing the fall harvest. They were unarmed and offered little resistance, according to media reports, but had to be dragged from a tractor. The other family members then surrendered.

Among other things, the Brossarts face charges of terrorizing during the standoff, and Susan Brossart, Rodney’s wife, is separately charged with giving false information to law enforcement.

• A federal jury in November found Monty and Patricia Ervin of **Dothan, Ala.**, guilty of tax evasion and conspiracy to defraud the government. For



Rodney Brossart

many years, the couple had failed to pay federal income taxes on a total of \$9 million in cash and silver they collected in rental income from a sizable real estate empire.

They were also found to have \$350,000 worth of gold coins buried in their backyard. Court doc-

uments show that the IRS contacted the couple repeatedly with regard to their taxes, but the couple replied with bizarre letters claiming they were not required to pay income tax because they were not and never had been U.S. citizens. In a typical 2006 letter to the Social Security Administration, Monty Ervin wrote: “It has been recorded that, from the Kingdom of Heaven, Iesus Christos, trustee for the Kingdom of Israel, completed my diplomatic arrival to ‘The United States of America’ ... on March 14, 1951, into a flesh body temple of God, the title to which is held by my trustee, Iesus Christos. ... I do not remember making application for communitarian social security welfare benefits.” Elsewhere, Ervin referred to himself as “a sovereign Most Christian Prince.”

Monty Ervin faces up to 20 years in prison and a \$1 million fine. His wife, who in addition to fraud and conspiracy was convicted of structuring transactions to avoid reporting requirements, faces up to 25 years in prison and a \$1.25 million fine.

HATE CRIME

When Targets of Hate Violence Strike Back

It’s not often that hate crimes end so poetically. But two recent stories offered up nearly perfect — even comic — portrayals of justice at work.

The first came one night last July, when Marlon L. Baker walked into a Bayview, Idaho, bar only to find himself almost immediately confronted by neo-Nazi skinhead Daren Christopher Abbey.

Abbey told Baker he had better leave because of the color of his skin. Baker left the bar, only to be followed by Abbey, who continued taunting and harassing him. Fearing for his safety, Baker felled the skinhead with a single punch to the face, knocking him to the ground. When Abbey regained consciousness, he was arrested and booked into jail on charges of battery, a misdemeanor, and felony malicious harassment.

As Abbey was being led away in handcuffs, he was apparently able to see the backside of the T-shirt Baker was wearing. It read “Spokane Boxing Club champion.”

Rick Welliver, the owner of Spokane Boxing and Martial Arts, a local gym, said that to his knowledge Baker has never been a licensed, professional boxer but that he might have had some informal experience. “I’m happy Marlon finally won a fight,” Welliver said. “But he’s not a boxer.”

A similar scenario played out in Bellingham, Wash., five months later, when another warrior of the radical right — drunken again, it seems — screamed epithets at a lesbian couple outside a bar, then smashed the rear window of their car. That didn’t scare the women. One of them, in fact, grabbed William Adam Lane and held him until police arrived.

An amused police official later recounted the uncommon daring, telling



Down for the count: Daren Christopher Abbey

NELSON COUNTY SHERIFF'S OFFICE (BROSSART); KOOTENAI COUNTY SHERIFF'S OFFICE (ABBAY)

the *Intelligence Report* that the couple had not merely “detained” Lane. “He was *thrown* to the ground!” he said.

RACIST TERRORISM

Neo-Nazi Gets 32 Years for Planting MLK Day Bomb

Kevin W. Harpham, the would-be terrorist who intended to bomb a Martin Luther King Jr. Day parade last year in Spokane, Wash., has been sentenced in federal court to 32 years in prison.

The sentencing in December came after the former U.S. Army ordnance technician, a one-time member of the neo-Nazi National Alliance and a jail-house pen pal of former Klan leader Glenn Miller, pleaded guilty under an agreement with prosecutors to attempted use of a weapon of mass destruction and placing a bomb to carry out a hate crime.

Harpham hid a bomb packed with rat poison-coated fishing weights in a backpack and rigged it to detonate with a remote car starter device. But when the suspicious backpack was spotted, the MLK parade was rerouted. Harpham — marching in the parade and taking pictures of minority children and a Jewish man — never got close enough to push the detonator button that he apparently carried in his pocket, police said.

In court, the judge ruled that the device met the legal definition of a “weapon of mass destruction.” His attorneys, however, twice tried to withdraw Harpham’s guilty plea, arguing that his bomb did not meet that definition.

At his sentencing hearing, U.S. District Judge Justin Quackenbush scolded Harpham for his racist views, saying, “It is not ‘us versus them.’ It’s us, regardless of our skin color, regardless of our religious views, regardless of our cultural differences. ... I hope that in the years ahead, in the next months, maybe years, you’ll pause and reflect that we’re all inhabitants of this one planet, and, yes, we have disagreements.”

The case against Harpham was only the third time the U.S. Department of



Justice has filed a federal hate crime charge under the Matthew Shepard and James Byrd Jr. Hate Crimes Prevention Act, enacted by Congress in October 2009.

ANTI-MUSLIM VIOLENCE

FBI: Dramatic Spike in Hate Crimes Targeting Muslims

Anti-Muslim hate crimes soared by 50% in 2010, skyrocketing over 2009 levels in a year marked by the incendiary rhetoric of Islam-bashing politicians and activists, especially over the so-called “Ground Zero Mosque” in New York City.

Although the national statistics compiled by the FBI each year are known to vastly understate the real level of hate crime, they do offer telling indications of some trends. The latest statistics, showing a jump from 107 anti-Muslim hate crimes in 2009 to 160 in 2010, seem to reflect the consequences of a rise in anti-Muslim rhetoric from groups like Stop Islamization of America. Much of that vitriol was aimed at stopping an Islamic center in lower Manhattan.

It was the highest level of anti-Muslim hate crimes since 2001, the year of the Sept. 11 attacks, when the FBI reported 481 anti-Muslim hate crimes.

Islam-bashing organizations like Pamela Geller’s Stop Islamization of America, which organized major rallies against what was falsely depicted as a “Ground Zero mosque,” helped gin up the kind of anger that ultimately translated into a hate crime spike.

The year 2010 saw multiple verbal attacks on planned mosques, along with several violent attacks and arsons and the first attempts to ban Shariah religious law, even though the Constitution already precludes that.

It’s not provable precisely how hateful rhetoric from public figures drives criminal violence. But anecdotal evidence suggests the link is a tight one. Immediately after the 9/11 attacks, anti-Muslim hate violence skyrocketed some 1,600%. But then-President George W. Bush gave several speeches emphasizing that Muslims and Arabs were not our enemies. Almost certainly thanks to that, anti-Muslim violence declined the following year by almost two-thirds.

The 2010 FBI statistics also showed a rise of almost 11% in anti-Latino hate crimes. The increase may be related to the vilification of immigrants surrounding the passage of Arizona’s S.B. 1070. Since then, even more anti-immigrant rhetoric has been heard around the country, suggesting that when the FBI’s 2011 statistics come out next fall, they will show a further increase. ▲



Militia Madness

An alleged plot by members of a Georgia militia is only the latest to target law enforcement officials for death

BY BILL MORLIN

If moviemakers are thinking about “Grumpy Old Men: The Militia Sequel,” they should head straight to Georgia for screenplay ideas. There, four members of an antigovernment militia — all Medicare-eligible — are behind bars at the Hall County Jail in Gainesville, awaiting trial on federal terrorism-related crimes.

But this case is no comedy. Officials say the men were plotting to bomb federal buildings, assassinate public officials and attack cities with deadly ricin.

Alleged ringleader Frederick W. Thomas, 73, Emory Dan Roberts, 67, Samuel J. Crump Jr., 68, and Ray H. Adams, 65, were arrested on Nov. 1 by FBI agents whose informants had secretly taped hundreds of hours of the men’s con-

versations starting in March 2011, some eight months earlier. Among the things suspects allegedly discussed were plans for dispersing ricin dust from speeding cars in Washington, D.C., Atlanta, Jacksonville, Fla., and New Orleans.

“There is no way for us, as militiamen, to save this country, to save Georgia, without doing something that’s highly illegal. Murder. It’s gotta be done.”

All four are expected to be tried later this year in what the FBI says was one of its top terrorism investigations of 2011. Thomas and Roberts are charged with conspiring to buy explosives and firearms to kill federal agents and employees. Crump and Adams are accused of conspiring to make and disperse ricin.

The tapes capture suspects discussing the possible assassination of U.S. Attorney General Eric Holder, among other federal officials. At one point, Thomas told members of the group that he’d become intrigued with an online novel, *Absolved*, written by longtime Alabama militia leader Mike Vanderboegh, that describes a small group of Americans who assassinate federal officials.

DOJ/USDOJ

Another Over the Hill Gang: The suspects arrested in an alleged mass murder plot were elderly, but officials say that doesn't mean they weren't deadly serious.

“Civilian government operatives [are] who we’re going to be shooting at — IRS, ATF, FBI and the cops,” Thomas allegedly says on one of the tapes, referring to federal tax and law enforcement agencies. “I could shoot ATF and IRS [agents] all day long, all the judges and the DOJ and the attorneys and prosecutors.”

The case was a reminder that terrorist threats come from many quarters. “While many are focused on the threat posed by international violent extremists,” said U.S. Attorney Sally Quillian Yates of the Northern District of Georgia, “this case demonstrates that we must also remain vigilant in protecting our country from citizens within our own borders who threaten our safety and security.”

It also was the latest of several plots allegedly hatched by members of the antigovernment “Patriot” movement that has grown dramatically in recent years. (From 149 groups in 2008, the movement swelled to 1,274 organizations in 2011, according to the latest Southern Poverty Law Center count; see also story, p. 38). As in the Georgia case, two recent plots also targeted law enforcement.

Nine members of the Hutaree Militia were arrested in the Midwest, most of them in Michigan, in March 2010. They were accused of plotting to murder a police officer and then use homemade bombs and missiles to attack the hundreds of other officers who would likely attend that victim’s funeral. Members of the militia conducted military-style training in Michigan’s Lenawee County, including demonstrations of how to build bombs. The defendants, except for one man who pleaded guilty in November, face trial later this year on conspiracy charges.

A year later, in March 2011, state and federal agents arrested self-styled commander Schaeffer Cox and four followers in the Alaska Peacemakers Militia on weapons and conspiracy charges related to an alleged plan to kill Alaska state troopers and a judge. (One of those

arrested was freed when state charges were dropped.) Then, last October, a 53-year-old woman who was the militia group’s secretary was arrested trying to enter Canada. Federal officials say they found a pistol and detailed information about ricin and pipe bombs in her truck.

A Neo-Nazi Twist

In the Georgia case, officials and court documents have only identified the group to which the alleged plotters belonged as “a north Georgia militia.” But the *Intelligence Report* found records identifying “Capt. Dan Roberts” as the contact for the 440th Squad of the

And it links to American Patrol, a racist anti-immigrant hate group. But what may be most remarkable is an essay on the site by Henry Makow, “Protocols of Zion & Freemasonry’s Final Revelation.”

That essay extensively cites the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, a viciously anti-Semitic forgery that was much admired by Hitler and is treated in the essay as revelatory. Makow discusses “the primitive Talmudic injunction to rule the world and usurp all its wealth, as outlined in the Protocols.” Elsewhere on the site, the Georgia Militia describes Israel as a “cancerous zionist [sic] entity” and refers to “our zionist occupied gov-



Georgia Militia, with 19 chapters in the state. It seems certain that the Georgia Militia is the group to which the suspects belonged.

And the Georgia Militia is quite a group. Unlike most militias — which typically see the federal government as the primary enemy, working to force U.S. citizens into a kind of one-world government “New World Order” — the Georgia Militia trafficks in open anti-black racism and neo-Nazi anti-Semitism.

The group’s website links to the usual array of conspiracy-minded material from other Patriot groups, but it also links to the Council of Conservative Citizens, a group that angrily opposes racial intermarriage and has described black people as “a retrograde species of humanity.”

The promoter: Long-time Alabama militia leader Mike Vanderboegh was already known for successfully calling on thugs to throw bricks through the windows of Democratic Party offices. Now, officials say his novel *Absolved*, depicting the assassination of federal officers, inspired a deadly antigovernment plot in Georgia.

ernment.” Zionist Occupied Government, or ZOG, is a phrase employed by neo-Nazi groups to describe the federal government.

Thomas also posted several racially charged items on the Internet. On Dec. 12, 2008, for instance, he wrote in a post to the conservative Redstate.com website that if the Supreme Court found that President Obama was not a citizen, “[y]ou can bank on race riots the like of

which would make the L.A. and Watts riots look like a playground scuffle. Half the country would go up in flames.”

Did They Mean It?

Family members acknowledge the suspects’ militia involvement, but say it was nothing more than harmless emergency preparedness training. Spouses and defense attorneys pooh-pooh the federal charges and say the case is nothing more than old men talking out their fantasies — “true patriots set-up” by one of two informants who faces child molestation and child porn charges.

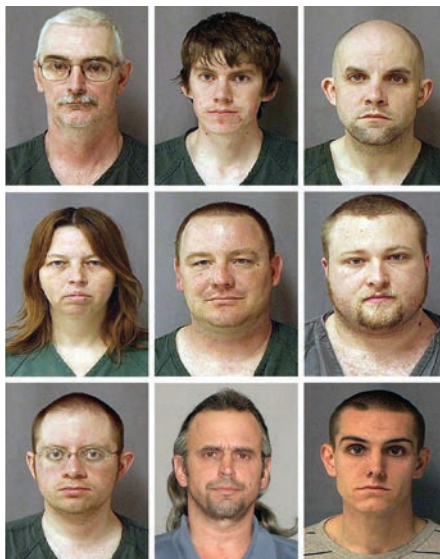
“The credibility of [the two informants was] demonstrated by [their] accurate recounting of the conversations recorded during meetings” with Robert and Thomas, the lead FBI investigator said in an affidavit. The informant facing the molestation charges was given an FBI polygraph during the probe and it was determined he “gave less than truthful responses,” the affidavit says.

Thomas’ wife, for one, said the charges are ridiculous.

Thomas is a great-grandfather who would never carry out acts of violence, said Charlotte Thomas, 71, when contacted at the couple’s retirement “dream home” near Cleveland, in the rolling hills of north Georgia. At the home, there is a “Frank Sinatra Fans Only” parking sign not far from a yellow, Revolutionary War-era “Don’t Tread on Me” flag. (The Gadsden Flag, as it’s formally called, is used as a symbol by both the Tea Party movement and several militias.)

“Fred spent 30 years in the Navy and has had a ‘top secret’ clearance for work he’s done with various government contractors,” she said. “He would not do this. He’s very patriotic and loves this country.” Besides, she added, her husband is too infirm to pose any threat to anyone. He is being treated for kidney disease and had surgery last year to remove a portion of his right lung.

During a search of the couple’s home, federal agents seized 52 weapons and 30,000 rounds of ammunition, including “sniper” and “sub-sonic” rounds designed to be used with silencers. Thomas’ firearms collection included assault rifles, shotguns and handguns with extended ammunition magazines. Charlotte



Targeting law enforcement: Members of the Midwest’s Hutaree Militia (above) and Alaska Peacemakers Militia chief Schaeffer Cox are among other extremists recently charged in plots to murder police officers and others.

Thomas said her husband does collect firearms, but insisted they are all legal.

Down the road a bit, in the community of Toccoa, Ga., Roberts’ wife, Margaret, said her husband isn’t a terrorist and is more interested in rescuing dogs and cats than revolution. She is still caring for the couple’s 18 rescued dogs and 30 cats at their home, while Roberts remains in jail without bond. “These charges are absolutely false,” she said. “This case is about a child molester trying to help himself out of a situation he’s in, and instigating this whole thing.”

During a three day-hearing in November, defense attorney Dan Summer, who represents Crump, claimed that the “government doesn’t have a strong case.” “Surely, there was talk about ricin, but it was ridiculous,” Summer told the court. “It was like an old man in the

stages of senility talking out of the side of his mouth.” But the presiding federal magistrate judge denied bail to the four, The Associated Press reported, saying they remained a danger to the public.

‘Beyond Hypotheticals’

That was also the view of the prosecutor, Assistant U.S. Attorney Robert McBurney. “We’ve moved beyond hypotheticals,” he said, arguing the suspects had gone beyond mere talk and begun to act to further their conspiracy.

Thomas allegedly expected a “line-in-the-sand” event like the shooting of an antigovernment protester that would require a harsh reaction. “He openly discussed having compiled what he called [a] ‘bucket list’ of government employees, politicians, corporate leaders and members of the media he feels needed to be ‘taken out’ to make the country right again,” the charging document says.

On March 17, 2011, an informant taped Thomas allegedly saying: “The right people have to be taken down and taken down soon. There is no way for us, as militiamen, to save this country, to save Georgia, without doing something that’s highly illegal. Murder. That’s fucking illegal, but it’s gotta be done.”

In May 2011, an informant joined Thomas on a trip to Atlanta, allegedly to surveil ATF and IRS offices. “Let’s shoot the bastards that we discover are anti-American,” he said during the trip, the complaint says. “And to me, the easiest and best way to do that is to walk up behind them with a suppressed .22 [pistol]. I am of the, uh, old school, Mafia: one behind the ear with a .22 is all you need.”

Thomas also allegedly talked about obtaining enough explosives “to blow the whole building like Timothy McVeigh,” who murdered 168 people in the 1995 Oklahoma City federal building bombing. He told his comrades that he was ready to die when they acted in a “little less” than a year, documents allege.

What is never really explained is what the plotters allegedly hoped to accomplish. About the closest thing to an explanation came in a single comment from their ringleader: “When it comes time to saving the Constitution,” Thomas allegedly told his comrades, “that means some people gotta die.” ▲



a war on WOMEN

A LITTLE-NOTICED SUICIDE LAST YEAR FOCUSED ATTENTION ON THE HARD-LINE FRINGE OF THE MEN'S RIGHTS MOVEMENT. IT'S NOT A PRETTY PICTURE

BY ARTHUR GOLDWAG

After 10 years of custody battles, court-ordered counseling and imminent imprisonment for non-payment of child support, Thomas James Ball, a leader of the Worcester branch of the Massachusetts-based Fatherhood Coalition, had reached his limit. On June 15, 2011, he doused himself with gasoline and set himself on fire just outside the Cheshire County, N.H., Courthouse. He was dead within minutes.

In a lengthy "Last Statement," which arrived posthumously at the *Keene Sentinel*, Tom Ball told his story. All he had done, he said, was smack his 4-year-old daughter and bloody her mouth after she licked his hand as

he was putting her to bed. Feminist-crafted anti-domestic violence legislation did the rest. "Twenty-five years ago," he wrote, "the federal government declared war on men. It is time to see how committed they are

to their cause. It is time, boys, to give them a taste of war." Calling for all-out insurrection, he offered tips on making Molotov cocktails and urged his readers to use them against courthouses and police stations. "There will be some casualties in this war," he predicted. "Some killed, some wounded, some captured. Some of them will be theirs. Some of the casualties will be ours."

For people who associate the men's and fathers' rights movements with New Age drum circles in the woods, the ferocity of Ball's rhetoric, the horror of his act, and, in particular, the widespread and blatantly misogynistic reaction to it may come as something of a revelation. When the feminist



Amanda Marcotte, a *bête noire* of the men's rights movement, remarked that "setting yourself on fire is an extremely effective tool if your goal is to make your ex-wife's life a living hell," a poster at the blog *Misandry.com* went ballistic. "Talk about the pot calling the kettle black," he raged. "She is evil and such a vile evil that she is a disease that needs to be cut out of the human [consciousness] just like the rest of the *femanazi* ass harpies."

It's not much of a surprise that significant numbers of men in Western societies feel threatened by dramatic changes in their roles and that of the family in recent decades. Similar backlashes, after all, came in response to the civil rights movement, the gay rights movement, and other major societal revolutions. What is something of a shock is the verbal and physical violence of that reaction.

Ball's suicide brought attention to an underworld of misogynists, woman-

haters whose fury goes well beyond criticism of the family court system, domestic violence laws, and false rape accusations. There are literally hundreds of websites, blogs and forums (see story, below) devoted to attacking virtually all women (or, at least, Westernized ones) — the so-called "manosphere," which now also includes a tribute page for Tom Ball ("He Died For Our Children"). While some of them voice legitimate and sometimes disturbing complaints about the treatment of men, what is most remarkable is the misogynistic tone that pervades so many. Women are routinely maligned as sluts, gold-diggers, temptresses and worse; overly sympathetic men are dubbed "manginas"; and police and other officials are called their armed enablers. Even Ball — who did not directly blame his ex-wife for his troubles, but instead depicted her and their three children as co-victims of the

authorities — vilified "man-hating feminists" as evil destroyers of all that is good.

This kind of woman-hatred is increasingly visible in most Western societies, and it tends to be allied with other anti-modern emotions — opposition to same-sex marriage, to non-Christian immigration, to women in the workplace, and even, in some cases, to the advancement of African Americans. Just a few weeks after Ball's death, while scorch marks were still visible on the sidewalk in Keene, N.H., that was made clear once more by a Norwegian named Anders Behring Breivik.

On July 22, Breivik slaughtered 77 of his countrymen, most of them teenagers, in Oslo and at a summer camp on the island of Utøya, because he thought they or their parents were the kinds of "politically correct" liberals who were enabling Muslim immigra-

MISOGYNY: THE SITES

The so-called "manosphere" is peopled with hundreds of websites, blogs and forums dedicated to savaging feminists in particular and women, very typically American women, in general. Although some of the sites make an attempt at civility and try to back their arguments with facts, they are almost all thick with misogynistic attacks that can be astounding for the guttural hatred they express. What follows are brief descriptions of a dozen of these sites. Another resource is the Man Boobz website (*manboobz.com*), a humorous pro-feminist blog (its tagline is "Misogyny: I Mock It") that keeps a close eye on these and many other woman-hating sites.

Alcuin

alcuin-constant.blogspot.com

Alcuin is a blog that promotes the "Intellectual Renaissance of the Western Tradition." "Just as the Nazis had to create a Jewish conspiracy as a way to justify mass slaughter," one post declares, "so feminists have to create patriarchy as a way to justify mass slaughter of innocent unborn, and the destruction of men and masculinity. Rape is now a political crime, not a crime of sex or violence. A man doesn't have to rape in order to be a rapist. A man is a rapist until he somehow proves himself innocent." Another post, titled "Having their cake," asserts that "Western women ... act, dress, and look like hairy fat pigs, but get angry when they can't find a man ... act like bitches, but expect men to respect them ... don't know what the hell they want, but seek power over men and over everything."

Boycott American Women

boycottamericanwomen.blogspot.com

This site's mission statement describes American women as "generally immature, selfish, extremely arrogant and self-centered, mentally unstable, irresponsible and highly unchaste. The

behavior of most American women is utterly disgusting." Plus, they supposedly pose a higher risk of divorce than women from such countries as Russia, Thailand and the Philippines, where the blog suggests men find their mates. The site is rife with posts from outsiders, like the recent one that said: "I think we should export all american [sic] bitches to other countries and take in women from other places. ... Have you noticed how fat these sluts get AT AN EARLY AGE... [I]f you were allowed to beat your wife we wouldn't be dealing with this crap."

The Counter Feminist

counterfem.blogspot.com

Its tagline probably won't be set to music any time soon, but it does capture the flavor of the site: "The female-supremacist hate movement called 'feminism' must be opened to the disinfecting sunlight of the world's gaze and held to a stern accounting for its grievous transgressions." Recent headlines, like December's "More Proof That Feminism is a Social Cancer," reflect the same sensibility. "Fidelbogen," the otherwise unidentified Washington state man who operates the blog, also runs

tion. But Breivik was almost as voluble on the subjects of feminism, the family, and fathers' rights as he was on Islam. "The most direct threat to the family is 'divorce on demand,'" he wrote in the manifesto he posted just before he began his deadly spree. "The system must be reformed so that the father will be awarded custody rights by default."

The manosphere lit up. Said one approving poster at The Spearhead, an online men's rights magazine for the "defense of ourselves, our families and our fellow men": "What could be more 'an eye for an eye' than to kill the children of those who were so willing to destroy men's families and destroy the homeland of men?"

'The Homeland of Men'

The men's rights movement, also referred to as the fathers' rights movement, is made up of a number of disparate, often overlapping, types of

groups and individuals. Some most certainly do have legitimate grievances, having endured prison, impoverishment or heartrending separations from genuinely loved children.

Jocelyn Crowley, a Rutgers political scientist and the author of *Defiant Dads: Fathers' Rights Activists in America*, says that most men who join real (as opposed to virtual) men's rights groups aren't seeking to attack the family court system so much as they are simply struggling to navigate it. What they talk most about when they meet

Mass-murdering misogynist: Norwegian Anders Breivik hated Muslims, but he had it in for women as well.



face to face, she says, are strategies to deal with their ex-partners and have better relationships with their children.

But Molly Dragiewicz, a criminologist at the University of Ontario Institute of Technology and the author of *Equality With a Vengeance: Men's Rights Groups, Battered Women, and Antifeminist Backlash*, argues that

cases in which fathers are badly treated by courts and other officials are not remotely the norm. The small percentage of divorces that end up in litigation are disproportionately those where abuse and other issues make joint custody a dubious proposition. Even when a woman can sat-

the False Rape Task Force and Women Doing Lousy Things blogs and is heavily involved in the Counter-Feminist YouTube Channel.

The False Rape Society

falserapesociety.blogspot.com

The False Rape Society is an Internet news aggregator, subtitled "Community of the Falsely Accused," that features stories about allegedly false rape accusations and "feminist"-crafted "anti-male" legislation. While the site focuses heavily on news stories about false rape allegations, it frequently veers into such posts as the New Year's Day item attacking a female supporter of then-presidential aspirant Michelle Bachmann for telling a reporter, "It takes a woman to get things done."

In Mala Fide

www.inmalafide.com

This blog, whose name translates from the Latin as "In Bad Faith," describes itself in its mission statement as "[a]n online magazine dedicated to publishing heretical and unpopular ideas. Ideas that polite society considers 'racist,' 'misogynistic,' 'homophobic,' 'bigoted'

or other slurs used to shut down critical thinking and maintain the web of delusions that keep our world broken and dying." The unifying idea is this: "Feminism is a hate movement designed to disenfranchise and dehumanize men." The site carries ads for such offerings as the HardKnight "male enhancement system," PolishLasses.com ("Over 5,000 ... candid photos"), and the racist 1922 classic *The Revolt Against Civilization* by Lothrop Stoddard.

MarkyMark's Thoughts

markymarkthoughts.blogspot.com

Run by a New Jersey Tea Partier with a financially underwater house and a chronic medical condition, Marky Mark's blog is filled with edifying thoughts like "Even Nice Girls are Sluts." His blog is not without pathos, however; to say the least, his is not a happy existence. "Do I go through life and all its trials and tribulations alone? Do I go through them with a nagging, selfish bitch who won't help me anyway? ... Or, do I go through them alone, divorced, and poor?" But mostly, this blog is just plain nasty. "Boys," a January posting urges Marky Mark's readers, "don't get involved in American

women; they're sluts, skanks, and disease ridden whores."

MensActivism.org

news.mensactivism.org

This website tracks news and information about men's issues from around the world, with a focus on activism — and outrage. Par for the course are lurid headlines like this one: "Pakistani wife kills, cooks husband for lusting over daughter." The site also runs stories like the one it headlined "Australia: Girl, 13, charged after taxi knife attack" that involve no abuse accusations, but are merely meant to undermine what the site claims is "the myth that women are less violent than men."

Reddit: Mens Rights

www.reddit.com/r/MensRights

A "subreddit" of the user-generated news site Reddit, this forum describes itself as a "place for people who feel that men are currently being disadvantaged by society." While it presents itself as a home for men seeking equality, it is notable for the anger it shows toward any program designed to help women. It also trafficks in various conspiracy theories. "Kloo2yoo," identified as a site

isfactorily document her ex-husband's abuse, Dragiewicz says, she is no more likely to receive full custody of her children than if she couldn't.

The men's movement also includes mail-order-bride shoppers, unregenerate batterers, and wannabe pickup artists who are eager to learn the secrets of "game"—the psychological tricks that supposedly make it easy to seduce women. George Sodini, who confided his seething rage at women to his blog before shooting 12 women, three of them fatally, was one of the latter. Before his 2009 murder spree at a Pittsburgh-area gym, he was a student — though clearly not a very apt one — of R. Don Steele, the author of *How to Date Young Women: For Men Over 35*. "I dress good, am clean-shaven, bathe, touch of cologne — yet 30 million women rejected me over an 18 or 25-year period," Sodini wrote with the kind of pathos presumably typical of

Steele's readers.

Other movement adherents have forsworn sex altogether, or at least romantic relationships and marriage; the acronym they use for themselves is MGTOW, for "Men Going Their Own Way." "If you are willing to marry a woman — any woman — in the West then you must also be willing to become the next murder-suicide story when she threatens to file for divorce, steal your kids out of your life and extort you for every current and future dollar you will ever earn," wrote one commenter at The Spearhead. "If a man kidnapped your children, stole your home, your wallet and your bank account, you'd be more than willing to kill him in self defense. Why is it any different when ex-wives do it with the full force of the law behind them?"

Some take an inordinate interest in extremely young women, or fetishize what they see as the ultra-feminine

(read: docile) characteristics of South American and Asian women. Others, who have internalized Christian "headship" doctrine, are desperately seeking the "submissive" women such doctrine celebrates. Still others are simply sexually awkward, and nonplussed and befuddled by society's changing mores. The common denominator is their resentment of feminism and of females in general.

"It's ironic," the feminist writer Amanda Marcotte observes. "These [misogynist Web] sites owe their existence to feminism's successes. At some point in the last couple of years, the zeitgeist hit a tipping point where female power — Hillary Clinton's, Rachel Maddow's, even Sarah Palin's — stopped being questioned. Being sexist has become less acceptable than it used to be. This makes some men particularly anxious." At the same time, of course, domestic violence and sex

moderator, writes that there is "undeniable proof" of an international feminist conspiracy involving the United Nations, the Obama Administration and others, aimed at demonizing men.

RooshV

www.rooshv.com

Roosh Vörek is a Maryland-raised PUA ("pick up artist") whose specialty is sex with foreign women; his blog is a sales vehicle for his books like *Bang: The Pick Up Bible* and *Bang Iceland: How to Sleep With Icelandic Women in Iceland*, which one Icelandic feminist group described as a "rape guide." Vörek likes to talk about his many "notches" (seductions) and such things as "American cunts who I want to hate fuck." He adds: "I'll be the first to admit that many of my bangs in the United States were hate fucks. The masculine attitude and lack of care these women put into their style or hair irritated me, so I made it a point to fuck them and never call again."

SAVE Services

www.saveservices.org

The acronym in SAVE Services stands for Stop Abusive and Violent Environments;

"Protecting Victims, Stopping False Allegations, Ending Abuse" is its tagline. In practice, that means lobbying to roll back services for victims of domestic abuse and penalties for their tormentors, while working to return the focus to the "true victims of abuse" — the falsely accused. The site trumpets as a "key fact" that "[f]emale initiation of partner violence is the leading reason for the woman becoming a victim of subsequent violence," even though a study shows that approximately twice as many women as men are injured during incidents of domestic violence.

The Spearhead

www.the-spearhead.com

The Spearhead is an online magazine that features a range of "voices in defense of ourselves, our families and our fellow men." One post calls the recently released American version of the movie thriller "The Girl With the Dragon Tattoo" "hate porn for feminists" and describes its strong female lead as "like a kind of dyke junkie." Another post includes this fairly typical summation: "I have said it before, and I will say it again; I don't hate women. I just hate what they do to men."

A Voice for Men

www.avoicemen.com

A Voice for Men is essentially a mouthpiece for its editor, Paul Elam, who proposes to "expose misandry [hatred of men] on all levels in our culture." Elam tosses down the gauntlet in his mission statement: "AVfM regards feminists, manginas [a derisive term for weak men], white knights [a similar derisive term, for males who identify as feminists] and other agents of misandry as a social malignancy. We do not consider them well intentioned or honest agents for their purported goals and extend to them no more courtesy or consideration than we would clansmen [sic], skinheads, neo Nazis or other purveyors of hate." Register-Her.com, an affiliated website that vilifies women by name who have made supposedly false rape allegations (among other crimes against masculinity), is one of Elam's signature "anti-hate" efforts. "Why are these women not in prison?" the site asks.



Dealers of death: Misogynists Darren Mack (from left), George Sodini and Scott Dekraai were allegedly responsible, between them, for murdering 10 women, wounding 10 more, and killing two men.

crimes are much more likely to be prosecuted than they were even a decade ago. Shelters, social services and legal aid are more available to most battered women than in the past.

But some experts argue that men's rights groups have been remarkably successful. The groups, says Rita Smith, director of the National Coalition Against Domestic Violence, "have taken over the way courts deal with custody issues, particularly when there are allegations of abuse," largely by convincing them that there is such a thing as "Parental Alienation Syndrome" (PAS). (PAS is a supposed clinical disorder in which a child compulsively belittles one parent due to indoctrination by the other — frequently leveling false allegations of abuse. It is not recognized as a clinical disorder by either the American Psychiatric Association or the World Health Organization.) Citing studies that show that false domestic abuse accusations against men are far less common than men's groups and PAS enthusiasts claim, Smith says the groups nevertheless have "been able to get custody evaluators, mediators, guardians ad litem and child protective service workers to believe that women and children lie about abuse."

Threats and Abuse

One kind of abuse that is undeniable is the vilification of individual women on certain men's group websites. The best example of that may be Register-Her.com, a registry of women who "have caused significant harm to innocent individuals either by the direct action of crimes like rape, assault, child molestation and murder, or by the false accusation of crimes against others." The site was set up by Paul Elam, the blogger behind A Voice for Men, less than two weeks after Ball's suicide. "If Mary Jane Rottencrotch decides to falsely accuse her husband of domestic violence in order to get the upper hand in a divorce," Elam boasted on his Internet radio show, "we can publish all her personal information on the website, including her name, address, phone number ... even her routes to and from work."

Under a headline reading, "Why are these women not in prison?" the site features photos and information about some 250 alleged malefactors, including notorious women like Lorena Bobbitt and Tonya Harding, although Elam hasn't made good on his threat to publish home addresses or phone numbers. Many of those listed received prison sentences for various crimes, but large numbers were acquitted in court, while others were never accused of any lawbreaking. A well-known feminist, for example, is listed for "anti-male bigotry," which is compared to racism.

Elam's site can be frightening to its targets. In one case, he offered a cash reward to the first reader to ferret out a

pseudonymous feminist blogger's real name. In another, Elam singled out a part-time blogger at ChicagoNow who describes herself as a "vegetarian park activist with two baby girls." The woman's mistake was to write about her discomfort with male adults helping female toddlers in the bathroom at her daughter's preschool. The blogger conceded that she was being sexist, but wrote that "I'd rather be wrong than find out if I'm right."

After the woman was listed, she was widely attacked on men's movement sites. "I don't always use the word 'cunt' to describe a woman," one poster raged, "but when I do it's because of reasons like these." Shocked, the "Mommy blogger" took down her original post and apologized for her "demonization of men."

It wasn't enough. "You targeted fathers, and just fathers," Elam rebuked her. "It strikes me that you have never really been held to account for any of your actions in life. It is quite likely that the concept of complete, selfless accountability is just completely foreign to you." Over at the Reddit Mens Rights forum, another poster fumed: "This entire episode should be a warning to all those male hating feminists out there who believe that they are safe screaming their hate messages on the web. Finally, they are held accountable for their hate messages and finally the rest of the world will find out exactly what type of depraved people they really are."

Amanda Marcotte, who is a prime

Register-Her.com target, writes about men's rights activists less than she used to. That's not because she doesn't take them seriously — they introduce too many “anti-woman, anti-child, pro-abuse, pro-rape ideas into the public discourse” not to — but because “they're so doggedly mean. It becomes frightening after a while.” Marcotte says the registry may incite violence against its targets, especially because many angry male activists are active abusers. “They interact with their ideological adversaries online,” she says,

“much as they do with their spouses and children: ‘I'll give you something to cry about!’”

“I don't know if Thomas James Ball ever visited this site,” Elam wrote on his blog when he started Register-Her.com. “What I do believe is, though, that he, if convinced to stay alive, would have been a hell of a soldier in this war.”

Soldiers in the War

The first shots in this so-called war on feminism were fired 22 years before

Tom Ball's suicide. On Dec. 6, 1989, Marc Lépine, a troubled 25-year-old computer student, strolled into the Ecole Polytechnique in Montreal, Canada, carrying a Ruger Mini-14 semi-automatic rifle and a hunting knife. He walked into a classroom, ordered the men to leave, and lined the women up against a wall.

“I am fighting feminism,” he announced before opening fire. “You're women, you're going to be engineers. You're all a bunch of feminists. I hate feminists.”

MYTHS OF THE 'MANOSPHERE'

Lying About Women

Misogynists in the men's and fathers' rights movements have developed a set of claims about women to support their depictions of them as violent liars and manipulators of men. Some suggest that women attack men, even sexually, just as much as men attack women. Others claim that vast numbers of reported rapes of women, as much as half or even more, are fabrications designed to destroy men they don't like or to gain the upper hand in contested custody cases. What follows is a brief look at some of these claims and what the best science really shows.

THE CLAIM Men's rights activists often insist that men are victimized by sex crimes and abuse just as much as women are, if not more. This assertion is meant to support their contention that the courts and laws outrageously favor women.

THE REALITY A major 2010 study by the Centers for Disease Control's National

Center for Injury Prevention and Control thoroughly debunks such claims. Nearly one in five American women (18.3%), the study found, have been raped; the comparable number for men is one in 71 (1.4%). Not only that, but more than half (51.1%) of female victims reported that their rapist was an intimate partner — a current or former spouse or boyfriend,

or a date. According to a 2000 study by the Department of Justice, female rape victims were also about twice as likely as male rape victims to be injured during an assault (31.5% versus 16.5%), even though many women do not physically resist their attackers for fear of injury. Overall, the studies found, most violence of all kinds against women (64%) came from current or former intimate partners, while that is true for only about one-sixth (16.2%) of men. Women were also far more likely to be stalked than men (16.2% versus 5.2%), and two-thirds of women's stalkers (66.2%) were current or former intimate partners, compared to four in 10 for men (41.4%). A 2005 Department of Justice study also found that between 1998 and 2002, 84% of spousal abuse victims were female, as were 86% of victims of abuse at the hands of a dating partner. Males made up 83% of all spouse murderers and 75% of dating partner murderers.

THE CLAIM In another effort to show that men are discriminated against, many men's rights activists assert that women attack men just as much as men attack women, if not more. The website MensActivism.org is one of many that criticizes what it characterizes as “the myth that women are less violent than men.”

THE REALITY Men's rights groups often cite the work of Deborah Capaldi, a researcher with the Oregon Learning



By the time he turned the gun on himself, 14 women were dead and 10 were wounded; four men were hurt as well. The suicide note in Lépine's pocket contained a list of 19 "radical feminists" he hoped to kill, and this: "I have decided to send the feminists, who have always ruined my life, to their Maker. ... They want to keep the advantages of women ... while seizing for themselves those of men."

Today, that kind of rage is often directed at all women, not only perceived feminists. "Women don't need

the powers-that-be to get them to hate and use men," the blogger Alcuin wrote recently. "They have always used men; maybe they have always hated us too." Added another blogger, Angry Harry: "There are now, literally, *billions* of dollars, numerous empires, and millions of jobs that depend on the public swallowing the idea that women need to be defended from men."

"A word to the wise," offered the blogger known as Rebuking Feminism. "The animals women have become

want one thing, resources and genes. ... See them as the animals they have become and plan ... accordingly."

And many are quick to endorse violence against women. "There are women, and plenty of them, for which [sic] a solid ass kicking would be the least they deserve," Paul Elam wrote in an essay with the provocative title, "When is it OK to Punch Your Wife?" "The real question here is not whether these women deserve the business end of a right hook, *they obviously do*, and some of them deserve one hard enough

to leave them in an unconscious, innocuous pile on the ground if it serves to protect the innocent from imminent harm. The real question is whether men deserve to be able to physically defend themselves from assault ... from a woman."

For some, it's more than just talk. In 2006, Darren Mack, a member of a fathers' rights group in Reno, Nev., stabbed his estranged wife to death and then shot and wounded the family court judge who was handling his divorce.

That kind of violence continues right up to the present.

In Seal Beach, Calif. last Oct. 12, a day after Scott Evans Dekraai and his ex-wife had been in court to fight over custody of their 8-year-old son (Dekraai had 56% custody but wanted full custody and "final decision making authority" on matters of the child's education and medical treatment), Dekraai walked into the hair salon where his ex-wife worked armed with three handguns. There, he allegedly shot seven women, six of them fatally; he also is accused of killing two men — the salon's owner, as he attempted to flee, and a man in a car outside.

Michelle Fournier, Dekraai's ex-wife, had testified that Dekraai was not taking his bipolar medicine and that he was suicidal and dangerous. If she had survived his rampage, she might have enjoyed having the last word about his propensity for violence. But she did not, becoming instead the latest in a long, sad line of victims of women-hating men. ▲

Center, to back their claim. Capaldi did find that women sometimes initiate partner violence, although women involved in mutually aggressive partner relationships were more likely to suffer severe injuries than the men. But Capaldi studied only a very particular subset of the population — at-risk youth — rather than women in general, invalidating any claim that her findings applied generally. In fact, the 2000 Department of Justice study found that violence against both women and men is predominantly male violence. Nine in 10 women (91.9%) who were physically assaulted since the age of 18 were attacked by a male, while about one in seven male assault victims (14.2%) were victimized by females. Similarly, all female rape victims in the study were attacked by a male, while about a third of male victims (35.8%) were raped by a female.

THE CLAIM Close to half or even more of the sexual assaults reported by women never occurred. Versions of this claim are a mainstay of sites like Register-Her.com, which specializes in vilifying women who allegedly lie about being raped. Such claims are also sometimes made by men involved in court custody battles.

THE REALITY This claim, which has gained some credence in recent years, is largely based on a 1994 article in the *Archives of Sexual Behavior* by Eugene Kanin that found that 41% of rape allegations in his study were "false."

But Kanin's methodology has been widely criticized, and his results do not accord with most other findings. Kanin researched only one unnamed Midwestern town, and he did not spell out the criteria police used to decide an allegation was false. The town also polygraphed or threatened to polygraph all alleged victims, a now-discredited practice that is known to cause many women to drop their complaint even when it is true. In fact, most studies that suggest high rates of false accusations make a key mistake — equating reports described by police as "unfounded" with those that are false. The truth is that unfounded reports very often include those for which no corroborating evidence could be found or where the victim was deemed an unreliable witness (often because of drug or alcohol use or because of prior sexual contact with the attacker). They also include those cases where women recant their accusations, often because of a fear of reprisal, a distrust of the legal system or embarrassment because drugs or alcohol were involved. The best studies, where the rape allegations have been studied in detail, suggest a rate of false reports of somewhere between 2% and 10%. The most comprehensive study, conducted by the British Home Office in 2005, found a rate of 2.5% for false accusations of rape. The best U.S. investigation, the 2008 "Making a Difference" study, found a 6.8% rate.

— Mark Potok and Evelyn Schlatter

NEGOTIATION IS OVER

A new breed of animal rights activist isn't content with vandalism or arson, but is encouraging deadly acts of terrorism instead

BY LEAH NELSON

In the wee hours of March 7, 2009, David Jentsch was startled out of his sleep by the sound of an explosion. The UCLA professor ran outside to find his car engulfed in flames. The fire quickly spread to a nearby tree before firefighters were able to douse it.

The next day, self-described members of the “Animal Liberation Brigade” claimed responsibility for the firebombing. They also warned ominously: “we will come for you when you least expect it and do a lot more damage [sic] than to your property.” The message was posted on the website of the North American Animal Liberation Press Office, which publishes communiqués from underground animal rights activists.

Soon afterward, Jentsch, a professor of psychology and psychiatry whose research involves rodents and non-human primates, began receiving menacing E-mails and packages containing razors.

Then he discovered something else that alarmed him: Shortly after the firebombing, an obscure Florida-based group called Negotiation is Over (NIO) had identified him as a high-priority enemy on its website. It had posted his picture and contact information, and urged the animal liberation community to terrorize him.

Who would do such a thing?

That person would be Camille Marino, 47, who lives in Wildwood, Fla., and who formerly worked in the investment banking business. In recent years, she has devoted herself full-time to the animal rights movement. NIO is her brainchild, and she doesn't care if someone gets hurt.

Like many animal rights activists, Marino opposes the consumption of meat, eggs and dairy, and the use of leather, fur and wool. The bulk of her wrath, however, is reserved for “vivi-

sectionists,” the scientists who use live animals for research purposes.

Using language and tactics consciously borrowed from violent anti-abortion extremists, Marino sends threatening E-mails, publicizes the personal information of her targets, and encourages NIO sympathizers to destroy their lives by whatever means they deem appropriate, whether lawful or not.

No one is off limits. The group has verbally attacked students — among them an undergraduate researcher at Florida Atlantic University whose work involved fruit flies. And it has gone after professors who don't work directly with animals but use open source data collected by others who have.

Marino and her group have caught the attention of the FBI, which in a recent biosecurity briefing to agents identified NIO's campaign against student researchers as a “new trend in domestic threats.”



"If I have my way, you'll be praying to us for mercy." So says Camille Marino, a Florida woman who adds that those who use animals in their research should have their blood spilled. Marino specifically targeted UCLA professor David Jentsch, who obtained a restraining order against her after she told him her group wanted to throw him "a very very hot housewarming" party.

NIO's crusade represents a sharp escalation of movement tactics that emerged a little more than a decade ago, when activists began to target individuals rather than institutions and labs. So far, no murders have been attributed to the movement. But scientists are clearly worried.

"She [Marino] has taken this to a level that very few others have," Jentsch said. "She's really become sort of the nationally visible representative of 'just pummel people, take them on personally, put all the cards on the table and do everything possible to crush them.' That part is distinctive about her; it's almost an art form."

A 'Chalk Outline'

About a year after she started harassing Jentsch, Marino posted an image of a chalk outline with the words "Animal Abuser Was Here" and announced that her group was ramping up its war against researchers. Mentioning Jentsch by name, she wrote, "The image on this page is not a cute logo. It is my personal belief that if you are a sadistic animal torturer, that is all you deserve — a chalk outline."

As if the message weren't explicit enough, she reinforced it: "If you spill

blood, your blood should be spilled as well. [W]e're no longer playing games. We will print your information. And we'll be at your homes. We'll be at your work. We'll be at your country clubs and golf courses. We'll see you at your manicurist and we'll be kneeling next to you when you take that next holy communion wafer on Sunday. If I have my way, you'll be praying to us for mercy."

Jentsch did not ignore the warning. He moved and changed his phone number. It didn't do much good. An NIO sympathizer soon found him, and his new address appeared on the website, along with a photo of his gate and instructions on hacking into a home security system. In July 2010, Marino sent him a mocking E-mail: "Everyone at NIO is most anxious to throw you a housewarming ... a very very hot housewarming. haha. Just joking."

Frightened by what he saw as a threat of arson, Jentsch obtained a permanent restraining order against Marino. Though he is still listed among NIO's "Most Wanted," the group has turned the bulk of its attention to new prey — especially students, whom Marino sees as highly vulnerable to the type of pressure her followers are willing to exert. NIO



has even offered "Ea\$y Money" to undergraduates willing to provide information about peers involved in animal research.

"Aspiring scientists envision curing cancer at the Mayo Clinic," Marino wrote in March 2011. "We need to impart a new vision: car bombs, 24/7 security cameras, embarrassing home demonstrations, threats, injuries, and fear. And, of course, these students need to realize that any personal risk they are willing to assume will also be visited upon their parents, children, and nearest & dearest loved ones."

NIO does far more than simply identify targets. Its website is essentially a one-stop shop for aspiring terrorists, with links to hacker sites, information on picking locks and making flash bombs, and the Animal Liberation Front's (ALF) primer on arson and related tactics. Particularly disturbing is its "Strategies and Tactics" page, which offers information about other organizations whose "creative and aggressive" techniques are intended to "inspire" NIO activists. One featured group is "Individualities Tending Towards Savagery" (ITTS), a Mexico-based entity that explicitly models its tactics on those of the Unabomber, Theodore Kaczynski, the former Berkeley professor who sent parcel bombs that killed three professors and wounded 23 others during a two-decade campaign against technological advancement.

ITTS has already claimed responsibility for wounding researchers and support staff on three continents and says it will



continue “without compassion and without mercy.”

Ditto for Marino. She openly acknowledges that she considers violence an acceptable tactic. “There is a war being waged against animals and any act committed in the name of love and compassion against those who are waging the war I do not consider an act of terrorism,” she told the *Intelligence Report*. “I’ve never done anything violent and I don’t intend to. But if some unknown person took that step, I would support and applaud it.”

In fact, she already has. Marino lavishes attention on Walter Bond, a self-identified ALF “operative” who is currently serving an 87-month prison sentence for arsons in Colorado and Utah. Describing him NIO’s “director of Militant Direct Action,” Marino has made her website a conduit through which Bond can spread his ideology.

“I regret that I did not take more dras-

tic action when I had the chance,” he wrote on the NIO website last December. “My arsons were good but I could have made a stronger and more permanent statement with my actions.”

A month later, Bond wrote: “Let’s be honest, the world would simply be a better place for Animals if people like Animal researchers, slaughterhouse workers and even non-Vegans were disposed of. It’s kind of difficult to harm an Animal if you’re dead.”

‘Extensional’ self defense

However much she lionizes him, Walter Bond is not Marino’s chief ideological idol. That honor belongs to Steven Best, a philosophy professor at the University of Texas at El Paso who last year was barred from entering the U.K., where he had been invited to speak at an animal rights rally.

Best declined repeated interview requests from the *Report*, saying via E-mail that a productive conversa-

The company she keeps: Imprisoned arsonist Walter Bond (left) — who says the world would be improved by the murder of “Animal researchers, slaughterhouse workers and even non-Vegans” — is the “director of Militant Direct Action” of Camille Marino’s group. Steven Best, a Texas professor who suggests that hunters and others be killed, was a senior editor of her website until last year.

tion would not be possible unless the Southern Poverty Law Center (the *Report*’s publisher) gets its “moral bearings straight” and takes on the “academic-industrial complex” as “the true forces of hate.”

Best’s views, though, are easily found in his essays, blog posts and YouTube videos.

“Let every motherfucker who shoots animals be shot; Let every motherfucker who poisons animals be injected with a barrel of battery acid; Let every motherfucking vivisector be vivisected and thrown away like the shit they are,” he wrote in 2011. “May this upside down

world be set right ... and the human voice never again be heard.”

Best has never faced criminal sanctions for acting on his beliefs, but he has flirted with what activists call “direct action.” In April 2010, he posted on NIO a video of himself attempting to confront a man rumored to trap and poison cats that wandered into his yard. The man wasn’t home, but his wife and small daughter were. “If I hear he’s hurting cats, I’m going to be all over his office,” Best told them. “You tell him I’ll have a thousand people all over this place. You tell him Steve Best dropped by. You remember that name.”

Best posted the man’s phone numbers and addresses, along with pictures of his wife and children, beneath the video. In an update the next day, he thanked “all who called and expressed concern” for letting the alleged cat-poisoner know “he is being watched.”

Best is much admired within the radical fringe of the animal liberation movement. As co-founder of the North American Animal Liberation Press Office (with which Marino is also involved), he’s helped enable “underground” activists — like the Animal Liberation Brigade member who firebombed Jentsch’s car — to anonymously claim credit for terrorist acts.

His biggest contribution to the movement is ideological. Under his notion of “extensional self-defense,” humans are morally justified to act as “proxy agents” for animals and use violence against their “oppressors.” This doctrine is virtually identical to that embraced by anti-abortion extremists, who call the murder of abortion practitioners “defensive action” and celebrate those who do it.

Marino — who told the *Report* that she considers herself pro-choice — is well aware of this parallel. She routinely refers to Jentsch as “David ‘Tiller’ Jentsch,” a reference to George Tiller, the Wichita, Kan., abortion provider who was shot dead at his church by activist Scott Roeder in 2009. In March 2011, Marino posted on NIO a news story about a push in some states to broaden the definition of “justifiable homicide” to include murder committed in defense of an unborn child. “Animal liberationists are encouraged to pay close attention to the anti-abortionists’ tactics and strategies,” she wrote. “The logical extension

of their efforts is to expand the definition further to include murder committed in defense of an imprisoned and tortured nonhuman animal.”

Recently, Marino’s rhetoric has become even more extreme, leaving no doubt that she endorses murder. “If abusers are dead, they cease being abusers,” she wrote on her Facebook page in January. “I fully support justifiable homicide in the war for animal liberation.”

A Schism Within the Movement

Violence is by no means universally accepted within the radical animal rights community. Indeed, Best and Marino spend nearly as much energy jousting with their opponents within the movement as they do lambasting researchers and others who occupy the so-called “academic-industrial complex.”

A favorite target is Gary Francione, a Rutgers University law professor who is famous in some circles for proposing that there is no morally justifiable use of animals by humans but who also categorically opposes violence as a means of stopping it.

Best accuses Francione and his followers (whom he has nicknamed “Franciombes”) of being “McCarthyists” whose pacifism undermines the mission of serious activists like himself. “Francione is a cancer to be CUT OUT of this movement ENTIRELY, no compromise, no negotiation, no kumbaya, dead and gone,” he wrote in one of his many diatribes. Recently, Best added — and a short time later removed — to his website a page titled “Stockholm Syndrome Watch,” with the intent of “exposing traitorous individuals and organizations who identify and collaborate with exploiters and cops over the exploited and militants in the animal advocacy movement.”

Best’s collaboration with NIO came under scrutiny of late.

In late October, Marino announced that she was having financial difficulty and began collecting donations through a PayPal link on her site. After an online publication called Death & Taxes reported that the PayPal account belonged to Best, she removed the link and posted a lengthy and unconvincing essay attempting to distance her organization from the professor, though her reason for doing so was unclear.

Although Best was “once” a senior editor (he left in 2011 and continued posting on the site frequently after that) and did indeed help “keep the website afloat” for a time, Marino insists he has no direct role with the group. “Dr. Best and I are friends,” she wrote. “It is appalling that his profession and livelihood are being assailed because of our personal association.” Though the PayPal button was removed almost immediately after the Death & Taxes article appeared, she wrote, the two events were entirely unrelated. (As of press time, Marino had not re-established a means of raising money online; instead, she asks supporters to send donations by regular mail.)

Marino owes more than \$6,000 in legal fees she was ordered to pay as the result of a legal bout with Donal O’Leary, a cardiovascular researcher at Detroit’s Wayne State University who obtained a protective order after she targeted him in October. Having violated a judge’s order that she remove all references to O’Leary from her site and refrain from discussing him on social media, she faces arrest and possible jail time if she ever sets foot in Michigan.

But Marino is chugging along faster than ever, posting pictures, naming names and declaring war against so-called animal oppressors. Recently, she bragged about NIO’s victory in a freedom of information lawsuit against the University of Florida, which in early January was ordered to turn over certain information about its animal research labs.

Certain information, but not all. Citing “substantial concern for the personal safety of individuals,” the judge permitted the school some discretion in redacting information it feared could expose faculty, staff and students to harassment. In the meantime, campus police — in consultation with local authorities as well as their counterparts at Wayne State and UCLA, where Jentsch works — are developing strategies to keep current and future targets safe.

“It’s kind of disheartening, because you do have to wait for something to happen,” Linda Stump, the University of Florida’s chief of police, told the *Report*. Working within the limits of laws that allow Marino tremendous leeway to post her messages of hate, she said, the department is doing its best “to get out in front of this” before anyone gets hurt. ▲

‘Queer’ Science

A group of therapists who believe sexual orientation can be changed are promoting what critics call ‘junk science’

BY RYAN LENZ ILLUSTRATION BY RICCARDO VECCHIO

PHOENIX — Michael Brown took the dais in a sterile Marriott ballroom last fall, beaming for the 40 or so therapists who form the devout core of the National Association for Research and Therapy of Homosexuality (NARTH). With a hulking frame packed tightly into a three-button black suit, one of the nation’s most vociferous anti-gay activists began his speech with a dire warning.

The “homosexual agenda” is on the march, he said, and shows no signs of slowing. Gay rights activists, aggressively working to undermine Christian values and the traditional family, have infiltrated the nation’s schools, civic centers and places of worship. The war for the heart of the country is on.

“We need you. I need you,” pleaded the guest speaker, author of the 2011 self-published book *A Queer Thing Happened to America*. Brown added, “You may be condemned today, but you will be commended tomorrow.”

The urgency was not lost on the therapists in the room, an embattled group that finds itself struggling against a powerful tide of public opinion and accusations that it has produced faulty research to support an anti-gay agenda.

Billing itself as the counterweight to the two most prominent mental health authorities — the American Psychiatric Association and the American Psychological Association — NARTH pushes the idea, with the zeal of a reli-

gious movement, that no one is born gay and that a person’s sexual orientation can be changed through what is known as “reparative” or “conversion” therapy, also commonly called “ex-gay” therapy.



“We can no longer rely — as almost all pro-family organizations do today — on gleaning scientific ‘bits’ from those in liberal academia. We must subvert the academy by doing original, honest research ourselves.”

PAUL CAMERON
Family Research Institute

At the heart of this argument is the belief that homosexuality is an unnatural deviation from normal sexual development, a form of mental disorder.

With these views, NARTH has emerged as the preeminent source of what many regard as “junk science” for the religious right — psychology that underpins the anti-gay movement’s fervent opposition to equal rights and stigmatizes LGBT people as mentally sick.

Without the research NARTH provides, there are few avenues remaining for the religious right to condemn homosexuality, at a time when the American public is growing more accepting of LGBT people and more open to extending equal rights to same-sex couples. “There’s no other play in the playbook except going back to the fire and brimstone,” argues Wayne Besen, executive director of Truth Wins Out, one of several watchdog groups monitoring the reparative therapy industry.

But even as NARTH is held up as an authority on the science of homosexuality by both fringe groups and politically potent national organizations like the Family Research Council, its claim that LGBT people can be “cured” of their homosexuality is not backed by the evidence.

In fact, every major American medical authority has concluded that there is no scientific support for NARTH’s view, and many have expressed concern

that reparative therapy can cause harm. Most strikingly, in 2006, the American Psychological Association (APA) stated: “There is simply no sufficiently scientifically sound evidence that sexual orientation can be changed.” The APA added, “Our further concern is that the positions espoused by NARTH and Focus on the Family create an environment in which prejudice and discrimination can flourish.”

And flourish it has.

The LGBT community is overwhelmingly the group most targeted in violent hate crimes, according to an *Intelligence Report* analysis of 14 years of federal hate crime data. Gay men, lesbians, bisexuals and transgender people are more than twice as likely to be attacked in a violent hate crime as Jews or blacks; more than four times as likely as Muslims; and 14 times as likely as Latinos.

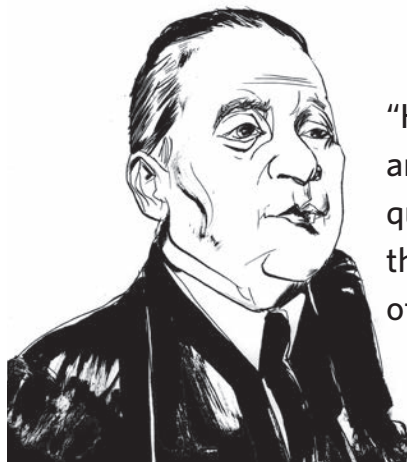
Despite this hate-inspired violence, anti-gay groups continue to employ virulent rhetoric that demonizes gay men and lesbians, some of it based on NARTH’s research. This strategy of using science, however flawed, to fortify their religious condemnation of homosexuality was articulated five years ago by the Family Research Institute’s Paul Cameron, a psychologist whose research has been thoroughly discredited by mainstream scientists.

“We can no longer rely — as almost all pro-family organizations do today — on gleaning scientific ‘bits’ from those in liberal academia. ... [W]e must subvert the academy by doing original, honest research ourselves,” Cameron wrote.

“Traditionalists wince at the mental images conjured up by the thought of what homosexuals do in the act of intercourse. Almost feeling guilty about their visceral reaction, they still cannot help but see such acts as perverse and, in fact, unnatural.”

JOSEPH NICOLosi

Co-author of *A Parent’s Guide to Preventing Homosexuality*



“Homosexuality is a psychological and psychiatric disorder, there is no question about it. It is a purple menace that is threatening the proper design of gender distinctions and society.”

CHARLES SOCARIDES

NARTH co-founder

Original, maybe. But honest? NARTH’s many critics argue otherwise.

The ‘Purple Menace’

Like many anti-gay activists, NARTH claims that homosexuality is caused by psychological trauma or some other aberration in childhood. Its founding was rooted in a nearly 40-year-old schism that rocked the psychiatric community.

In 1973, the American Psychiatric Association removed homosexuality from the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM), the compendium of known mental disorders. Not all therapists agreed with the decision. Among them were Charles Socarides, Joseph Nicolosi and Benjamin Kaufman, who formed NARTH in 1992 to confront the growing acceptance of homosexuality.

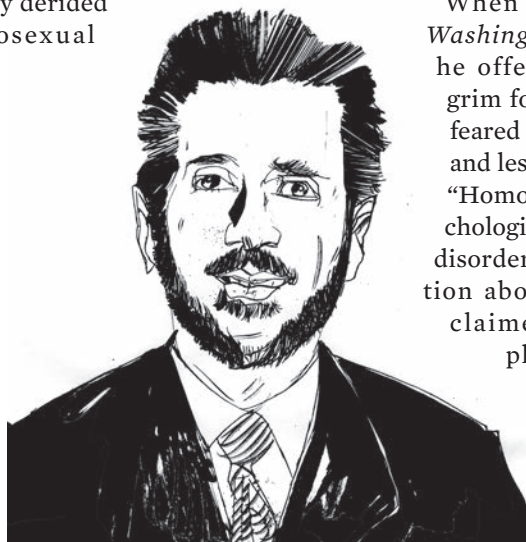
These dissidents believed that the official recognition of homosexuality as a natural variant in human development was a travesty and most certainly the product of an insidious plot now widely derided as the “homosexual

agenda.” As Kaufman wrote in an essay published at the time, the mission of their brave new collective was to “understand the homosexual condition and the factors which drive this self-destructive behavior.” NARTH was a strategic answer to a division that pitted socially conservative therapists against their progressive counterparts.

Socarides, a psychoanalyst and the most famous of NARTH’s founders, had gained prominence in the 1960s for his view that homosexuality was a treatable mental illness. “Socarides offered the closest thing to hope that many homosexuals had in the 1960s: the prospect of a cure,” *The New York Times* wrote three years after NARTH was formed.

In his book *Homosexuality: A Freedom Too Far*, Socarides explained that same-sex attraction was a “neurotic adaptation” that could be traced to “smothering mothers and abdicating fathers.” Not only did he believe that LGBT people could be cured, he thought they should be cured.

When speaking to *The Washington Post* in 1997, he offered a startlingly grim forecast of what he feared acceptance of gays and lesbians would bring. “Homosexuality is a psychological and psychiatric disorder, there is no question about it,” Socarides claimed. “It is a purple menace that is threatening the proper design of gender distinctions and society.”



While Socarides, NARTH's first president, died of cardiac arrest in 2005, his sentiments continue to guide the group. Nicolosi, who became president, shared his predecessor's views, seeing his work in the vein of psychotherapists such as Sigmund Freud, whose work dealt with sexual paraphilias (commonly thought of as perversions). A devout Catholic and endlessly confrontational, Nicolosi was once a spokesman for Focus on the Family, a powerhouse of the anti-gay religious right, and has been a tireless critic of conventional psychiatric thought for most of his career.

In 2009, he asserted that "if you traumatize a child in a particular way, you will create a homosexual condition." He also has

repeatedly said, "Fathers, if you don't hug your sons, some other man will." But his loathing for "the homosexual condition" goes even deeper. In his book *A Parent's Guide to Preventing Homosexuality*, which he wrote with his wife in 2002, Nicolosi offered a perspective on homosexuality that seemed to position NARTH closer to the anti-gay activists of the religious right.

"Traditionalists wince at the mental images conjured up by the thought of what homosexuals do in the act of intercourse," he wrote. "Almost feeling guilty about their visceral reaction, they still cannot help but see such acts as perverse and, in fact, unnatural."

When the book was published, there

was no need for Nicolosi to court the "traditionalists" who opposed homosexuality. Many had already come calling.

Controversial Supporters

Though some anti-gay groups have moderated their positions on homosexuality, and a number of reparative therapists have recanted their beliefs, NARTH remains a bastion of hard-core activists who have dug in even as they are being politically marginalized.

"We live in a climate where it is only politically correct to share misinformation about this topic," said Julie Hamilton, a former president of NARTH, at the group's annual conference last

THE MINISTRIES

Key 'Ex-Gay' Groups

Although most groups promoting so-called "ex-gay" or "reparative" therapy describe themselves as Christian, several approach their attempts to turn gay people into heterosexuals from other faith perspectives. In addition to the National Association for Research and Therapy of Homosexuality (see story, p. 26), whose "research" informs the work of many ex-gay groups, here are brief descriptions of several major players that practice forms of reparative therapy.

Evergreen International

Since starting in 1989 as an ex-gay ministry serving the Mormon community, Evergreen has been separate from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, even though it bases its therapy around the teachings of the Mormon church. Unlike many other ex-gay groups, Evergreen does not advocate a particular form of therapy. The LDS church, in fact, has refrained from stating a position on the causes of homosexuality; Evergreen has made a point to follow that logic.

Exodus International

Promoting "the message of freedom from homosexuality through the power of Jesus Christ," Exodus International is one of the oldest and largest umbrella organizations for ex-gay ministries across the world, listing 120 ministries in the United States and more than 150 in 17 other countries. The group formed in 1976 but was soon beset with problems. Two of the founders, Michael Bussee and Gary Cooper, left and announced they shared a romantic relationship. In June 2007, Bussee issued a formal apology for

his involvement in promoting reparative therapy.

JONAH International

While most ex-gay groups approach reparative therapy from a biblical context, JONAH, which stands for "Jews Offering New Alternatives for Healing," look at it from an orthodox Jewish perspective. Founded in 1999 in Jersey City, N.J., by Theodore and Elaine Berk and Arthur and Jane Goldberg — each couple had a gay son — JONAH emphasizes a Talmudic condemnation of homosexuality that says gay people are "being led astray." As expected, there have been controversies. In 2010, *The Jewish Week* reported that one of the group's therapists had required patients to remove their clothes and to touch their own genitals to increase their masculinity as part of the therapy.

Love in Action

Love in Action (LiA), which formed in 1973 in Marin County, Calif., has also had to deal with several of its most prominent leaders recanting

their beliefs about ex-gay therapy. Co-founder John Evans told the *Wall Street Journal* in 1993, after his friend Jack McIntyre committed suicide in the midst of therapy, "They're destroying people's lives." The leadership troubles for LiA did not end there. Last year, John Smid, once an influential member of the group, admitted that he had "never met a man who experienced a change from homosexual to heterosexual."

Parents and Friends of Ex-Gays and Gays (PFOX)

Headquartered in Fort Belvoir, Va., Parents and Friends of Ex-Gays and Gays (PFOX) encourages parents to love their "children unconditionally without having to affirm their homosexual behavior." The group sees homosexuality as an agenda-driven social-political identity. As such, PFOX has been a major player in seeking legal protections for the validity of ex-gay therapy, going so far as to file a lawsuit against the District of Columbia in 2008 for failing to protect "former homosexuals" under its sexual orientation anti-discrimination law.

November in Phoenix. “We as an organization are swimming against the stream.”

True to form, the people speaking at that conference were not therapists promising revelations about human sexuality, but rather prominent culture warriors of the religious right, like Brown.

Sharon Slater, whose Family Watch International argues that homosexuality is an “assault on marriage, the family, and family related issues” was one of them. In one of the policy briefs on her group’s website, Slater argued that “homosexuality is relatively rare” and, what’s more, treatable. Like many of her fellow anti-gay leaders, Slater has ties to activists in Uganda who are lobbying for the so-called “Kill the Gays” bill, but she made no mention of that in Phoenix as she catalogued a global effort to undermine family values through United Nations-sanctioned “comprehensive sexual education” programs. The UN, she argued, is seeking to indoctrinate children into the “gay lifestyle.” In Slater’s assessment, fighting homosexuality is “the battle of our time.”

These are not new associations for NARTH. Since its founding, the group has aligned its mission with some of the most venomous purveyors of anti-gay propaganda.

In 1995, for example, NARTH featured Scott Lively, co-author of *The Pink Swastika: Homosexuality in the Nazi Party*, at its annual conference. Lively’s book argues that the Nazi Party recruited gay men because of their inherent savagery and that gay men largely orchestrated the Holocaust — a claim roundly rejected by all reputable historians. NARTH has also promoted the work of Paul Cameron, who remains director of the Family Research Institute despite being ejected from the American Psychological Association and the American Sociological Association (ASA). The ASA declared, “Dr. Cameron has consistently misinterpreted and misrepresented sociological research on sexuality, homosexuality, and lesbianism.”

One NARTH critic, a former member, says these associations are the results of work that has been patterned to conform to an ideology.



“We live in a climate where it is only politically correct to share misinformation about this topic. We as an organization are swimming against the stream.”

JULIE HAMILTON

Former president of NARTH

“When it comes to science, you can’t let your religious views color what is. And I think NARTH does that all the time,” said Warren Throckmorton, a psychology professor at a Christian college and past president of the American Mental Health Counselors Association who has counseled clients conflicted about their sexual identity for years. NARTH’s constituents, he added, are usually “the right-wing groups who feel they needed that information to offset gay rights initiatives.”

In recent years, NARTH has suffered several embarrassing episodes, caused not by its alliances but by its own members.

In 2007, Nicolosi came under fire after an essay seeming to justify slavery appeared on NARTH’s website. In the piece, “Gay Rights and Political Correctness: A Brief History,” Dr. Gerald Schoenewolf, a New York psychotherapist and member of the group’s science advisory committee, wrote, “Africa at the time of slavery was still primarily a jun-

gle. ... Life there was savage ... and those brought to America, and other countries, were in many ways better off.” (Nicolosi stepped down as NARTH president after criticism mounted, but he remains instrumental in the group.)

Then, in 2010, George Rekers, a psychologist and also a scientific adviser to NARTH, was photographed at Miami International Airport with a 20-year-old male prostitute who had accompanied him on a 10-day European vacation. Rekers insisted he had hired the man, who advertised his services on Rentboy.com, merely to carry his luggage. The man disagreed. He told reporters he had given Rekers daily nude massages that included genital contact.

While such very public controversies would normally tarnish an organization, NARTH has proven lastingly resilient. “They are still a force to be reckoned with,” said Besen of Truth Wins Out.

The Defiant Future

One of those attending NARTH’s conference last fall was Peter Sprigg, senior fellow for policy studies for the Family Research Council (FRC), a politically prominent anti-gay group that has made numerous false claims denigrating the LGBT community. Sprigg has encouraged deporting LGBT people and recriminalizing homosexuality. During a question-and-answer session at the conference, Sprigg asked a question that offered a revealing look at the state of the anti-gay movement and the future of reparative therapy.

The FRC was one of 18 anti-gay organizations listed as hate groups by the Southern Poverty Law Center in 2010, a move that prompted the group to quietly implement a campaign to soften its image. The hate group listing was Sprigg’s concern.

“I wonder if you have any advice to countering a charge of hate,” Sprigg asked Brown, who had been encouraging the people in the room to be courageous in their opposition to homosexuality. “[Hate] is the label that is always thrown at it, and I’m realizing that it begins to take effect.” Brown could only encourage Sprigg to be compassionate.

Several weeks later, the FRC released a policy paper called “Debating

Homosexuality: Understanding Two Views.” In the paper, Sprigg relied heavily on NARTH’s research to argue that homosexuality is “objectively harmful” to people and communities. In the same paper, he offered an olive branch to gay men and lesbians: reparative therapy.

Even though activists like Sprigg continue to tout reparative therapy and cite NARTH, it seems clear the group is quickly approaching a crossroads.

Not only is NARTH being condemned by LGBT rights activists, its insistence that gay men and lesbians can be “cured” is increasingly being criticized by practitioners who have abandoned reparative therapy.

John Smid, the former executive director of the Tennessee-based Love

in Action (LiA), an ex-gay Christian ministry, recently castigated reparative therapists for peddling a false philosophy that condemns homosexuality on moral terms. On his personal blog he wrote, “I have still yet to hear one man [after therapy] say I am completely heterosexual, and I am no longer having any sexual attractions to men.”

Meanwhile, one major player in the industry appears to be in serious financial trouble. Ex-Gay Watch, which investigates reparative therapy, has reported that Exodus International, one of the largest practitioners of reparative therapy, was nearing financial ruin in November and in dire need of a new message — something softer, something

more tolerant.

But NARTH, for now, doesn’t seem interested in softening its stance. With a new generation of reparative therapists and anti-gay activists continuing to take up the cause, more groups have turned to NARTH.

As Nicolosi proudly claimed in a 2010 video touting the benefits of reparative therapy: “The strategy of the gay activists, the strategy of gay psychiatrists within the American Psychiatric Association, was to ignore us. We can’t be ignored.”

Maybe Nicolosi hasn’t noticed, but LGBT rights activists are no longer ignoring NARTH. Rather, they’re seeing it as roadblock to be swept aside in their march toward equality. ▲

‘Science’ For Homophobes

Along with NARTH, a deceptively named pediatricians’ group is a second primary source used vilify gay people

The National Association for Research and Therapy of Homosexuality (NARTH) is not the only game in town when it comes to providing “scientific” support for anti-gay groups. The American College of Pediatricians (ACPed) has done as much to defame gays and lesbians, all in the name of protecting children.

A professional organization for socially conservative pediatricians and healthcare professionals, the group has taken a number of hard-line positions when it comes to LGBT rights, advocating for a prohibition against adoption rights for same-sex couples and also offering high praise for reparative therapy.

Like NARTH, ACPed was born from an ideological split within a profession. It was founded in 2002 as a protest against the much larger American Academy of Pediatrics’ support for LGBT adoption rights — and that opposition remains central to the group’s identity.

ACPed is believed to have no more than 200 members, a tiny fraction of the nearly 60,000 professionals who belong to the American Academy of Pediatrics.

But thanks to its deceptive name — which

makes it sound as if it is the mainstream professional organization for pediatricians — ACPed often serves as a supposedly scientific source for groups pushing utter falsehoods about LGBT people.

A prime example of that came on Nov. 29, 2010, when Family Research Council President Tony Perkins cited it on MSNBC’s “Hardball With Chris Matthews” to “prove” that “the research is overwhelming that homosexuality poses a danger to children.” Perkins, who was debating *Intelligence Report* Editor Mark Potok at the time, was referring to bogus claims that gay men molest children at far higher rates than others. The truth, as the American Psychological Association says in an official statement, is that “homosexual men are not more likely to sexually abuse children than heterosexual men are.”

Dr. Joseph Zanga, who heads ACPed, described what he hoped his group would become: “essentially a Judeo-Christian, traditional-values organization ... open to membership for pediatric medical professionals of all religions who hold our core beliefs ... that life begins at concep-

tion and that the traditional family unit, headed by an opposite-sex couple, poses far fewer risk factors.”

With that mission statement to guide its work, ACPed has worked closely with a number of groups pushing an anti-gay agenda, including Mat Staver’s Liberty Counsel and NARTH, which teamed up with ACPed in 2008 to oppose an American Psychological Association (APA) pamphlet titled “Just the Facts About Sexual Orientation and Youth.”

In a statement about the pamphlet, ACPed said the APA was a “gay-affirming program” that “devalues self-restraint,” promotes a “denial of biologically rooted gender differences,” and supports “a child’s autonomy from the authority of both family and religion, and from the limits and norms these institutions place on children.” ACPed printed its own version of the pamphlet, “Facts About Youth” in 2010. Both the American Academy of Pediatrics and the American Psychological Association described the booklet as non-factual.

In fact, several individual researchers — including Francis Collins, the director of the National Institutes of Health — said the handbook misrepresented their findings. “It is disturbing to me to see special interest groups distort my scientific observations to make a point against homosexuality,” Collins said. “The information they present is misleading and incorrect.”

—Ryan Lenz

ONE MORE VICTIM

Neo-Nazi James von Brunn murdered a security guard at the U.S. Holocaust Museum. The damage he caused didn't end there



On June 10, 2009, 88-year-old white supremacist James von Brunn shot and killed black security guard Stephen Tyrone Johns at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C.

The attack was von Brunn's second criminal act in the name of liberating the world

from what he believed was an oppressive Jewish conspiracy. In 1981, he carried a sawed-off shotgun, a pistol and a hunting knife into the Federal Reserve, where he hoped to make a citizen's arrest of the Board of Governors. He was arrested and ultimately sentenced to a maximum term of 11 years in prison.

*Released in 1989, von Brunn continued his crusade, maintaining connections with major figures of the radical right like Ben Klassen, founder of the racist and anti-Semitic World Church of the Creator, and Holocaust denier Ernst Zundel, author of *The Hitler We Loved and Why*. In 1999, he wrote *Kill the Best Gentiles*, a racist and anti-Semitic tome that argues that whites are seeing "today on the world stage a tragedy of enormous proportions: the calculated destruction of the White Race and the incomparable culture it represents. Europe, former fortress of the West, is now over-run by hordes of non-Whites and mongrels." He also ran the white supremacist hate site *HolyWesternEmpire.org*.*

*At the time of his attack on the Holocaust Museum, von Brunn was sharing an apartment in Annapolis, Md., with his son Erik, then 32, and Erik's fiancée. Shortly after the shooting, **Erik von Brunn**, who had recently graduated from the University of Maryland and planned on being a history teacher, issued a statement to ABC News in which he denounced his father's ideology and described the devastating impact it had had on his family.*

James von Brunn died in January 2010, his trial still pending. Now 34, Erik is out of work, alone and struggling to cope with his father's legacy. He spoke with the Intelligence Report about the experience of being his father's son.



Your father was in prison for much of your early childhood. What did you know about him while growing up?

My mother didn't let me know much of anything. Until I met him, he was always fighting a war, that's what she used to tell me — that he was fighting a war and he'd be back soon.

I didn't know that he was in prison until I was about nine. All the letters that he wrote, she confiscated; I never got to read any of those letters until much later in life. And when he got out, he tried to tell me all about what he was doing and get me on board. I bought into it for a while because he was my father and I wanted to know him.

What did he do to draw you in?

He would tell me his version of what was going on in America, the banking system, the world. All of his conspiracy theories. And being an impressionable kid, it all made sense. Again, like I said, I wanted to make him proud, so I tried to believe what I could believe of it. But I never really fully believed any of it, to be honest with you. It was just me trying to impress him.

When I went off to college, or even before I went to college, I was able to

A man with a beard and tattoos, wearing a plaid shirt, sitting outdoors. The background is a blurred green landscape. The man has a serious expression and his eyes are closed. He has extensive tattoos on both forearms, including a large red and black design on his right arm and a green and black design on his left arm. The text is overlaid on the center of the image.

"I took him out for lunch and asked him, 'What would you do?' 'Well, blow up New York and D.C.' And I was like, 'Okay, I live in Annapolis, the radiation alone would ensure that I was killed as well.' His response was, 'Well, there have to be sacrifices in war.'"

ask him questions he couldn't answer. Like, okay, so how do you fix it? What's your utopian ideal here? And he could never answer those questions. And when I got back from college and I could debate him into a corner, it was always because I was getting "brain-washed by the Marxist professors there at the University of Maryland."

Do you know how he came to believe the things he did?

I know he did his own research. He always told me that there were a certain amount of Jews in 1938 throughout the world and then in 1946 the number had gone up, and he always wondered how that had happened when 6 million of them were supposedly killed. As he put it, they were all living in New York.

When he got back from the [Second World] war, he couldn't find a job because his last name was von Brunn. So he was discriminated against and he started his own research. I don't know the details; obviously, I don't know where he applied. He was a fantastic artist and he got into advertising, did some major advertising gigs with some pretty famous companies like Perdue. But he'd talk about how he'd gotten passed over because of his name, compared to a quote, unquote, Rosenbaum or Leinstein or something like that.

Did he ever talk about his experience in the war?

Very rarely. That was a very sensitive subject for him. He frequently talked about the Messerschmitts [airplanes] coming down on his boat, how many Germans he had killed, you know, picking their bodies out of the water and stuff like that. He got very emotional on Memorial Day and that was one of the days I told him I loved him.

The relationship sounds complicated. It's very difficult to explain. And it was very difficult for me.

Being so devoted to history that I took it as my major, knowing what I know about history and great men of history, I really had no choice but to respect him. I mean, here was a guy who was willing to sacrifice his life and the lives of people he loved to further



Erik von Brunn had no idea what his father was planning. But in the days after the murder of a guard at the U.S. Holocaust Museum, he was overtaken with guilt that he had not warned the world.

a cause he so wholeheartedly believed in, whether it be right or wrong. That takes courage; that takes a tremendous amount of self-will and strength and courage. And, on the one hand, I have to respect that. On the other hand, being his son and knowing he's willing to kill me to further his agenda, I hated him for it. So it was very confusing.

He was willing to kill you to further his agenda?

He felt he was in a war, and sacrifices had to be made. And he was ostracized from his community, couldn't get a job and was forced to rely on his sister to survive. I didn't want that as my life. He was disappointed that I didn't.

At one time I took him out for lunch and asked him, "What would you do?" "Well, blow up New York and D.C." And I was like, "Okay, I live in Annapolis, the radiation alone would ensure that I was killed as well." His response was, "Well, there have to be sacrifices in war."

Who else did he spend time with?

He occasionally met with Ernst Zundel, the famous Holocaust denier in Canada.

If he met anybody, it was with the upper ranks of the right-wing movement, [with] which, ironically enough, he disagreed.

He disagreed with the NA [the neo-Nazi National Alliance], the skinheads, and all those kind of things. He thought that the skinheads were just an unorganized group of thugs.

The KKK was just laughable to him, because they were good ole boys just drinking beer and looking for an excuse to kill black people. They didn't know what they were doing; they didn't know why they were fighting. It was just, "Kill this man because of the color of his skin." He didn't agree with that. He wanted white people to have their own country, black people to have their own country, and so on.

What was his attitude towards black people?

He had the utmost respect for African Americans. He loved them as athletes. He felt that what happened to them in this country was a travesty. He felt that they had their own culture, which was one to be admired and gave us music and so on.

He felt that they deserved to have their own culture and their own country and survive as they were.

Don't get me wrong, if he saw a black man with a white woman, he'd rather kill the white woman than the black man. He couldn't stand the intermingling of races. But his biggest quarrel was with the Jewish people.

Did he talk with you about his attack on the Federal Reserve?

Yeah, and I wish I could remember it, because it all made sense. But the details and intricacies I just don't remember because I chose not to. I didn't want to know what he knew because I was scared of it. I was scared that if I knew what he knew I would be consumed like he was, and I didn't want that. So I blocked out as much of it as I could.

You majored in history in college; you must have encountered some of the same material he was obsessed with.

I didn't want to get into modern history. I stuck to East Asian and medieval.

Anything that led me back to what my father was believing, I got as far away from it as I could, again just for fear that it would consume me like it did him. I probably shortchanged myself because I didn't read as much of it as I should have, but, again, I was terrified.

Was there ever a point when you wondered if you should say something to someone about your father because you thought there was an imminent danger?

That's what drove me to [attempt] suicide. Looking back on the weeks before he did what he did, I saw that he was

basically writing out a bucket list. And I should have said something. A little boy's father [Stephen Tyrone Johns] is dead because I didn't act on it.

You have to understand, my fiancé was supporting him. He was living with us because he had nowhere to go, and

THE WIFE'S TALE

Married to a Neo-Nazi

Patricia Sadowski, née Taylor, had no idea what she was getting into when she agreed to a date with the copywriter who responded to an ad she placed in the paper saying she was looking to do secretarial work and typing from her home. Tall, handsome and 20 years her senior, James von Brunn in the late 1960s "seemed like a very nice man." He reminded her of John Wayne. "He had that air about him — strong, distinctive," she said in an interview with the *Intelligence Report*.

What she could never have foreseen is that in 2009, some 30 years after their eventual divorce, von Brunn would murder a guard at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum before being shot himself. But some hints came early.

While they were dating, "he was really the Romeo," and when, after a year of courtship, he asked her to marry him, she happily said yes. Sadowski knew her husband, a World War II veteran, was conservative, a supporter the John Birch Society who had had difficulty finding work as a graphic artist when he came back from the war. But there was more.

Within a year, she says, it became clear that conservative wasn't the word for it. Von Brunn was "eaten up" by rage, "addicted to this hateful resentment he had toward the Jewish people," Sadowski said. He told about seeing his "friends" die during the war, and "the friends would be Germans," she recalls. "And he always said that he was sorry that he had to see that, that these wonderful white German people were dying."

The couple moved around a lot, liv-

ing in California, New Hampshire and Maryland. They never had any real friends — von Brunn alienated everyone with his anti-Semitic vitriol, which he rarely took care to hide. While living in California in 1977, they had a son who they named Erik (see interview, p. 31). Soon after that, they moved to New Hampshire, where von Brunn became even more consumed. He traveled often to visit his contacts in the neo-Nazi underworld, and sometimes he had guests. Once, a young Klan leader named David Duke came to visit their New Hampshire home, but the two men told her to leave the room and Sadowski never learned what they discussed. At turns silent and abusive, von Brunn read about the Holocaust and the Jews constantly, Sadowski says. "Erik would toddle up to him at the chair and he'd say, 'Go away, I don't have time for you now.'"

It was just as bad when he did talk. He would drink and rant about the Jews and how they were destroying the country and about how the Klan had the right idea. Or, she said, he'd brag about how, back in the 1950s, he used to be drinking buddies with actor Robert Mitchum (who apparently flirted with Holocaust denial, telling *Esquire* in 1983, that "Hitler needed lebensraum" [living room, a reference to the Nazis' attempt to enlarge Germany with the theft of lands from other nations], and shocking his interviewer by offering that "people dispute" the official account of the Holocaust).

One night, Sadowski couldn't bear to listen her husband anymore. She got up to walk away, but he came after her and struck her in the head, rupturing her right eardrum.

Soon after that, she visited a psychiatrist and an attorney to ask what she should do. "I was advised to get out of there as soon as possible, before something drastic happened to the family," she says. But she "deeply loved" von Brunn, and they had a

son, so she tried to stick it out.

The couple moved once more, this time to Maryland, where Sadowski would be close to her family.

That Halloween, von Brunn lost it. "He decided to go out on the street with a gun and shoot it in the air," she remembers. "And he put this book he helped publish, *Zionist Rape of the Holy Land*, he put it in everybody's mailbox."

That was the last straw. The next time her husband went out of town, Sadowski moved out, taking Erik with her. About a year later, von Brunn was arrested for bringing a sawed-off shotgun, a pistol and a hunting knife into the Federal Reserve, where he planned to take the Board of Governors hostage and read on television a 12-page manifesto about the central bank's supposed skullduggery.

Sadowski was stunned. Though she knew all too well that that his hatred of the Jews "was like a cancer" that he could not shake, "I didn't think he'd go to that extreme." But when Erik was old enough, she decided to allow him to speak with his father on the phone from prison.

"I always kept the illusion that it would be better for me not to tell Erik, 'Your father's a mean man' ... like people who are divorced usually do," she told the *Report*. "But none of his ideas or anything went to Erik. Erik never agreed with his ideas, but he was always pushing them, even when he was living with Erik. It was really quite traumatic for Erik to go through."

Sadowski remarried and today lives in Florida senior housing with her husband. She'll turn 72 this March, and seems relatively satisfied with her life — but she wishes she could do more for Erik. His father's obsession "was a long and ongoing situation that he could never escape from," she says. And "the worst part is how it's affecting my son."

— Leah Nelson



"There's not a day that goes by that I don't break down because I should have said something. It's my fault what happened. And I don't know how to get past that."

What do you mean when you say it lasted three days?

I had driven to Florida. I was going to make plans for me and my future wife to finally have a house of our own and start moving on with our life. I finally felt free at that time.

And now I'll never be free of it, I'll never be rid of the guilt. He knew it. He postdated a letter to me which I received at my mother's house in Florida when I got down there just a couple days after the incident, where he essentially said that I would never have the courage to do what was necessary, that I would never live up to the von Brunn name, that I should change my name because I don't deserve it. And that it was my fault for what happened. Essentially that I was a terrible son. I got that a couple days after he did what he did.

Is there anything else you'd like people to know about your experience?

Well, I don't know if I could say that there's hope because I haven't found any yet. Maybe it's something you can survive — you can condemn it, you can try to live your own life. But mine hasn't turned out exactly how I expected it to turn out. I've lost everything because of him. My fiancée, my ability to work. I have nothing but guilt. To have someone take your life away is a terrible thing. To have it be your father, that's even worse. ▲

I had asked him to come live with us because I was scared he was going to do something stupid. You know, he always said he wanted to go out with his boots on. And I was terrified he was going to do something.

But in the two or three years that he lived with us, he terrorized us. He was extremely disrespectful to my fiancé and constantly on me, and it just got to be too much, to the point that when I graduated our intentions were to move to Florida and let him go on with his own life.

He led me to believe he would be staying with a friend in Alexandria, who I had met. I didn't care to remember his name because at that point I was done with my father. I wanted him out of my life. I wanted him out of our life so we could start our own life, and damn

the consequences. You know, he was 88 years old; I didn't think he had it in him.

But there's not a day that goes by that I don't break down because I should have said something. I should have contacted the authorities and said, "Okay, I'm no longer watching my dad, somebody needs to." And it's my fault, what happened. It's my fault what happened. And I don't know how to get past that.

Was the Holocaust Museum something he'd talked about?

No. I didn't know where he would go or if he would go, what his target would be, even if he had one in mind. I don't know what he was doing. At that point in my life, I was just thinking, well, I'm finally free. That lasted all of three days before I realized I would never be free of it.

Behind the Green Mask

Antigovernment conspiracy theorists find a mortal enemy in the UN's Agenda 21, a voluntary global sustainability program

BY RYAN LENZ ILLUSTRATION BY SEAN MCCABE

In the last several years, an obscure United Nations accord called Agenda 21 has emerged as something of a unified field theory for the antigovernment movement. On its face, Agenda 21 does nothing but provide countries and communities with a set of principles to grow smartly — a plan, in short, to fight overpopulation, pollution, poverty and resource depletion.

But for a far-flung network of antigovernment extremists who have risen up to attack it, the nonbinding document that was approved 20 years ago at the UN's Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro is not really about preserving the planet at all. Between the lines, they argue, lies a blueprint for the "New World Order."

In his final days on Fox News, Glenn Beck passionately argued that by agreeing to follow Agenda 21, the U.S. government had colluded with internationalists to undermine its own sovereignty and turn the nation into an environmental refuge where nature would take precedence over people.

"Those pushing ... government control on a global level have mastered the art of hiding it in plain sight, and then just dismissing it as a joke," Beck told his viewers, holding up the 294-page document. He cautioned: "Once [internationalists] put their fangs into our communities and suck all the blood out of it, we will not be able to survive."

The irony is that Agenda 21 is all about survival. It was intended to offer a strategic plan to scale down the use of natural resources to levels that meet "the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations." (The

21 stands for the 21st century.) One hundred and seventy-eight world leaders, including President George H.W. Bush, signed on to the agreement in 1992.

While there is some opposition to Agenda 21 from the left — from groups like Democrats Against Agenda 21 — it's on the radical right that the UN plan has become a touchstone of a larger theme that equates environmentalism with totalitarianism and the loss of individual freedom. For a growing cast of far-right hardliners, Agenda 21 is a sort of Trojan horse, a totalitarian scheme with a green environmental mask, lying in wait to destroy America as we know it.

How such an arcane UN document that defines the concept of "smart growth" and environmental sustainability became so controversial, even though it gives the UN no enforcement powers, has a lot to do with the work of a tight cadre of antigovernment "Patriot" activists whose fears are rooted in right-wing lore about a New World Order, a kind of authoritarian one-world government. Figures such as Tom DeWeese, head of the American Policy Center, Phyllis Schlafly, founder of the anti-feminist Eagle Forum, and John Bush, with Texans for Accountable Government, have in recent years crisscrossed the country

"Those pushing government control on a global level have mastered the art of hiding it in plain sight."

to put on seminars and conferences that strike terror into those inclined to believe conspiracy theories about powerful global elites plotting to install a socialistic global government. The John Birch Society, an archconservative group formed during the Red Scare of the 1950s, regularly assails Agenda 21 with the fervor it once reserved for communists.

Under Agenda 21, these activists argue, the expansive American way of life, in which everyone can aspire to the dream of owning a house with a big yard and two cars in the driveway, will be replaced by one in which increasing numbers are crammed into urbanized "pack 'em and stack 'em" apartment complexes, and forced to use mass transportation and live according to a collectivist ethos. Once the UN's radical utopia is achieved, gun ownership will be forbidden and the UN will raise an army intent on terrorizing the populace in the name of social order and equality, sustainability and smart growth — all words that anti-Agenda 21 activists believe signal the true intent of the UN's plan.

Armed with suspicions and "research," activists have disrupted meetings from Oklahoma to Ohio, where a Facebook group called Ohio Agenda 21 Watch keeps tabs on "the many socialist groups working in Ohio whose aim is take away our sovereignty and incorporate Ohio into UN control."

In Edmond, Okla., protesters shut down a community workshop held to gather public input on environmental sustainability. After 20 minutes, police were called to disrupt the melee, and the backlash to the city's decision to follow Agenda 21 ultimately prompted officials to stop coordinating with the UN. Shannon Entz, a community development manager in Edmond who helped organize the workshop in December 2010, told the *Intelligence Report* that a group called Govern Edmond Locally had enraged the audience with fliers vilifying the UN.

"I can understand how people, in some cases, may be fearful of government," Entz said. "[But] where it loses steam is they give cities and government a little too much credit. ... We certainly don't have the money or the political will to hurt, or harm, or take private property [to protect the environment]."



Confronting a chimera: In the years since President George H. W. Bush signed on to a global sustainability program in 1992, a raft of far right activists have warned shrilly of a plot to create an authoritarian one-world government. They include (from top) John Bush of Texans for Accountable Government; Tom DeWeese of the American Policy Center; Phyllis Schlafly of the Eagle Forum; and Internet television host Glenn Beck.

the document was drafted and approved at the Earth Summit. “Any time you get some sort of UN program that suggests any kind of change in the way people live, even if it seems outwardly benign and even voluntary, it’s going to be taken up by people of a conspiracist bent,” Michael Barkun, a political science professor at Syracuse University, told the *Report*.

The fact is that Americans on the extreme right have harbored wild fears about global control, and the loss of national and local power, for at least a century, going back to the League of Nations and even before. Much more recently, in 1991, President George H.W. Bush deepened suspicions about the designs of global elites when he used the phrase “new world order” during a speech to Congress following the Gulf War — an utterance that, in retrospect, has been interpreted as a revealing slip of the tongue. The signing of Agenda 21 came the next year.

Now, with the resurgence of the Patriot movement since President Obama’s election (see story, p. 38), Agenda 21 has moved to the top echelon of radical-right fears.

Just as it did with communism, the John Birch Society has done as much or more than any other group on the radical right to drum up panic and outrage. It has held more than a dozen conferences across of the nation in the last six months to sound the alarm. “It boils down to control,” spokesman Bill Hahn told *The Missoulian* after a protest in Missoula, Mont. “Do we allow an international organization to implement its extreme environmental agenda through innocuous names of sustainability, smart growth, etc., or do we retain the sovereignty that allows us to govern ourselves and decide locally what is best?”

There seems to be an even better question: Is there something real to fear in Agenda 21 — or is it just another bogeyman of the politically paranoid? ▲

In Colorado, Patriots have fiercely resisted environmental initiatives proposed by the U.S. Forest Service. Some are convinced the UN is cutting off access to national forests to leverage natural treasures against foreign debt, or worse, to build prison camps for U.S. citizens. The Tenth Amendment Center and the Oath Keepers have launched propaganda campaigns to curb the supposed UN advance. Even the League of the South (LOS), a neo-Confederate group that advocates a second Southern succession, has gotten involved. Those attending the grand opening in January of the LOS compound in Wetumpka, Ala., had to wipe their shoes on a UN flag before entering the building.

During a speech in late 2010 to the City Council in Austin, Texas, where he lives, John Bush of Texans for Accountable Government summarized the global plot that these activists believed they have unmasked. He had come to challenge a local resolution designed to make the city more energy efficient.

“Before carbon was thought of as the most evil thing in the world,” Bush said, “there were ... internationalists hashing out a plan to further their scheme for world government through the means of excessive environmentalism.”

Experts who study conspiracy theories attribute the rise of Agenda 21 fears to distrust of the UN that existed long before



THE YEAR IN HATE & EXTREMISM

For the third year in a row, the American radical right expands dramatically, led by the antigovernment 'Patriot' movement

BY MARK POTOK ILLUSTRATION BY STEPHANIE DALTON COWAN

The radical right grew explosively in 2011, the third such dramatic expansion in as many years. The growth was fueled by superheated fears generated by economic dislocation, a proliferation of demonizing conspiracy theories, the changing racial makeup of America, and the prospect of four more years under a black president who many on the far right view as an enemy to their country.

The number of hate groups counted by the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) last year reached a total of 1,018, up slightly from the year before but continuing a trend of significant growth that is now more than a decade old. The truly stunning growth came in the antigovernment "Patriot" movement — conspiracy-minded groups that see the federal government as their primary enemy.

The Patriot movement first emerged in 1994, a response to what was seen as violent government repression of dissident groups at Ruby Ridge, Idaho, in 1992 and near Waco, Texas, in 1993, along with anger at gun control and the Democratic Clinton Administration in general. It peaked in 1996, a year after the Oklahoma City bombing, with 858 groups, then began to fade. By the turn of the millennium, the Patriot movement was reduced to fewer than 150 relatively inactive groups.

But the movement came roaring back beginning in late 2008, just as the economy went south with the subprime collapse and, more importantly, as Barack Obama appeared on the political scene as the Democratic nominee and, ultimately,

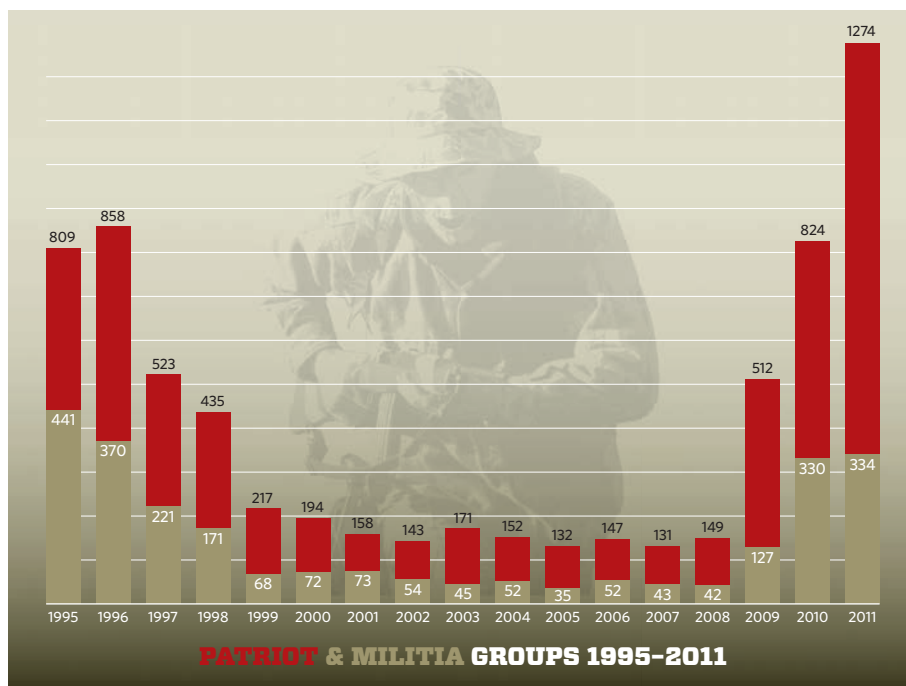
the president-elect. Even as most of the nation cheered the election of the first black president that November, an angry backlash developed that included several plots to murder Obama. Many Americans, infused with populist fury over bank and auto bailouts and a feeling that they had lost their country, joined Patriot groups.

The swelling of the Patriot movement since that time has been astounding. From 149 groups in 2008, the number of Patriot organizations skyrocketed to 512 in 2009, shot up again in 2010 to 824, and then, last year, jumped to 1,274 (see list, p. 50). That works out to a staggering 755% growth in the three years ending last Dec. 31. Last year's total was more

than 400 groups higher than the prior all-time high, in 1996.

Meanwhile, the SPLC counted 1,018 hate groups operating in the United States last year (see map, p. 43, and list, p. 44), up from 1,002 in 2010. That was the latest in a string of annual increases going all the way back to 2000, when there were 602 hate groups. The long-running rise seemed for most of that time to be a product of hate groups' very successful exploitation of the issue of non-white immigration. Obama's election and the crashing economy have played a key role in the last three years.

At the same time, a third strand of the radical right — what the SPLC designates as "nativist extremist" groups, meaning



organizations that go beyond normal political activism to harass individuals they suspect of being undocumented immigrants — shrank radically. After five years of sustained growth, these vigilante groups plummeted last year to 184 from 319 in 2010, a one-year drop of 42% (see also story, p. 59, and list, p. 62). The decrease appears to be a product of bad press, internecine quarrels, and the co-optation of the immigration issue by state legislatures around the country passing draconian nativist laws like Alabama's H.B. 56.

In some ways, it was surprising that the same deflating effect did not hit the Patriot and hate groups, as 2011 also saw many politicians and other public figures attacking Muslims, LGBT people and other minorities, effectively taking on some of the issues dear to the radical right. But there was enough of a far-right wind to fill the sails of politicians, hate and Patriot groups, and Tea Parties alike, very likely the result, in large part, of a view of Obama as a dire threat to the country. (An IBOPE Zogby survey last year found

that 30% of all voters did not believe that Obama was born in the U.S. even after the release of his long-form birth certificate.)

It's hard to know how all this will play out, given the unsettled nature of the presidential campaign and, in particular, the GOP primaries. The animus toward Obama and the government may be as much rooted in economic as racial anger.

In May 2011, a scholarly study published in *Perspectives on Psychological Science* found that white Americans believe that progress in race relations since the 1950s has come at their expense, with bias against whites more of a social problem in the last decade than bias against blacks. (This comes against the backdrop of the Census Bureau's prediction that non-Hispanic whites will lose their majority, falling to under 50% of the population, by 2050.) But a Pew Research Center study this January suggested that income inequality may be even more important. The survey found that some two-thirds of Americans believe that there are "strong conflicts" between rich

and poor, about a 50% increase since a 2009 survey. That sensibility also was apparent in both the Tea Parties and the Occupy Wall Street movement.

And so it is with many extremist groups.

August Kreis, a longtime neo-Nazi who in January stepped down as leader of an Aryan Nations faction after being convicted of fraud related to his veteran's benefits, told the *Intelligence Report* that it was all about income inequality.

"The worse the economy gets, the more the groups are going to grow," he said. "White people are arming themselves — and black people, too. I believe eventually it's going to come down to civil war. It's going to be an economic war, the rich versus the poor. We're being divided along economic lines."

At the most macro level, the growth of right-wing radicalization — a phenomenon that is plainly evident in Europe as well as the United States — is related directly to political and, especially, economic globalization. As the nation-state

ANTI-GAY GROUPS

The LGBT community made significant advances in 2011, with the repeal of the "Don't Act, Don't Tell" policy on gay men and lesbians in the military, the growing acceptance of same-sex marriage by Americans and the legalization of such bonds in New York state. But it was precisely these advances that seemed to set off a furious rage on the religious right, with renewed efforts to ban or repeal marriage equality and what seemed to be an intensification of anti-gay propaganda in certain quarters. American Family Association official Bryan Fischer, for instance, said that "gays are Nazis," claimed that HIV does not cause AIDS but gay men do, and, for good measure, criticized black welfare recipients who "rut like animals." In another development, most of the religious right groups that started out opposing abortion but moved on to attacking LGBT people have recently begun to adopt anti-Muslim propaganda en masse. The gay-bashing Traditional Values Coalition, for instance, last year redesigned its website to emphasize a new section entitled "Islam vs. the Constitution," published a report on Shariah law, and joined anti-Shariah conferences. Overall, the number of anti-gay hate groups in the United States rose markedly, going from 17 in 2010 to 27 last year.

ANTI-MUSLIM GROUPS

The number of anti-Muslim groups tripled in 2011, jumping from 10 groups in 2010 to 30 last year. That rapid growth in Islamophobia, marked by the vilification of Muslims by opportunistic politicians and anti-Muslim activists, began in August 2010, when controversy over a planned Islamic cultural center in lower Manhattan reached a fever pitch. Things got worse later in the year, when Oklahoma residents voted to amend the state constitution to forbid the use of Islamic Shariah law in state courts — a completely unnecessary change, given that the U.S. Constitution rules that out. The overheated atmosphere generated by these events also helped spur a 50% jump in the FBI's count of anti-Muslim hate crimes in 2010. Then, in March 2011, U.S. Rep. Peter King (R-N.Y.) held hearings on the radicalization of U.S. Muslims that seemed meant to demonize them. At the same time, there was a swelling of truly vicious propaganda like this remarkable Jan. 14,

2011, comment from columnist Debbie Schlusel: "They are animals, yes, but a lower form than the dog, as they won't learn to change their behavior for a carrot or a reward."

BLACK SEPARATIST GROUPS

The most remarkable development among radical black groups and individuals last year was the continuing spread of so-called "sovereign citizen" ideology, a set of ideas that originated in white supremacist groups of the 1970s and 1980s but has nevertheless taken off among African Americans. Sovereigns' conspiratorial beliefs generally include the claim that Americans are not subject to most tax and criminal laws, including statutes requiring driver's licenses and vehicle registrations. In the case of the black adherents, who make up only a sliver of the larger sovereign citizens movement, these ideas have been melded with selective interpretations of early black nationalists like Noble Drew Ali. Black sovereigns, like white ones, have engaged in a series of criminal acts, drawing up bogus financial instruments, harassing enemies with unjustified court filings, and even illegally seizing houses they do not own. Another noteworthy development among radical black groups was the Nation of Islam's furious defense of Libyan dictator Moammar Qaddafi, a sometimes Nation benefactor who was killed in an uprising later in the year. Nation leader Louis Farrakhan said that U.S. involvement in Libya would hasten the apocalypse. Malik Zulu Shabazz, head of the New Black Panther Party, went further, calling President Obama a "nigger police chief" leading the attack on a "black man ... on the run, named Qaddafi."

CHRISTIAN IDENTITY GROUPS

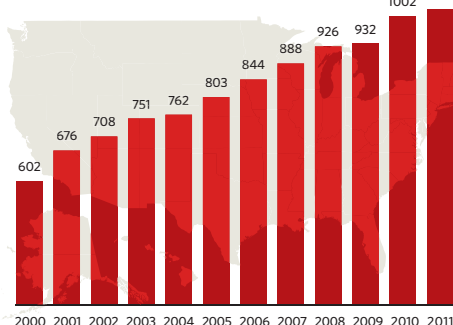
Christian Identity, a radical theology that describes Jews as biologically descended from Satan and people of color as soulless "mud people," has been declining in recent years, largely because its arcane, Bible-based doctrines seem to hold little interest for young racists. But last year that trend reversed itself, as a new Identity group, Crusaders for Yahweh, appeared with 30 chapters. The group is based in Chillicothe, Ohio, and led by Paul Mullet, a

has diminished in importance since the end of the Cold War, Western economies have opened up, not only to capital from abroad but also to labor. In concrete terms, that has meant major immigration flows, many of which have drastically altered the demographics of formerly fairly homogenous populations. In Europe and the U.S. both, white-dominated countries have become less so. At the same time, globalization has caused major economic dislocations in the West as certain industries and kinds of production move to less developed countries.

The sorry U.S. economy also may offer the best single explanation for the huge expansion in the so-called “sovereign citizens” movement, a subset of the larger Patriot movement. Although the size of the sovereign movement is hard to gauge — sovereigns tend to operate as individuals rather than in organized groups — law enforcement officials around the country have reported encounters. The SPLC, for its part, has estimated that some 300,000 Americans are involved.

Sovereign citizens, whose ideology first developed in white supremacist groups, generally do not believe they are obliged to pay federal taxes, follow most laws, or comply with requirements for driver’s licenses and vehicle registrations. They also typically believe that filing certain documents can relieve them of debt or bankruptcy proceedings, or even bring them millions of dollars from secret government accounts. The claims are bogus, of course, but they have attracted thousands into the movement at a time of real financial hardship.

HATE GROUPS 2000-2011



Sovereigns’ focus on their supposed right to drive “upon the land” without any regulation has brought them into regular conflict with law enforcement officials. That was seen most dramatically on May 20, 2010, when a father-son team of sovereigns murdered two West Memphis, Ark., officers during a traffic stop, but officials have had other encounters. Just this January, a sovereign accused of trying to shoot a police officer during a traffic stop in Hurst, Texas, went on trial.

“There is a contingent of malcontents out there who are exceedingly hostile,” Rich Roberts, a spokesman for the International Union of Police Associations, told the *Christian Science Monitor* for an article last year on the rising number of shooting deaths of police officers. “It’s a really complex phenomenon in that it’s a whole combination of factors where on one end you’ve got people like sovereign citizens, who are actually deliberately targeting police, as opposed to your garden-variety bad guy who’s carrying a gun and will not hesitate to use it.”

former member of the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations (whose members generally practice Christian Identity) who left that group in 2010. That year, Mullet briefly formed an organization he called the American National Socialist Party, but he has now moved on to Crusaders for Yahweh, which appears to be tied institutionally to Aryan Nations. Also last year, Identity lost one of its best-known proponents with the death at 64 of Peter John “Pete” Peters, pastor of the LaPorte (Colo.) Church of Christ. Peters, who ran an Internet and radio ministry called Scriptures for America, had inspired extremists for some four decades.

KU KLUX KLAN GROUPS

Overall, the number of Klan chapters last year fell to 152 from 221 in 2010, and the various Klan groupings were relatively quiet. But the year brought major changes in the Klan formations, with some large groups disappearing while others popped up or added large numbers of new chapters. Most notably, the second largest Klan group in America — the Marion, Ohio-based Brotherhood of Klans, with 38 chapters in almost as many states — folded when its leader, Jeremy Parker, joined the leading Aryan Nations faction. At the same time, however, the Rebel Brigade Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, based in Martinsville, Va., and inactive for several years, came back to life under leader Stan Martin with 19 chapters. The United Knights of Tennessee Ku Klux Klan, meanwhile, shot up from a single chapter in Morristown, Tenn., to 19. Two others, the True Invisible Empire Knights based in Pulaski, Tenn., and the Traditional American Knights of Potosi, Mo., merged to form the Potosi-based True Invisible Empire Traditionalist American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

‘NATIVIST EXTREMIST’ GROUPS

The contemporary movement of “nativist extremist” groups — organizations that go beyond lobbying and other political activities meant to restrict immigration, and instead harass and confront individuals they suspect are undocumented immigrants — began in 2005, with the appearance of the first Minuteman groups. (The SPLC does not list nativist extremist groups as hate groups; only a handful of the most extreme anti-immigrant groups are listed

that way.) For its first five years, the movement expanded rapidly, reaching a high point of 319 groups in 2010. Last year, that number plummeted by more than 40%, falling to just 184 (see also story, p. 34), for reasons that are both internal and external. Internally, the movement was disrupted by internecine quarrels and the negative publicity that was generated by a Minuteman leader’s murder of a Latino man and his 9-year-old daughter in Arizona, a case that resulted in the leader’s being sentenced to death last year. But what may have been even more important is the way that the movement was co-opted as state legislatures began passing draconian legislation meant to punish undocumented immigrants, effectively stealing the issue away from the nativist groups.

NEO-CONFEDERATE GROUPS

The neo-Confederate movement, whose heart is the Alabama-based League of the South (LOS), grew both smaller and more radical last year as its political efforts to organize a second Southern secession seemed to fall on bare ground. Founded in 1994 by former university professor Michael Hill, the LOS, which opposes racial intermarriage and seeks a society marked by “general European cultural hegemony,” had 42 chapters in 2010, but saw that number fall to 32 last year. The drop-off came as Hill’s rhetoric grew more belligerent than ever before. Last July, at his Abbeville, S.C., annual conference, Hill told LOS members that “we are already at war” and urged them to buy AK-47s, hollow-point bullets and tools to derail trains. Some 60 people at the conference learned how to draw down on an enemy, and Hill asked in a speech, “What would it take to get you to fight?” Meanwhile, the group’s relatively strong Alabama chapter, based in Wetumpka, almost finished work on a 4,000-square-foot building that it intends to use for international conferences.

NEO-NAZI GROUPS

The total number of neo-Nazi groups was unchanged between 2010 and 2011, but the stable count belied fairly significant changes that came to some parts of that sector of the radical right. In early September, Arkansas former

The FBI agrees. Last September, it issued a bulletin to law enforcement officials entitled “Sovereign Citizens: A Growing Domestic Threat to Law Enforcement” that describes the movement as “domestic terrorist.” The bulletin notes that sovereigns have killed six law enforcement officers since 2000 and that Terry Nichols, convicted in the Oklahoma City bombing, was a sovereign.

The largest group of organized sovereigns, the Alabama-based Republic for the United States of America (RuSA), last year took a new step toward organizing a kind of government-in-waiting by adding a “Congress” with voting representatives in 49 states. The group says it is in the process of “reinhabiting” the government.

Although it can sound threatening, RuSA has not engaged in any known violence. But that’s not true of all other Patriot groups, two of which are alleged to have engendered major terrorist plots aimed at police and others last year.

In March 2011, Alaska Peacemakers Militia leader Schaeffer Cox and four followers were arrested on weapons and conspiracy charges related to an alleged plan to kill Alaska state troop-

ers and a judge. A state court later ruled that hundreds of hours of secret recordings made by informants would not be admissible, leading to the freeing of one of Cox’s followers. But Cox and the other three still faced federal weapons charges and, this January, a superseding federal indictment again charged them with conspiracy to murder. In a related development, a woman who was the militia’s secretary was arrested trying to enter Canada when officials found a pistol and information about pipe bombs and the ricin toxin in her truck.

Then, last November, federal officials arrested four members of a Georgia militia (see also story, p. 12). The four elderly men were accused of plotting to assassinate public officials, bomb federal buildings, and carry out mass murders in four U.S. cities by dispersing deadly ricin dust from the windows of speeding cars. Like Cox and his comrades, the Georgia men are to be tried this year.

One of the factors apparently driving the expansion of the radical right has been the spread of conspiracy theories and demonizing falsehoods. Tall tales about secret government concentration camps, for instance, have spread

beyond Patriot groups into nativist organizations and others. Equally preposterous stories of plots to impose Islamic Shariah law and to “recruit” schoolchildren into homosexuality have been plugged around the country, often by well-known public figures. It seems clear that this kind of propaganda boosts membership in conspiracy-minded groups.

But what may end up affecting the American radical right more than any other single factor in the coming year is President Obama and the presidential election campaign. If the primaries generate more attacks on the nation’s first black president based on complete falsehoods — that he is a secret Muslim, a Kenyan, a radical leftist bent on destroying America — it’s likely that the poison will spread. And if he wins reelection next fall, the reaction of the extreme right, already angry and on the defensive as the white population diminishes, could be truly frightening. ▲

Heidi Beirich, Michelle Bramblett, Angela Freeman, Anthony Griggs, Leah Nelson, Evelyn Schlatter, Janet Smith and Laurie Wood contributed to this report.

high school teacher Billy Roper unexpectedly shut down his White Revolution group, citing health and financial problems and his own failings as a leader, and urged former members to follow him into Thom Robb’s Knights Party, an Arkansas Klan group. Roper was also one of several neo-Nazi activists to attend, later in September, the first Aryan World Congress hosted by the Aryan Nations since its founder died in 2004. That group, which also was badly wounded by a 2000 Southern Poverty Law Center suit that resulted in the bankruptcy sale of its Idaho compound, seems to be enjoying something of a resurgence under the leadership Morris Gullett, whose headquarters is in Ohio (see also photos and text, p. 8). Earlier, the neo-Nazi National Socialist Movement saw its April 15, 2011, national meeting disrupted when violent anti-racists attacked its members at a Trenton, N.J., area hotel with clubs, pepper spray and other weapons. Police charged two anti-racists with inciting a riot.

RACIST SKINHEAD GROUPS

Last March, David Lynch, leader of the Sacramento, Calif.-based American Front and one of the best-known racist skinheads on the international scene, was shot to death in his Citrus Heights home; his girlfriend was shot in the leg. Within days, police were questioning Charles Gilbert Demar III, a Lynch associate also known as “Charlie Boots” who was the lead singer of the Stormtroop 16 band, as a “person of interest.” Demar was arrested when officials found crystal methamphetamine and a meth manufacturing setup in his apartment, but as of press time he had not been charged in connection with Lynch’s death. Another significant event on the skinhead scene took place last June, when the decade-old Vinlanders Social Club, one of the most violent racist skinhead groups, held its first white power concert. More than 50 people came to the event

in Columbus, Ohio, including Richie Meyer, president of the Confederate Hammerskins, and Forrest Fogarty, a musician and one of Meyer’s more prominent followers. Their presence and friendly association with Vinlanders at the event reflected the success of a truce between the two groups that was reached in 2007, ending what had been described as a “blood feud” between them.

WHITE NATIONALIST GROUPS

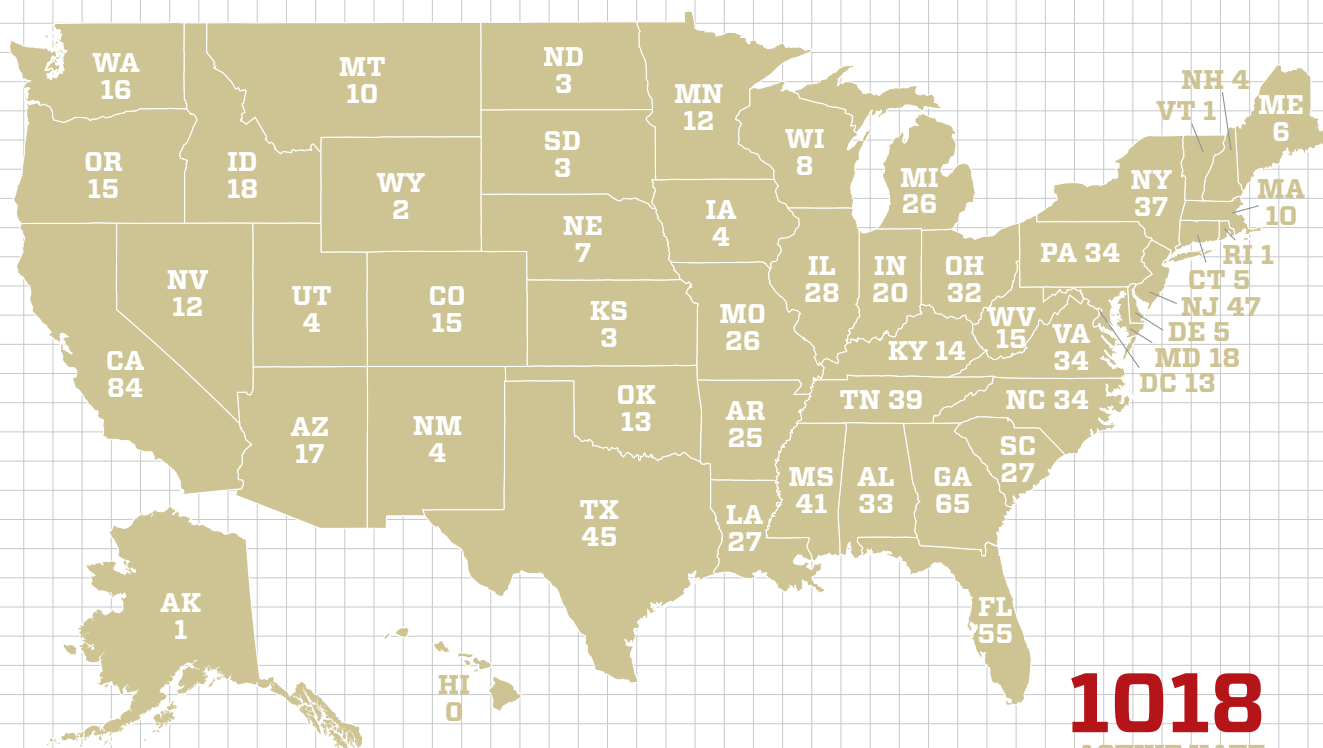
Three large groups form the core of the white nationalist movement in the United States: the Council of Conservative Citizens, an outgrowth of the old White Citizens Councils, that fights against school integration and racial intermarriage; *American Renaissance*, a journal that justifies white nationalism by attacking the intelligence and mental health of black people; and the American Third Position (A3P), a racist party with electoral ambitions in many states and the nation at large. Of these, it has been A3P, which only started up in 2009, that has been growing the most rapidly. It also has attracted most of the best-known white nationalists in America to its cause. Last year, Virginia Abernethy, an emeritus professor of psychiatry and anthropology at Vanderbilt Medical School, joined the A3P board of directors, as did Tomas Sunic, an American-educated Croatian who has spoken at neo-Nazi events. Others who became A3P officials earlier include Kevin MacDonald, a deeply anti-Semitic professor at California State University, Long Beach; James Edwards, host of a racist radio show based in Memphis; Don Wassall, publisher of the anti-immigrant *Nationalist Times*; and Jamie Kelso, once an aide to former Klan boss David Duke. A3P is headed up by Los Angeles lawyer William Daniel Johnson, a man who once sought to deport every American with any “ascertainable trace of Negro blood.”

THE YEAR IN HATE & EXTREMISM

ACTIVE HATE GROUPS

IN THE UNITED STATES 2011

THIS LIST OF 1,018 ACTIVE HATE GROUPS (MAP, P. 43), up from the 1,002 groups listed a year before, is based on information gathered by the Intelligence Project from hate group publications, citizen reports, law enforcement agencies, field sources and news reports. Only organizations known to be active in 2011, whether that activity included marches, rallies, speeches, meetings, leafletting, publishing literature or criminal acts, were counted in the listing. Entities that appear to exist only in cyberspace are not included because they are likely to be individual Web publishers who like to falsely portray themselves as powerful, organized groups. This listing contains all known chapters of hate organizations. If the group has a known headquarters, it appears first in the listing of the group's chapters, and is marked with an asterisk (*).



1018
ACTIVE HATE
GROUP CHAPTERS

OPEN HERE
DETAILED MAP INSIDE

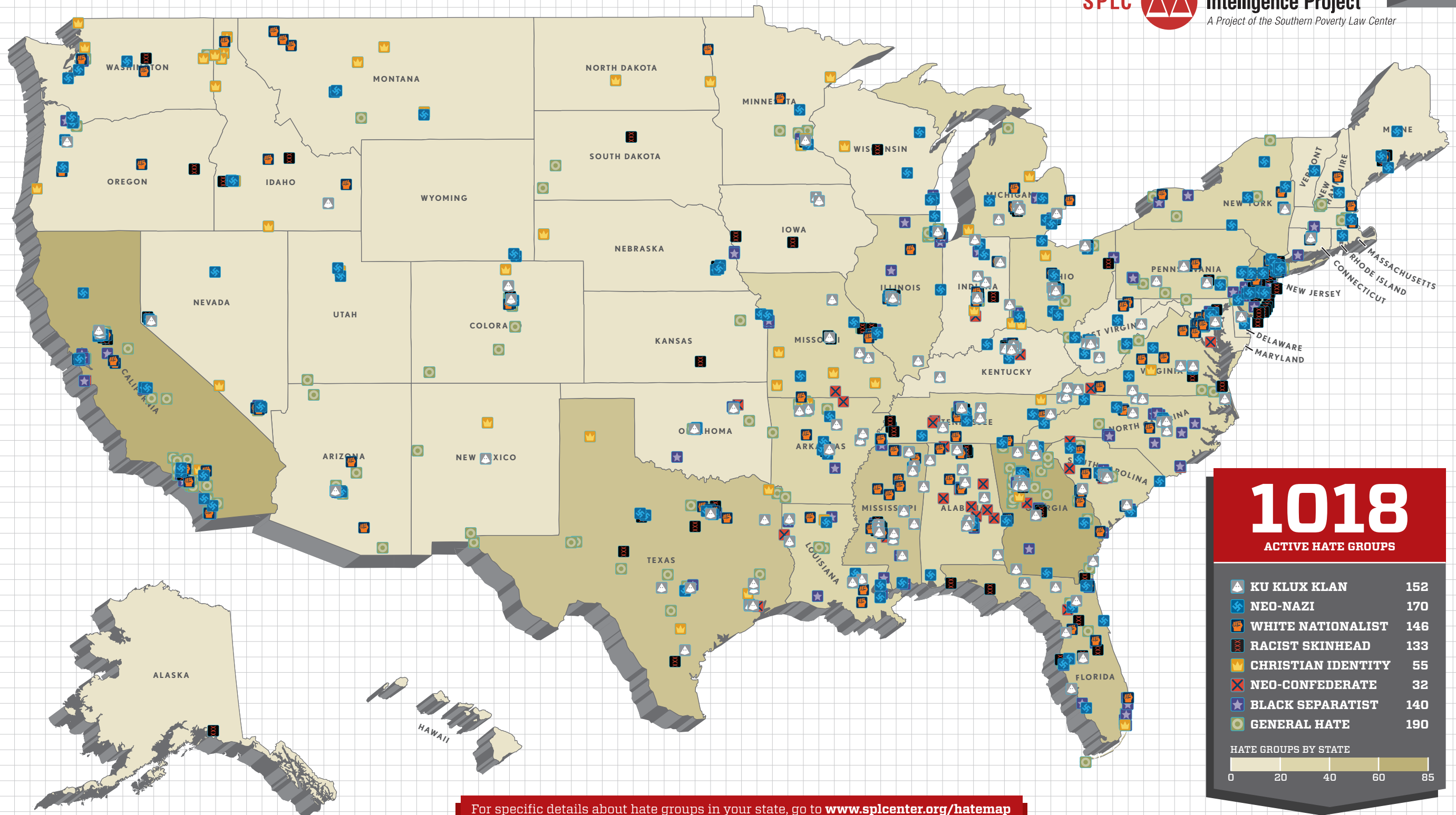
Groups are categorized as **Ku Klux Klan, Neo-Nazi, White Nationalist, Racist Skinhead, Christian Identity, Neo-Confederate, Black Separatist, and General Hate**. Because skinheads are migratory and often not affiliated with groups, this listing understates their numbers. Christian Identity describes a religion that is fundamentally racist and anti-Semitic. Black Separatist groups are organizations whose ideologies include tenets of racially based hatred. Neo-Confederate groups seek to revive many of the racist principles of the antebellum South. White Nationalist groups espouse white supremacy or white separatism but generally avoid anti-Semitism. General Hate groups espouse various ideologies of hatred and include the sub-categories of Anti-Gay groups, Anti-Immigrant groups, Holocaust Denial groups, Racist Music labels, Radical Traditionalist Catholic groups (which reject core Catholic teachings and espouse anti-Semitism), and Other (a variety of groups endorsing a hodge-podge of hate doctrines).

ACTIVE HATE GROUPS

IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Intelligence
Report

SPLC  Intelligence Project
A Project of the Southern Poverty Law Center



1018

ACTIVE HATE GROUPS

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	GENERAL HATE	190

HATE GROUPS BY STATE
0 20 40 60 85



KU KLUX KLAN

When the Klan was formed in 1865, it was a single, unitary organization. Today, there are dozens of competing Klan groups.

Alabama White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Ashland, AL
Red Bay, AL

Aryan Nations Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Converse, LA*
Cleveland, GA

Elwood, IN
Cleveland, OH

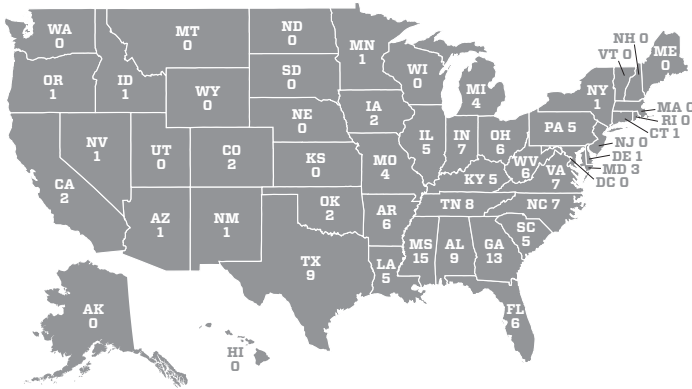
Knight Riders Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Ellijay, GA*
Live Oak, FL
Bainbridge, GA
Brunswick, GA
Byron, GA
Eldorado, IL

Mize, MS
Pearl, MS
Philadelphia, MS
Ripley, MS
Tupelo, MS
Shannon, MS

National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

South Bend, IN*
Maricopa County, AZ



Association of Independent Klansmen Knights of The Ku Klux Klan

Lemont, PA

Dixie Rangers Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Walker, LA

Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Homosassa Spgs., FL*
Cleveland, GA

Fraternal White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Charles City, IA

Imperial Klans of America Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Dawson Springs, KY
Johnstown, PA

International Keystone Knights of the Ku Klan Klan Inc.

Vanndale, AR*
Headland, AL
Pinson, AL
Colt, AR
Young Harris, GA

Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Harrison, AR*
Concord, AR

Knights of the Southern Cross Soldiers of the Ku Klux Klan

Powhatan, VA

Ku Klos Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Church Hill, TN*

Georgia

Indiana

Kentucky

Maryland

Michigan

Ohio

South Carolina

West Virginia

Ku Klux Klan LLC

Compton, AR

Mississippi White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Petal, MS*
Brookhaven, MS
Jackson, MS
Meridian, MS

Georgia

Brush Creek, TN

Texas

Original Knight Riders Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Beckley, WV*

Montgomery Co., AL

Mississippi

Moyock, NC

Harman, WV

Original Knights of America Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Philadelphia, MS*

Florence, MS

Raleigh, MS

Steens, MS

Rebel Brigade Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Martinsville, VA*

Alabama

Delaware

Georgia

Illinois

Kokomo, IN

Kentucky

Louisiana

Maryland

Benson, NC

Eden, NC

Pelham, NC
Nevada
Ohio
Pennsylvania
South Carolina
Tennessee
Virginia
West Virginia

Silent Circle Knight's of the Ku Klux Klan

South Carolina

Texas Rebel Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Splendora, TX

True Invisible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Park Hills, MO*

Anderson, AL

Cullman, AL

Nashua, IA

Hohenwald, TN

Woodbury, TN

True Invisible Empire Traditionalist American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Potosi, MO*

Arkansas

Highland City, FL

Georgia

Illinois

Yoder, IN

Kentucky

Louisiana

Minnesota
New York
Greensboro, NC
Ohio
Oklahoma
Pennsylvania
Ladson, SC
Virginia

West Virginia

United Knights of Tennessee Order of the Ku Klux Klan

Tennessee*

Alabama

California

Colorado

Connecticut

Florida

Georgia

Illinois

Indiana

Kentucky

Maryland

Michigan

North Carolina

Ohio

Pennsylvania

South Carolina

Texas

Virginia

West Virginia

United Northern and Southern Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Fraser, MI*

California
Longmont, CO
Englewood, FL
Hampton, FL
Georgia
Chicago, IL
West College
Corner, IN

Battle Creek, MI
Missouri

New Mexico
North Carolina

Ohio
Oregon

Kingsport, TN
United Realms of

America Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Shelbina, MO

United White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Longview, TX*

Shreveport, LA

Tulsa, OK

Corpus Christi, TX

Dallas, TX

Houston, TX

Virgil's White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Dungannon, VA

White Camelia

Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Cleveland, TX*

Pasadena, TX ▲



NEO-NAZI

This listing of neo-Nazi groups does not include racist skinheads, although most of them hold neo-Nazi beliefs.

American Aryan Reich

Daytona, FL*
Mobile, AL
Little Rock, AR
Sacramento, CA
Jacksonville, FL
Atlanta, GA
Illinois
New Orleans, LA
St. Louis, MO
Gulfport, MS
Raleigh, NC
South Carolina
Gatlinburg, TN

American National Socialist Party

Chillicothe, OH*
Corning, CA

Bonita Springs, FL
Eugene, OR
American Nazi Party
Westland, MI*
California
Laurens, SC

Aryan Nations

Wanaque, NJ

Aryan Nations 88

Calhoun, LA*
Ashland, AL
Arkansas
Poway, CA
Wilmington, DE
Hiawasseo, GA
Statesboro, GA
Boise, ID
Westville, IL
Slaughter, LA

Maine
Maryland
Mora, MN
Hawk Point, MO
East Bend, NC
North Bergen, NJ
Lake George, NY
Marion, OH
Darby, PA
Elm, PA
Myrtle Beach, SC
Adamsville, TN
Antioch, TN
Arlington, TX
Roanoke, VA
Tacoma, WA
Green Lake, WI
Falling Waters, WV
Ona, WV

Christian Defense League
Mandeville, LA
The Creativity Alliance
Arkansas
Clovis, CA
Georgia
Montana
Nevada
North Carolina
Philadelphia, PA
South Carolina
Mountain City, TN
Texas
Draper, UT
Virginia
West Virginia
The Creativity Movement
Zion, IL*
Alabama
Denver County, CO
Connecticut
Maryland
Kansas City, MO
Billings, MT
New York
Chillicothe, OH
Texas
Washington
Mountain, WI
Laramie County, WY
Gallows Tree
Wotansvolk Alliance
Grand Rapids, MI
Maryland National Socialist Party
Elkridge, MD
National Alliance
Hillsboro, WV*
Los Angeles, CA
Sacramento, CA
Columbus, GA

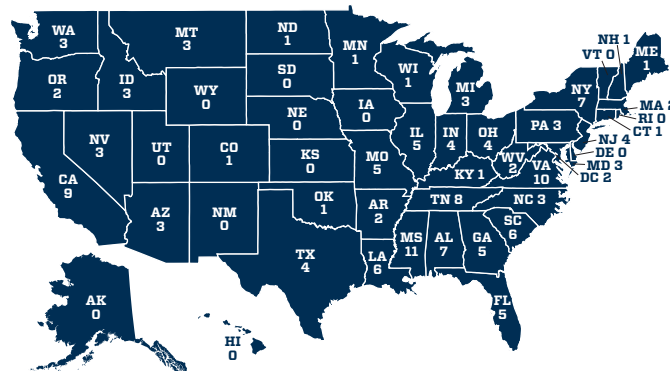
Raleigh, NC
Las Vegas, NV
Cincinnati, OH
Parma, OH
Dallas/Fort Worth, TX
Nationalist Coalition
St. Petersburg, FL*
Mesa, AZ
Denver, CO
National Socialist
American Labor Party
Burbank, CA*
Georgia
Idaho
New Castle, ME
New York
Toledo, OH
Texas
Washington
National Socialist Aryan Order
Davison, MI
National Socialist Freedom Movement
Tulsa, OK*
Sussex County, DE
Florida
National Socialist German Workers Party
Lincoln, NE
National Socialist Movement
Detroit, MI*
Phoenix, AZ
Riverside, CA
San Diego, CA
San Francisco, CA
Connecticut
Delaware
Florida
Tampa Bay, FL
North Georgia
South Georgia

Illinois
Schiller Park, IL
Wakarusa, IN
Lansing, KS
Kentucky
Louisiana
Maine
Elkridge, MD
Minnesota
Springfield, MO
Tupelo, MS
Montana
Nebraska
New Hampshire
Bayonne, NJ
Birmingham, NJ
Browns Mills, NJ
Central New Jersey, NJ
Clifton, NJ
Holland Township, NJ
Nevada
New York
Downstate New York
Long Island, NY
Upstate New York
North Carolina
Ohio
Oklahoma City, OK
Oregon
Portland, OR
East Pennsylvania
Lehigh Valley, PA
Rhode Island
South Carolina
Charleston, SC
Greenville, SC
Central Tennessee
Tennessee
Texas
Utah
Virginia
Vermont
Vancouver, WA

Milwaukee, WI
Kanawha County, WV
Wyoming
New Order
Milwaukee, WI
NS Publications
Wyandotte, MI

Revolutionary Order of the Aryan Republic
Chattanooga, TN
SS Regalia
Edgewater, MD
Third Reich Books
Lincoln, NE

White Aryan Resistance
Warsaw, IN
White Revolution
Mountain View, AR*
Louisville, KY
Boston, MA ▲



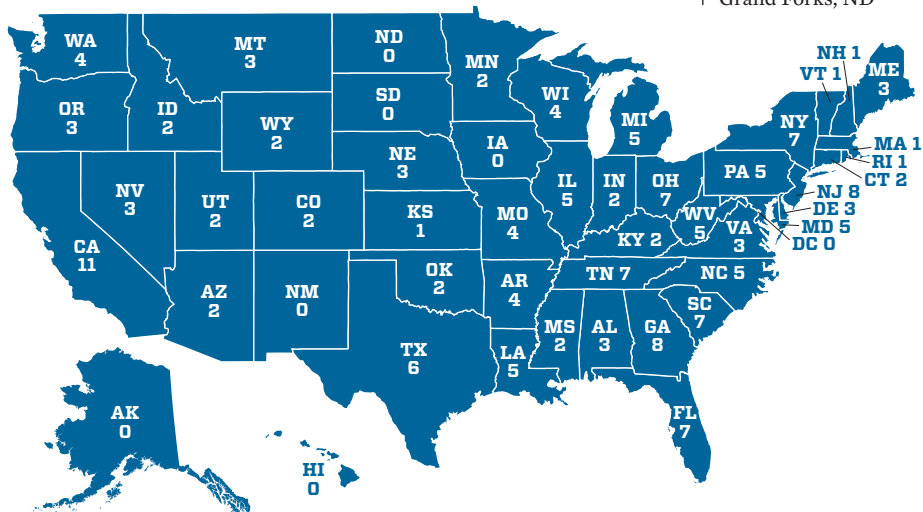
WHITE NATIONALIST

White nationalist groups espouse white supremacist or white separatist ideologies, often focusing on the alleged inferiority of nonwhites. Groups listed in several other categories could also be described as white nationalist.

Alternative Right
Whitefish, MT
American Nationalist Union
Las Vegas, NV
American Renaissance/ New Century Foundation
Oakton, VA*
Chicago, IL
Quincy, MA
Arlington, VA
American Third Position
Grand Forks, ND*

Mesa, AZ
San Diego, CA
Westminster, CA
Jacksonville, FL
Southern Illinois
Indianapolis, IN
Kentucky
Maine
Michigan
Ridgedale, MO
Butler, NJ
New York, NY
Ohio
Pennsylvania
South Carolina
Washington
Monongalia Co., WV
Wisconsin
Aryan Wear
Keller, TX
Center for Perpetual Diversity
Gaithersburg, MD
Charles Darwin Research Institute
Port Huron, MI
Conservative Citizens Foundation, Inc.
St. Louis, MO
Council for Social and Economic Studies
Washington, DC

Council of Conservative Citizens
St. Louis, MO*
Birmingham, AL
Cullman, AL
Florence, AL
Huntsville, AL
Jasper, AL
Montgomery, AL
Little Rock, AR
San Bernardino Co., CA
San Francisco, CA
Beverly Hills, FL
East Georgia
Chicago, IL
Carmel, IN
Shreveport, LA
St. Amant, LA
Silver Spring, MD
St. Louis, MO
Calhoun City, MS
Greenwood, MS
Holly Springs, MS
Jackson, MS
Mathiston, MS
Piney Woods, MS
Tupelo, MS
Vaiden, MS
Clemmons, NC
Raleigh, NC
New Jersey
Fort Lee, NJ



Las Vegas, NV
 New York, NY
 Cleveland, OH
 Revere, PA
 Saluda, SC
 West Columbia, SC
 Bartlett, TN
 Cleveland, TN
 Franklin, TN
 Giles County, TN
 Knoxville/
 Chattanooga, TN
 Memphis, TN
 Southwest Virginia
**The Council of White
 Patriot Voters**
 Baldwin, MS
Counter-Currents
Publishing
 San Francisco, CA
Do Right Foundation
 Las Vegas, NV
European
Americans United

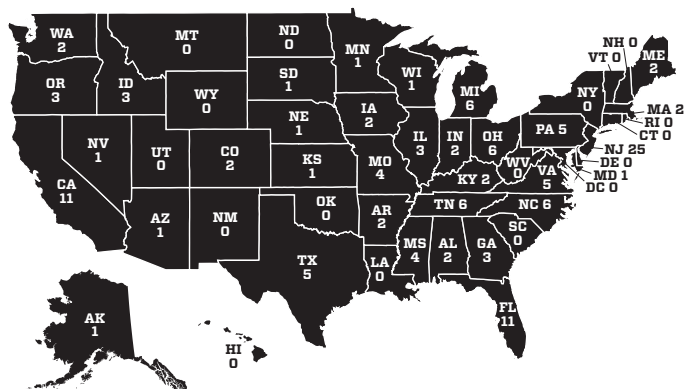
Sacramento, CA
**European-Ameri-
 can Unity and Rights
 Organization**
 Mandeville, LA*
 Jacksonville, FL
 Columbus, GA
 Savannah, GA
 Thibodaux, LA
 Ripley, MS
 Cleveland, OH
 Tulsa, OK
 Columbia, SC
 Woodruff, SC
 Dallas/Fort Worth, TX
 Irving, TX
 Richmond, VA
**The Fitzgerald Griffin
 Foundation**
 Vienna, VA
Folk and Faith
 Idaho Falls, ID
Free American
 Tucson, AZ

Free Edgar Steele
 Sagle, ID
Heritage and Destiny
 Falls Church, VA
H.L. Mencken Club
 Brooklyn, NY
Iron Rain Nationalists
 Chicago, IL
The Kinist Institute
 Orlando, FL
**The League of Ameri-
 can Patriots**
 Garfield, NJ
Lighthouse Literature
 Indianapolis, IN
Nationalist
Movement
 Learned, MS
National Policy
Institute
 Augusta, GA
New Century
Productions
 Littleton, CO

North East White Pride
 Haverhill, MA
 New Hampshire
Northwest Front
 Seattle, WA
NPI TV
 Brooklyn, NY
Occidental Dissent
 Birmingham, AL
Occidental Quarterly/
Charles Martel
Society
 Augusta, GA
Pacifica Forum
 Eugene, OR
Patriotic Flags
 Summerville, SC
Pioneer Fund
 New York, NY
Pioneer Little Europe
 Kalispell, MT
The Political Cesspool
 Bartlett, TN
Racial Nationalist

Party of America
 Lockport, NY
Representative
**Government Educa-
 tion Foundation**
 Lexington, VA
Scott-Townsend
Publishers
 Washington, DC
South Africa Project
 Converse, LA*
 Arizona
 Arkansas
 California
 Connecticut
 Illinois
 Maryland
 Michigan
 Minnesota
 Missouri
 New York
 North Carolina
 Ohio
 Pennsylvania

Tennessee
 Texas
 Virginia
Stormfront
 West Palm Beach, FL
Temple 88
 Washington*
 California
 Idaho
 Oregon
 Virginia
 Farmington, WV
VDARE Foundation
 Warrenton, VA
Voice of Reason
Broadcast Network
 Pasadena, CA
Washington Summit
Publishers
 Whitefish, MT
White Riders RC
 Arcadia, LA
WTM Enterprises
 Roanoke, IN ▲



AC Skins

Absecon, NJ
 Atlantic City, NJ
 Browns Mills, NJ
 East Brunswick, NJ
 Galloway, NJ
 Linwood, NJ
 Little Egg Harbor
 City, NJ
 Manchester
 Township, NJ
 Marlton, NJ
 Somers Point, NJ
 Wildwood, NJ
 Woodbine, NJ
American Front
 Sacramento, CA*
 Lynn Haven, FL
 St. Cloud, FL
 Hackensack, NJ
 Haledon, NJ
 Roselle, NJ

Aryan Rebels

Mason, TN*
 Covington, TN
 Ripley, TN
Aryan Terror Brigade
 Flemington, NJ
 Arkansas
 California
 Colorado
 Florida
 Georgia
 Idaho
 Illinois
 Indiana
 Kentucky
 Massachusetts
 Michigan
 Missouri
 New Jersey
 Fords, NJ
 North Carolina
 Ohio
 Texas

Bergen County

Hooligans
 Garfield, NJ
 Wallington, NJ
Blood and Honour
America Division
 Portland, OR*
 Arkansas
 Northern California
 Southern California
 Lakeland, FL
 Maine
 Michigan
 Mississippi
 Lake St. Louis, MO
 Ohio
 Pennsylvania
 Texas
 Virginia
Blood and Honour
U.S.A
 Richardson, TX*
 Littleton, CO



RACIST SKINHEAD

Skinheads are migratory and often not affiliated with groups. This listing understates their numbers.

Fords, NJ
 North Carolina
 Salem, OH
California Skinheads
 Fresno, CA
Confederate
Hammerskins
 Orlando, FL*
 Huntsville, AL
 Jacksonville, FL
 Ocala, FL
 North Carolina
 Nashville, TN
 Petersburg, VA
Crew 38
 Huntsville, AL
 San Diego, CA
 Largo, FL
 Idaho
 Detroit, MI
 Mississippi
 North Carolina
 Tennessee
 Virginia
 Seattle, WA
Eastern Hammerskins
 Allentown, PA
Folkish Women Front
 Pisgah, IA
 Mississippi

Golden State
Skinheads
 California
Independent Skins
Southwest
 Cleburne, TX*
 Callahan, FL
Keystone State
Skinheads
 Harrisburg, PA*
 Philadelphia, PA
Maryland State
Skinheads
 Baltimore, MD
Midland
Hammerskins
 Wichita, KS*
 South Dakota
Northern
Hammerskins
 Illinois
 Detroit, MI
Northwest
Hammerskins
 Idaho
 Eugene, OR
 Washington
Old Glory Skinheads
 North Carolina*
 Georgia

Virginia
Supreme White
Alliance
 Ohio*
 California
 Florida
 Georgia
 Iowa
 Kentucky
 Missouri
 Nevada
 New Jersey
 North Carolina
 San Angelo, TX
 Wisconsin
United Society of
Aryan Skinheads
 San Diego, CA
Vinlanders
 Anchorage, AK
 Mesa, AZ
 Illinois
 Knightstown, IN
 Michigan
 Minnesota
 Cherry Hill, NJ
 Closter, NJ
 Pt. Pleasant Beach, NJ
 Ohio
Volksfront

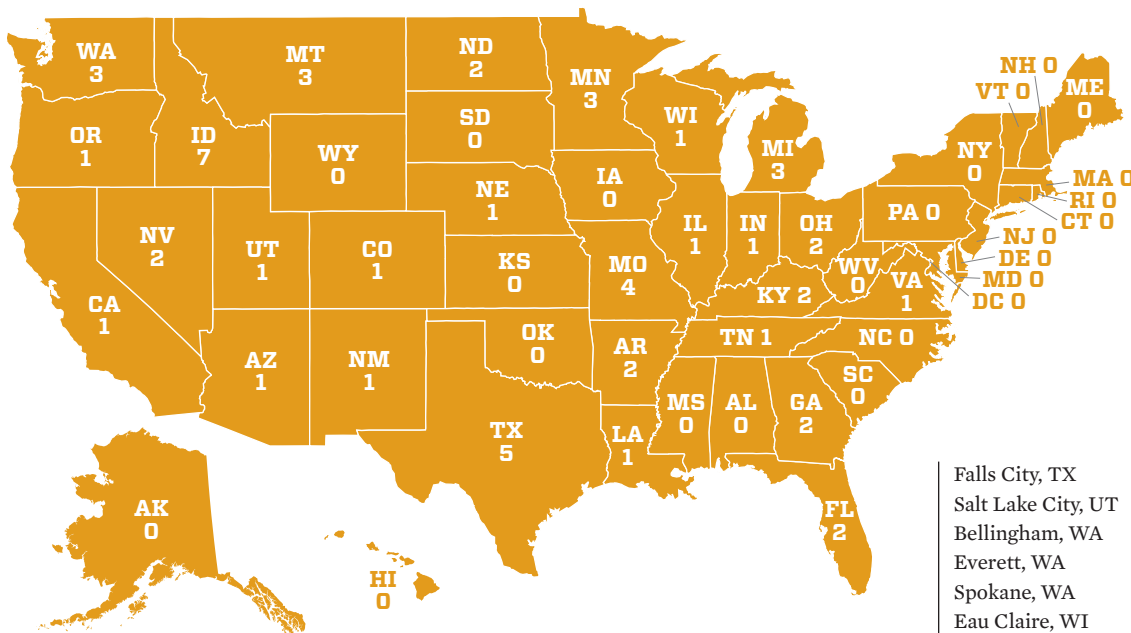
Portland, OR*
California
Pensacola, FL
Boston, MA
Maine
Detroit, MI
Mississippi
Bridgeton, MO

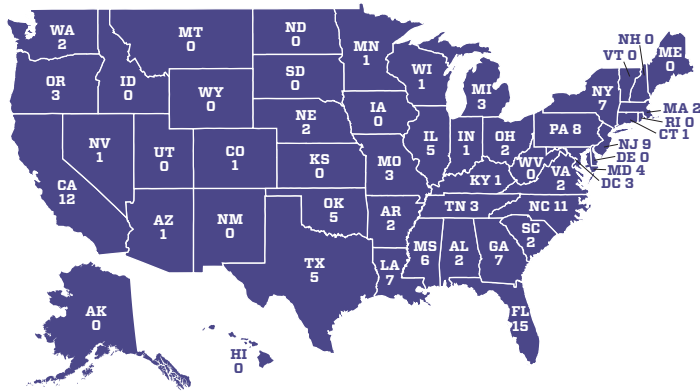
Nebraska
Cleveland, OH
Pennsylvania
Tennessee
Norfolk, VA
**Western
Hammerskins**
San Diego, CA ▲



CHRISTIAN IDENTITY

Christian Identity describes a religion that is fundamentally racist and anti-Semitic. Some groups listed in other categories, such as the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations and several Klan groups, also hold Christian Identity beliefs.





BLACK SEPARATIST

Black separatist groups are organizations whose ideologies include tenets of racially based hatred.

All Eyes On Egypt Bookstore

Chicago, IL

All Eyes On Egypt Bookstore

Macon, GA

The Israelite Church of God in Jesus Christ

New York, NY*

Washington, DC

Fort Myers, FL

North Miami, FL

Orlando, FL

West Palm Beach, FL

Baltimore, MD

North Minneapolis, MN

Kansas City, MO

Fayetteville, NC

Goldsboro, NC

Wilmington, NC

Omaha, NE

Asbury Park, NJ

Camden, NJ

Jersey City, NJ

Vineland, NJ

Lawton, OK

Oklahoma City, OK

Tulsa, OK

Beaverton, OR

Portland, OR

Allentown, PA

Coatesville, PA

Norristown, PA

Philadelphia, PA

Pittsburgh, PA

Nation of Islam

Chicago, IL*

Birmingham, AL

Montgomery, AL

Little Rock, AR

Pine Bluff, AR

Phoenix, AZ

Compton, CA

Fresno, CA

Inland Empire, CA

Long Beach, CA

Los Angeles, CA

Oakland, CA

Richmond, CA

Sacramento, CA

San Diego, CA

San Francisco, CA

Stockton, CA

Bridgeport, CT

Washington, DC

Fort Lauderdale, FL

Miami, FL

Orlando, FL

St. Petersburg, FL

Tampa, FL

Albany, GA

Atlanta, GA

Columbus, GA

Macon, GA

Marietta, GA

Harvey, IL

Peoria, IL

Rockford, IL

Indianapolis, IN

Baton Rouge, LA

Monroe, LA

New Orleans, LA

Shreveport, LA

Boston, MA

Springfield, MA

Baltimore, MD

Curtis Bay, MD

Detroit, MI

Flint, MI

Grand Rapids, MI

Kansas City, MO

St. Louis, MO

Gulfport, MS

Hattiesburg, MS

Holly Springs, MS

Horn Lake, MS

Jackson, MS

Southaven, MS

Charlotte, NC

Durham, NC

Greenville, NC

Winston-Salem, NC

Omaha, NE

Jersey City, NJ

Newark, NJ

New Brunswick, NJ

Plainfield, NJ

Las Vegas, NV

Brooklyn, NY

Buffalo, NY

Harlem, NY

Rochester, NY

Cincinnati, OH

Youngstown, OH

Portland, OR

Chester, PA

Philadelphia, PA

Pittsburgh, PA

Charleston, SC

Columbia, SC

Memphis, TN

Nashville, TN

Austin, TX

Dallas, TX

Fort Worth, TX

Houston, TX

Norfolk, VA

Richmond, VA

Seattle, WA

Milwaukee, WI

National Black Foot Soldier Network

Oakland, CA

Denver, CO

Delray Beach, FL

Gainesville, FL

Jacksonville, FL

Savannah, GA

St. Tammany Parish, LA

Baltimore, MD

Chapel Hill, NC

Durham, NC

Mecklenburg Co., NC

Raleigh, NC

New York

Harlem, NY

Oklahoma City, OK

Tulsa, OK

Knoxville, TN

Seattle, WA

New Black

Panther Party

Washington, DC*

Jacksonville, FL

Miami, FL

Tampa, FL

Louisville, KY

Louisiana

Gueydan, LA

Trenton, NJ

Houston, TX ▲



GENERAL HATE

These organizations are subdivided into anti-gay, anti-immigrant, Holocaust denial, racist music, and radical traditionalist Catholic groups. A final “other” sub-category includes groups espousing a variety of hateful doctrines.

ANTI-GAY (27)

Abiding Truth Ministries

Springfield, MA

American Family Association

Tupelo, MS

Americans for Truth About Homosexuality

Naperville, IL

American Vision

Powder Springs, GA

Bethesda Christian Institute

San Antonio, TX

Chalcedon Foundation

Vallecito, CA

Faithful Word Baptist Church

Tempe, AZ

Family Research Council

Washington, DC

Family Research Institute

Colorado Springs, CO

H.O.M.E. Heterosexuals Organized for a Moral Environment

Downers Grove, IL

Illinois Family Institute

Carol Stream, IL

Jewish Political

Action Committee

Brooklyn, NY

Mass Resistance

Waltham, MA

Mission: America

Columbus, OH

Parents Action League

Champlin, MN

Public Advocate of the United States

Falls Church, VA

Repent or Burn in Hell Ministry

Loxley, AL

Save California

Sacramento, CA

Sons of Thundr (Faith Baptist Church)

Luthersville, GA

Tom Brown Ministries

El Paso, TX

Traditional Values Coalition

Anaheim, CA*

Washington, DC

True Light Pentecost Church

Spartanburg, SC

United Families International

Gilbert, AZ

Westboro Baptist Church

Topeka, KS

Windsor Hills Baptist Church

Oklahoma City, OK

You Can Run, But You Cannot Hide

Annandale, MN

ANTI-IMMIGRANT (11) American Border Patrol

Sierra Vista, AZ

American Immigration Control

Foundation/Americans for Immigration Control

Monterey, VA

American Patrol/Voice of Citizens Together

Sherman Oaks, CA

Border Guardians

Livingston, TX

California Coalition for Immigration

Reform

Huntington Beach, CA

Concerned Citizens and Friends of Illegal Immigration Law Enforcement

Framingham, MA

Federation for American Immigration Reform

Washington, DC

Save Our State

San Bernardino, CA

Social Contract Press

Petoskey, MI

United for a Sovereign America (USA)

Phoenix, AZ

US Border Guard & Border Rangers

Mesa, AZ

ANTI-MUSLIM (30)

9/11 Christian Center at Ground Zero

New York, NY

Aggressive Christianity
Fence Lake, NM*
Berino, NM
The American Defence League
New York, NY
Atlas Shrugs
New York, NY
Bare Naked Islam
Marina Del Rey, CA
Barnhardt Capital Management, Inc.
Lone Tree, CO
Casa D'Ice Signs
North Versailles, PA
Christian Action Network
Forest, VA
Christian Guardians
San Francisco, CA
Christian Phalange
Newton, NC
Citizen Warrior
Nashville, TN
Concerned American Citizens
Wildomar, CA
Concerned Citizens for the First Amendment
Hemet, CA
Escaping Islam
Wildomar, CA
Faith Freedom
Bellevue, WA
Freedom Defense Initiative (FDI)
New York, NY
Gold is Money
Lone Tree, CO
Insight USA
Orlando, FL
Islam: the Religion of Peace (and a big stack of dead bodies)
Marietta, GA
Jihad Watch
Sherman Oaks, CA
Political Islam
Nashville, TN
Radio Jihad
New York
Sharia Awareness Action Network
Washington, DC
Silver Bullet Gun Oil
Courtland, VA
Stop the Islamization of America (SIOA)
New York, NY

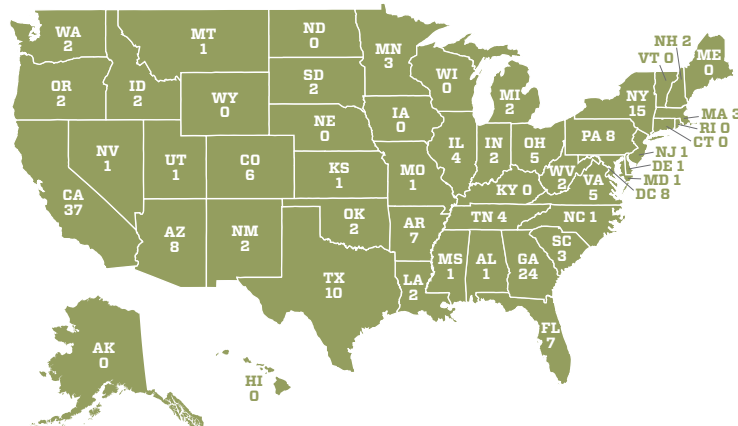
Sultan Knish a blog by Daniel Greenfield
New York, NY
Tennessee Freedom Coalition
Nashville, TN
United States Justice Foundation
Ramona, CA
The United West
Lake Worth, FL
HOLOCAUST DENIAL (9)
Barnes Review/Foundation for Economic Liberty, Inc.
Washington, DC
Campaign for Radical Truth in History
Coeur d'Alene, ID
Castle Hill Publishers
New York, NY
Inconvenient History
San Ysidro, CA
Institute for Historical Review
Fountain Valley, CA
Institute for Historical Review Store
Newport Beach, CA
The International Conspiratological Association
Coeur d'Alene, ID
Irving Books
Key West, FL
Noontide Press
Newport Beach, CA
RACIST MUSIC (15)
Desastrous Records
Springtown, TX
Diehard Records
Chesapeake, OH
DJ GOR
Bedford, PA
Fetch the Rope
Bozeman, MT
Final Stand Records
Newark, DE
Get Some 88
Castaic, CA
Heritage Connection
Harrison, AR
ISD Records
Lancaster, OH
Life Rune Industries
Portland, OR*
North Highlands, CA
Micetrap Distribution
Maple Shade, NJ
MSR Productions
Wheat Ridge, CO

Poker Face
Allentown, PA
Resistance Records
Hillsboro, WV
Tightrope
Calico Rock, AR
RADICAL TRADITIONAL CATHOLIC (17)
Alliance for Catholic Tradition
Pleasant Unity, PA
Catholic Apologetics International Publishing, Inc.
State Line, PA
Catholic Counterpoint
Broomall, PA
Catholic Family News/Catholic Family Ministries, Inc.
Niagara Falls, NY
Christ or Chaos
West Chester, OH
Culture Wars/Fidelity Press
South Bend, IN
The Fatima Crusader/International Fatima Rosary Crusade
Constable, NY
IHM Media
Richmond, NH
IHS Press
Odessa, TX
In the Spirit of Chartres Committee
Suffolk, VA
Legion of St. Louis
Odessa, TX
Most Holy Family Monastery
Fillmore, NY
OMNI Christian Book Club
Palmdale, CA
The Remnant/The Remnant Press
Forest Lake, MN
Slaves of the Immaculate Heart of Mary
Richmond, NH
St. Michael's Parish/Mount St. Michael
Spokane, WA
Tradition in Action
Los Angeles, CA
OTHER (81)
a2z Publications
Las Vegas, NV

American Free Press
Washington, DC
Artisan Publishers
Muskogee, OK
As-Sabiqun
Washington, DC*
Los Angeles, CA
Oakland, CA
Sacramento, CA
San Diego, CA
Philadelphia, PA
Bill Keller Ministries (Bill Keller)
St. Petersburg, FL
Chick Publications
Ontario, CA
Christian Anti-Defamation Commission
Vista, CA
Christian Books and Things
Harrison, AR
The church at Kaweah
Kaweah, CA
Cross Bearer Ministry
Indianapolis, IN
Cultural Studies Press
New York, NY
The Dakota Voice
Rapid City, SD
DefendStudents.org
Vista, CA
Dove World Outreach Center
Gainesville, FL
Fundamentalist Latter Day Saints
Hildale, UT*
Colorado City, AZ
Mancos, CO
Westcliffe, CO
Pringle, SD
Eldorado, TX
Geauga Constitutional Council
Mayfield Heights, OH

Georgia Militia
Newton County, GA*
Bartow County, GA
Blairsville, GA
Bulloch County, GA
Camden County, GA
Catoosa County, GA
Chatham County, GA
Cobb County, GA (2)
Coweta County, GA
Douglas County, GA
Franklin County, GA
Fulton County, GA
Gwinnett County, GA
Jackson County, GA
Meriwether Co., GA
Newton County, GA
Paulding County, GA
Richmond Co., GA
Stephens County, GA
Holy Nation of Odin
Kingsburg, CA
Invictus Books
Wentzville, MO
Jamaat al-Muslimeen
Baltimore, MD
Jewish Defense League
Los Angeles, CA*
Arizona
San Diego, CA
Fort Lauderdale, FL
Skokie, IL
Louisiana
Michigan
South Carolina
Texas
Jewish Task Force
Fresh Meadows, NY
M.A.C.S. Klan Merchandise
Louisiana
Masjid al Islam
Washington, DC*
Oakland, CA
National Prayer

Network
Clackamas, OR
National Vanguard Books
Hillsboro, WV
Official Street Preachers
Los Angeles, CA
Ozark Craft LC
Harrison, AR
Power of Prophecy
Austin, TX
The Redneck Shop
Laurens, SC
Reformation-Bible Puritan-Baptist Church
Newmanstown, PA
Society for the Practical Establishment and Perpetuation of the Ten Commandments
Eatonton, GA
Sons of Aesir Motorcycle Club
Maricopa County, AZ
Tea Party Nation
Franklin, TN
Tony Alamo Christian Ministries
Fouke, AR*
Fort Smith, AR
Canyon Country, CA
New York, NY
Texarkana, TX
Truth Triumphant
Eustis, FL
Vinland Folk Resistance
Kingsburg, CA
Voz de Aztlan
Whittier, CA
White Pride Home School Resource Center
Bergman, AR ▲



'Patriot' Groups

The Intelligence Project identified 1274 anti-government "Patriot" groups that were active in 2011. Of these groups, 334 were militias, marked with an asterisk, and the remainder includes "common-law" courts, publishers, ministries and citizens' groups. Generally, Patriot groups define themselves as opposed to the "New World Order," engage in groundless conspiracy theorizing, or advocate or adhere to extreme antigovernment doctrines. Listing here does not imply that the groups themselves advocate or engage in violence or other criminal activities, or are racist. The list was compiled from field reports, Patriot publications, the Internet, law enforcement sources and news reports. Groups are identified by the city, county or region where they are located.

ALABAMA (31)

Alabama Constitutional Militia C.O.C.*

Calhoun County
Clarke County
Coffee County
Elmore County
Marion County
Statewide

Alarm & Muster: The Modern Day

Alarm Riders

Statewide

America Can Be Free

Newton

Assemblies Union of the Several States of the Union of the States of the United States of America

Childersburg

Constitution Party

Montgomery

East Alabama Citizens' Militia*

Talladega

Freedom Yell

Ozark

Free Patriot Press

Birmingham

Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)

Statewide

John Birch Society

Mobile

Oath Keepers

Statewide

The Republic for the united States of America

Dothan

Skipperville

The Republic for the united States of America — Republic Congress

Skipperville

Statewide

South Alabama Militia*

Ashford

Pansy

Southeast Constitutional Militia*

Statewide

Tenth Amendment Center

Statewide

THREE%ER

Pinson

Watchmen of Alabama*

Statewide

We Are Change

Birmingham

Fultondale

Huntsville

Leesburg

We the People

Madison County

ALASKA (17)

Alarm & Muster: The Modern Day

Alarm Riders

Statewide

Alaska Citizens Militia*

Nikiski

Alaskan Contingent Guard*

Glennallen

McCarthy

Valdez

Alaska Peacemakers Militia*

Fairbanks

Central Alaska Militia*

Delta Junction

Constitution Party (Alaskan Independence Party)

Soldotna

Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)

Statewide

John Birch Society

Statewide

North Slope Militia*

Deadhorse

Oath Keepers

Statewide

The Republic for the united States of America

Statewide

The Republic for the united States of America — Republic Congress

Statewide

Second Amendment Task Force

Fairbanks

South Central Militia*

Wasilla

We the People

Homer

ARIZONA (31)

Alarm & Muster: The Modern Day

Alarm Riders

Statewide

American Patriot Friends Network

Peoria

Arizona Citizens Militia*

Douglas

Arizona Militia*

Glendale

Committee of Safety

Mesa

Constitution Party

Apache County

Cochise County

Coconino County

Goodyear

Navajo County

Pima County

Pinal County

Yavapai County

Yuma County

Freedom's Phoenix

Glendale

Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)

Statewide

Hour of the Time

Eagar

John Birch Society

Statewide

Molon Labe

Phoenix

Oath Keepers

Statewide

The Republic for the united States of America

Coconino County

Maricopa County

Pima County

Scottsdale

Yavapai County

The Republic for the united States of America — Republic Congress

Statewide

Riders United for a Sovereign America, Corp.

Phoenix

Shadow Mountain Bank

Ash Fork

Southeast Valley Tea Party Patriots

Santan Valley

Tenth Amendment Center

Statewide

We the People

Statewide

ARKANSAS (19)

Alarm & Muster: The Modern Day Alarm Riders

Statewide

Arkansas Militia*

Eastern

Little Rock

Northeast

Northwest

South Central Arkansas

Southwest

Western

Constitution Party

Fayetteville

Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)

Statewide

John Birch Society

Fort Smith

Liberty Tree Rangers*

Statewide

Militia of Washington County*

Fayetteville

Oath Keepers

Statewide

The Republic for the united States of America

Statewide

The Republic for the united States of America — Republic Congress

Statewide

Secure Arkansas

Little Rock

We Are Change

Little Rock

Searcy

CALIFORNIA (59)

Alarm & Muster: The Modern Day

Alarm Riders

Statewide

American Armenian Militia*

Los Angeles/San Fernando
Valley Area

American Independent Party

Vacaville

California State Militia — 31st Field Force Squad Alpha/SOG*

Orange County

Constitution Party

Riverside

San Leandro

The Dorean Group

Union City

Educate Yourself

Costa Mesa

Freedom Force International

Thousand Oaks

Freedom Law School

Phelan

Free Enterprise Society

Fresno

Jefferson Home Guard*

Lookout Junction

John Birch Society

Chico

Los Angeles

Sacramento

Simi Valley
 Tulare County
Northern California State Militia*
 Butte County
 Falcon Creek
 Sacramento
 Solano County
 Stockton
 Sunnyvale
 Tehama County
Nullify Now!
 Los Angeles
Oath Keepers
 High Desert
 Northern
 Orange County
 Southern
 Temecula
Radio Liberty
 Soquel
The Republic for the united States of America
 Statewide
The Republic for the united States of America — Republic Congress
 Statewide
Second Amendment Committee
 Hanford
State of California Unorganized Militia*
 Monrovia
Tenth Amendment Center
 Los Angeles
Truth Radio
 Nipomo
UCC Class
 Rocklin
We Are Change
 Bakersfield
 Chico
 Fresno
 Grass Valley
 Hollywood
 Humboldt
 Irvine
 La Verne
 Long Beach
 Los Angeles
 Oakland
 Ontario
 Red Bluff
 Riverside County
 Sacramento
 San Bernardino
 San Diego
 San Francisco Bay Area
 San Luis Obispo
 Stockton
We the People
 San Diego
COLORADO (29)
38 Field Force/Colorado Militia*
 Statewide
America First Party
 Boulder

American Freedom Network
 Johnstown
Colorado State Group*
 Statewide
Colorado State Militias*
 Lakewood
Constitution Party
 Adams County
 Arvada
 Douglas County
 Elbert County
 El Paso County
 Jefferson County
 Platteville
Discharge Debt
 Broomfield
eMilitary Manuals
 Montrose
Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
 Statewide
Javelin Press
 Ignacio
John Birch Society
 Aurora
Oath Keepers
 Statewide
The Republic for the united States of America
 Statewide
The Republic for the united States of America — Republic Congress
 Statewide
Team Law
 Grand Junction
Tenth Amendment Center
 Statewide
Tyranny Response Team
 Johnstown
We Are Change
 Colorado Springs
 Durango
 Fort Collins
 Huerfano
 Statewide
We the People
 Colorado Springs
CONNECTICUT (17)
Committees of Safety
 Weston
Connecticut 51st Militia
 Terryville
Connecticut Patriot Alliance
 Canterbury
 Poquonock
Connecticut Survivalist Alliance
 Middlefield
Constitution Party
 Plantsville
Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
 Statewide
John Birch Society
 Shelton
Oath Keepers
 Statewide
The Post & Email

Stafford Springs
The Republic for the united States of America
 Statewide
The Republic for the united States of America — Republic Congress
 Statewide
Tenth Amendment Center
 Statewide
We Are Change
 Wallingford
 Waterbury
We the People
 Statewide
We the People — Constitution Lobby of Connecticut
 Waterbury
DELAWARE (10)
Constitution Party
 Bear
 Clayton
Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
 Statewide
John Birch Society
 Statewide
Mid-Atlantic Trustees and Administrators
 Rehoboth Beach
Oath Keepers
 Statewide
The Republic for the united States of America
 Statewide
Sovereign State Depository
 Wilmington
We Are Change
 Statewide
We the People
 Smyrna
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA (7)
John Birch Society
 Washington, DC
Oath Keepers
 Washington, DC
Tyranny Response Team
 Washington, DC
We Are Change
 Washington, DC
We the People
 Washington, DC
WND Books
 Washington, DC
WorldNetDaily
 Washington, DC
FLORIDA (50)
Alarm & Muster: The Modern Day Alarm Riders
 Statewide
America First Party of Florida
 Fort White
Constitution Party
 Deltona
 Fort Myers
 Hollywood
 Lake Worth

Ocala
 St. Johns County
Florida Constitution Guard*
 Orlando
Florida Free Militia*
 Palm Coast
Florida Preparedness Group*
 Daytona
 Gainesville
 Miami
 Orlando
 Palm Beach County
 Statewide
 St. Augustine
 St. Lucie County
 Tampa
Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
 Statewide
John Birch Society
 Gainesville
 Jacksonville
 Volusia County
 Winter Garden
Northeast Florida Preparedness Group*
 Avondale
North Florida Survival Group*
 North
North West Florida Militia — The Fighting 1st*
 Gulf Breeze
Oath Keepers
 Statewide
The Republic for the united States of America
 Brevard County
 Marion County
 Naples
 Statewide
 Venice
 Wildwood
The Republic for the united States of America — Republic Congress
 Statewide
Southeast Constitutional Militia*
 Sarasota
Tenth Amendment Center
 Jacksonville
 Pensacola
 Tampa Bay
Tyranny Response Team
 Statewide
Watchmen of Florida*
 Statewide
We Are Change
 Fort Myers
 Miami
 Orlando
 Palm Beach
 Port St. Lucie
 Sarasota
 Tallahassee
 Tampa
We the People
 Tamarac

GEORGIA (22)

Alarm & Muster: The Modern Day

Alarm Riders

Statewide

American Resistance Radio

Martinez

Confederate States Home Guard*

Tate

Constitution Party

Barnesville

Lawrenceville

Pooler

Woodstock

Discount Book Distributors/The

Patriot Depot

Powder Springs

Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)

Statewide

John Birch Society

Statewide

Liberty Alliance

Powder Springs

Militia of Georgia*

Lawrenceville

The Moorish Science Temple of

America 1928

Atlanta

Oath Keepers

Statewide

Preamble Trust

Atlanta

The Republic for the united States

of America

Statewide

The Republic for the united States

of America — Republic Congress

Statewide

Southeast Constitutional Militia*

Statewide

Tenth Amendment Center

Statewide

We Are Change

Atlanta

LaGrange

Savannah

HAWAII (8)

Constitution Party

Honolulu

The deJure Free Nation of Hawaii

Statewide

Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)

Statewide

Oath Keepers

Statewide

The Republic for the united States

of America

Statewide

The Republic for the united States

of America — Republic Congress

Statewide

We Are Change

Maui

Pahoa

IDAHO (23)

Alarm & Muster: The Modern Day

Alarm Riders

Statewide

Commercial Redemption

Boise

Constitution Party

Carey

Chubbock

Gooding County

Kootenai County

Parma

Twin Falls County

Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)

Statewide

Idaho Observer

Spirit Lake

John Birch Society

Boise

National Center for Constitutional

Studies

Malta

North Idaho Light Foot Militia*

Bonner County

Boundary County

Kootenai County

Oath Keepers

Statewide

Palouse Lightfoot Militia*

Moscow

Police & Military Against the New

World Order

Kamiah

The Republic for the united States

of America

Statewide

The Republic for the united States

of America — Republic Congress

Statewide

Status Is Freedom

Boise

We Are Change

Statewide

We the People

Statewide

ILLINOIS (40)

Alarm & Muster: The Modern Day

Alarm Riders

Statewide

America First Party of Illinois

St. Charles

Camp FEMA

Northbrook

Constitution Party

Rolling Meadows

Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)

Statewide

Illinois Sons of Liberty*

Adams County

Bureau County

Champaign County

Clark County

Clay County

Cook County

Henry County

Jackson County

Kane County

Livingston County

Macon County

Macoupin County

McHenry County

Menard County

Ogle County

Peoria County

Saline County

Shelby County

Statewide

St. Clair County

Warren County

Will County

Illinois State Militia (Unorganized)*

Statewide

John Birch Society

Statewide

Martial Law Survival

Thomson

Oath Keepers

Statewide

The Republic for the united States

of America

Statewide

The Republic for the united States

of America — Republic Congress

Statewide

Restore the Republic

Northbrook

Tenth Amendment Center

Statewide

Watchmen of Illinois*

Statewide

We Are Change

Chicago

Peoria

Rockford

We the People

Statewide

INDIANA (38)

4th Regiment Watchmen of

Indiana*

Fortville

Alarm & Muster: The Modern Day

Alarm Riders

Statewide

Constitution Party

Leo

Constitution Preservation

Hammond

Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)

Statewide

Indiana Militia Corps*

Ingalls

Northeast

Northwest

Pendleton

Southeast

Southwest

Tippecanoe County

Indianapolis Baptist Temple

Indianapolis

Indiana's Greene County Militia*

Greene County

Indiana Sons of Liberty*

Daviess County

Hamilton County

Henry County

Howard County

Huntington

Monroe County

Scott County

Steuben County

Vanderburgh County

Vigo County

Wabash County

Warrick County

Indiana State Militia 14th

Regiment*

Owen

John Birch Society

Indianapolis

Oath Keepers

Statewide

The Republic for the united States

of America

Wabash

The Republic for the united States

of America — Republic Congress

Statewide

Sons of Liberty

Columbus

Tenth Amendment Center

Statewide

Watchmen of Indiana*

Statewide

We Are Change

Allen County

Charlestown

Jasper

We the People

Statewide

IOWA (12)

Alarm & Muster: The Modern Day

Alarm Riders

Statewide

Constitution Party

Eldon

Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)

Statewide

John Birch Society

Statewide

Oath Keepers

Statewide

The Republic for the united States

of America

Statewide

The Republic for the united States

of America — Republic Congress

Statewide

We Are Change

Cedar Falls

Davenport/Bettendorf

Des Moines

Sioux City

We the People — Constitution

Lobby of Iowa

Elkader

KANSAS (15)

Alarm & Muster: The Modern Day

Alarm Riders
Statewide

Constitution Party
Bel Aire

The Freeman Perspective
Lawrence

Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
Statewide

John Birch Society
Statewide

Kansas State Militia*
Wichita

Oath Keepers
Statewide

Tenth Amendment Center
Statewide

The Republic for the united States of America
Statewide

The Republic for the united States of America — Republic Congress
Statewide

We Are Change
Lawrence

We the People
Burlington

We the People — Constitution Lobby of Kansas
Statewide

KENTUCKY (20)
1st Joint Public Militia*
Bowling Green

Alarm & Muster: The Modern Day Alarm Riders
Statewide

Constitution Party
Lexington

Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
Statewide

John Birch Society
Statewide

Kentucky's Section 8 Militia*
Central

Kentucky State Militia — Ohio Valley Command*
Louisville

N. KY. Militia*
Brooksville

Oath Keepers
Statewide

PatriotResistance.com
Lexington

The Republic for the united States of America
Statewide

The Republic for the united States of America — Republic Congress
Statewide

Take Back Kentucky
Clarkson

Tenth Amendment Center
Statewide

Watchmen of America
Lexington

We Are Change
Highland Heights

We the People
Lexington

LOUISIANA (16)
Alarm & Muster: The Modern Day Alarm Riders
Statewide

Constitution Party
Leonville

Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
Statewide

John Birch Society
New Orleans

Oath Keepers
Statewide

The Republic for the united States of America
Statewide

The Republic for the united States of America — Republic Congress
Statewide

Southeast Constitutional Militia*
Statewide

Tenth Amendment Center
Statewide

Truth Attack
Shreveport

The united States De Jure Government
Duplessis

Washitaw Empire de Dugdahmoundyah
Monroe

Watchmen of Louisiana*
Statewide

We Are Change
New Orleans

We the People
Baton Rouge

MAINE (17)
Constitution Party
New Castle

Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
Statewide

John Birch Society
Statewide

Maine Constitutional Militia*
Statewide

Maine Highlands Defense Force*
Bangor

Maine Patriot Books
Brunswick

Maine Patriot Militia*
Berwick

Maine Sons of Liberty*
Cumberland County

Oath Keepers
Statewide

The Republic for the united States of America
Statewide

The Republic for the united States of America — Republic Congress
Statewide

Sovereignty International, Inc.
Bangor

Tenth Amendment Center
Statewide

Watchmen of Maine*
Statewide

We Are Change
Brunswick

We the People
Lincoln

MARYLAND (12)
America's Survival, Inc.
Owings

Constitution Party — Marylanders for Constitutional Governance
Rockville

Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
Statewide

The Institute on the Constitution
Pasadena

John Birch Society
Elkton

Oath Keepers
Statewide

The Republic for the united States of America
Statewide

The Republic for the united States of America — Republic Congress
Statewide

Save A Patriot Fellowship
Westminster

We Are Change
Baltimore

We the People
Reisterstown

MASSACHUSETTS (10)
Constitution Party
Townsend

Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
Statewide

John Birch Society
North Reading

Massachusetts Liberty Preservation Association
Belchertown

Oath Keepers
Statewide

The Republic for the united States of America
Worcester

The Republic for the united States of America — Republic Congress
Statewide

Tenth Amendment Center
Statewide

We Are Change
Boston

Springfield

MICHIGAN (79)
Alarm & Muster: The Modern Day Alarm Riders
Statewide

Calhoun Volunteer Michigan Militia/8th Division 11th Brigade MMCW*
Calhoun County

Constitution Party
Dorr

Delta 5 Mobile Light Infantry Militia*
Eaton County

East-Central Volunteer Militia of Michigan*
Lapeer County

The Heartland USA
Sagola

John Birch Society
Statewide

Lenawee Militia*
Lenawee County

Liberty Tree Radio
Dexter

Lost Horizons
Commerce Township

Michigan Militia*
Lansing

Michigan Militia Corps Wolverines*
Branch County

Michigan Patriot Alliance*
Arenac County

Bay County
Cheboygan County

Clinton County
Crawford County

Genesee County
Gladwin County

Gratiot County
Jackson County

Lapeer County
Macomb County

Midland County
Oakland County

Oceana County
Presque Isle County

Saginaw County
Sanilac County

Shiawassee County
Statewide

St. Clair County
Tuscola County

MILITIA 5th Division MI*
Clare County

Ionia County
Isabella County
Kent County
Lake County
Mason County
Mecosta County
Montcalm County
Muskegon County
Newaygo County
Oceana County
Osceola County
Ottawa County
**MILITIA 5th Division MI 9th
Brigade Sniper School***
Mecosta County
Moorish Republic Trust
Oak Park
**Northern Michigan Backyard
Protection Militia***
Northern Michigan Area
Oath Keepers
Farmington Hills
Patriot Broadcasting Network
Dexter
**The Republic for the united States
of America**
Statewide
**The Republic for the united States
of America — Republic Congress**
Statewide
Republic of the United States
Portage
**Southeast Michigan Volunteer
Militia***
Livingston County
Macomb County
Oakland County
St. Clair County
Washtenaw County
Wayne County
Watchmen of Michigan*
Statewide
We Are Change
Clio
Detroit
Fenton
Fremont
Northville
We the People
Taylor
**West Central Michigan Volunteer
Militia***
Grand Rapids
West Michigan Volunteer Militia*
Muskegon County
MINNESOTA (11)
**Alarm & Muster: The Modern Day
Alarm Riders**
Statewide
Constitution Party
Redwood Falls
Genesis Communication Network
Eagan
John Birch Society
Statewide

Oath Keepers
Statewide
**The Republic for the united States
of America**
Statewide
**The Republic for the united States
of America — Republic Congress**
Statewide
Tenth Amendment Center
Statewide
We Are Change
Duluth
Statewide
We the People
Shoreview
MISSISSIPPI (23)
**Alarm & Muster: The Modern Day
Alarm Riders**
Statewide
America First Party of Mississippi
Greenwood
Constitution Party
Ponotoc
East Central Mississippi Militia*
East Central Mississippi Area
Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
Statewide
John Birch Society
Statewide
Mississippi Constitutional Militia*
Greene County
Mississippi Militia*
Southaven
Mississippi Preparedness Chapter*
East Central
Northeast
Northwest
Southeast
Southwest
Statewide
West Central
Oath Keepers
Statewide
**The Republic for the united States
of America**
Statewide
**The Republic for the united States
of America — Republic Congress**
Statewide
The Saviour Unit*
Gautier
Southeast Constitutional Militia*
Statewide
Southeast Mississippi Militia*
Southeast
South Mississippi State Militia*
South
We the People
Oxford
MISSOURI (28)
America First Party of Missouri
Imperial
blood of patriots
Columbia
Constitution Party

St. Louis
Don't Tread on Me
Columbia
Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
Statewide
Heal Our Land Ministries
Branson
John Birch Society
St. Peters
Liberty Restoration Project
St. Louis
Missouri Militia*
Joplin (2)
Springfield
St. Louis
West Central
Oath Keepers
Statewide
**The Order of Constitution
Defenders.com**
Statewide
The Power Hour
Versailles
**The Republic for the united States
of America**
Statewide
**The Republic for the united States
of America — Republic Congress**
Statewide
Take Back Washington
Versailles
Tenth Amendment Center
Statewide
**United American Freedom
Foundation**
Grandview
We Are Change
Branson
Kansas City
Springfield
St. Charles
St. Louis
We the People
Statewide
William Lewis Films
Columbia
MONTANA (20)
Constitution Party
Flathead County
Great Falls
Helena
Lake County
Missoula County
Ravalli County
Yellowstone County
The Flathead Liberty Bell
Kalispell
John Birch Society
Statewide
Lincoln County Watch
Bozeman
Militia of Montana*
Noxon
Montana 41st Light Horse
Mountain Dragons*

Statewide
Oath Keepers
Bozeman
**The Order of Constitution Defend-
ers.com**
Statewide
**The Republic for the united States
of America**
Hamilton
**The Republic for the united States
of America — Republic Congress**
Statewide
Tenth Amendment Center
Statewide
We Are Change
Missoula
We the People
Statewide
Yellowstone Plainsmen*
Eastern
NEBRASKA (13)
37 Nebraska Volunteer Militia*
Hastings
**Alarm & Muster: The Modern Day
Alarm Riders**
Statewide
Constitution Party
Omaha
John Birch Society
Statewide
The Nebraska State Militia*
Statewide
**Nebraska State Militia —
Tall Grass Guard***
Douglas County
Oath Keepers
Bellevue
Statewide
**The Republic for the united States
of America**
Statewide
**The Republic for the united States
of America — Republic Congress**
Statewide
We Are Change
Gibbon
Omaha
**We the People — Constitution
Lobby of Nebraska**
Bellevue
NEVADA (24)
Battle Born 3/63rd Patriots*
Statewide
Battle Hymn
Summerlin
Center for Action
Sandy Valley
Constitution Party
Carson City
Daytona
Deep Well
Las Vegas
Minden
Parhump
Sparks

Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
 Statewide
Independent American Party
(Constitution Party)
 Elko
John Birch Society
 Statewide
NACRS — Negotiations Analysis & Contractual Relations Specialists
 Las Vegas
Nevada Action Coalition
 Las Vegas
Oath Keepers
 Henderson
 Las Vegas
 Northern
The Republic for the united States of America
 Gardnerville
The Republic for the united States of America — Republic Congress
 Statewide
Southern Nevada Militia*
 Statewide
Tenth Amendment Center
 Statewide
We Are Change
 Las Vegas
We the People
 North Las Vegas
NEW HAMPSHIRE (12)
America First Party of New Hampshire
 Windham
Constitution Party
 Canaan
Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
 Statewide
John Birch Society
 Statewide
New Hampshire Patriot Militia*
 Statewide
Oath Keepers
 Statewide
The Republic for the united States of America
 Statewide
The Republic for the united States of America — Republic Congress
 Statewide
Tenth Amendment Center
 Statewide
We Are Change
 North Conway
We the People
 Manchester
What Really Happened
 Concord
NEW JERSEY (29)
Constitution Party
 Atlantic County
 Bergen County
 Camden County
 Cape May County
 Cumberland County

Gloucester County
 Hunterdon County
 Mercer County
 Middlesex County
 Monmouth County
 Morris County
 Ocean County
 Passaic County
 Salem County
 Sussex County
 Union County
 Warren County
Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
 Statewide
John Birch Society
 Marlton
 Passaic County
New Jersey State Group*
 Ocean County
Oath Keepers
 Statewide
The Republic for the united States of America
 Statewide
The Republic for the united States of America — Republic Congress
 Statewide
Tenth Amendment Center
 Statewide
We Are Change
 Little Falls
 Stanhope
 Statewide
We the People
 Statewide
NEW MEXICO (22)
Constitution Party
 Albuquerque
Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
 Statewide
John Birch Society
 Statewide
New Mexico Citizen's Militia*
 Chaves County
 Dona Ana County
 Grant County
 Los Lunas
 Otero County
 Sandoval County
 San Juan County
New Mexico State Group*
 Aztec
Oath Keepers
 Statewide
The Republic for the united States of America
 Statewide
The Republic for the united States of America — Republic Congress
 Statewide
Southern New Mexico Militia*
 Chaves
 Curry
 Dona Ana
 Hidalgo

Otero
We Are Change
 Albuquerque
 Santa Fe
We the People
 Statewide
NEW YORK (42)
Aboriginal Law Institute
 New York
America First Party of New York
 Lynbrook
Constitution Party
 Islip
Empire State Militia*
 Northwestern
 Staten Island
 Statewide
 Ulster County Area
 Westchester Area
Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
 Statewide
John Birch Society
 Flushing
New York Liberty Council
 Albany
Oath Keepers
 Astoria
 Chatham
 New York
The Republic for the united States of America — Republic Congress
 Statewide
Tenth Amendment Center
 Statewide
We Are Change
 Buffalo
 Centereach
 Hempstead
 New City
 New York
 Rochester
 Staten Island
 Syracuse
 Westchester
 White Plains
West New York Patriots*
 Chautauqua County
 Chemung County
 Erie County
 Jefferson County
 Livingston County
 Monroe County
 Oneida County
 Onondaga County
 Ontario County
 Southern
 Statewide
 Steuben County
We the People
 East Islip
 Queensbury
We the People — Constitution Lobby of New York
 Queensbury
You Have Tread On Me

New York
NORTH CAROLINA (48)
Alarm & Muster: The Modern Day Alarm Riders
 Statewide
America's Remedy
 Charlotte
Constitution Party
 Alamance County
 Cabarrus County
 Caldwell County
 Charlotte
 Cumberland County
 Duplin County
 Gaston County
 Harnett County
 Lincoln County
 Pender County
 Person County
 Rowan County
 Union County
 Wayne County
Cultural Freedom
 Norlina
Cultural Freedom Bookstore
 Fayetteville
Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
 Statewide
Granny Warriors
 Leicester
John Birch Society
 Raleigh
NCRenegade
 Raleigh
NORTH-CAROLINA
American Republic
 Charlotte
 Forsyth County
 Gaston County
 Haywood County
 Lincoln County
 Rowan County
 Rutherford County
 Yadkin County
North Carolina Citizens Militia*
 Charlotte
 Coastal Area
 Sandhills Area
 Waynesville
Oath Keepers
 Statewide
Preamble Trust
 Charlotte
The Republic for the united States of America
 Statewide
The Republic for the united States of America — Republic Congress
 Statewide
Tenth Amendment Center
 Statewide
United Nations of Turtle Island
 Lumberton
Washitaw Empire de Dugdahmoundyah

High Point
We Are Change
Asheville
Charlotte
Mount Airy
Purlear
Raleigh
Statewide
We the People
Statewide
NORTH DAKOTA (8)
Alarm & Muster: The Modern Day
Alarm Riders
Statewide
Constitution Party
Bismarck
Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
Statewide
John Birch Society
Statewide
The Republic for the united States of America
Statewide
The Republic for the united States of America — Republic Congress
Statewide
Tenth Amendment Center
Statewide
We Are Change
Bismarck
OHIO (34)
Alarm & Muster: The Modern Day
Alarm Riders
Statewide
America First Party of Ohio
Cleveland
Constitutional Militia of Clark County*
Clark County
Constitution Party
Delaware
Don't Tread on Me
Cleveland
Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
Statewide
John Birch Society
Columbus
Delaware
St. Marys
North Coast Citizens Militia*
Northwest Ohio/Southwest Pennsylvania
Northwestern Ohio Defense Force*
Kenton
Oath Keepers
Statewide
Willoughby
Ohio Defense Force State Headquarters*
Zanesville
Ohio Minutemen Militia*
Central Region
Fremont
Northeast Region
Northwest Region
Southwest Region
Statewide

Ohio Patriot Guard*
Ashtabula County
The Republic for the united States of America
Statewide
The Republic for the united States of America — Republic Congress
Statewide
Richland County Citizens For The 2nd Amendment
Ontario
Sons of Liberty Academy
Cleveland
Southeastern Ohio Defense Force*
Lebanon
Zanesville
Tenth Amendment Center
Statewide
Unorganized Militia of Champaign County*
Saint Paris
Watchmen of Ohio*
Statewide
We Are Change
Mansfield
Statewide
We the People
Statewide
Zanesville Patriots
Frazeysburg
OKLAHOMA (10)
Constitution Party
Chandler
John Birch Society
Statewide
Oath Keepers
Owasso
Statewide
OK SAFE, Inc. (Oklahomans for Sovereignty and Free Enterprise)
Tulsa
The Republic for the united States of America
Statewide
The Republic for the united States of America — Republic Congress
Statewide
Tenth Amendment Center
Statewide
We Are Change
Oklahoma City
Tulsa
OREGON (31)
1st Oregon Recon*
Statewide
American Patriot Party
Ashland
Constitution Party
Hubbard
Embassy of Heaven
Stayton
Emissary Publications
Colton
Freedom Bound International
Klamath Falls
Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
Statewide

The Global Freedom Report
Klamath Falls
Jefferson Home Guard*
Southeastern
John Birch Society
Statewide
McCutcheons Ink.
Central Point
News With Views
Merlin
Oath Keepers
Statewide
Oregon Militia Alliance*
Statewide
Oregon Watchmen*
Statewide
Paper Advantage
Portland
Premiere Privacy Consultants
Klamath Falls
Real Debt Elimination
Cave Junction
The Republic for the united States of America
Harrisburg
Talent
The Republic for the united States of America — Republic Congress
Statewide
Tenth Amendment Center
Statewide
The Voice of Freedom
Klamath Falls
We Are Change
Bend
Cave Junction
Eugene
Florence
Lincoln City
Rogue Valley
Salem
We the People
Ashland
PENNSYLVANIA (37)
Alt Market
Pittsburgh
America First Party of Pennsylvania
Ridgway
Berks County Tea Party
Reading
Constitution Party
Blawnox
Butler County
Clinton County
Cumberland County
Lancaster County
Lebanon County
Mercer County
Northampton County
Oakmont
Wellsboro
Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
Statewide
Liberty Dollar of Chambersburg
Marion
Oath Keepers
Carbon County

Kutztown
Statewide
Pennsylvania 1st Rifle*
Philadelphia
Pennsylvania Allegheny Rangers*
Elk County
Pennsylvania American Patriot Radio
Crawford County
Pennsylvania Unorganized Militia*
Ford City
The Republic for the united States of America
Statewide
The Republic for the united States of America — Republic Congress
Statewide
Sisyphus Press
State College
Sons of Liberty Militia*
Philadelphia
Tenth Amendment Center
Statewide
Watchmen of Pennsylvania*
Statewide
We Are Change
Harrisburg
Philadelphia
Pittsburgh
Reading
Shenandoah
York
We the People
Ambler
WING TV
State College
Wolf Creek Rangers (100th) North Liberty Militia*
North Liberty
RHODE ISLAND (11)
Constitution Party
Middletown
Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
Statewide
John Birch Society
Statewide
Oath Keepers
Statewide
Patriot Freedom
West Warwick
The Republic for the united States of America
Statewide
Rhode Island Citizen Militia*
Statewide
Tenth Amendment Center
Statewide
We Are Change
Blackstone
Statewide
We the People
Wakefield
SOUTH CAROLINA (18)
1st Mountain Lightfoot Brigade*
Greenville
Alarm & Muster: The Modern Day
Alarm Riders

Myrtle Beach
Statewide
Constitution Party
Greenville
Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
Statewide
Oath Keepers
Statewide
The Patriot Network
Anderson
The Republic for the united States of America
Statewide
The Republic for the united States of America — Republic Congress
Statewide
South Carolina Civilian Militia*
Lower State
Middle State
South Carolina Sound Money Committee
Cayce
Southeast Constitutional Militia*
Statewide
Tenth Amendment Center
Statewide
Washitaw Empire de Dugdahmoundyah
Columbia
We Are Change
Columbia
Myrtle Beach
We the People
Statewide
SOUTH DAKOTA (11)
Alarm & Muster: The Modern Day Alarm Riders
Statewide
Constitution Party
Brandon
Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
Statewide
Guardians of a Restored Republic
Arlington
John Birch Society
Statewide
Oath Keepers
Statewide
The Republic for the united States of America
Statewide
The Republic for the united States of America — Republic Congress
Statewide
We Are Change
Brookings
Rapid City
We the People
Statewide
TENNESSEE (29)
1st Tennessee Rifles UMIT*
Lafayette
7th Tennessee Dragoons*
Statewide
Alarm & Muster: The Modern Day Alarm Riders
Statewide

Constitution Party
Bristol
Germantown
Madisonville
East Tennessee Militia*
Knoxville
Roane County
Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
Statewide
John Birch Society
Statewide
Lawful Path
Lynnville
Oath Keepers
Statewide
The Order of Constitution Defenders.com
Chattanooga
The Republic for the united States of America
Statewide
The Republic for the united States of America — Republic Congress
Statewide
Southeast Constitutional Militia*
Statewide
Tennessee Constitutional Militia*
Statewide
TENNESSEEMILITIA.ORG*
Murfreesboro
Tennessee Sons of Liberty
Nashville
Tennessee State Militia, 16th Field Force*
Statewide
Tennessee State Militia, 28th Regiment*
Statewide
Tenth Amendment Center
Statewide
The United States Patriots Union
Hermitage
US Grand Jury Institute
Nolensville
Washitaw Empire de Dugdahmoundyah
Memphis
We Are Change
Knoxville
Maryville
Nashville
We the People
Statewide
TEXAS (76)
Adask's Law
Utopia
The American Open Currency Standard
Frisco
Americans for a Free Republic
Dallas
Brave New Books
Austin
Buffalo Creek Press
Cleburne
Church of God Evangelistic Association

Waxahachie
Constitution Party
Abilene
Bandera County
Cleburne
Collin County
Ellis County
El Paso
Henderson County
Huntsville
Iredell
Jefferson
Kerrville
La Marque
Marshall
Midland
Nacogdoches County
Orange County
Polk County
Round Rock
Constitution Society
Austin
Constitutional Sheriffs and Peace Officers Association
Fredericksburg
County Sheriff Project
Fredericksburg
Dallas City Troop*
Carrollton
The Freeman Project*
Houston
Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
Dallas
Statewide
Infowars.com
Austin
John Birch Society
Belton
Corpus Christi
Fort Worth
Harris County
Oath Keepers
Austin
Houston
Statewide
Patrioticspace
Waco
Patriots of Gillespie County
Fredericksburg
Republic Broadcasting
Round Rock
Republic of Texas
Bastrop County
The Republic for the united States of America
Statewide
The Republic for the united States of America — Republic Congress
Statewide
Rule of Law Radio
Austin
SheriffMack.com
Fredericksburg
Silver Bear Cafe
Garland
Southwest Desert Militia*
West

Tenth Amendment Center
Statewide
Texas Militia*
Huntington
The Texas Militia*
Austin
College Station
Conroe
Corpus Christi
Dallas
Fort Worth
Houston
San Antonio
Statewide
Waco
Wichita Falls
Texas State Militia — Hill Country Hellcats*
Comfort
Texas Well Regulated Militia*
Edwards County
We Are Change
Corpus Christi
Dallas
El Paso
Fort Worth
Lubbock
McAllen
Richardson
San Antonio
San Marcos
Williamson County
We Texans
Wharton
We the People
Statewide
UTAH (38)
Alarm & Muster: The Modern Day Alarm Riders
Statewide
Constitution Party
Beaver
Bountiful
Brigham City
Cache County
Castle Dale
Davis County
Duchesne County
Dutch John
Fillmore
Fountain Green
Hurricane
Junction
Kamas
Lake Point
Lyman
Moab
Morgan
North Ogden
Richfield
South Jordan
Spanish Fork
Uintah County
Wasatch County
JoelSkousen.com
Orem
John Birch Society

Pleasant Grove
Liberty News Radio
 Highland
Oath Keepers
 Statewide
Remnant Saints International
Patriot Alliance
 Ephraim
The Republic for the united States of America
 Statewide
The Republic for the united States of America — Republic Congress
 Statewide
Tenth Amendment Center
 Statewide
Utah Militia*
 Uintah County
We Are Change
 Provo
 Salt Lake City
 West Valley City
We the People
 Statewide
Winston Shrout — Solutions in Commerce
 Santa Clara
VERMONT (8)
Constitution Party
 Williston
Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
 Statewide
John Birch Society
 Mendon
Oath Keepers
 Statewide
The Republic for the united States of America
 Statewide
The Republic for the united States of America — Republic Congress
 Statewide
We Are Change
 Chittenden
We the People
 Statewide
VIRGINIA (16)
Alarm & Muster: The Modern Day Alarm Riders
 Statewide
American Policy Center
 Warrenton
The Autonomous Authchthon International Muurish Gansul
 Norfolk
Constitution Party
 Vienna
Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
 Statewide
IRS Zoom
 Arlington
John Birch Society
 Fredericksburg
Oath Keepers
 Statewide
The Republic for the united States

of America
 Statewide
The Republic for the united States of America — Republic Congress
 Statewide
TAX-FREEDOM.com
 Arlington
Tenth Amendment Center
 Statewide
Virginia Citizen Militia*
 Statewide
We Are Change
 Blacksburg
 Virginia Beach
We the People
 Statewide
WASHINGTON (50)
Alarm & Muster: The Modern Day Alarm Riders
 Statewide
Church of Sovereigns: Sacred Family Temple of the Living Saint
 Satsop
Constitution Party
 Adams County
 Grant County
 Grays Harbor County
 Kent
 Kitsap County
 Mason County
 Snohomish County
 Spokane Valley
 Whatcom County
 Yakima County
Debt Free Sovereign Trust
 Blaine
Eastern Washington Lightfoot Militia*
 Spokane County
Federal Trustee Services
 Tacoma
Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
 Statewide
Grays Harbor Civilian Defense Force*
 Grays Harbor County
John Birch Society
 Clarkston
 Federal Way
 Puyallup
 Yakima
Kissata*
 Statewide
Kitsap County WA Militia*
 Kitsap County
National Association of Rural Land Owners
 Fall City
Northwest Washington Recon — 73rd BN 42nd FF*
 Grant
Oath Keepers
 Statewide
Palouse Lightfoot Militia — Bravo Company, 75th Battalion 42nd FF*
 Pullman

Peoples' Patriot Coalition Militia*
 Western
PEOPLES TRUST 1776
 Auburn
The Republic for the united States of America
 Statewide
The Republic for the united States of America — Republic Congress
 Statewide
Southwest Washington Civil Defense Group*
 Statewide
Sovereign Trust
 Blaine
Sovereign-Citizenship.net
 Satsop
Washington State Civil Defense*
 Northwest
Washington State Militia*
 Chelan County
 King County
 Kitsap County
 Mason County
 Pierce County
 Skagit County
 Skamania County
 Southeast
 Spokane County
 Statewide
 Stevens County
We Are Change
 Seattle
 Spokane
 Tacoma
We the People
 Statewide
WEST VIRGINIA (9)
Alarm & Muster: The Modern Day Alarm Riders
 Statewide
Constitution Party
 Inwood
John Birch Society
 Statewide
Oath Keepers
 Statewide
Ohio Valley Minutemen CVM*
 Statewide
The Republic for the united States of America
 Statewide
The Republic for the united States of America — Republic Congress
 Statewide
We Are Change
 Huntington
 Statewide
WISCONSIN (26)
Alarm & Muster: The Modern Day Alarm Riders
 Statewide
America First Party of Wisconsin
 Muscoda
American Opinion Publishing, Inc.
 Appleton

American Opinion Publishing
 Appleton
Badger State Volunteers*
 Statewide
Campus Liberty Alliance
 Appleton
Central Wisconsin Militia*
 Statewide
Constitution Party
 Milwaukee
David-Wynn: Miller
 Milwaukee
John Birch Society
 Appleton
 Milwaukee
John Birch Society — Liberty News Network
 Appleton
John Birch Society Shop
 Appleton
Native American Militia*
 Statewide
Northeast Wisconsin Militia*
 Statewide
Northwoods Patriots
 Eagle River
Oath Keepers
 Statewide
Oneida Grape Vine Group*
 Statewide
People's Awareness Coalition
 Kieler
The Republic for the united States of America
 Statewide
The Republic for the united States of America — Republic Congress
 Statewide
Southeast Wisconsin Volunteers*
 Southeast
Tenth Amendment Center
 Statewide
We Are Change
 Madison
 Wausau
We the People
 Statewide
WYOMING (8)
Constitution Party
 Glendo
Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
 Statewide
Oath Keepers
 Statewide
The Republic for the united States of America — Republic Congress
 Statewide
Tyranny Response Team
 Statewide
We Are Change
 Cheyenne
 Statewide
We the People
 Casper ▲

The Year in Nativism

After five years of growth, the anti-immigrant movement drops precipitously, a victim of infighting and mainstream co-optation

BY HEIDI BEIRICH

The number of “nativist extremist” groups fell by almost half last year, with much of the vigilante anti-immigration movement collapsing under the weight of bad press, organizational disarray, and the co-optation of the movement’s concerns by state legislatures passing draconian legislation targeting foreigners.

It was a remarkable development, coming after five years of rapid growth. Most of the energy that once animated the anti-immigrant movement seems today to have moved into the political mainstream, where Republicans and Tea Partiers have competed with one another to craft ever-harsher nativist laws.

Launched in 2005 with a provocative border watch in Cochise County, Ariz., the first of the major nativist extremist groups — the Minuteman Project — drew hundreds of activists, many of them armed, who sought to detain undocumented immigrants and turn them over to the Border Patrol. Gun-toting grandmothers in lawn chairs at the border made for good TV and the Minuteman Project turned its founders, Chris Simcox and Jim Gilchrist, into media stars of a sort.

Simcox and Gilchrist’s activities spawned a major movement, propelling the rise of other nativist extremist organizations across the U.S. These groups did not limit themselves to pushing for legislative change or better border enforcement, but actually targeted individuals — people they believed had crossed the border illegally or who

were seeking work at migrant labor hiring sites. At one point, then-President George Bush characterized them as “vigilante” groups because of such activities.

By 2007, just two years after the Minuteman Project’s founding, the nativist extremist movement had grown to 144 groups in 39 states. In 2009, the movement exploded, with the groups skyrocketing to 309 from 173, a single-year jump of almost 80%. Then, in 2010, the movement hit an all-time high, with the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) counting 319 active groups.

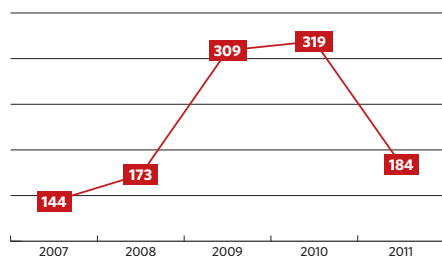
Last year, five years of rapid growth came to an abrupt end. The SPLC counted just 184 nativist extremist groups that were operational in 2011, a one-year drop of 42%. Most of the surviving groups are part of a single large coalition, the Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement Coalition (FIRE). The most important Minuteman groups — the Minuteman Civil Defense Corps (MCDC) and the Minuteman Project (MMP) — have all but collapsed. In 2010, MCDC had 77 chapters and MMP had 38. By the end of 2011, there

were only two MCDC chapters and eight MMP chapters left.

One key event that propelled collapse of the Minuteman groups came in 2009, when former Minuteman Shawna Forde and two accomplices murdered a Latino man and his 9-year-old daughter in Arivaca, Ariz. Forde had been a member various Minuteman groups and was arrested while leaving the compound of a particularly vicious anti-immigrant group, American Border Patrol. In February 2011, Forde was sentenced to death in the execution-style killings, a verdict that drew heavy media attention and soured support for vigilante border watchers.

At around the same time as the double murder, the two main Minuteman groups — MCDC and MMP — began to splinter amid vicious infighting. Prominent activists started moving into the nascent Tea Party movement as well as the significantly more radical antigovernment “Patriot” movement. Both Tea Partiers and Patriots increasingly began to take up nativist concerns.

Today, border-watching has fallen off and become the nearly exclusive domain of unvarnished haters. Arizona neo-Nazis J.T. Ready and Harry Hughes, activists tied to the National Socialist Movement (NSM), took up the Minuteman cause two years ago and started patrolling Arizona’s Vekol Valley for migrants, an activity that has continued. In January 2011, another NSM member, Jeffery Harbin, was arrested for building homemade pipe bombs that he intended to supply to border vigilantes. He pleaded



NATIVIST EXTREMIST GROUPS

guilty to making and transporting bombs later in the year, drawing a five-year prison sentence.

Family Fights

In many ways, the major Minuteman factions did themselves in, with ill-advised public remarks, tooth-and-nail infighting, and a series of embarrassing disclosures.

In 2010, allegations in court documents surfaced that Chris Simcox — arguably the highest profile individual in the movement, the man who co-founded the Minuteman Project in 2005 and, later, founded MCDC — had threatened to kill his wife and family in a 2009 domestic dispute. It turned out that a restraining order had been issued against Simcox in April of that year, when his third wife, Alena, filed for divorce. This was not the first time that Simcox had been accused of violent behavior by a spouse. His second wife told the *Intelligence Report* in 2005 that she had filed for full custody of their teenage son because she feared Simcox, who she described as having violent outbursts, had suffered a mental breakdown.

Also in 2010, MCDC was dealing with the wreckage of moves by Simcox successor Carmen Mercer, who had spent the prior year shutting, then reopening, and finally shutting the group down except for its website. Mercer, who Arizona officials had accused in a tax scheme in 2009, didn't help matters when she sent out a provocative E-mail in 2010. In it,

she urged supporters to bring long guns to the border to “forcefully engage” the “criminals” crossing without documents. She later retracted those statements, but, by last year, MCDC's Web forums, once lively discussion spaces for activists, showed virtually no activity. Its border-watching activities seem to have completely ended.

MCDC also appears to have fallen under the control of far-right activist Alan Keyes, whose interests go well beyond immigration, and seems to have lost its focus as a result. For the last two years, MCDC, always essentially an Arizona entity, has given its headquarters address as Herndon, Va., and it sends those wishing to contact it to Keyes' fundraising entity, the Declaration Alliance.

The alliance had long raised money for MCDC and still runs the Minuteman PAC. Last year, that PAC sent out several fundraising E-mails that had little to do with immigration. One asked for backing for the efforts by Maricopa County, Ariz., Sheriff Joe Arpaio to “investigate” President Obama's birth certificate. The PAC also took up the fight against Muslims and the so-called “Ground Zero Mosque” last year and now has a project called “Third Jihad Watch” dedicated to guarding against the “imminent domestic terrorism threat” from radical Muslims and supposed attempts to impose Shariah law on the U.S.

The nativist extremist group Americans for Legal Immigration PAC (ALIPAC) fell on hard times in 2011,

too. The group's leader, William Gheen, sent out a desperate E-mail for funds in early December, blaming the “authoritarian and dictatorial actions of Obama” for ALIPAC's budget shortfall. More likely, Gheen's troubles are related to widely condemned racist statements he made in August. Gheen said then that in order to save “white America,” it might be necessary to engage in “extra-political activities that I can't really talk about because they're all illegal and violent.” Under pressure, Gheen later retracted his remarks.

The San Diego Minutemen, arguably the most obnoxious of the country's nativist extremist groups, has also disintegrated in the last year. Jeff Schwilk, who was best known for tearing down migrant labor camps and attacking fellow activists, left the group for the Tea Party movement. Earlier, a website appeared harshly criticizing Schwilk's leadership and mocking him, most dramatically with a photo of him wearing a woman's bikini in a hot tub.

The group now appears to be led by Jim Betz, and is only involved in litter removal on California freeways. Betz told the *San Diego Union Tribune* last summer that he blamed the bad economy, not bad leadership, for SDMM's problems. “The membership has declined greatly. ... One reason, the easy one, is the economy and the cost of getting out” to distant border areas.

Things have worked out a little better for Gilchrist's MMP, though that group, too, suffered from vicious infighting that



Neo-Nazi patrols: J.T. Ready, a former member of the National Socialist Movement and unrepentant racist, has been leading vigilante patrols along the Arizona-Mexico border with weapons like these.



included lawsuits and countersuits between Gilchrist and his former board members, mainly over money squabbles. Though Gilchrist eventually prevailed, the group declined, with active chapters today only in California, Illinois, Rhode Island, Texas and Utah, Gilchrist told the *Report*. As of late 2011, it was no longer involved in border watch efforts.

Gilchrist also told the *Report* that infighting had killed the movement he helped create. “Rampant selfish and immature infighting among certain groups ... the disruption and detraction from the immigration issue caused by the jealousy, the greed, and mutual acrimony created by these sources essentially ‘thinned the herd’ of interest in the issue by many citizens (and legal residents) and by political representatives and candidates who could not give serious credence to a mob of unruly loons,” Gilchrist wrote in an E-mail.

Only the Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement Coalition was still holding its own last year. FIRE has for three consecutive years been the largest nativist extremist group. It remains so, with 124 groups in 34 states last year, down from 136 chapters in 35 states in 2010. FIRE has continued its various projects monitoring undocumented immigrants at wehirealiens.com, where employers who allegedly hire undocumented immigrants are held up for public vilification. But FIRE’s continuing vitality is more likely the result of its taking up more general conservative causes and new allies, including Patriots and Tea Partiers.

New Allies, New Distractions

For two years, nativist extremists have been building bridges to other kinds of far-right groups and, by 2011, several had morphed into Tea Party activists or redefined themselves more broadly as opposed to the federal government’s authority in general. This trend began in 2009, when nativist extremist groups first began to find common cause with those in the Patriot movement, which includes militias and similar groups that identify



“Go home!”: Members of the San Diego Minutemen, a vigilante group that virtually disintegrated last year, shout at migrant workers and counter-protesters.

the federal government as the primary enemy. The movements have much in common, sharing the same “patriotic” vision and love of Revolutionary War rhetoric and imagery.

For its part, the FIRE coalition took up the antigovernment flag in 2009 when it launched The Patriot Coalition. In August 2010, the group went one step further down the Patriot road, co-sponsoring a national conference in Pennsylvania that brought together a motley crew of far-right activists, conspiracy-minded groups like the John Birch Society and an array of other opponents of the Obama Administration. The event’s core theme — “demand [states] sovereignty from the tyranny of the Federal government”— sounded more like a paean to the Confederacy and “states’ rights” than a complaint about immigration.

The Tea Party movement, too, has become home to many nativist extremists. These groups saw their interests first align during the 2009 debate over President Obama’s healthcare plan, as medical coverage for undocumented immigrants became a flashpoint issue. Since then, the lines between the movements have become increasingly blurred, with leaders frequently making appearances at each other’s events.

Glenn Spencer, who has run the border watch hate group American Border Patrol for nearly 10 years from his home in Cochise County, Ariz., has been instrumental in forging links between the two movements. (Spencer also runs the anti-immigrant hate group American Patrol.) In August 2010, he held an event with the Tea Party Nation at the Arizona bor-

der with some 600 activists in attendance. Rally speakers included candidates for office that year as well as Arpaio, the nativist Arizona sheriff. In May 2011, Spencer told Media Matters that he was traveling almost weekly to Tea Party events and that he had plans for “Tea Party groups to come to [his] ranch every week from now on.” He added: “They are really fired up over border issues.”

Last November, the FIRE Coalition continued to strengthen its ties to the Tea Parties, holding “A National Day of Remembrance for Victims of Illegal Alien Crime” that was co-sponsored by the Tea Party Immigration Coalition. That coalition includes 10 Tea Party groups, according to its website. Other Tea Party groups focusing on immigration have also sprung up: the National Tea Party Immigration Coalition and the Immigration Tea Party. In addition, the prominent nativist group NumbersUSA appointed a Tea Party liaison in 2011.

Into the Mainstream

One important reason for the falloff in the nativist extremist groups is that their concerns have largely been adopted by more mainstream allies in the Tea Parties and the Republican Party. As Gilchrist told the *Report*: “Some of the attention to the immigration issues [has] been assumed by the Tea Party” and the GOP is “now aggressively addressing the illegal immigration issue.” The fact that these other movements have latched onto the issue means activists achieved their goal of making politicians take their anti-immigrant concerns seriously.

This is most obviously the case in the series of state-level anti-immigrant laws that have passed in the last year. In Arizona, several anti-immigrant laws were proposed and passed over the last few years, including S.B. 1070, the first contemporary state-level anti-immigrant statute that was passed in 2010. Written by the legal arm of the anti-immigrant hate group Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), the law requires police to ask for proof of legal



Kris Kobach (left) of the legal arm of the Federation for American Immigration Reform wrote the punishing Arizona anti-immigrant law pushed by State Sen. Russell Pearce (R-Mesa). Pearce became state Senate president on the basis of his nativist appeals, but last year was recalled in an unprecedented election.

residency from people they believe could be undocumented immigrants. Tea Party activists gathered thousands of signatures and held rallies in favor of the law, much of which is currently held up in the federal courts.

Several other states followed Arizona's lead in 2011; Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina have all put in place similar statutes, of which Alabama's is the harshest. This trend has also brought new importance to groups like FAIR's legal arm, the Immigration Reform Law Institute, which crafted most of the laws.

"Though it's not perfectly clear why the more extreme nativist groups have diminished so quickly, what is clear is that their decline has left [legislation-oriented groups like FAIR] with a virtual monopoly on the anti-immigrant movement," said Stephen Piggott of the Center for New Community, a liberal advocacy group. "With the rightward shift in state legislatures ... anti-immigrant groups like the Immigration Reform Law Institute have adapted to this trend. S.B. 1070 and [Alabama's] H.B. 56 are the new trademarks of the nativist movement."

Even so, the nativist tide that has been ascendant over the past decade may be running into trouble. Last year saw the unprecedented recall of the most anti-immigrant politician of them all, Arizona's former Senate leader, Russell Pearce. The recall efforts were directly tied to Pearce's anti-immigrant

efforts and his ties to racist leaders, in particular the architect of American anti-immigrant movement and the founder of FAIR, John Tanton. Somos Republicanos, a Latino GOP group that gathered signatures for the recall effort in Pearce's home district of Mesa, cited Tanton and FAIR's racism as reasons for launching the effort.

At the same time, the fallout from the Alabama law has been devastating. Many undocumented immigrants fled the state and those who remain face unprecedented discrimination. Businesses, particularly in agriculture, have been ruined and executives of foreign car companies have been arrested for not having their papers. As of January, several prominent Republican officials were calling for the law to be drastically revised.

It remains to be seen if S.B. 1070 copycats are introduced in other states in the coming year. At this point, only Kansas, where the law's author, Kris Kobach, serves as secretary of state, is set to debate such a law.

What follows is a state-by-state tally of the 185 groups that the SPLC lists as nativist extremist groups active in 2011. In the case of the two largest formations — the Minuteman Project (MMP) and the Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement Coalition (FIRE) — acronyms have been added to help identify their affiliated chapters. >>

Evelyn Schlatter contributed to this report.

Table with 2 columns: Group Name and Location. Rows include Alabama (1), Arizona (8), Arkansas (1), California (33), Connecticut (3), District of Columbia (1), Florida (10), and various chapters of the FIRE and MMP coalitions across multiple states.

Treasure Coast
Floridians for Immigration Enforcement, Inc.
 Pompano Beach
Report Illegals
 Pompano Beach
Southwest Florida Minutemen
 Southwest Florida
GEORGIA (6)
The Dustin Inman Society
 Marietta
Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement (FIRE) Coalition
 Atlanta
 Central Savannah
 Gwinnett County
 North Georgia
 Statewide
HAWAII (1)
Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement (FIRE) Coalition
 Waikiki
IDAHO (1)
Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement (FIRE) Coalition
 Statewide
ILLINOIS (5)
Chicago Minuteman Project (MMP)
 Lindenhurst
Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement (FIRE) Coalition
 Chicago
 Lake County
 Statewide
Illinois Minutemen — A Minuteman Project Chapter (MMP)
 Dix
INDIANA (4)
Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement (FIRE) Coalition
 Elkhart County
 Northern Indiana
 Southern Indiana

Indiana Federation for Immigration Reform and Enforcement
 Griffith
IOWA (1)
Des Moines Minutemen (MCDC)
 Des Moines
KANSAS (1)
Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement (FIRE) Coalition
 Statewide
KENTUCKY (2)
Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement (FIRE) Coalition
 Meade County
 Richmond
LOUISIANA (2)
Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement (FIRE) Coalition
 Northeast Louisiana
 Southeast Louisiana
MARYLAND (16)
Help Save Maryland
 Anne Arundel County
 Baltimore
 Baltimore County
 Calvert County
 Caroline County
 Carroll County
 Charles County
 Frederick County
 Harford County
 Howard County
 Montgomery County
 Prince Georges Co.
 Queen Annes County
 Rockville
 St. Marys County
 Talbot County
MASSACHUSETTS (4)
Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement (FIRE) Coalition
 Lancaster
 Southeast
 Massachusetts
 Suffolk County
 (Metro West)

Suffolk County
 (North Shores)
MICHIGAN (3)
Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement (FIRE) Coalition
 Jackson County
 Mid Michigan
 Western Michigan
MINNESOTA (3)
Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement (FIRE) Coalition
 Statewide
 Twin Cities
Minnesotans Seeking Immigration Reform
 Hanska
MISSISSIPPI (1)
Press 2 for English
 Jackson
MISSOURI (2)
Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement (FIRE) Coalition
 Christian County
Ozarks Minutemen
 Springfield
NEBRASKA (1)
Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement (FIRE) Coalition
 Omaha
NEVADA (5)
Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement (FIRE) Coalition
 Las Vegas
 Northern Nevada
 Southern Nevada
 Statewide
Nevada Action Coalition
 Las Vegas
NEW HAMPSHIRE (1)
Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement (FIRE) Coalition
 Statewide
NEW JERSEY (5)
Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement (FIRE) Coalition

Bergen County
 Cape May County
 Statewide
New Jersey Citizens for Immigration Control
 Carlstadt
United Patriots of America
 Lindenhurst
NEW YORK (3)
Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement (FIRE) Coalition
 Nassau County
 Staten Island
 Statewide
NORTH CAROLINA (7)
Americans for Legal Immigration (ALIPAC)
 Raleigh
Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement (FIRE) Coalition
 North Central
 North Carolina
 Piedmont Region
 Piedmont Triad Area
 Statewide
 Triangle Region
 Western North
 Carolina
OHIO (4)
Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement (FIRE) Coalition
 Columbiana County
 Darke County
 Dayton
 Statewide
OKLAHOMA (1)
Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement (FIRE) Coalition
 Muskogee
OREGON (1)
Oregonians for Immigration Reform
 McMinville
PENNSYLVANIA (7)
Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement (FIRE) Coalition

Albrightsville
 Berks County
 Northeast
 Pennsylvania
 Philadelphia
 Spring City
Pennsylvanians for Immigration Control & Enforcement
 Warminster
Voice of the People
 Shenandoah
RHODE ISLAND (2)
Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement (FIRE) Coalition
 Statewide
Rhode Islanders for Immigration Law Enforcement (MMP)
 Central Falls
SOUTH CAROLINA (5)
Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement (FIRE) Coalition
 Beaufort County
 Charleston
 Horry County
 North Charleston
 Seneca
TENNESSEE (5)
Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement (FIRE) Coalition
 Knox County
 Lebanon
 Oak Ridge
 Rutherford County
 Warren County
TEXAS (13)
Border Patrol Auxiliary
 Marble Falls
Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement (FIRE) Coalition
 Central Texas
 Dallas County
 Hidalgo County
 Harris County
 Hill Country
 San Antonio
 Statewide

Tarrant County
Texans For Immigration Reform
 Houston
Texas Border Volunteers
 Conroe
 Waxahachie
Texas Minuteman Project (MMP)
 Arlington
UTAH (8)
Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement (FIRE) Coalition
 Cache Valley
 Layton
 Ogden
 Salt Lake City
 Southern Utah
 South Salt Lake City
 Statewide
Utah Minutemen Project (MMP)
 Salt Lake City
VIRGINIA (4)
Centreville Citizens Coalition
 Centreville
Declaration Alliance (former MCDC)
 Herndon
Help Save Manassas
 Manassas
Save the Old Dominion
 Manassas
WASHINGTON (2)
Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement (FIRE) Coalition
 Eastern Washington
 King County
WISCONSIN (2)
Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement (FIRE) Coalition
 Southeast Wisconsin
Midwest Coalition to Reduce Immigration
 La Valle ▲

Onward, 'Christian' Soldiers

A California church with longstanding ties to far-right extremists and a militia of its own is preparing for war

BY LEAH NELSON

On a 22-acre compound at the southern edge of Sequoia National Park in California, a secretive cohort of militant Christian fundamentalists is preparing for war. One of the men helping train the flock in the art of combat, a former Marine named Steve Klein, believes that California is riddled with Muslim Brotherhood sleeper cells “who are awaiting the trigger date and will begin randomly killing as many of us as they can.”

“I know I’m getting prepared to shoot back,” Klein says.

At the head of the Church at Kaweah is Pastor Warren Mark Campbell, who sees yet another enemy on the horizon: the “New World Order,” that chimera of the conspiracists who populate the resurgent, antigovernment “Patriot” movement.

The tiny church has been well outside the mainstream since the early 1990s, when founding pastor Warren Lee Campbell (father of the current pastor) bought into the notion that churches should shun all government regulation and answer solely to God. Since then, the church has become increasingly radical, ramping up its paramilitary activities and forging alliances with an array of figures revered on the radical right — among them, militia and Patriot leaders, white supremacists, neo-Con-

federates, border vigilantes and Christian Reconstructionists, whose goal is to turn America into a theocracy based on the Old Testament. In the meantime, the church’s militia has gone from patrolling the banks of the Kaweah River to conducting joint exercises with Minuteman groups along the Mexican border.

The church’s ideology, which it defines as a “militant Christian separatist worldview,” seems to blend several far-right ideas and prejudices — borrowing heavily from the “unregistered churches” and Patriot movements, both of which reject government authority.

It’s a combustible mix of guns, extreme antigovernment politics and religious extremism that brings to mind another Christian militia that made news recently — the Hutaree. In 2010, nine members of that Michigan-based group were charged with conspiring to murder numerous police officers in hopes of sparking a revolution against the government.

“What is remarkable here is the openness with which they speak of religious war to advance God’s laws and God’s government,” said Frederick Clarkson, an independent journalist and expert on the religious right. “Less surprising is that the war is to be waged against the government and the usual stew of far-right



A family affair: The Church at Kaweah was founded in 1965 by Warren Lee Campbell (top). Campbell’s son, Warren Mark Campbell, took over the ministry after his father died in 2008.

enemies — although, clearly, Muslims seem to have replaced Communists as the most fearsome, frontline Satanic soldiers said to be creeping over the border and into society.”

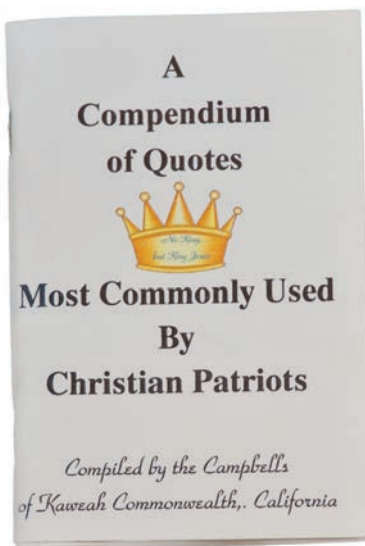
Severing Secular Ties

Nestled in the Sierra Nevada foothills near the convergence of the North, Middle and South Forks of the Kaweah River, the village of Three Rivers (pop. 2,182), some 70 miles southeast of Fresno, has seen more than its share of unusual social experiments. From 1886 to 1892, it was the site of the socialist Kaweah Colony. Later, it was home to a Hare Krishna ashram and boarding school.

Equally distinctive is the Church at Kaweah — founded in 1965 by its first pastor, Warren Lee Campbell, and his wife, Margaret.

In the mid-1990s, coinciding with the height of the Patriot movement of that decade, Campbell decided to sever ties with secular authorities — namely any form of government. He believed the tax-exempt 501(c)(3) nonprofit status that the U.S. tax code automatically grants churches is “foreign to the law of God” and exists solely “to compromise the church.”

Most churches prize nonprofit status, because it exempts them from corporate income taxes and allows donors to deduct gifts from their own income taxes. But, like all other tax-exempt organiza-



Church leaders refer to themselves as “Christian Patriots,” a phrase commonly used by members of the antigovernment “Patriot” movement.

plan,” Campbell’s lawyer went to the Tulare County Recorder’s office and transferred the deed to the church’s earthly property to “the Lord Jesus Christ, True and Beneficial Owner and beneficiary.” What had been the Kaweah Community Church became the Church at Kaweah.

The ELC — which is not a law firm — says that a church deeded to Jesus is “tax-immune” and inoculated against any interference by secular authorities. “Men cannot tax the property, because a Sovereign God owns it and men cannot assert sovereignty over God,” explains

bers on its own grounds. Ultimately, several bodies were exhumed from the Three Rivers Public Cemetery and moved to the new “Ecclesiastical Mortuary.” Today, home births are encouraged, children are homeschooled, and members are urged to support themselves though cottage industries. Couples do not get marriage licenses, preferring “covenant marriages” sanctioned by the pastor alone.

The idea that churches can declare themselves free of any government oversight is an analog to the individual separatism asserted by adherents of the radical “sovereign citizens” movement — a movement to which the founding pastor of the Church at Kaweah was closely tied. Warren Lee Campbell outlined his own theory of “disestablishment” in the foreword to a 1998 manifesto produced by members of Right Way L.A.W., a defunct ring of extreme-right con artists who pitched a financial fraud known as “redemption.” Taught and practiced by disciples of the sovereign citizens movement, the redemption scam is based on the false claim that enlightened individuals can collect hundred of thousands of dollars from secret trust funds being held in their names by the federal government.

Campbell’s connection to Right Way L.A.W. is just one of myriad ties the deceased pastor established with extremists. Under his leadership in 1995, the church began hosting an annual Old Paths Christian History Conference, which quickly became a destination for radical-right luminaries. Guest speakers have included John Trochmann, a godfather of the Patriot movement whose Militia of Montana was the first major militia to come to public attention; Eric Hovind, a “creation science evangelist” whose father, Kent, was a famous tax protester who ran a Florida creationist theme park called Dinosaur Adventure Land until he was jailed on 58 counts of tax fraud in 2007; Joe Banister, a former IRS agent who claims that most citizens are not required to pay income taxes or have taxes withheld; Gary DeMar, a prominent Christian Reconstructionist who heads the anti-gay group American Vision; and Chuck Baldwin, a gun-loving pastor and politician who condemns

“What is remarkable here is the openness with which they speak of religious war to advance God’s laws and God’s government .”

tions, they are not allowed to engage in electoral politics and their right to lobby the government is limited. They also must withhold federal taxes, as well as Social Security and Medicare payments, from their employees’ paychecks — and they still must abide by the laws that govern the rest of society.

On Aug. 15, 1997, apparently following the guidance of the Ecclesiastical Law Center (ELC), which says that “[t]heocracy, not democracy, was God’s

an ELC book titled *Approved by God: A Case for Modern Disestablishment*, which can be purchased through the church’s online bookstore. And, the ELC says, property deeded to Jesus is “totally outside the jurisdiction of the state. They have no authority to inspect it, or enter it, or lay requirements on it. There are no fire inspections, building inspections, use permits, asbestos inspections.”

The church apparently went all in. In 1998, it began interring deceased mem-

Islam as a “bloody, murderous religion,” refers to Martin Luther King Jr. as an apostate, and believes “the South was right” in the Civil War.

Though he is not known to have attended the Old Paths conference, Patriot icon James Wesley, Rawles (like other sovereign citizens, he uses the comma as part of his name) credits the deceased pastor as an inspiration. Wesley, Rawles is a survivalist author who proposed the establishment of a fortified home for “Christian Patriots” in the Northwest. In recent years, a significant number of antigovernment extremists have begun to move to Montana’s Flathead Valley. In January 2011, at the invitation of Covenant Community Church in Whitehall, Mont. (whose leadership is affiliated with Baldwin’s “Black Regiment” of “patriot-preachers”), Pastor Warren Mark Campbell addressed an audience of 200 — including 30 state officials — at the Montana State Capitol. Politics, he told them, is a “holy calling, not a secular calling. You have an obligation to rule and serve in the name of Jesus Christ.”

‘To Teach Them War’

Another frequent guest of the Church at Kaweah is Pastor John Weaver, former “chaplain-in-chief” for the Southern heritage group Sons of Confederate Veterans who has been a member of the white supremacist Council of Conservative Citizens. Last July, Weaver conducted weapons training at a conference sponsored by the neo-Confederate League of the South, a meeting that focused heavily on preparing for battle — presumably against the government. “Divine providence always arranges the time for fighting,” Weaver told the attendees. “You must remember, God is the god of war.”

“Fifteen years ago, the idea of a church-based militia seemed novel. Now it seems likely to be a permanent model.”

Warren Mark Campbell, who took over the Church at Kaweah’s pulpit after his father died in 2008, seems to agree. Preaching on the virtues of “militant discipleship” in a 2009 DVD titled “To Teach Them War,” the balding and decidedly uncharismatic pastor exhorts his audience to be “animated with a fire” in “the battle against the New World Order and against what’s going on in this land.”

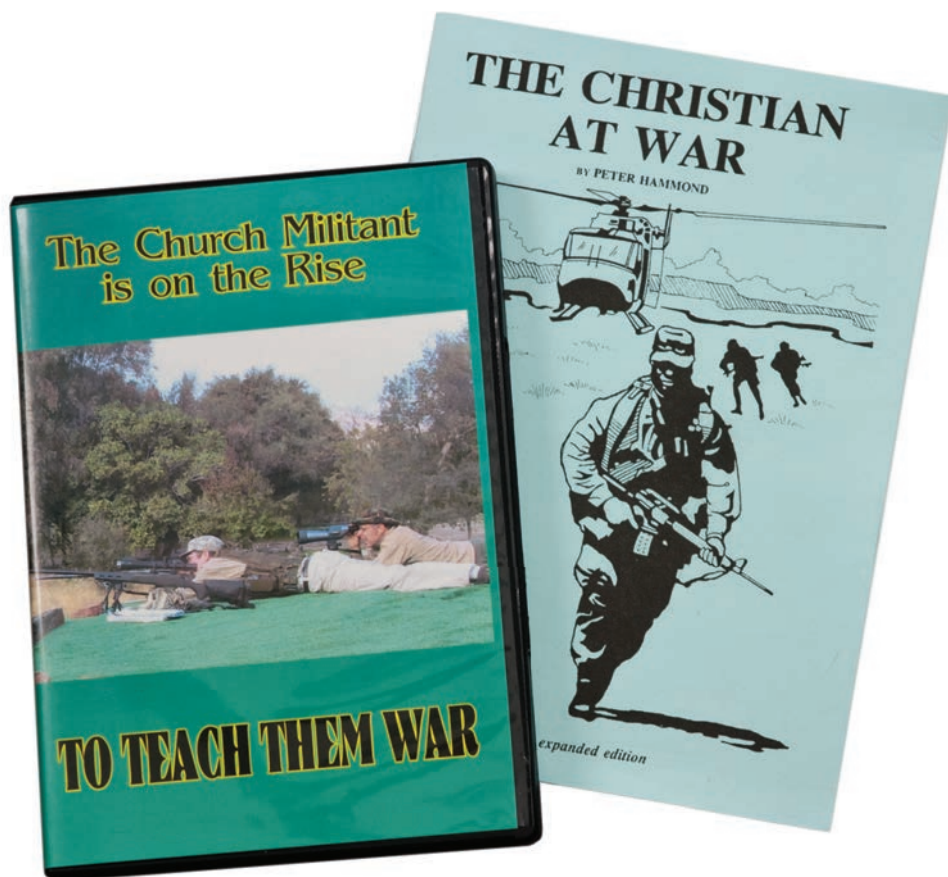
The DVD depicts men, women and clergy training with rifles and handguns. Among them is Weaver. In one scene, Campbell flings himself to the ground to shoot.

At the end, Campbell speaks directly to the camera: “We’ve produced this DVD to encourage Christians to acquire military skills and be militant in the kingdom of God. It’s our desire that fathers will learn these skills and pass them on to their children, and that Christians everywhere in this great land will train together martially.”

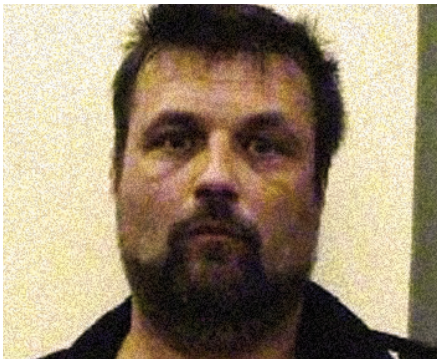
Backing up Campbell’s call to action is David “Dutch” Johnson, who leads the church’s militia. Johnson, who goes by the name “Dutch Joens,” is a longtime veteran of the militia movement who claims seven years of service in the Army and National Guard.

Ten years ago, the church’s militia prowled the banks of the Kaweah River as the North Fork River Patrol, mainly looking out for gangs. Under Johnson’s leadership, it has since trained with other “constitutional militias” along the Arizona-Mexico border and invited like-minded paramilitary groups to conduct joint trainings.

Johnson, who says he looks forward to the battle that will begin when “Dictator Obongo” institutes martial law, also hosts a daily radio talk show out of the church. A cheerful bigot, he cuts the harshness of his message with moments of whimsy. The introduction to his show is replete with quotes from the animated TV series “The Simpsons,” and he compares the structure of his combat and survival workshops to Dungeons and Dragons,



A fighting faith: Materials sold by the Church at Kaweah emphasize the idea of armed militance in the face of the nefarious “New World Order.”



Defending killers: David "Dutch" Johnson, who heads the Church at Kaweah's armed militia and talks about standing up for the white race, defends nativist double-murderer Shawna Forde (above, top photo) and antigovernment cop-killer Jerry Kane (lower photo).

the classic role-playing game beloved by high school nerds. His wife and children, who gave him a machete for Father's Day last year, can often be heard in the background as he broadcasts.

But his playful style does little to mask a message of hate. In a June 2011 broadcast, for example, he called Mexicans savages "who can't run their own government" and recommended sending guns to drug cartels in hopes they could "decrease the excess population in Mexico so they don't come north."

Johnson told the *Intelligence Report* in an E-mail that he is "against any racially exclusive groups" and "hate[s] Nazi groups and Socialists equally." But, in a "Bible study" on his website several years ago, he wrote, "We must at all times be ready to defend the FAITH and our RACE from ALL enemies."

He's also an ardent defender of anti-immigrant vigilante leader Shawna Forde, who was sentenced to death in 2011 for the murder of a 9-year-old Mexican-American girl and her father during a 2009 home invasion in Arizona.

And Johnson expresses virulently antigovernment views. On a message board, he issued a vigorous defense of Jerry and Joseph Kane, the father-son team of sovereign citizens who in May 2010 shot and killed two West Memphis, Ark., police officers during a traffic stop. (The Kanes were killed less than an hour later during a shootout in a Walmart parking lot that left two additional officers wounded.)

"Now remember that this father and son have been harassed for years and were being targeted for persecution because they were preaching a way to get out from under your debt using the rules of the enemy," Johnson wrote. "Rather than be taken to a cell and beaten or handed over to the scum in jail they fought back. I do not blame them. The time has come to resist TYRANNY. How will you answer when they come for you?"

The Muslim Menace

Despite all the talk about Mexicans and government tyranny, the Church at Kaweah appears to be preparing for a showdown with a different enemy: Muslims.

The church's obsession with Muslims appears to have begun in 2010, when it invited white Zimbabwean evangelist Peter Hammond to speak at its Old Paths conference. A staunch defender of Zimbabwe's last white leader, the racial supremacist Ian Smith, Hammond heads a South Africa-based "ministry" called Frontline Fellowship that is anti-Islam, anti-gay, anti-abortion and anti-communist. He believes all churches should be armed and ready for attack, admonishing Christians to remember the "four G's of survival: Groceries, Guns, Gold and God." In a pamphlet titled "The Christian At War" (available for purchase on the church's website), Hammond says, "Much of the Bible is written by soldiers and for soldiers."

Over the past year, Johnson and the church militia have developed a relationship with Steve Klein, a longtime religious-right activist who brags about having led a "hunter killer" team as a Marine in Vietnam. Klein, who calls Islam a "penis-driven religion" and thinks Los Angeles Sheriff Lee Baca is a Muslim Brotherhood patsy, is allied with Christian

activist groups across California. In 2011, as head of the Concerned Citizens for the First Amendment, he worked with the Vista, Calif.-based Christian Anti-Defamation Commission on a campaign to "arm" students with the "truth about Islam and Muhammad" — mainly by leafleting high schools with literature depicting the Prophet Mohammed as a sex-crazed pedophile.

Klein, based in Hemet, Calif., has been active in extremist movements for decades. In 1977, he founded Courageous Christians United, which now conducts "respectful confrontations" outside of abortion clinics, Mormon temples and mosques. Klein also has ties to the Minuteman movement. In 2007, he sued the city of San Clemente for ordering him to stop leafleting cars with pamphlets opposing illegal immigration.

In addition to working with Johnson and the Church at Kaweah's militia, Klein conducts drills with the Christian Guardians, a San Francisco-based group headed by Andrew Saqib James, an American-born Pakistani Christian who calls Islam "a giant crime syndicate" and hopes his group will become "the most feared militia in the world." For the past year, the Church at Kaweah's website has advertised joint trainings with the Christian Guardians and other like-minded groups. Based at the church's sprawling grounds, the series of trainings is described as a "unique system of learning how to survive the Muslim Brotherhood as we teach the Christian Morality of Biblical Warfare."

Clarkson, the journalist who specializes in religious extremism, said the Church at Kaweah appears to have been successful in integrating people with military expertise seamlessly into its theology of confrontation, in part by minimizing doctrinal differences that have bedeviled similar efforts by other radical churches.

"We saw the beginnings of this during the militia movement of the 1990s, but this appears to be more advanced," Clarkson said. "Fifteen years ago, the idea of a church-based militia seemed novel. Now it seems likely to be a permanent model of far-right revolutionary organizations." ▲

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 fourth quarter of 2011. Any additional listings can be found on the Intelligence Project's website at www.splcenter.org/get-informed/hate-incidents.

ARIZONA

Gilbert • Dec. 24, 2011

A cross was burned at the residence of an interracial couple. A note containing a racial slur was tied to a brick and left at the residence.

CALIFORNIA

Long Beach • Oct. 31, 2011

Two men leaving a gay and lesbian center were allegedly attacked by two other men who used anti-gay epithets. Marquise Lucas, 19, and Sierus Dunbar, 27, were charged with one felony count of battery with serious bodily injury and one felony count of assault by means likely to produce great bodily injury in connection with the incident.

Oxnard • Nov. 21, 2011

Brandon McInerney, 17, pleaded guilty to second-degree murder, one count of voluntary manslaughter and one count of use of a firearm for the 2008 shooting death of his 15-year-old gay classmate, Larry King. McInerney was sentenced to 21 years in prison.

San Francisco • Oct. 21, 2011

An interracial couple pushing their two children in a stroller was allegedly attacked by a man who made a comment about the race of their children, punched the man and woman and kicked the stroller, striking one of the children in the head. Hosea Matavao, 48, was charged with three counts of assault, one count of endangering a child and one count of battery. Four of the charges have hate crime allegations attached.

San Francisco • Oct. 31, 2011

A transgendered man was allegedly assaulted by a man, armed with a knife, who threatened repeatedly to kill him because he

was transgendered. Ricky Hodge, 38, was charged with suspicion of aggravated assault, making terrorist threats and hate crime enhancements.

Westminster • Oct. 6, 2011

Jonathan Michael Schmidt, 31, was charged with two felony counts of hate crime battery and one felony count of hate crime assault for allegedly yelling racial slurs at a Latino woman and spitting on her before trying to run her over with his bike. In December he was sentenced to 180 days.

FLORIDA

Tampa • Oct. 3, 2011

Cory Hulse, a member of the white supremacist Tampa Blood and Honour, pleaded guilty to a federal racketeering charge in connection with the fatal beatings of two homeless men in 1998. On Dec. 21 another Tampa Blood and Honour member, James Robertson, 32, was sentenced to life in prison in connection with the murders.

GEORGIA

Columbus • Nov. 15, 2011

White supremacist Michael Carothers, 31, aka Michael Weaver, pleaded guilty to aggravated assault for using pepper spray on a black man in December 2010. Carothers was sentenced to one year in prison, followed by nine years of probation. He also was banished until his probation ends from all six counties in the Chattahoochee Judicial Circuit, which includes the city of Columbus.

IDAHO

Coeur d'Alene • Nov. 9, 2011

Edgar J. Steele, 66, a self-described white separatist and "attorney for the politically incorrect," was sentenced to 50 years in federal

prison for plotting the pipe bomb murder of his wife in 2010.

KANSAS

Council Grove • Oct. 7, 2011

Three men, one armed with a machete, allegedly broke into a black man's house, yelled racial slurs, ordered a pit bull to bite the man, then poured rubbing alcohol on him and set him on fire. Isaac Wilson, 23, was charged with aggravated battery and aggravated burglary.

LOUISIANA

Shreveport • Oct. 24, 2011

William Payne, 32, pleaded guilty to aggravated battery and hate crimes for beating a man in the face with a pool cue at a nightclub in January after making threats to the victim because of his sexual orientation. Payne was sentenced to 23 years in prison.

NEW JERSEY

Brooklyn • Nov. 11, 2011

Anti-Semitic graffiti was scrawled on sidewalks, swastikas were drawn on park benches, the letters "KKK" were written on a van and cars were torched in a heavily Jewish neighborhood on the anniversary of Kristallnacht.

OREGON

Corvallis • Oct. 6, 2011

Reported white supremacists David "Joey" Pedersen and his girlfriend Holly Grigsby face two counts of first-degree aggravated murder charges for allegedly killing Pedersen's father and step-mother in Everett, Wash. The pair are also suspects in the murders of a 19-year-old Oregon man who was killed allegedly because his last name sounded Jewish to them and a 53-year-old black man in Eureka, Calif.

TEXAS

Midland • Nov. 30, 2011

Steven Scott Cantrell, 26, pleaded guilty to charges of damaging religious property, arson, and interfering with housing, all prosecuted with a bias crime enhancement, for firebombing a black church in the city of Crane in December 2010. Cantrell said the firebombing was an attempt to kill a black parishioner and part of Cantrell's plan to gain status in the white supremacist Aryan Brotherhood of Texas. He was sentenced to more than 37 years in prison.

Reno • Oct. 31, 2011

A gay man was allegedly stabbed with a broken beer bottle and thrown onto a fire at a party by up to four men who yelled anti-gay slurs during the attack. Daniel Martin, 33, and James "Tray" Mitchell III, 31, were charged with aggravated assault with a deadly weapon and aggravated assault causing serious bodily injury. Micky Joe Smith, 25, was also arrested in connection with the incident.

WASHINGTON

Spokane • Dec. 20, 2011

Kevin Harpham, 37, a former member of the neo-Nazi National Alliance, was sentenced to 32 years in prison for plotting to bomb a Martin Luther King Jr. Day parade.

Yakima • Dec. 22, 2011

Diane M. Simpson, 50, was charged with malicious harassment and second-degree assault after she allegedly pointed a shotgun at a Latino neighbor and the woman's 2-year-old grandson while yelling that she hated Mexicans. ▲

Primetime Survivalism

Online but 'off the grid,' Glenn Beck's new Internet TV show offers a lesson in surviving post-apocalyptic America

BY BOOTH GUNTER

After all his predictions that the end of days was near, that a devious plot to subvert the Constitution was under way and that a ticking clock was counting down the last hours of America, the time has finally come for Glenn Beck to talk about real solutions.

After all, you can buy only so much gold. And you can't eat it.

So what's the average Joe to do when civilization comes apart at the seams? What do you eat when the ATMs don't work anymore and there are no grocery stores open anyway? How do you get around town when you can't buy gas to fill up the Hummer?

Well, you could throw yourself on the mercy of the jackbooted UN soldiers who — as part of President Obama's sinister agenda — have come to install the totalitarian, communist, everything-bad "New World Order."

Or, more to Beck's liking, you could learn the time-honored techniques of survivalism. As in: "Take to the woods!"

To help you along, Beck in January introduced a new, Internet-streaming

Apocalypse really, really soon: Doom-for-dollars salesman Glenn Beck is behind a new Internet reality show about surviving the end times, starring a rough-talking Frank Belcastro, who makes hunting bows out of old car parts and fires guns. But for Beck, "surviving" means living in a \$20,000-a-month rental and nursing a \$40 million-a-year empire.

reality show about nothing less than surviving the end of America.

At this point, you might ask: What can I learn about going "off the grid" from a man that Forbes says is worth \$85 million — a man whose media empire rakes in \$40 million a year and who last year leased a lavish, 8,000-square-foot home in Texas for \$20,000 a month, just after putting his \$4 million Connecticut mansion on the market?

Maybe Beck can tell us how to home-harvest caviar from a hand-caught sturgeon. Or better yet, give us a treasure map to help find gold coins buried in the backyards of his former Fox News viewers.

Probably not going to happen. If Frank Belcastro has anything to do with it, the survivalist tradecraft featured on "Independence USA" will be designed more for the little guy than for those who inhabit Beck's gilded world.

"The shit is gonna hit the fan, and we need an exit strategy," says Belcastro, the bumbling Renaissance man with a strangely long mustache, as the first episode opens. "When everyone else is out there running around, trying to figure out how to survive, we're gonna be ready."

And so, presumably will all the Beck fans who tune in to his GBTV (for just \$9.95/month or \$99.95/year!).

In one scene, Belcastro's wife and daughter take a shotgun into the woods to shoot a wild turkey, while the men are out killing deer.

(Editor's note: Make sure to stock up on ammo BEFORE the collapse!) In another scene, Belcastro and his eldest son try to fashion a bow-and-arrow using the rusted springs of a truck. "The way I got it figured," Belcastro says, "there's gonna be dead cars all over the road [and] metal like this is gonna be readily available to be scrounged." (It turns out that life in the post-civilized world is all about recycling.)

So begin the chronicles of a "Patriot" everyman. The show represents the next logical step for Beck, who had turned during his final days at Fox News to warning about a secret United Nations plot to ruin the American way of life and, with the help of his trusty blackboard, to connecting dots all the way to the liberal billionaire George Soros. For Beck's viewers, the end was near — night after night. Nothing, it seems, has changed. Except the end seems even nearer than it ever was.

So is Beck, ever the doom-for-dollars entrepreneur, cynically exploiting the deep-seated fears he helped instill in a certain segment of the public?

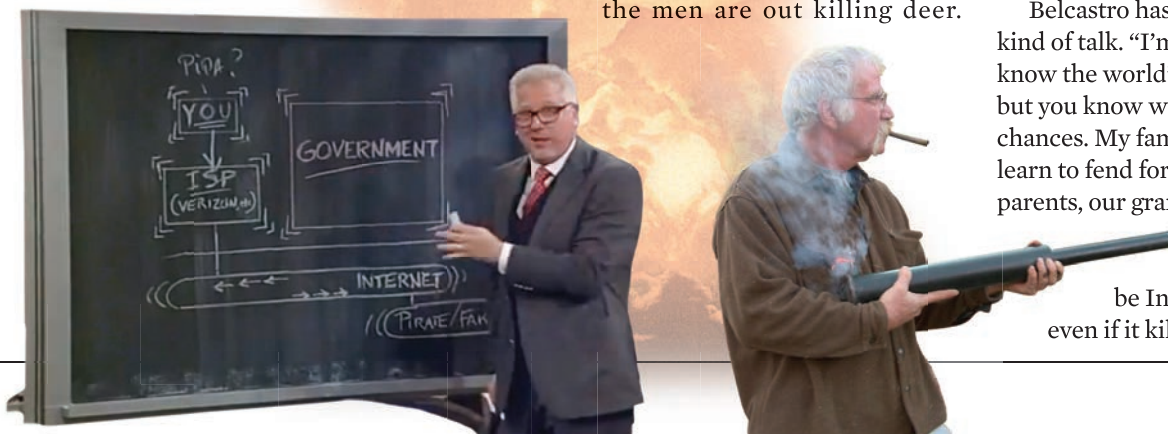
Perhaps. But maybe "Independence USA" is just plain entertainment.

Regardless, the reviews have been poor. *Time* magazine has said the show is "as interesting as a cup of Ovaltine at bedtime." That's a bit harsh. It might be better to say the show is akin to watching the Outdoor channel peppered with a bit of crazy.

Belcastro has an answer for that kind of talk. "I'm not crazy," he says. "I know the world's not ending tomorrow, but you know what? I'm not taking any chances. My family and I are going to learn to fend for ourselves, just like our parents, our grandparents, and our great grandparents did."

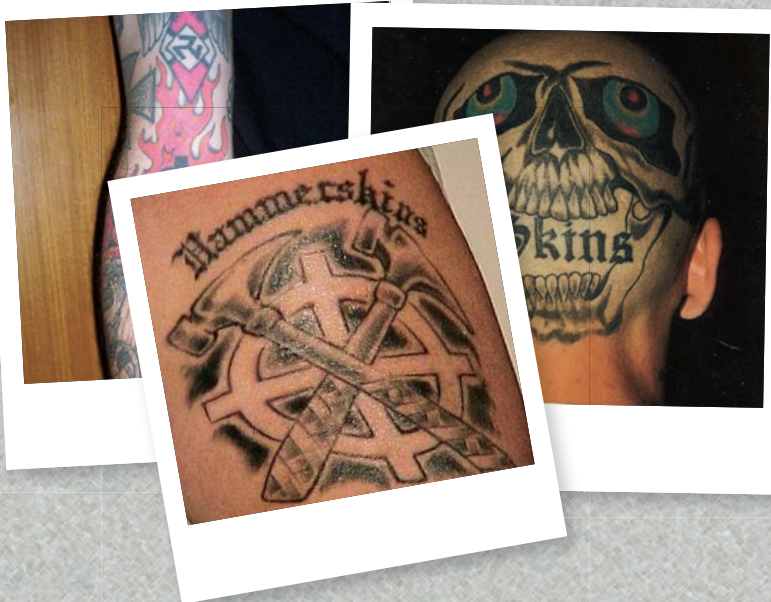
For us, everyday will be Independence Day, even if it kills us." ▲

FACEBOOK/GBTV (BECK); FACEBOOK/INDEPENDENCEUSA (BELCASTRO); ISTOCKPHOTO (EXTENSION)



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