

'OPERATION BLITZKRIEG' HACKERS HIT NAZI SITES



Intelligence Report

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30

to WATCH

PLUS

**SINS OF THE
SOVEREIGNS**
Criminality in
a Movement

CLOSING IN
Feds Targeting
Tom Metzger?

THE AMERICAN RADICAL RIGHT HAS CHANGED IN MAJOR WAYS OVER THE LAST DECADE. AND WITH THOSE CHANGES HAS COME A NEW CROP OF LEADERS, BOTH LONGTIME AGITATORS AND NEWLY MINTED IDEOLOGUES — MEN AND WOMEN WHO ARE DISTORTING OUR DEMOCRACY

Lying About America

BY MARK POTOK



IS AGENDA 21, A UNITED NATIONS non-binding plan for global sustainability signed by President George H.W. Bush in 1992, a “comprehensive plan” for “global political control”? Is it a “destructive and insidious” scheme being pushed “covertly” in U.S. towns that would entail “socialist/communist redistribution of wealth”?

The Republican National Committee says yes.

Is there “probable cause” to believe that President Obama’s long-form birth certificate is “a forgery,” that his Selective Service registration card is “highly suspect,” and that the National Archives is “mysteriously missing” a week of flight information about Hawaii in the very same week Obama was born? Did “the media” engage in a “cover-up” of a story that is “bigger than Watergate”?

Five-term sheriff Joe Arpaio of Maricopa County, Ariz., representing nearly 4 million people in the fourth largest county in the United States, is sure of it.

And is there a secret government plot to impose martial law, seize the population’s guns, use concentration camps on “former military bases” to imprison Americans, and make the country a “precursor to Nazi Germany?” Aren’t “patriots” doing the right thing to resist the administration’s “communism”?

First-term Washington state Rep. Matt Shea (R-Spokane Valley), whose priority is “fighting for families,” thinks that’s precisely what’s going on.

These are just three recent examples of how utterly baseless conspiracy theories — ideas that originate in the fetid intellectual swamps of the radical right — have invaded the American political mainstream in ways that would have been almost unimaginable a few years ago. While the margins-to-the-mainstream phenomenon is hardly new, false and demonizing propaganda now is increasingly being endorsed by important leaders who certainly ought to know better.

Scattered throughout this issue, and especially in our cover story on 30 of today’s notable radical-right leaders, is evidence of much more of this kind of thing. Religious leaders who have advised presidential candidates and say the separation of church and state is a myth. Once-respectable news executives insisting Obama is really a Kenyan. A Yale Law School grad suggesting to his followers that the United States is heading for martial law. Religious-right leaders asserting that gay men were essentially responsible for the Nazi Holocaust. So-called media watchdogs who claim there’s a secret plot to merge Mexico, the United States and Canada.

The sickness has infected our political system, from some of the claims made on the campaign trail to what looks like a wholesale invasion of many of our state legislatures, where no wild-eyed idea or theory seems too far out to consider.

As usual, Arizona, which kicked off the recent spate of punishing anti-immigrant laws around the nation with 2010’s S.B. 1070, is a leader in this dubious contest. In recent months, it considered a law that would require federal law enforcement agents to get permission from a local sheriff before undertaking any official action — a concept of sheriff as top law enforcement officer that began with the violent and anti-Semitic Posse Comitatus of the 1970s and 1980s. Lawmakers in the Grand Canyon State also proposed creating an armed volunteer task force to patrol the border for crime, with participants immunized like sworn officers for any acts while on duty. Fourteen of the state’s 15 sheriffs oppose the measure.

Some 13 states, beginning last year with Oklahoma, have seen bills introduced that seek to prevent the use of Shariah, or Islamic religious law, in American courts. The measures are completely useless and unnecessary under the Constitution. Most of the proposals originated with David Yerushalmi, an extremist Islamophobe.

In Missouri, legislation was introduced that would require candidates for vice president and president to prove their citizenship — a measure that opponents called racist but proponents said had nothing at all to do with our first black president.

And in New Hampshire, a legislator got the state House of Representatives to pass a bill requiring doctors to tell women that abortion causes breast cancer — a claim for which there is zero evidence. That was only one of a spate of proposals designed to make abortions more difficult, or at least more humiliating, to obtain. Although some were quickly shot down, several sought to force women to undergo vaginal probes in order to show them pictures of their developing fetuses.

These kinds of proposals, laced with misinformation and aimed at particular groups of Americans, do more than merely inject a kind of Alice in Wonderland quality into what ought to be our serious collective deliberations. Washington state lawmaker Matt Shea’s claims about government plots and all the rest come direct from the ideologues of the rapidly swelling antigovernment “Patriot” movement.

While there are doubtless many reasons to criticize government, allegations of secret concentration camps, mass gun seizures, martial law and Nazi-like plans are not among them. That kind of fear-mongering does nothing so much as make it nearly impossible to deal with the very real problems that face our country. ▲



ON THE COVER

23 30 to Watch

The American radical right has evolved in major ways in the last decade. It has gone from a scene dominated by major groups and leaders to one characterized by smaller organizations, even as the numbers of both hate groups and antigovernment “Patriot” groups has skyrocketed. Partly as a result of these changes, a new crop of leaders has arisen, including both longtime agitators and people new to radical causes.



16 Sins of the Sovereigns

Since forming in 2010, the Republic for the United States of America has grown into the largest group of “sovereign citizens” — people who believe they’re immune to laws and taxes — in the nation. The group says it seeks only lawful government, but evidence of the criminality of many of its members is growing by the month.



40 Closing In

In the aftermath of a conviction in an Arizona racial mail bombing, court documents gathered in three states suggest that federal investigators may be building a major criminal case against Tom Metzger, a leading advocate of “lone wolf” terrorism but also a man who has never faced serious charges despite 40 years of activism.



44 'Operation Blitzkrieg'

Anonymous, the Internet hacking collective known for its cyber-attacks on business and government, has opened a new front, plundering websites belonging to radical-right groups here and abroad and in many cases exposing their members. The attacks have shaken up extremists, many of whom fear losing their day jobs as a result.

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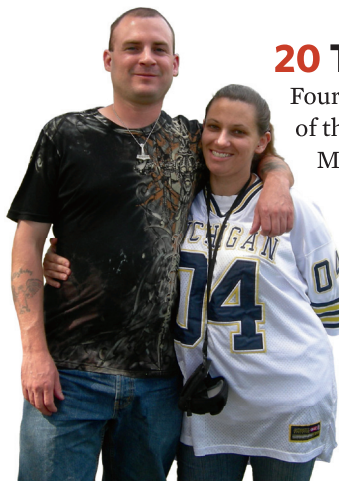
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12 Shading the Truth

The anti-same-sex-marriage National Organization for Marriage prides itself on keeping its criticisms of homosexuality civil and factual. But does it really?



20 The Scoop on Schoep

Four years after marrying the leader of the neo-Nazi National Socialist Movement, Joanna Schoep is getting divorced and has a few things to say about her husband.

DEPARTMENTS

3 Intelligence Briefs

A Georgia law takes on "paper terrorism"; a man is charged with firebombing a mosque; a racist vigilante is celebrated on TV; and other glimpses of extremism.

48 For the Record

A sampling of hate crimes and hate group activities from the first quarter of 2012 is summarized in state-by-state listings.

49 The Last Word

Rejecting democracy and women's right to vote, the ultra-libertarian founder of PayPal invests in creating new, ocean-based nations — and a cure for aging.

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.





Fighting subversion: Former FBI agent John Guandolo has been widely criticized for claiming that Muslims in America have no First Amendment rights and suggesting they are interested in “subjugating” the American people. But that didn’t stop a Tennessee sheriff from using Guandolo to train his deputies.

ANTI-MUSLIM

Law Enforcement Agencies Slammed for Islamophobic Training Sessions

Training seminars put on by a former FBI agent in February have spotlighted what many see as a growing effort by Islamophobes to influence law enforcement and cast all Muslims as a threat to America.

In Murfreesboro, Tenn., about 100 officers attended a three-day seminar about Islam and the threat of terrorism, taught by former agent John Guandolo.

Guandolo is vice president of Strategic Engagement Group, a non-profit organization that says it was formed in 2010 “for the purpose of exposing and defeating efforts to subvert the United States Constitution and subjugate the American People.” He has stated in training sessions around the country that Muslims “do not have a

First Amendment right to do anything,” according to news reports.

It wasn’t the first such criticism leveled at law enforcement agencies.

In New York City, police came under fire for the way they surveilled mosques and the larger Muslim community, and for showing a rabidly anti-Muslim film to some 1,500 officers. Similarly, the FBI has been sharply criticized for training sessions and materials that denigrated Muslims.

Wired magazine late last year reported that it had received a trove of instructional materials from an FBI whistleblower that said, among other things, that mainstream Muslims are likely to be terrorist sympathizers, that Muhammad was a “cult leader,” and that

the more “devout” a Muslim is, the more likely he is to be “violent.” FBI Director Robert Mueller has ordered the training stopped and the training material purged. The FBI also gave assurances that it would not use such material again.

Afterward, Mike German, a former FBI agent who now works for the ACLU and who once infiltrated American radical-right groups, said: “Seeing the materials the FBI agents are being trained with certainly helps explain why we’ve seen so many inappropriate FBI surveillance operations broadly targeting the Muslim-American community.”

‘SOVEREIGN CITIZENS’

Georgia Bill Attacks ‘Paper Terrorism’ as FBI Takes Aim at ‘Sovereigns’

As antigovernment “sovereign citizens” continue to defy the law across the country, government officials are fighting back.

In April, Georgia enacted legislation making it a felony to file fraudulent

THE SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER TRAINS LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS TO COMBAT VIOLENT EXTREMISTS

SPLC has identified more than 1,000 hate and extremist groups in our nation. We are committed to providing law enforcement with the latest and best intelligence about these groups' activities and members. We're in contact with agencies at every level, including the FBI and the Secret Service.

SPLC SUPPORTERS HELP PROVIDE FREE TRAINING TO LAW ENFORCEMENT

Law enforcement officers are more likely than others to encounter dangerous extremists — with sometimes tragic results. At least 32 officers have been killed by radical extremists since the Oklahoma City bombing.

SPLC equips officers with a variety of information to help them better protect their communities and themselves:

- ➔ On-site trainings help officers learn hate group symbols and activity; the threat potential of specific groups, and how to respond to hate group activity.
- ➔ Our *Intelligence Report* magazine, containing vital information to combat extremists, goes to more than 55,000 officers four times each year, and,
- ➔ SPLC's interactive Hate Map helps officials locate extremist groups in their areas.

SPLC'S LATEST TOOL HELPS SAVE LIVES

SPLC recently teamed with an Arkansas police chief — whose patrolman son and his partner were murdered by 'sovereign citizen' extremists — to produce a special training video that teaches officers how to recognize this movement. **The chief believes that his son and his partner might be alive today if they had recognized "the warning signs of sovereign beliefs."**

SPLC has distributed more than 50,000 copies of this video— free of charge — to law enforcement agencies across the country. We expect to make more videos in the coming year.



Police Chief Robert Paudert believes 'sovereign citizen' training might have saved his son's life.

SPLC staffers train thousands of officers each year on extremist activity across the country.

SPLC provides powerful training tools free of charge to law enforcement.



WHAT LAW ENFORCEMENT HAS TO SAY ABOUT SPLC ...

"If it weren't for an organization such as yours informing officers of [extremist] activity, I feel many more tragic events would have transpired."

MICHIGAN POLICE CHIEF

"I teach a class concerning officer safety and I think your video could save some lives."

DETECTIVE, LAPD



SPLC

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HATE IN THE MAINSTREAM

“May his children be orphans and his wife a widow.”

—An E-mail about President Obama, forwarded to colleagues by Kansas House Speaker **MIKE O'NEAL** (R), which he claimed in a **Jan. 5** statement did not call for Obama's death

“Should society avoid disapproving of pedophilia, prostitution, murder, etc., because practitioners of those behaviors may commit suicide at higher rates?”

—South Carolina State Rep. **JOHN RAGAN** (R), in a **Jan. 21** letter about a proposed law on anti-gay bullying, likening homosexuality to serious crimes

“Most people realize that AIDS came from the homosexual community — it was one guy screwing a monkey, if I recall correctly, and then having sex with men.”

—Tennessee State Sen. **STACEY CAMPFIELD** (R), making a set of false claims to the Huffington Post on **Jan. 26** that also included the assertion that it's “virtually impossible” for AIDS to be transmitted via heterosexual contact

“If a dude at your Super Bowl party is hyped about David Beckham's H&M underwear ad, smack the ish out of him.”

—CNN political analyst **ROLAND MARTIN**, tweeting on **Feb. 6** about a Super Bowl commercial featuring the soccer star and using a slang word for girlish

“Catholics write letters and Muslims stab you with letter openers.”

—Fox News personality **GREG GUTFELD**, speaking on Fox on **Feb. 27**

“So, Miss Fluke, and the rest of you feminazis, here's the deal. ... [I]f we are going to pay for your contraceptives — and thus pay for you to have sex — we want something for it. We want you to post the videos online so we can all watch.”

—Radio personality **RUSH LIMBAUGH**, in **Feb. 29** remarks about Georgetown law student Sandra Fluke's testimony to a panel of Congressional Democrats

“Carjackers are not called ‘underrated drivers.’ Bank robbers are not called ‘people who make unauthorized withdrawals.’ Illegal aliens should not be called ‘undocumented immigrants.’”

—**IAN NICHOLS**, an Iowa State University newspaper writer, comparing unauthorized immigrants to violent criminals in a **Feb. 29** editorial

“[W]hen the race hustlers like Al Sharpton, Jesse Jackson and race hustler-in-chief Barack Obama started exploiting the incident, I began to think we were being conned, once again, by the vicious, biased, America-hating, leftist-controlled press.”

—WorldNetDaily publisher **JOSEPH FARAH**, in a **March 25** editorial dismissing anger over the controversial killing of Trayvon Martin in Florida



Taking on the sovereigns: Georgia lawmaker B.J. Pak proposed a bill, which was enacted, that would severely punish so-called “sovereign citizens” who engage in “paper terrorism” by filing unjustified property liens against their enemies.

liens against the property of public officials or employees, a sovereign tactic known as “paper terrorism.”

State Rep. B.J. Pak, a Republican, introduced the bill at the request of the Georgia Bureau of Investigation. Violators of the law, which goes into effect July 1, can be imprisoned for up to 10 years, fined up to \$10,000, or both.

In one case in Georgia, Temple Police Chief Tim Shaw was harassed, threatened and hit with false liens totaling more than \$800,000 by a sovereign citizen angered by a traffic citation. Other sovereigns who were being prosecuted under the RICO Act filed baseless property liens and lawsuits against government officials involved in their case. In such cases, officials can become entangled in legal proceedings that can take years and thousands of dollars to sort out.

The measure comes as sovereign citizens pose an increasing threat to law enforcement. In February, the FBI announced it was dedicating more resources to the movement, which the agency has designated as “domestic terrorist.” Six law enforcement officers have been killed by sovereigns since

JOHN AMIS/AP IMAGES



2000, and Oklahoma City bombing co-conspirator Terry Nichols held sovereign beliefs.

“We are focusing our efforts because of the threat of violence,” said Stuart R. McArthur, a deputy assistant director of the FBI’s counterterrorism division.

Meanwhile, *The Los Angeles Times* reported that in two unpublished studies, the Homeland Security Department and the National Counterterrorism Center ranked the movement as a major threat, along with Islamic extremists and white supremacists.

Sovereigns typically believe the U.S. government is illegitimate and that it actually is a corporation working to enslave hard-working American citizens. Many think that a convoluted system of declarations can emancipate a person from all manner of laws and taxes. Financial scams and tax fraud are common charges against sovereigns.

Despite the extremist ideology and the very real violence the movement has produced, former Fox News personality Glenn Beck mocked the FBI’s warning about the sovereign movement, suggesting that it was a subterfuge to steal away freedoms.

“I don’t believe a word of that, do you?” he asked viewers of his Internet TV show. “Let’s call a spade a spade. Let me tell you what this is, I believe, all about. It is deflection, again, to set the American people up. It goes right back

to, ‘Yes, but can I scoop American citizens up and hold them without trial?’”

As much as Beck would like to mock it, pronouncing sovereigns a threat is hardly deflection. The following are recent criminal cases involving sovereigns (see also story, p. 16):

- In Fort Worth, Texas, James Michael Tesi was found guilty in January of assaulting a police officer in a shooting outside his home. According to news reports, Tesi and the officer exchanged at least 15 shots in July when the officer tried to arrest him on traffic warrants. Tesi, who was shot in the leg and face, claims he is a “Moorish American,” not a U.S. citizen.



- In Raleigh, N.C., a former high school teacher was convicted on seven counts of attempting to evade state income taxes. Gloria Tatum-Wade, 72, filed a claim with



Guilford County saying she was a sovereign citizen and exempt from taxes. Of course, she wasn’t. She was sentenced to two consecutive terms totaling, at minimum, 14 months in jail.

- A sovereign in Skagit County, Wash., was sentenced to three years in prison for assisting in filing false tax returns. Long-time tax defier Timothy Garrison, 60, pleaded guilty to two counts that he prepared tax returns that helped a couple dodge more than \$88,000 in taxes. As he was sentenced, U.S. District Judge Ricardo S. Martinez said, “You are free to believe anything. You are free to question authority. What you don’t have is the ability to break the law and not suffer the consequences.”

- In an example of how comically delusional sovereigns can be, police in Phillipsburg, N.J., arrested Robert Merritt for urinating outside of a convenience store. When an officer approached, Merritt replied that he was

a sovereign citizen — and the officer could “kiss my black ass.”

CONSPIRACY THEORIES

‘Patriot’ Groups See Defense Act as Prelude to Dictatorship

The passage of the National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA) for 2012, signed into law on Dec. 31, has ignited a firestorm of Internet criticism, ranging from legitimate worries about the act’s constitutionality to conspiracy theories suggesting the federal government is bent on rounding up Americans as part of a “New World Order” dictatorship.

The NDAA is the federal law that authorizes funding for the Defense Department each year. What started the backlash to the 2012 edition are provisions regarding military detention of terrorists or suspected terrorists that many interpret as a license for American military forces to imprison citizens indefinitely and with impunity.

Antigovernment “Patriot” organizations like the John Birch Society and the Tenth Amendment Center (see also Michael Boldin profile, p. 26) are involved in the blowback, as are conspiracy-minded websites like Alex Jones’ Infowars, all warning darkly of a police state. Similar fears have animated the Patriot movement for at least 20 years now.

It’s not just the political far right the provisions have fired up, however. The act was condemned by liberal organizations, including the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), which said in December that it “is particularly dangerous because it has no temporal or geographic limitations,” meaning that the government can detain people far from scenes or periods of combat. Kenneth Roth, executive director of Human Rights Watch, added, “President Obama will go down in history as the president who enshrined indefinite detention without trial in U.S. law.”

After an outcry — and Obama’s initial refusal to sign the act — language was

added that explicitly exempts American citizens and resident aliens from indefinite military imprisonment. When Obama finally did sign it, he included a signing statement promising that his administration would not authorize “the indefinite military detention without trial of American citizens.”

But that hasn’t appeased many on either side of the political spectrum. The ACLU noted in February that the NDAA would still authorize the “world-wide and indefinite military detention” of non-citizens “captured far from any battlefield.” Though the ACLU doesn’t believe that the NDAA authorizes domestic military detention, “many in Congress think that it should be used in exactly this way.”

One writer at IntelHub, a conspiracist site, claimed in February that the continuing economic crisis was manufactured by the government and set the stage for passage of the NDAA. For its part, the Tenth Amendment Center held a conference call in March with journalists and sympathetic legislators, both Democratic and Republican, about the issue. Several states have passed or are considering passing anti-NDAA laws or resolutions.

ANTI-MUSLIM

Man Charged with Firebombing NY Mosque, Hindu Temple

A New York man who told police he intended to kill “as many Muslims and Arabs as possible” faces a maximum sentence of life in prison for allegedly firebombing an Islamic mosque and a Hindu temple on New Year’s Day.

Federal authorities on March 19 charged Ray Lazier Lengend, also known as Suraj Poonai, with hate crimes and explosives violations. They say he used Molotov cocktails made from Frappuccino bottles to bomb the Imam Al-Khoei Foundation mosque, in the Jamaica neighborhood of Queens, and a Hindu temple housed in a private residence in Hillside, also in Queens.

Lengend, 40, of Queens, is also charged with the Jan. 1 firebombing of a convenience store in Hillside. He has been in custody since his Jan. 3 arrest.

The attacks came amid a trend of rising hate crime targeting Muslims. FBI statistics for 2010, the latest available, show that anti-Muslim hate crimes shot up by 50% over the previous year. That is apparently the result of controversy surrounding an Islamic center planned near the site of the former World Trade Center in lower Manhattan, along with the rapid spread of anti-Muslim rhetoric by opportunistic politicians and Islamophobic propagandists. Last year, the number of anti-Muslim hate groups counted by the Southern Poverty Law Center tripled, from 10 in 2010 to 30 in 2011.

The problem shows no sign of abating. On Jan. 30, the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community Mosque in Chantilly, Va., was damaged when vandals broke nearly all the windows and door glass on its first level, causing damages estimated as high as \$200,000. Investigators found several bottles of alcohol at the site and suspect the vandals were under the influence. No one had been arrested as of press time.

In the meantime, the Department of Justice has announced that it will join local law enforcement to investi-

gate attacks on Muslim and Sikh houses of worship in the Detroit metropolitan area. On Feb. 6, police in Sterling Heights, Mich., learned that a Sikh temple, or gurdwara, had been spray-painted with graffiti depicting a gun and a Christian cross, along with misspelled words including, “Dont Builed,” “fcuk you,” and “Mohmed,” (likely in reference to the Islamic prophet Muhammad, who is not a holy figure in the Sikh religion), leading some to suggest that the attack was actually aimed at Muslims.

It wouldn’t be the first time Sikhs have been mistakenly victimized by anti-Muslim bigots since 9/11. Last September, a Sikh-owned convenience store in North Carolina was heavily damaged by an arsonist who marked the 10th anniversary of the attacks with hate graffiti reading “9-11 Go Home.” Six months earlier, Surinder Singh, 65, was shot and killed in Elk Grove, Calif., while walking with his friend Gurmej Atwal, 78, who was critically injured and later died. Both were wearing dastars (traditional Sikh turbans) and long beards common to men of that faith.

The DOJ will also assist in investigating the Feb. 13 graffiti vandalism of the American Muslim Bekka Center in Dearborn, Mich., a city whose population is one-third Muslim.



Ray Lazier Lengend, who is accused of using Molotov cocktails to attack houses of worship and a convenience store, allegedly told police he wanted to kill “as many Muslims and Arabs as possible.”

JOHN MINICILLO/ AP IMAGES



ANTI-IMMIGRANT

Racist Border Vigilante Featured on Reality Show

Glenn Spencer, the racist, anti-Semitic head of American Border Patrol — an anti-immigrant group that uses high-tech sensors and infrared video cameras mounted on model airplanes to monitor the Arizona-Mexico border — had a good run of publicity earlier this year.

On Feb. 22, the Outdoor Channel celebrated him on “Border Battles,” a reality show about “what it takes to protect our borders from drug smuggling, illegal immigration, and terrorism.” A week later, he testified to the Arizona Senate Committee on Border Security, Federalism, and States Sovereignty about his “sonic barrier,” one of many gizmos he uses to track border crossers.

Spencer, a publicity-seeking conspiracy theorist who once wrote that “Jews do, in fact, control the media,” may have done more than anyone to spread the myth of a secret Mexican conspiracy to reconquer the American Southwest (an effort supposedly known as “la reconquista”). He has hosted high-profile nativist gatherings on his ranch and once played host to Shawna Forde, the Arizona Minuteman leader now sitting on death row for her role in the slayings

Glenn Spencer is a vitriolic racist who writes about “Jew-Controlled Hollywood,” promotes racist theories about black crime and demands the banning of all Spanish-language media in the United States. That didn’t bother the Outdoor Channel, which mentioned none of this and instead celebrated the man who once shot up a neighbor’s house with no justification as a great hero in its “Border Battles” reality show.

of 9-year-old Brisenia Flores and her father during a 2009 home invasion.

He also has his own record of run-ins with the law. In 2003, thinking he was hearing noises outside his home, he grabbed a gun and started shooting into the dark outside. He managed to hit a neighbor’s garage, among other things, and was charged with four felonies. The charges were eventually reduced to a single misdemeanor.

Last February, he was convicted of disorderly conduct, assault, and threatening and intimidation after he threatened to unleash his dogs on a man he took to be a drug smuggler because he was parked on the side of the road at a supposedly “famous pick up spot,” talking on a cell phone. The man turned out to be the son of a neighbor Spencer has accused of having a “religious vendetta” against him or possibly being involved in illegal activity himself. (The source of Spencer’s accusation of religiously motivated “hate” is that the neighbor and his son are Baptist, and

some Arizona Baptist churches have outspokenly opposed Arizona’s draconian anti-immigrant S.B. 1070.)

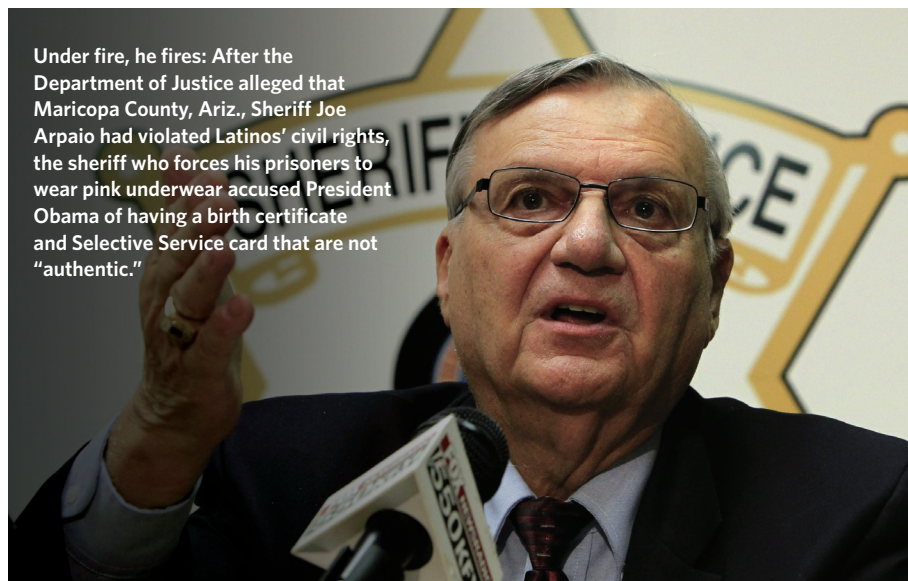
Somehow, none of this made it into the Outdoor Channel’s “reality” show. Instead, Spencer was depicted as a man “set on a personal crusade by the unchecked lawlessness he witnesses on the U.S.-Mexico border.” Neither, apparently, did his record of hatred and vigilantism faze Arizona state Sen. Sylvia Allen, who invited Spencer to speak to her border security committee on March 1. Allen had invited Spencer to speak last year, but he was uninvited after two Democrats protested his “divisiveness” and “message of hatred.”

This year, Allen reportedly did not include Spencer’s name on the schedule, listing his company, Border Technology Inc., instead. When the curmudgeonly Mexican-basher showed up to speak, the Democrats who blocked his appearance last year walked out in protest.

‘BIRTHING’ CONSPIRACIES

Arpaio ‘Investigates’ Obama’s Citizenship, and the Results Surprise No One

Three months after the U.S. Justice Department alleged that Maricopa County Sheriff Joe Arpaio’s office had violated the civil rights of Latinos in



Under fire, he fires: After the Department of Justice alleged that Maricopa County, Ariz., Sheriff Joe Arpaio had violated Latinos’ civil rights, the sheriff who forces his prisoners to wear pink underwear accused President Obama of having a birth certificate and Selective Service card that are not “authentic.”

Arizona, the self-described “Toughest Sheriff in America” responded with brash defiance — by holding a March news conference questioning President Obama’s citizenship.

It isn’t clear what jurisdiction is claimed by Arpaio’s department, which The Associated Press last December accused of inadequately investigating more than 400 sex crime cases, many involving children of undocumented immigrants. But Arpaio’s intrepid investigators found pretty much what they were expected to — that “probable evidence exists indicating forgery and fraud may have been committed.”

“I cannot in good faith report to you that these documents are authentic,” a solemn Arpaio said of Obama’s birth certificate and Selective Service

card. “My investigators believe that the long-form birth certificate was manufactured electronically and that it did not originate in the paper format as claimed by the White House.”

Arpaio’s “findings” were only the latest claims to come from a small but quixotic group of critics who have tirelessly hounded the president with questions about his citizenship — people like far-right WorldNet Daily publisher Joseph Farah (see also profile, p. 29), conspiracy theorist Jerome Corsi, and attorney Orly Taitz. Obama’s release last year of his “long-form” birth certificate has convinced this crew of nothing.

But fewer and fewer Americans pay them much heed.

Last February, Taitz actually took her case to court, hoping to finally get

a legal ruling after a judge in Georgia agreed to hear it. On her personal blog before a hearing, she exulted, “I can’t believe this. ... [Obama] will have to stand trial to prove his eligibility for office.”

But before that great day finally came, Georgia Administrative Law Judge Michael Malihi dismissed Taitz’s claims, saying in a 10-page decision that the evidence she presented was “wholly insufficient to support [her] allegations.” Malihi also noted that Taitz had failed to show that any of her witnesses were actually experts, and ruled that neither their testimony nor her exhibits proved her claim that the president is a former Indonesian citizen who used a fake name, stolen Social Security number and forged birth certificate to become president.

MARCH 10, 2012 PARIS, FRANCE

Jared Taylor (second from left), the proprietor of Virginia-based *American Renaissance* magazine and one of the most important white nationalist leaders in America, spoke at a conclave of some 700 people gathered for a diversity- and immigrant-bashing conference called “France in Danger.” Lecturing in French, Taylor warned his listeners to “not make the terrible mistakes we

have made in America. Avoid at all costs the cult of diversity.” The event was hosted by the far-right groups Nationality, Identity, Citizenship, headed by Catherine Blein (second from right), and Bloc Identaire, which was co-founded by Fabrice Robert (right). Blein told the conferees that foreigners in France needed to return to their native lands so that Europe will be “once again European,” while Robert called racial and ethnic diversity a “new age of slavery” and a “crime against humanity” that will “transform humanity into a uniform mush.” Jean-Yves Le Gallou (left), founder of the Club de l’Horloge, said that to be French is to be “white and European.” The gathering was the latest contact between the radical right in Europe and the United States — contact that was frequent in the 1990s, but has become less so recently.



Updates on Extremism and The Law

DEC. 22 A Massachusetts federal judge sentenced Michael F. Jacques, 27, to almost 14 years in prison and ordered him to pay nearly \$1.6 million in damages for the racially motivated arson of a predominantly black church in **Springfield, Mass.**, the night of President Obama's election in 2008. Two other men earlier pleaded guilty.

DEC. 29 Ex-convict Danny Lee Warner, 37, was arrested in **Lake Havasu City, Ariz.**, in connection with allegedly plotting to murder Anti-Defamation League National Director Abe Foxman. Warner, who led a branch of the **Silent Aryan Warriors** while in a Utah prison, allegedly sent his wife a letter saying he was going "South to kill some niggers and Jews until the government gets me." He was charged with violating parole and illegally possessing a gun and ammunition.

JAN. 27 Jason Walter Barnwell, 37, was sentenced to 20 years in prison for his role in the January 2011 firebombing of an interracial couple's home in **Hardy, Ark.** Barnwell, a one-time leader of a "combat division" of the racist skinhead gang **Blood & Honour**, pleaded guilty in August. His partner, a fellow skinhead who reportedly led the attack, pleaded guilty in December and was to be sentenced in June.

FEB. 6 After pleading guilty to making and transporting illegal explosive devices that he apparently intended to supply to an anti-immigrant group patrolling the U.S.-Arizona border, neo-Nazi Jeffrey Harbin, 29, of **Apache Junction, Ariz.**, was sentenced to two years in prison. Harbin is a mem-

ber of the **National Socialist Movement** and the son of movement stalwart Jerry Harbin. A prosecutor said he built the devices "in such a way as to maximize human carnage."



Bobby Joe Rogers

FEB. 23 A federal grand jury indicted Bobby Joe Rogers, 41, for the New Year's Day firebombing of an abortion clinic in **Pensacola, Fla.** Rogers, who is homeless, reportedly admitted to the crime shortly after

his arrest on Jan. 5. It was the second time the American Family Planning Clinic, which was at the epicenter of **anti-abortion** violence in the 1980s and 1990s, has been burnt to the ground.

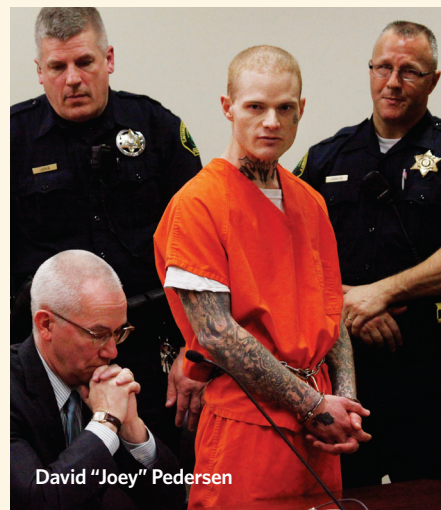
FEB. 23 Police shot and killed white supremacist Jeremiah Barnum, 38, in a parking lot in **Englewood, Colo.**, after an officer saw him reach for a gun. In 1997, Barnum and fellow skinhead Nathan Thill notoriously murdered Oumar Dia, a West African immigrant they encountered at a **Denver** bus stop. Thill is serving life without parole, but Barnum was convicted as an accessory and served 12 years in prison, where he joined the white supremacist prison gang **211 Crew**.

FEB. 24 **White supremacist** Dennis Mahon, 61, was found guilty of the 2004 mail-bombing that maimed the hands of a city diversity officer in **Scottsdale, Ariz.** Long-time associates of **White Aryan Resistance** (see also story, p. 40), Mahon and his twin brother Daniel were arrested in 2009 after a five-year undercover investigation. Dennis Mahon boasted to an attractive female informant about making bombs

and faces seven to 100 years in prison when he is sentenced this spring.

MAR. 13 Ron G. Wilson, a former national commander of the **Sons of Confederate Veterans** who appointed several extremists to the group's governing boards and oversaw a purge of anti-racist members, was accused by the **South Carolina** attorney general of running a Ponzi scheme that defrauded investors in his Atlantic Bullion & Coin. Secret Service agents seized silver, files and computers from Wilson's business and that of his daughter, but did not immediately file charges.

MAR. 16 Confessed killer David "Joey" Pedersen, 31, was sentenced to life in prison for the September slayings of his parents in **Everett, Wash.** Together with girlfriend Holly Ann Grigsby, he may face additional charges for the **Oregon** murder of Cody Myers, who the couple apparently believed was Jewish, and the **California** murder of Reginald Clark, a disabled black man reportedly victimized because of his race.



David "Joey" Pedersen

JIHADIST ATTACKS

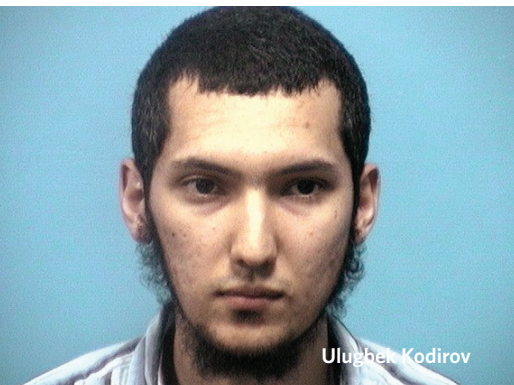
Muslims Arrested in Rash of Alleged U.S. Terror Plots

The threat of domestic Islamic terrorism is not going away.

In the last several months, a Moroccan was arrested carrying a machine gun and a nail-packed explosive vest on his way to the U.S. Capitol; a native of the Dominican Republic was indicted on charges he tried to attack police and other targets; and an Uzbek man was captured at a motel in Birmingham, Ala., where he claimed to be following instructions from a mysterious figure known only as “the Emir” to assassinate President Obama.

The cases seemed to reflect terrorism experts’ view that foreign-directed Al Qaeda plots are becoming less of a threat than Americans and immigrants who are influenced by Al Qaeda propaganda but act on their own. The same experts point out that such people’s success rates tend to be abysmal.

Take the case of Amine El Khalifi, the 29-year-old Moroccan man arrested in February as he carried a vest that he



Ulugbek Kodirov

thought was packed with explosives in Washington, D.C. As *The New York Times* reported, Khalifi never posed a real danger — the weapons provided to him by an undercover federal agent were inoperative.

The next month, a federal grand jury in New York indicted Jose Pimentel, 27, on terror charges related to build-



WAR ON WOMEN

Limbaugh's Attack on Student is Only the Latest in Hate Talk

When radio jock Rush Limbaugh called a Georgetown law school student a “slut” and a “prostitute” for testifying on Capital Hill regarding contraceptive insurance coverage, the national chorus of criticism that erupted hardly silenced him. He went on for another two days, suggesting that Sandra Fluke should also publicly post videotapes of herself having sex.

He only apologized when the worst thing that can happen to a radio personality started to unfold — scores of major advertisers deserted him. Even then, he sounded insincere and resentful, never spoke to Fluke personally, and ended up blaming “the left” and the media for whatever trouble he’d had.

The saga began on Feb. 29 when Limbaugh, who is heard on more than 600 stations, attacked Fluke for supporting a federal mandate that health insurance at religiously affiliated schools like hers cover the cost of contraception.

“What does it say about the college co-ed Susan Fluke,” Limbaugh said, getting Fluke’s first name wrong, “who goes before a congressional committee and

ing a pipe bomb to attack police, soldiers and other government targets. Pimentel allegedly “attempted to build explosive devices as part of his plan to use violence to influence the foreign policy of the United States government by intimidation and coercion.” Police said the Dominican Republic-born Al Qaeda sympathizer and Muslim convert also told them he believed Islamic law obligates all Muslims to wage war against Americans.

Elsewhere, in Boston, Tarek Mehanna was convicted last December on federal charges that included making false statements, conspiracy to provide material support to a terrorist organization and conspiracy to kill in a foreign country. According to reports, Mehanna became an operative for Al Qaeda after traveling to Yemen in 2004 to train at a terrorist camp.

That same month, Ulugbek Kodirov, a 22-year-old Uzbek national, pleaded guilty to federal charges of threatening to kill Obama, possession of an illegal weapon and supporting the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan, a U.S.-designated terrorist group. Several other Uzbeks living in the United States have either been designated global terrorists by the State Department or have been arrested on similar terror charges.



essentially says that she must be paid to have sex? ... It makes her a slut, right? It makes her a prostitute.”

The resulting uproar set off speculation about the future of Limbaugh and even of right-wing hate radio in general. What was forgotten amid all the noise was that Limbaugh was hardly a newcomer to those kinds of ugly comments.

For years, Limbaugh has characterized women he didn't like as “feminazis.” More recently, he has referred to female members of the Obama Cabinet as “sex-retaries” and to Hillary Clinton as the “Sex-retary of State.”

And women haven't been his only targets. In 2007, Limbaugh tried to explain Obama's appeal to voters by calling him the “magic negro.” He later played a song entitled “Barack the Magic Negro” and sung to the tune of “Puff the Magic Dragon.” Later, he referred to Kraft's new Triple Double Oreo as the “Or-ba-meo.” Early in his career, he told a black caller, “Take that bone out of your nose and call me back,” according to Fairness & Accuracy in Reporting. In 1990, he asked, “Have you ever noticed how all composite pictures of wanted criminals resemble Jesse Jackson?”

After his latest display, Limbaugh didn't sound too contrite. “They thought they had me,” he sneered after delivering

his half-hearted apology. “They thought I would be off the air by now. ... There is also another rumor going around that I'm going to be suspended for a week. It is BS. I would have to suspend myself!”

CONSPIRACY THEORIES

RNC Endorses Major Conspiracy Theory of Radical Right

On June 13, 1992, President George H.W. Bush joined the leaders of 177 other nations in adopting the United Nations' Agenda 21, a non-binding plan for sustainable “smart growth” in the face of an ever-more populous world.

Nineteen years and seven months later to the day — on Jan. 13, 2012 — the national Republican Party made it perfectly clear that today's GOP is not the same entity that the center-right Bush presided over between 1989 and 1993.

On that day, the Republican National Committee (RNC) passed a resolution condemning Agenda 21 in no uncertain terms. The plan signed by Bush — which is not legally enforceable and is not a treaty — is “a comprehensive plan of extreme environmentalism, social engineering, and global political control,” it said. It views “the American way of life”

Limbaugh on ladies: After years of calling women he didn't like “feminazis,” radio host Rush Limbaugh spent three days savaging law student Sandra Fluke, who had testified on behalf of insurance coverage of contraception. That was just the latest from Limbaugh, who once called the editor of this magazine a “despicable embarrassment of a human being.”

as “destructive to the environment,” and instead calls for “socialist/communist redistribution of wealth.” It is a “radical” plan being “covertly pushed” in local U.S. communities, a “destructive and insidious” scheme.

The RNC went further still, recommending that its anti-Agenda 21 resolution be adopted as part of the party's presidential campaign platform. Three months later, in March, the Tennessee House of Representatives overwhelmingly approved a similar resolution condemning Agenda 21. The initiative is only the latest of efforts to thwart the much-feared advance of internationalism. Similar resolutions have been passed in New Jersey and North Carolina already this year.

Right-wing groups have been attacking Agenda 21 for years. But the recent worry has a lot to do with the work of the John Birch Society (JBS), which has held workshops across the country to attack it. In fact, parts of the Tennessee resolution are taken word for word from model legislation produced by JBS, which is best known for once accusing President Eisenhower of being a communist agent.

Under Agenda 21, the 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, they suggest, 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. ▲

Shading the Truth

The National Organization for Marriage avoids most obvious lies about gay people. But sometimes, it just can't seem to help itself

BY MARK POTOK AND EVELYN SCHLATTER

About the worst thing said about gay men, an allegation that is regularly dragged out by certain religious-right organizations, is that they molest children at rates vastly higher than their heterosexual counterparts. It is as devastating a charge as one can make in a country where jailed pedophiles, known in prison parlance as “short eyes,” are frequently murdered by self-righteous fellow inmates.

But it is also completely false, a demonizing construct long ago debunked and denounced by virtually all relevant scientific organizations and serious researchers. That's why the National Organization for Marriage (NOM), the leading opponent of same-sex marriage but also a group that prides itself on keeping its criticisms of homosexuality both civil and factual, does not employ the accusation.

Or does it?

Last Nov. 15, the Ruth Institute, a project of the NOM Education Fund, published the first eight paragraphs of an essay by anti-gay activist Michael Brown that asked what topic even far-right radio host Rush Limbaugh might be afraid to bring up in the face of “political correctness.” The part of the essay on the Ruth Institute website didn't say what that topic was, but gave a “Keep Reading” link to a site run by an openly gay-bashing hate group, the American Family Association.

There, it took readers another three paragraphs to get to the red meat: “Could it be that the [Penn State] sex abuse scandal involved a man allegedly abusing boys, meaning that the acts were homo-

sexual in nature? And could it be that even Rush Limbaugh didn't have the guts to address this? (Contrary to the protestations of some, a man who is sexually involved with boys is a homosexual pedophile; a man who is sexually involved with girls is a heterosexual pedophile.)”

Brown was clearly suggesting that accused pedophile Jerry Sandusky, Penn State's assistant football coach until the scandal broke, was a gay man. But actually, as is well known, that's false. Anti-gay activists claim that all men who molest male children are homosexual. But researchers long ago established that there are two types of molesters: fixated and regressive. Fixated molesters — the stereotypical pedophile — typically molest children of either sex, but have no sexual interest in any adult and can't

be considered heterosexual or homosexual. Regressive molesters are attracted to adults, but may “regress” to children under stress; most of them have been found to be heterosexual in their adult relationships. That's why the American Psychological Association has officially concluded that “homosexual men are not more likely to sexually abuse children than heterosexual men.”

To NOM's many critics in the LGBT community, this is par for NOM's course. For more than a year now, gay rights activists have alleged that NOM is playing a shell game, avoiding the most egregiously false defamations of gay people on its own website, but linking directly to others who don't. The charge had enough impact that Maggie Gallagher — who co-founded NOM in 2007, is past chairwoman of the board, and remains a key NOM spokeswoman — felt forced to respond.

In a Dec. 9 post entitled “A Link Is Not An Endorsement,” Gallagher said such an argument “would lead to the absurd conclusion” that NOM agrees with the editorial positions of *The New York Times* or *The Advocate*, an LGBT newspaper. She didn't mention the fact that the anti-gay article “leaders” on NOM's site are almost always presented without any hint of criticism and, to all appearances, do seem to be endorsed by NOM. Some are simply republications of essays without any introductory commentary, while others feature laudatory introductions.

Gallagher added a noteworthy comment to her recent post: “I would like to say personally that nothing in any argument I've ever made on gay marriage



A post promoted on NOM's website suggests that men like Jerry Sandusky, the Penn State assistant football coach accused of raping young boys, is “homosexual.” In fact, experts say, most pedophiles are neither gay nor straight, having no sexual interest in adults of either sex.



NOM President Brian Brown describes anti-gay groups like his as the victims of a “jihad” by LGBT people who want “to take away your rights.”

rests on the idea that same-sex couples harm their children at any higher rates than any other family form. (If there is data that shows this, I’ve never seen it.)”

Repeat Offenders

Gallagher may be entirely sincere, but sometimes it’s hard to tell. NOM seems hard-pressed to avoid talk of pedophilia as it campaigns against gay marriage.

Just this Dec. 7, for instance, NOM’s Ruth Institute posted a gushing recommendation for a book titled *Same-Sex Marriage: Putting Every Household at Risk*, a jeremiad by Mathew Staver, head of the anti-gay Liberty Counsel. “Anybody who cares about the future of our society should read this book,” NOM said.

The 2004 book that NOM says “gives you real answers” isn’t further detailed on the NOM site, but it is jam-packed with precisely the kind of misinformation that Gallagher suggests she abhors. Perhaps most remarkably, the book

claims that “29 percent of the adult children of homosexual parents had been specifically subjected to sexual molestation by that homosexual parent, compared to only 0.6 percent of the adult children of heterosexual parents... Having a homosexual parent(s) appears to increase the risk of incest with a parent by a factor of about 50.”

Staver’s citation for this hair-raising claim is remarkable — a debunked 1996 article co-authored by Paul Cameron, an anti-gay ideologue whose fraudulent studies have been denounced by the American Psychological Association, the American Sociological Association and many others. The reality, says the American Academy of Adolescent and Child Psychiatry, is children of LGBT parents “are not more likely to be sexually abused.” Adds the American Psychological Association: “Fears that children in custody of lesbian or gay parents might be at heightened risk for

sexual abuse are without basis in the research literature.”

Again and again, NOM seems to come back to pedophilia. Last June 8, it posted a video of U.S. Rep. Vicky Hartzler (R-Mo.) at the Eagle Forum Collegians 2011 Summit, countering arguments for same-sex marriage by warning that it would open the door to all kinds of marriages, including pedophilic unions.

“For instance, if you just care about somebody and you have a committed relationship, why not allow one man and two women, or three women, to marry? ... Why not allow group marriage?” she said. Then Hartzler got to her punch line: “Why not allow an uncle to marry his niece? Why not allow a 50-year-old man to marry a 12-year-old girl if they love each other and they’re committed? So, pretty soon, if you don’t set parameters, you don’t have any parameters at all.”

And last Aug. 18, in a “Dear Marriage Supporter” open letter, NOM President



NOM co-founder Maggie Gallagher says she has no evidence that same-sex couples harm their children more than others. Sometimes, looking at NOM's website, that's hard to tell.

Brian Brown wrote about a highly controversial group of scholars and others working to de-stigmatize those attracted to children who do not act on their impulses. "When you knock over a core pillar of society like marriage, and then try to redefine Biblical views of marriage as bigotry, there will be consequences," he said. "Will one of the consequences be a serious push to normalize pedophilia?"

That hardly seems likely, although just five days after Brown's post another NOM blogger suggested that the 2003 *Lawrence v. Texas* Supreme Court decision, decriminalizing gay sex, would "lead to the normalization of ... pedophilia."

Calling Names

NOM also publicizes anti-gay material that is just plain nasty.

Last Aug. 31, NOM's Ruth Institute posted video of a discussion between conservative author George Gilder and Nick Gillespie, editor of the libertarian website Reason.tv. In an introductory line on the Ruth Institute website, Gilder's "analysis of marriage abolition via redefinition" was rated "excellent."

After describing gay marriage as a "parody," Gilder argues without any evidence at all that gay sex is "an addictive

form of behavior" and that "young boys are quite responsive to it" and could be "inculcated." Even if gay men don't molest children, he seems to say, gay marriage will spur young boys to have gay sex.

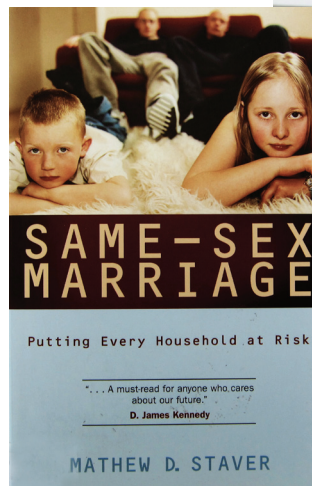
Earlier that month, on Aug. 4, the Ruth Institute posted a large part of an essay from a right-wing website attacking It Gets Better, the anti-bullying program launched in the wake of a series of 2010 suicides by gay teenagers. Under a NOM headline saying the program really "makes everything worse," the essay by Mary Rice Hasson claimed that it actually "aggressively promotes deviant sex." After a "Keep Reading" link to another website, Hasson's essay went on to claim that It Gets Better "proposes the false dichotomy of suicide and despair, on the one hand, and an unfettered embrace of the homosexual lifestyle, on the other."

Some of the material NOM pushes out, also dealing with children, is flatly

untrue. In fliers opposing same-sex marriage sent to thousands of Rhode Island residents early last year, NOM made the claim that "Massachusetts' public schools teach kids as young as kindergartners about gay marriage. Parents have no legal right to object!" Checking that claim out, PolitiFact found that the group's only evidence was two isolated, 5-year-old incidents and rated NOM's assertion "false."

Similarly, NOM last September sent out mailers to thousands of New Yorkers warning of the "legal consequences" of gay marriage. Although virtually all of NOM's assertions were questionable, one stood out — the claim that a sex ed teacher in Massachusetts "taught her students to perform lesbian sex." The claim was based on an NPR story that quoted the teacher saying her state's marriage equality law made her feel more comfortable teaching. She used charts to explain different kinds of sex to students — but did not, as NOM hints, demonstrate how to "perform" it.

NOM's sloppiness with the facts — if that's what it is — can be amusing. That was certainly the case this Jan. 23, when the NOM blog ran a snarky item under the headline, "Lesbian Couple Boasts About Hiding Gender of Son for Five Years." That claim was based on a British newspaper's story about a couple who



A book by Mathew Staver of Liberty Counsel — and enthusiastically endorsed by NOM — makes the completely false claim that having a gay parent increases the risk of incest by "a factor of 50."



Presented by NOM: U.S. Rep. Vicky Hartzler (R-Mo.) says same-sex marriage could lead to “a 50-year-old man” marrying “a 12-year-old girl.” Author George Gilder claims that gay sex is “an addictive form of behavior” that could be “inculcated” in “young boys.”

were trying to avoid gender stereotyping in the first years of their child’s life. Just one problem: NOM was wrong about the child’s parents, who were a man and a woman.

Like other anti-gay organizations, NOM sometimes displays a sense of aggrieved victimhood, picturing itself and other religious opponents of same-sex marriage as under assault by powerful and devious forces. In an August update, NOM President Brown described a “jihad” by “those who wield scorn and hatred as a weapon to suppress the truth and those who speak it.” He said that gay marriage advocates want “second class status” for their opponents, adding, “We are looking into the face of a movement which wants ... to take away your rights.”

Victim or Aggressor?

NOM’s claim of victimhood is the core element of its refusal, in the face of campaign laws in more than half a dozen states, to release the names of financial supporters of its many electoral efforts, including collecting signatures to support Proposition 8 in California, which banned same-sex marriage. (This February, the 9th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals upheld a 2010 decision overturn-



ing Proposition 8 after it was approved in a popular vote.) Although FBI hate crime statistics show clearly that gay men and lesbians are by far the most targeted minority in America, NOM portrays donors to its many political campaign efforts as the real victims because a few who have been identified have been picketed by LGBT supporters.

NOM has consistently made this argument as it resists attempts to force it to divulge donors as required by law. As of late last year, The Huffington Post reported, four federal judges and three state boards in seven states — California, Iowa, Maine, Minnesota, New York, Rhode Island and Washington — had ruled against NOM. But NOM has appealed the rulings and has yet to release any donor names.

An October ruling against NOM by U.S. District Judge Morrison England Jr., cited by The Huffington Post, was typical: “First, while Plaintiffs characterize their evidence as voluminous and comprised of ‘virtually countless reports of threats, harassment and reprisal’ ... they have pointed to relatively few incidents... [T]he vast majority of the incidents cited by Plaintiffs are arguably ... typical of any controversial campaign. For example, picketing, protesting, boycotting, distributing flyers, destroying yard signs and voicing dissent do not necessarily rise to the level of ‘harassment’ or ‘reprisals’... Moreover, a good portion of these actions are themselves forms of speech protected by the United States Constitution.”

Most recently, the U.S. Supreme Court declined to hear a NOM appeal of a Maine appeals court decision this January, ruling that it had to disclose its donors.

Many LGBT activists believe that NOM is being wholly dishonest in its claims of victimization — that it is merely trying to protect big donors who are only too happy to work against LGBT interests, but are not willing to say so publicly. Be that as it may, NOM has been shown to be dishonest in some lesser ways.

Last October, on NOM’s newly launched New Hampshire for Marriage website, the group posted a collage of photos that included a NOM phone bank and a massive crowd carrying signs. The implication was obvious and direct — NOM can put tens of thousands of demonstrators into the streets. But there was a problem, as pointed out by the pro-LGBT Good As You website: The crowd image was actually a doctored Reuters photograph of a massive Obama rally in St. Louis.

That kind of minor hijinks hasn’t done nearly the kind of damage to NOM that consistently changing public attitudes toward LGBT people have. Last year, three separate polls showed that a new majority of Americans — between 51% and 53%, depending on the survey — now favor same-sex marriage. That’s a dramatic change from, for example, 1996, when Gallup found 68% of Americans opposed.

Maggie Gallagher and Brian Brown have repeatedly claimed that they are simply trying to protect marriage, that they bear no animus toward LGBT people or their sexual orientations. But again and again, signs of such animus have crept into the material issued by NOM: scary warnings about pedophilia, “addictive behavior,” “jihads” against Christians and so on. Now, as pressure ratchets up on opponents of same-sex marriage — Maryland this year became the eighth state to approve such unions, even as a federal judge found the anti-same-sex-marriage Defense of Marriage Act unconstitutional — it remains to be seen whether NOM can avoid following other religious-right groups into a world of untrammelled hate. ▲



SINS OF THE SOVEREIGNS

Under scrutiny, the ‘lawful’ veneer of the Republic for the united States of America begins to crack

BY RYAN LENZ ILLUSTRATION BY ELIZABETH TRAYNOR

Monty Ervin lived a double identity for many years. In public, he was a wealthy businessman who had amassed hundreds of investment properties across the Southeast that brought in \$85,000 a month. But in the shadowed underworld of the antigovernment “sovereign citizens” movement, he was much more — a ranking official with growing influence.

On his properties in Dale County, Ala., Ervin stocked food and compiled what federal authorities described as an “arsenal” of weapons in preparation for the day the federal government collapsed. In his backyard, he buried plastic tubes containing more than \$350,000 in gold coins. And when the IRS finally came calling for back taxes on income totaling more than \$9 million, he responded with a bold proclamation.

“I, Monty-Wayne, of the family of Ervin, am a sovereign Most Christian Prince,” he wrote in a declaration he filed with the Houston County Probate Court in 2006. “I am not a numbered member of the communitarian welfare benefit trust called Social Security Administration.”

It wasn’t clear at the time, but Ervin’s odd view of the federal government was shared by growing numbers across the country. In South Alabama, men who were part

of that movement were laying the foundation for the Republic for the united States of America (RuSA), the largest and most organized sovereign group in the United States today.

Since forming in late 2010, the group claims to have built governments-in-waiting in 38 states and to have membership in nearly every other. When he was arrested last year, Ervin had risen to the rank of “governor” of Alabama. He had long preached his success at avoiding taxes, and he claimed he had no obligation to the United States.

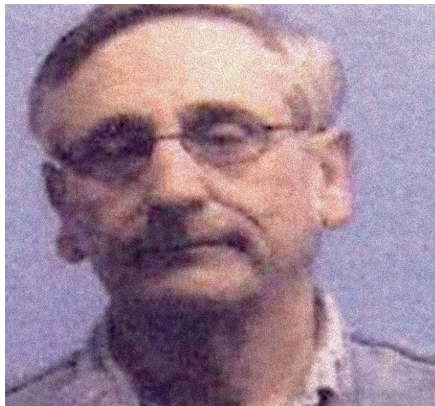
Last November, the courts found otherwise. Ervin and his wife, Patricia, were each convicted of one count of conspiracy to defraud the United States and three counts of tax evasion. As of press time, both were awaiting sentencing.

Ervin isn’t the only RuSA member who has run afoul of the law. A woman in South Alabama has been on the run for several months after being convicted of burglary for removing the “For Sale” sign of a home in foreclosure and declaring ownership. A man in Birmingham is scheduled for trial on charges that he filed bogus property liens and other court documents to intimidate anyone he considered an enemy — a sovereign tactic known as “paper terrorism.” Early last year, in Arizona, a so-called “ambassador” for RuSA was shot and killed after he tried to wrestle a Taser away from a police officer. And more recently, in West Virginia, a former “congressman” for the group was found dead with his 9-year-old son in a burned trailer home — a case that remains under investigation but which authorities have said they believe was a murder-suicide.

The Flames Spread

These are just a few of the many criminal cases arising from the sovereign citizens movement across the country. The vast majority involve tax or financial scams, or defiance of traffic laws, like driving without a license or having fake license plates or IDs. But police are increasingly reporting confrontations with the potential for violence.

Last September, the FBI issued a bulletin to law enforcement agencies that described sovereign citizens as a “domestic terrorist movement.” And in



Monty Ervin (top) claimed to be Alabama “governor” for radical leader James Timothy Turner and a self-described “sovereign Most Christian Prince.” But federal prosecutors said he was simply a tax cheat and convicted Ervin and his wife of conspiracy and tax evasion.

February, the FBI held a news conference to announce it was increasing its scrutiny of the movement. “We started to notice a heightened potential for violence,” said Stu McArthur, deputy director of the FBI’s counterterrorism division.

RuSA’s president, a reclusive figure named James Timothy Turner, insists that members are lawful citizens who have simply uncovered truths about the illegitimacy of the federal government. But the mounting allegations against members of the group are a worrisome sign.

Through interviews with several sources in law enforcement, all on condition of anonymity, the *Intelligence Report* has learned that RuSA has been under federal investigation for some time.

Law enforcement sources say they fear that the group, which believes the time has come to “re-inhabit” the *true* government, is becoming more radical and

that members are increasingly willing to stand up to defend their views. Several high-profile disagreements within the leadership have led to a large exodus of members; those who remain are a defiant core of sovereigns loyal to RuSA.

While RuSA leaders declined numerous requests for comment, Jack Mizell, a 69-year-old architect in Ozark, Ala., whose house serves as a base of operations for RuSA, did speak on behalf of the group. Over the course of a contentious interview, Mizell seemed interested more in verbal sparring than answering questions. Finally, he brazenly dismissed all criticism leveled against RuSA.

“You have people going around and telling lies and saying folks are going to jump out of the car and shoot you,” Mizell said. “They’re lying. ... They can’t tell the truth, because they don’t know what the truth is.”

The “truth” is that in May 2010, sovereigns did “jump out of the car and shoot”—murdering two police officers in West Memphis, Ark. Jerry Kane and his 16-year-old son Joseph, both sovereigns, died in a shower of police gunfire less than an hour later, but not before shooting and seriously wounding two more officers while cornered in a parking lot. The Kanes were not known to have any affiliation with RuSA, but they shared many of the same beliefs.

Schemes, Scams and Conspiracies

The next sovereign to die in a confrontation with law enforcement was one of RuSA’s own. William Foust, a prominent businessman in Page, Ariz., and a RuSA “ambassador,” was shot and killed on June 20, 2011, by a police officer responding to a domestic violence complaint. According to the police report, Foust lunged for the officer’s Taser. But within the echo chamber of the sovereign underground, the story was spun to paint Foust as the first victim in the coming confrontation with Washington — the target of federal assassins, Turner claimed.

“What really happened? Because our investigation shows clearly he was murdered,” Turner said in a radio interview late last year. “Of course, the *de facto* investigators have covered it all up.”

It’s not uncommon for Turner, one of

the most charismatic sovereign leaders in America, to bend the facts to match the fantasy. In the past, he has claimed to have cured leukemia, to have cowed judges with magical pronouncements, and to have discovered secrets of history that unveiled the U.S. government as a “corporation” organized to enslave citizens in financial bondage.

Even with his active imagination, Turner might have trouble explaining away the charges against other RuSA members.

Through internal RuSA documents obtained by the *Report* and interviews with police and district attorneys, the *Report* has identified several high-profile criminal cases police have associated with Turner’s group.

Janet Tharpe Hancock, an early RuSA follower, was charged with two counts of felony forgery after she drafted a bogus money order from the “Department of the Treasury” in April 2010. She was also charged with forging a check from the Federal Reserve Bank in Philadelphia. More recently, in December, Hancock was convicted of burglary after she removed a “For Sale” sign from a house in Ozark, Ala., and took up residence.

Speaking after Hancock was convicted, Dale County District Attorney Doug Valeska said she had filed numerous documents identifying herself as “janet tharpe-; for the family hancock” to contest the jurisdiction of the charges, declaring that “dominion to the land” was subject only to “the will of the creator.” (Such language and punctuation of names is typical of sovereigns.) She was sentenced to three years in prison, but did not appear for her sentencing. At press time, her whereabouts were unknown.

In Connecticut, John McGowan, a public television host and former candidate for mayor in Danbury, led a quiet life until the fact that he was a “senator” with RuSA came to light during a trial on charges he forcibly had sex with a woman with whom he was involved. He was convicted of first-degree sexual assault and sentenced to four years in jail. During trial, the woman, whose identity was protected, described him as a “monster.”

In Birmingham, Ala., Donald Joe Barber is scheduled to go to trial later



On the lam: Janet Tharpe Hancock fled after she was sentenced to three years for trying to steal a house in Alabama.

this year on a multitude of charges. He was arrested in late 2010 on charges of harassing city and county officials with unjustified property liens, another example of paper terrorism. Barber was an active sovereign long before RuSA came into being, and law enforcement sources suspect, but have not confirmed, that he has ties to the group. A decade before his arrest, he filed a \$5 million lien on the Jefferson County Courthouse, apparently in retaliation for the county suing him over his failure to pay sewer fees for a coffee shop he owned. Randy Christian of the Jefferson County Sheriff’s Department, said only this regarding Barber: “These are strange times we are living in.”

Law enforcement sources in Alabama say several other RuSA members also have been arrested on tax charges in recent months. And they have documented instances in which RuSA members attempted to buy machine guns, in one case, and armor piercing bullets for a 10 mm pistol in another.

Defiance and Death

The rise of RuSA is very much part of the resurgence of the anti-government “Patriot” movement. In May 2009, some 30 self-styled “freedom keepers” convened a meeting at a resort on Georgia’s Jekyll Island. That “continental congress” appears to have played a key role in reinvigorating the Patriot movement, which had languished in obscurity since the late 1990s. Since the meeting, the movement has exploded — rising by more than 750% in three years, from just 149 groups in 2008 to 1,274 by the end of 2011.

The *Report* has learned that nine people who are identified as RuSA “congressman” in internal group documents were delegates at that 11-day meeting, which was hosted the Patriot group We the People.

RuSA was formed the following year at a secret 2010 meeting in Utah. In early 2011, RuSA sent letters to every sheriff in the nation, ostensibly to introduce the group as a peaceful, grassroots organization demanding political reforms. In reality, though, the letter raised alarms about the group’s real intentions.

Recently, as members have grown restive about a perceived lack of action against the government, Turner’s rhetoric has veered ever closer to the realm of insurrection. Even so, he incessantly describes his followers as law-abiding citizens. During one recent radio interview with RJ Hender, host of the Patriot radio show “Morning Liberty” and a member of RuSA in Texas, Turner said the problems with America were, at root, the result of its political system. The time has come, he said, for a new government.

“I’ve said it a thousand times, and I’ll probably say it another thousand times: Washington cannot be fixed. Period. It was created in deception,” Turner said, his voice never rising above a steady calm.

It's worth noting that Turner has never openly called for an insurrection, and he has not condoned the criminality of his followers. But he also has not publicly condemned it. His actions suggest he is willing to let the cards fall where they may — no matter the tragic mess such beliefs may sometimes help produce.

David Hutzler, a one-time RuSA “congressman,” is a prime example of that tragedy. In January, he was found dead with his 9-year-old son James, known as “Mack,” in the charred remains of a trailer home in Glengary, W.Va. Each had been shot in the head, and investigators found accelerants used to start the fire scattered around the property. An autopsy later determined that one bullet had grazed the young boy’s chin before

the federal government was tyrannical.

On Jan. 3, Hutzler posted a rant on the popular antigovernment forum “Weekly Geo-Political News and Analysis.” He warned that the federal government was systematically dismantling U.S. currency — a theme widely circulated throughout RuSA — and said it wouldn’t be long before enlightened Patriots had no choice but insurrection. “The moment the first [person] is picked up, taken into custody or ‘disappeared’ by any law enforcement organization or military department (including special ops) ... it’s gonna be ‘game on’ for a lot of folks,” he wrote.

Three days later, he was dead.

‘Game On’

The same month Hutzler died, Turner filed a federal lawsuit in Alabama accus-

campaigns while being branded an anti-government person.” The complaint went on to reference John the Baptist and to quote the Atlantic Charter of 1941, the Federalist Papers and John Stuart Mill’s *On Liberty*. The lawsuit demands \$650 million in damages for the “public humiliation, hatred, contempt, [and] ridicule” Turner has allegedly suffered.

Turner declined several requests to be interviewed for this article, as did Navin Naidu, a sovereign “ecclesiastical” attorney who Turner described as his personal counsel.

But as RuSA lurches forward into an uncertain future, it is clear that Turner and his associates have not blanched in the face of recent events that have drawn significant law enforcement attention. Instead, it seems the group is as defiant as ever — and prepared to make a stand, if needed.

Several RuSA members in rural Alabama are in the midst of property foreclosures. In February, the People’s Bank in Dothan, Ala., foreclosed on two parcels of rural land totaling roughly 52 acres belonging to Turner after he failed to make payments on a mortgage dating to June 2006. The same day the foreclosure was filed, the land was auctioned from the steps of the Dale County Courthouse. The bank bought the land, and there wasn’t a peep of protest from Turner, despite having burst onto the sovereign scene in 2007 peddling mortgage relief strategies.

Law enforcement officials in Alabama have told the *Report* that they are concerned. Because Turner didn’t act to forestall the loss of his land, it is unclear what, if anything, he has planned. Is he preparing to make a stand? Has he lost control of the house of cards he has spent two years building?

The answers to those questions remain unclear. But there’s little doubt about Turner’s unswerving dedication to his radical ideology.

“We have got to move this thing forward,” Turner said recently during an address to his followers. “Our time is very short. ... We the people of the United States of America are the most powerful force on earth. We are more powerful than militaries. We’re more powerful than any government. ... We are a nation of kings and queens.” ▲



David Hutzler, a “congressman” in the Republic for the United States, wrote in January that insurrection might be around the corner. Three days later, he and his 9-year-old son were dead in what police say may have been a murder-suicide.

a second took his life — a detail that left terrifying questions.

Exactly what happened that day remains clouded in mystery. But what is known is that Hutzler was tightly connected with Turner’s group before he left, disappointed with Turner’s inaction confronting the federal government. He didn’t give up the mission, though, or abandon Turner’s message. Instead, he littered the Internet with tirades claiming the Constitution needed a “reset.” Laws didn’t matter, he mused, not when

ing President Obama, the U.S. Senate, the U.S. House of Representatives and a dozen Alabama sheriffs of malfeasance, misfeasance and libel for their characterization of sovereigns and RuSA. The complaint also named Bob Paudert, the former West Memphis, Ark., police chief whose son was one of the two officers killed by the Kanes during a traffic stop in 2010.

Among the allegations: Turner “is being subjected to a series of well-planned and well-executed smear

THE SCOOP ON SCHOEP

The National Socialist Movement leader's soon-to-be ex-wife discusses life with one of America's leading neo-Nazis



Joanna Schoep (pronounced SCOOP) married the “commander” of the National Socialist Movement (NSM) in March 2008, after the two met on a conservative online message board. Jeff Schoep, whose NSM is now the largest neo-Nazi organization in America with 57 chapters in 39 states, moved in early 2007 from Minnesota, where the NSM had been headquartered for decades, to Detroit to move in with Joanna. They lived there together until December 2011, when they split acrimoniously — she had recently been through breast cancer treatments and discovered he was having a relationship with another woman. The couple are now going through divorce proceedings. Early this year, Joanna, 36, decided to speak to the Intelligence Report and describe her life with Schoep, who has five children. She explained how this committed anti-Semite privately accepted her non-white ancestry and that of her 17-year-old daughter, who is part African-American, but kept his new family’s racial background — anathema to neo-Nazis — secret from his followers in the NSM. Though publicly a believer in the NSM’s racist ideology, Schoep was not overtly racist to their minority neighbors or Joanna’s non-white friends, she said. He was instead mostly a raging anti-Semite, who directed his vitriol at “the Jews.” In Joanna’s view, Schoep isn’t serious about the NSM and its politics. Rather, she describes the group as Schoep’s personal piggy bank, where he wields total control over finances. She said she has come to see NSM as a cult-like organization where all power is centralized in one man’s hands, and its ranks are filled with uncritical followers who believe just about anything he has to say.

Joanna, how did you come to know Jeff Schoep?

I met him through a website, a Myspace-like conservative gathering place. That was back in 2007. We started talking, just normal talk. We would discuss school, family, things like that. We hit it off and he ended up moving out here to be with me. At the time he was living in Hutchison, Minn., with the mother of some of his children, Angela. I liked him because he told me that even though they weren't together any more, he had stayed in Minnesota for his kids. At the time, he seemed like a good dad. So Jeff moved in with me. We ended up getting married about 90 days after we got together.

Did you know Jeff was active in NSM?

I really didn't understand what NSM was, meaning a neo-Nazi organization. I know I sound really silly, but honestly I had no idea. I just automatically assumed that it was a conservative group. But the more I got involved, when Jeff moved out here and came into my life, I figured out, wow, this is weird and scary.

What was he like?

He was great at first. He was normal and it seemed like we had a good relationship. But then he would change. It was like living with two different people. Like I was living with the character Jekyll and Hyde. He would be nice and all of a sudden he would dive off the deep end and get angry over the silliest stuff.

For example, if I came home late from work, even just 15 minutes, he would sit there and question me for hours on end. And I didn't understand it. I had to walk on eggshells around him because I never knew what I would do or say that would set him off. He really had two different personalities.

Did you have any tension over racial issues, especially when it came to your daughter?

No, he knew when he moved out here that I had a half-black daughter. She lived with us for a while, and then she moved in with her father, who was more permissive about computer use and other things. Jeff was never nasty to my daughter. He always treated her kindly.

That's amazing, isn't it, given his neo-Nazi and racist views?

Yes, and also because I'm a quarter Arab-American. My dad is part Syrian and my grandfather was an Arab. And Jeff knew all of this. The only time we had problems was when Jeff would complain about my youngest daughter wanting to have friends of different races—I live in a very diverse neighborhood. He didn't want her to do that, but I let her play with whomever she wanted. He always said he cared about me and that I was beautiful. Nothing else supposedly mattered.

Did Jeff keep your daughter's background hidden from the NSM?

Totally. He denies it to this day, says I'm making it up. But I have pictures of him at a picnic with my daughter. He tells people I'm this computer whiz who can Photoshop anything and that I faked the picture. It is just shocking to me how gullible his followers are.

He may have denied it all, but lately, I've had NSM members contact me through Facebook and ask me about my daughter. There is a lot of gossip on the Web about me and my kids, too.

Did he talk about why he joined the movement?

It wasn't because of his family. His mom and dad are wonderful people, they really are. In fact, when I came down with breast cancer, Jeff's parents helped

us financially. They don't want him involved in this. His parents don't like discussing it and wish he would quit.

What did he tell you about his beliefs?

I think he really, truly, doesn't believe in neo-Nazism and that he's just doing all of this to boost his ego, gain a Jim Jones-type of following and make some money. Or maybe he just likes to lie to people. I don't know and it is strange.

I know he's in it for the money; NSM is his only income. I feel like he doesn't care much about race because I have a lot of friends of different races and our neighbors were black. He seemed to get along with them all just fine. His anti-Semitism was a different issue. He may not have cared about race, but he was definitely passionate about how awful he thought "the Jews" were.

What do you mean?

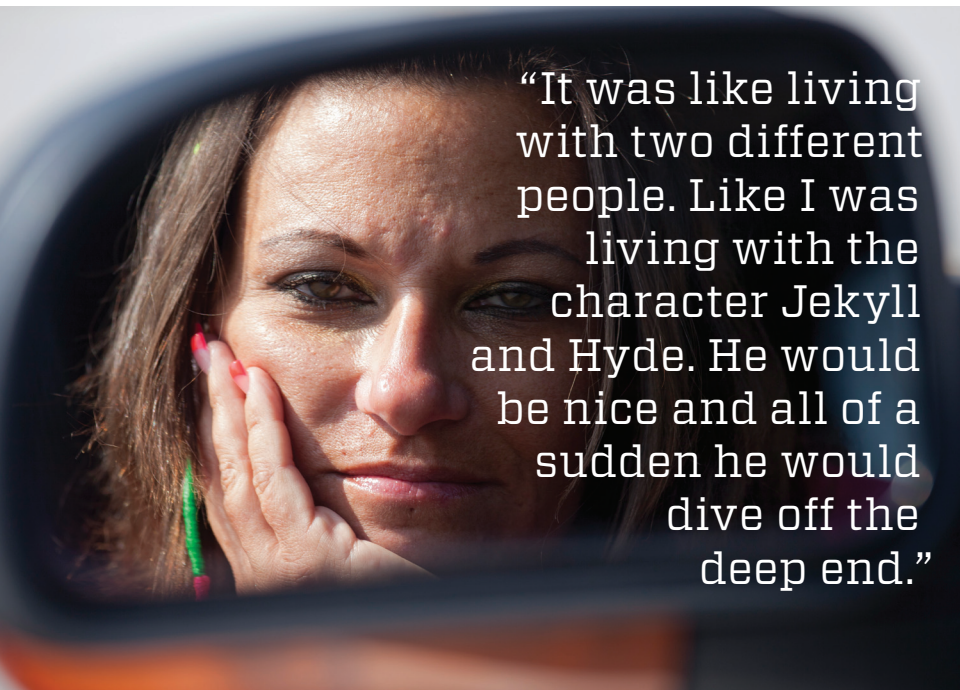
He blames Jews for everything. For the bad economy, smut on TV, you name it. He is a serious anti-Semite.

Does he have a job?

His job is basically sticking hate music and other CDs inside envelopes and then mailing them off. He runs the NSM's record label, NSM Records. That's what pays his bills. And it seemed more orders came from overseas than from the United States. He recently put up a new website on Amazon called Tyr Productions where he sells the same



Führer of Detroit: Jeff Schoep likes to dress up in Nazi uniforms, but his latest wife says he didn't seem to have a problem with black people, including her own mixed-race daughter.



“It was like living with two different people. Like I was living with the character Jekyll and Hyde. He would be nice and all of a sudden he would dive off the deep end.”

things that he is selling on NSM records.

He also lives off NSM dues and spends a lot of time trying to get people to send in as much money as possible. He liked it when people sent him cash because he would pocket that. None of the members know how much is coming in, because he keeps the books private. Many didn't know he had Tyr Productions, where he just sells regular old NSM products on a different website.

And I have a job. So he was living off of me, too.

So did you have a lot NSM members coming to your house?

No one knew where we lived, but a lot of them met me. And they thought I was cool. Jeff never brought up my ethnicity or anything like that.

What is NSM like?

It's a political cult, and the members are his followers. I think there are probably about 1,500 people in the group and many are from overseas, especially England. I consider them his “followers” because it is a cult, and a big one. Jeff's main focus is getting as much money from people as possible. Even though he says it's not.

And then he will turn around and say that he's all about family, race and the nation. Obviously, that's not true—he

doesn't even take care of his own kids living in Minnesota. He's a hypocrite.

Did you go to NSM events?

I went to rallies with Jeff, and his followers just worship him. It was so cultish. No one can question Jeff. Everybody called him “commander.” No one could differ with him. Jeff said he wanted to fulfill Hitler's dreams, and NSM members were with him lock, stock and barrel.

Can you describe a typical NSM follower?

Educated is not an adjective that I would use to describe them. Not many have a college education. There are a wide variety of ages. Most come to the group through the music and other products Jeff sells, some of which looks really cool, especially to young people. When customers talk to him, he will tell them about Jewish conspiracies and they end up

totally brainwashed. That's why I think it's a cult. And Jeff is very charismatic. He is a very good speaker. He could earnestly sell a TV to a blind person. He has all these people completely and totally brainwashed.

Did he work closely with Jeff Hall, who was shot and killed last May by his 10-year-old son? What did he say about members with legal problems?

I met Jeff Hall [commander of the California chapter of NSM] a couple of times. He seemed to be a caring father. I saw him playing with his kids a few times, but that was about it.

Jeff talked about what happened. He seemed really upset by it. He said Jeff Hall was his best friend.

As to John Snyder [a sex offender and NSM Indiana leader who was on the run for six years because he wouldn't register as one], we saw him on “America's Most Wanted” in 2010. Jeff said that he was gross and it was going to cost NSM—people were probably going to stop buying merchandise because of that. And it was going to cause online gossip and rumors.

Did you ever try to get Jeff to quit NSM?

I begged him for a long time to give it up. I thought it was absurd and I asked him to go back to school and get a degree. He really likes history and I told him, why don't you become a history teacher? I would beg him and beg him to quit but he wanted no part of that.

Has he done anything to harm you or your children?

He threatened me when I told him I was going to contact the FBI about the threats I've been getting from NSM members. He said that I have every reason to be scared of him, and he has told me that on numerous occasions.

I'm not afraid of him. Maybe I should be. ▲



AS THE AMERICAN RADICAL RIGHT EVOLVES, BOTH LONGTIME AND NEW
ACTIVISTS ARE COMING TO THE FORE AS THE KEY PLAYERS OF TODAY

30

to WATCH

THE LAST DECADE HAS SEEN MAJOR CHANGES IN THE AMERICAN RADICAL RIGHT. What was once a world largely dominated by a few relatively well-organized groups has become a scene populated by large numbers of smaller, weaker groups, with only a handful led by the kind of charismatic chieftains that characterized the 1990s. At the same time, there has been explosive growth in several sectors of the radical right, especially in the last few years, much of it driven by anger over the diminishing white majority (the Census Bureau has predicted that non-Hispanic whites will fall to less than 50% of the population by 2050) and the severe dislocations caused by a still-ailing economy. An anti-Muslim movement, almost entirely ginned up by political opportunists and hard-line Islamophobes, has grown enormously since taking off in 2010, when reported anti-Muslim hate crimes went up by 50%. During the same time frame, a number of religious-right anti-gay groups, enraged and on the defensive as swelling majorities of

Americans drop their opposition to same-sex marriage and other LGBT rights, have grown extraordinarily vicious in their propaganda. Most dramatically, so-called “Patriot” groups — which, unlike most hate groups, see the federal government as their primary enemy — have grown explosively in just the last three years, going from 149 groups in 2008 to 1,274 last year. As a result of all these developments and others, a new crop of leaders has come to the fore. Some are longtime activists of the radical right, but others have become active only in recent years. What follows is an alphabetized series of short profiles of key men and women activists of the radical right — 30 to watch.



Virginia Abernethy, 77
HENDERSONVILLE,
TENN.

It's not often that open white supremacists are joined and applauded by a retired professor from a major university, a former fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science no less. But Virginia Deane Abernethy is now a full-fledged professor of hate.

Abernethy, a professor emerita of psychiatry and anthropology at Vanderbilt University, showed her leanings early on, cooking up a “fertility opportunity hypothesis” that predicts that Mexican Americans will have more children than native-born whites in this country and then suggesting that “European-Americans should rapidly increase family size in order to avoid minority status.”

After that, Abernethy's slide into full-throated extremism rapidly accelerated.

Born in Cuba, raised in Argentina and New York, and educated at Vanderbilt and Harvard, Abernethy in the late 1990s became the editorial advisor of the Council of Conservative Citizens (CCC), a hate group that has referred to black people as a “retrograde species of humanity.” At the same time, Abernethy, who edited the academic journal *Population and Environment* for a decade, worked tirelessly to suggest that non-white immigration needed to be stopped for environmental reasons. At various points, she was on the boards

of the Carrying Capacity Network and Population-Environment Balance, both nativist organizations.

In 2004, Abernethy became the head of the national advisory committee to Protect Arizona Now, a group that was pushing a punishing anti-immigrant referendum. Even though Abernethy frankly identified herself to one newspaper reporter as a white “separatist” and she was denounced editorially across the state for her ties to the CCC, the referendum passed handily,

The same year, she gave a speech honoring Kevin MacDonald (see profile below), an infamous anti-Semitic professor at California State University, Long Beach. Abernethy went on to join the board of *The Occidental Quarterly*, a racist and anti-Semitic journal, and to post regularly to VDARE.com, a racist nativist website named after Virginia Dare, the first English child born in America.

In 2010, Abernethy heartily endorsed as a “well-researched page-turner” a white supremacist potboiler of a novel, Kyle Bristow's *White Apocalypse*, that among other things enthusiastically depicted the assassination of the editor of this magazine, albeit under a fictional name.

But it was in June 2011 when Abernethy truly crossed the Rubicon of hate, joining the board of the American Third Position, a group originally started by neo-Nazi skinheads whose leader, California corporate lawyer William D. Johnson, has sought a constitutional amendment to deport any American

with an “ascertainable trace of Negro blood.” The group, which may be the most important hate group in America at the moment, also includes as principals MacDonald; James Edwards, host of the white supremacist “Political Cesspool” radio show; Don Wassal, publisher of the racist *Nationalist Times*; and Jamie Kelso, who was for many years the chief aide of former Klan leader David Duke (see profile below).



Chuck Baldwin, 59
KILA, MONT.

After decades of trying to insert his distinctive brand of Christian fundamentalism into mainstream politics, Chuck Baldwin appears to have given up trying to

infiltrate Capitol Hill and moved instead into the wilds.

In late 2010, a decade after declaring the Bush-Cheney GOP ticket too liberal, Baldwin and 18 members of his extended

“I would rather die fighting for Freedom with liberty-loving patriots by my side than be shuttled off to some FEMA camp.”

family moved to Montana's Flathead Valley, an area that has seen an explosive increase in antigovernment "Patriot" rhetoric. He left behind a church he had led for 30-plus years to set off on his brave new mission, one he described graphically to those he left behind.

"We are going [to Montana] to fight!" Baldwin wrote in a Sept. 15, 2010, letter announcing his move to the congregants of his Pensacola, Fla., church. "The Mountain States just might become The Alamo of the twenty-first century, with, hopefully much better results. But if not, I would rather die fighting for Freedom with liberty-loving patriots by my side than be shuttled off to some FEMA camp." Baldwin was referring to a core Patriot belief that the federal government has secretly constructed concentration camps meant for Americans.

Besides leading a new congregation in Kalispell that includes well-known white supremacists Randy Weaver and April Gaede, Baldwin hosts a daily one-hour radio program, "Chuck Baldwin Live." He also is a prolific writer, penning regular columns that are archived on his website and at VDARE.com, a racist website known for bashing immigrants. He has condemned Islam as a "bloody, murderous religion" and referred to Martin Luther King Jr. as an apostate. He sympathizes with Joseph Stack, the tax protester who flew a plane into an IRS office building in 2010, killing himself and an IRS employee. The South, he insists, "was right."

Amid all this, Baldwin has remained heavily involved in his quixotic political enterprises. Last year, he made his latest bid on the far-right Constitution Party ticket, this time for lieutenant governor of his new state. But early this year, within months of declaring his candidacy, he announced that he was leaving the race because he had "too much respect for the people of Montana to ask them to support a candidacy that cannot at least be competitive."

Politics may come and go for Baldwin.

But out in Montana, far away from the "Orwellian machine" of the federal government, the rage — and paranoia — just keep on growing.



David Barton, 58

ALEDO, TEXAS

Named by *Time* in 2005 as one of the nation's "25 Most Influential Evangelicals," David Barton is a self-styled "historian" who has acted as a key bridge

between the mainstream political right and radical-right religious ideology.

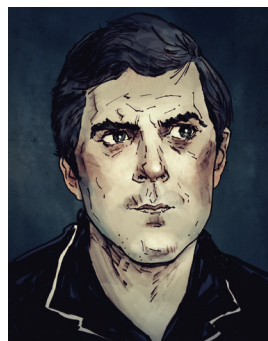
Barton, the founder and leader of WallBuilders, is best known for claiming that America was founded as a Christian nation and wrote a book entitled *The Myth of Separation*. He says the founding fathers intended only Christians to hold office, citing early documents to back that falsehood. Barton has no training as a historian beyond a bachelor's in religious education from Oral Roberts University.

Barton's historical revisionism goes beyond that. In a DVD, "Setting the Record Straight: American History in Black and White," he paints the Democratic Party as responsible for the travails of black Americans, conveniently omitting U.S. history after 1965 and the GOP's subsequent racist "Southern strategy."

The scary thing about David Barton is that he has the ear of so many. He is a former co-chairman of the Texas Republican Party, a one-time consultant to the Republican National Committee, and an adviser at various times to Newt Gingrich, Michele Bachmann, Kansas Gov. Sam Brownback and Mike Huckabee. Last year, Huckabee said he wished all Americans could be "forced — forced at gunpoint no less — to listen to every David Barton message." Former Fox News conspiracy-monger Glenn Beck uses Barton to teach history at Beck's "university."

Barton's interests extend beyond his view of Christianity. He advocates government regulation of homosexuality and has claimed that gay people die "decades earlier" than others and have more than 500 sexual partners apiece in their lifetimes. He cited infamous Islamophobe Robert Spencer in attacking U.S. Rep. Keith Ellison, the first Muslim congressman. He opposes immigration reform, saying that God established national borders, and has appeared on the radio show of hard-line nativist William Gheen. At one point, Barton even spoke at an event put on by Pete Peters, a pastor of the anti-Semitic and racist Christian Identity theology (he later said he had no idea that Peters' group was "part of the Nazi movement").

In 2010, Barton joined the battle to bowdlerize the Texas social studies curriculum for public schools, supporting efforts to excise Martin Luther King Jr. and 1960s farmworker activist Cesar Chavez from textbooks. As reported by *Washington Monthly*, Barton said King didn't deserve to be included for advancing minority rights because "[o]nly majorities can expand political rights."



Don Black, 59

WEST PALM BEACH, FLA.

Don Black is the man who created the first and still largest white supremacist site on the Internet, a haven for racists from all

over the globe that now counts more than 250,000 registered users. The man behind Stormfront.org is so notorious that he was among five American extremists banned by the UK in 2009 for "promoting serious criminal activity" that could lead to "inter-community violence."

Black has been active on the white supremacist scene for some four decades, beginning as a volunteer for late white supremacist J.B. Stoner's failed run for Georgia governor in the 1970s. He left the campaign after being shot in the chest

by Stoner's campaign manager, Jerry Ray, brother of the assassin of Martin Luther King Jr. Ray believed Black had stolen a mailing list for the National Socialist White People's Party.

Black went on to join David Duke's (see profile below) Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, becoming Duke's close aide and Alabama leader. When Duke left the group after being caught trying to sell its membership list to a rival Klansman — a real sin in white supremacist circles — Black became its leader for a time.

In the late 1970s, Black sponsored marches for Robert Chambliss, later convicted of the 1963 church bombing that left four black Alabama girls dead.

In 1981, he and nine others were arrested in a plot to use a yacht to invade the tiny, black-run Caribbean island of Dominica and turn it into a "white state." During his resulting three years in prison, Black studied computer programming.

"We're reaching tens of thousands of people who never before had access to our point of view."

Emerging from prison, Black ran unsuccessfully for a U.S. Senate seat from Alabama. He married Duke's ex-wife, Chloe Hardin, and moved to West Palm Beach, Fla., where he used his computer skills to start a dial-up bulletin board service for the radical right that in March 1995 evolved into Stormfront, a massive white supremacist Web forum with multiple discussion threads in more than half a dozen languages.

"The potential of the Net for organizations and movements such as ours is enormous," he told a reporter in 1996. "We're reaching tens of thousands of people who never before had access to our point of view." He understood that many

would explore such beliefs if they could do so in the privacy of their own homes.

In line with his effort to build large audiences and his mentor Duke's approach, Black has banned most racial slurs and threats of violence on his site. As he once told a reporter, "We don't use the 'nigger, nigger' type of approaches."



Michael Boldin, 39
LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Michael Boldin is the founder and executive director of the Tenth Amendment Center (TAC), an organization that favors "nullification" of federal laws it considers unconstitutional. Founded in 2007, the TAC is based on an expansive reading of the Tenth Amendment, which says that those "powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

Boldin describes the TAC, which offers model bills and resolutions on its website, as "a non-partisan think tank that supports the principles of strictly limited constitutional government." Boldin evidently runs the organization from his home, which also houses Webstores, LLC, where he is listed as manager.

As a practical matter, however, the TAC is on the political far right, opposing a whole array of federal laws and regulations. It has gained wide support among hard-line libertarians and neo-Confederates who are still angry at the powers the federal government accumulated after the Civil War that allowed it, among other things, to act against segregation, discrimination and other social ills. (In the 1950s, several states tried unsuccessfully to resist desegregation by nullifying federal laws. The courts have consistently rejected nullification as unconstitutional.) The group's site, in another indication of its politics,

rails against centrist Supreme Court Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg as a "dedicated Socialist."

For the past several years, Boldin has crisscrossed the country, taking the TAC's nullification message to supporters known as "Tentherers." Its "Nullify Now!" conferences have been held in cities including Austin, Texas, Jacksonville and Orlando, Fla., and Manchester, N.H.

These conferences are often headlined by prominent figures in the antigovernment "Patriot" movement, which has been growing by leaps and bounds in the last three years. The Austin gathering, for instance, featured Art Thompson of the John Birch Society, which once argued that President Dwight D. Eisenhower was a communist agent, and Stewart Rhodes (see profile below), head of the conspiracy-minded Oath Keepers, a group that encourages police officers and soldiers to disobey "unconstitutional" orders. Kevin Gutzman, a professor of history at Western Connecticut State University and author of *The Politically Incorrect Guide to the Constitution*, also spoke.

Thomas E. Woods, a former member of the neo-Confederate hate group League of the South and the author of *Nullification: How to Resist Tyranny in the 21st Century*, is another constant on the "Nullify Now!" tour.

The TAC's partner in this endeavor is the Foundation for a Free Society, which espouses the libertarian free-market theories of Murray Rothbard and the Austrian School of Economics. Foundation leader Jason Rink has described the federal government as the primary threat to liberty.



Michael L. Brown, 45
CONCORD, N.C.

Michael Brown is not typical of most who push the idea that a cabal of liberal media elites have orchestrated a so-called "homosexual agenda" to indoctrinate children into a lifestyle that makes a

“When it comes to denying the existence of a gay agenda, there is ‘immense unity’ in the gay community. Why? It is because the denial of that agenda is part of the agenda.”

mockery of Christian values.

The founder of the FIRE School in Ministry in Concord, N.C., and host of the daily, nationally syndicated talk-radio show “The Line of Fire,” Brown frequently discusses his conversion to Christianity “as a sixteen-year-old, heroin-shooting, LSD-using Jewish rock drummer.” With a doctorate in Near Eastern languages and literatures, he considers himself the world’s “foremost Messianic Jewish apologist” and has taught, he says, at seven theological seminaries.

But in recent years, Brown has ventured beyond seminary walls to take on a new, activist anti-LGBT project, selling himself as an expert speaker on the issue of “cultural revolution.” He has appeared on television and radio talk shows and last year delivered a keynote presentation at the annual conference for the National Association for the Research and Therapy of Homosexuality (NARTH), the pre-eminent source of junk science aimed at “curing” gay people.

“Speak now,” he says frequently when discussing homosexuality, “or forever hold your peace.”

Unlike many other voices on the religious right, Brown generally has avoided the kind of slashing rhetoric that often devolves into rank defamation. His work is heavily footnoted and avoids the blanket pronouncements that have gotten others in trouble. But he still can sound conspiratorial.



Kevin J. DeAnna, 29
ARLINGTON, VA.

“When it comes to denying the existence of a gay agenda, there is ‘immense unity’ in the gay community. Why? *It is because the denial of that agenda is part of the agenda.* ... That is the necessary piece of the puzzle,” Brown wrote in *A Queer Thing Happened to America: And What A Long Strange Trip It’s Been*, a 691-page critique of homosexuality he self-published in 2011.

“[I]t is not good that homosexual behavior is presented as just another alternative to heterosexual behavior, that bisexuality is celebrated, that transgenderism [sic] is normalized, that sex-change surgery is presented as the thing to do, that ex-gays are ridiculed and their very existence denied,” Brown wrote.

Under normal circumstances, there’s something endearing about youthful idealism. But when it comes to Kevin DeAnna, founder and recently departed head of the ultraconservative student group Youth for Western Civilization (YWC), normal circumstances do not apply.

YWC made its first public splash as a co-sponsor of 2009’s Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC), the right wing’s most important annual shindig, where in 2011 DeAnna moderated a discussion on immigration. That year, nativist panelist and former congressman Tom Tancredo, who is YWC’s honorary chairman, called multiculturalism “the dagger pointed at the heart of Western civilization.” DeAnna matched him, saying he opposed immigration even if it’s good for the economy “because it’s about our dispossession as a people.”

Tancredo’s not the worst of DeAnna’s connections. In 2011, Jared Taylor (see profile below), editor of the racist journal *American Renaissance*, wrote a fundraising letter for DeAnna’s YWC in which he described DeAnna as “an eloquent and distinguished young man who knows how important our cultural identity is.”

(Taylor has written that when “blacks are left entirely to their own devices, Western civilization — any kind of civilization — disappears.”) DeAnna, in an accompanying letter to Taylor’s mailing list, boasted that he had “defended western culture” against a “far left” that is trying to “destroy our people and culture.”

DeAnna had flirted with hard-right politics for years before founding YWC, whose purpose is to defend “Western culture” from the perils of “radical multiculturalism,” in 2006. As an undergraduate at Virginia’s College of William and Mary, he ran a conservative student paper notorious for its sneering treatment of women. There, he worked closely with Marcus Epstein, who later described himself as YWC’s vice president. In 2007, while drunkenly walking through the streets of Washington, D.C., Epstein saw a black woman walking by, called her a “nigger,” and tried to physically attack her. When the incident became public two years later, YWC strove to put a distance between itself and its erstwhile associate.

DeAnna retained his position at the head of YWC until February 2012, when he issued a statement saying that he was leaving for personal and professional reasons. Today, he is a faculty member of the Leadership Institute, a well-funded organization that claims to have trained close to 100,000 “future conservative leaders” — people like Bush adviser Karl Rove and religious activist Ralph Reed — and was an early supporter of both DeAnna and his YWC.

Remarkably, DeAnna has now been named “marketing coordinator” for WorldNetDaily (WND), a far-right online publication known for its relentless anti-Obama “birther” propaganda and the kind of apocalyptic “news” stories that would look at home in a supermarket checkout line (see also Joseph Farah profile, below). Apparently, the once-serious student will also be “reporting” for the site that regularly features imminent end-times predictions. His first item, a fawning interview with white nationalist Pat Buchanan, who recently was ejected from the MSNBC lineup because of his racist views, appeared in February.



Tom DeWeese, 63

MARSHALL, VA.

For 20 years now, Tom DeWeese has been on a jihad against global plans for sustainable development. What to most of us looks like an innocuous and voluntary United Nations-led effort to use our resources more wisely — Agenda 21 — is really “international forces ... turning [American] communities into little soviet.”

“It sounds so friendly. So meaningful. So urgent,” the founder and president of the American Policy Center wrote in a 2009 report. “But the devastation to our liberty and way of life is the same as if Lenin ordered it.”

What is really a “complete agenda of control,” he said, has been wrapped “in a nice green blanket, scaring us with horror stories about the human destruction of the environment — and so we are now throwing our liberties on the bonfire like a good old fashioned book burning — all in the name of protecting the planet.”

The Agenda 21 plan DeWeese rails on about was developed in 1992 at a UN meeting in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, and signed by 178 world leaders including then-President George H.W. Bush. It amounts to a set of “smart growth” principles, a plan to deal with overpopulation, pollution, poverty and resource depletion. It is wholly voluntary — neither a treaty nor a legally binding agreement.

Serving on the board of DeWeese’s American Policy Center are Alan Caruba, the center’s communications director who also blogs for Tea Party Nation, the only Tea Party the SPLC lists as a hate group; Sam Rohrer, a former Pennsylvania state legislator; and John Meredith, son of civil rights hero James Meredith.

DeWeese’s outfit is only one of several obsessed with what has become one of the main conspiracy theories of

the antigovernment “Patriot” movement. Others include the far-right John Birch Society, the anti-feminist Eagle Forum, a group called Texans for Accountable Government, former Fox News host Glenn Beck, and Alex Jones, a Texas radio show host and über-conspiracy theorist.

DeWeese, who says he has been the editor of two newspapers and a candidate for the Ohio legislature, has managed to spread his propaganda into the Tea Parties and elsewhere. Just last year, he says, he spoke to 38 groups in 12 states.

The effect of the fear-mongering fairy tale offered up by DeWeese and other conspiracy theorists has been almost unbelievable. Not only have some counties passed resolutions opposing Agenda 21 (along with the Tennessee House of Representatives), but the Republican National Committee (RNC) in January passed one as well, decrying Agenda 21’s “destructive strategies for ‘sustainable development.’” The RNC recommended that the resolution be adopted as part of the Republican platform at its August 2012 convention.



David E. Duke, 61

MANDEVILLE, LA.

He’s been peddling his anti-Semitic, white supremacist messages for more than 40 years, but David Duke says people have the wrong idea about him. He

blames his reputation problem on “leftist ideologues” and “Zionist agents.”

“I am a human rights advocate,” the one-time Klan leader protested in his late 2011 “Open Letter to the World,” immediately after his arrest in Germany, where he was to speak to right-wing extremists. Duke was violating a ban on entering the country imposed after he was deported from the Czech Republic in 2009 for having denied the Holocaust, a crime there and in Germany.

At 61, Duke is one of the oldest and best known leaders in the hate movement — an international icon who put on

his first Klan uniform when he was 17. At the same time, he is seen by many other movement leaders as a skirt-chasing philanderer and money-grubbing opportunist who does little for their cause.

Duke formed the White Youth Alliance in the early 1970s while attending Louisiana State University, where he sometimes dressed up in Nazi outfits, and later founded and led the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Eventually, he gave up the brown shirts and Klan robes, morphing into a suit-and-tie spokesman for a more-polished brand of hate messaging, denouncing violence and claiming he wasn’t anti-black, just “pro-white.” In the same vein, he formed the National Association for the Advancement of White People, but that group gained only a small following.

Duke made several runs for political office. In 1988, he ran unsuccessfully for president, but the following year won a bid for a Louisiana House of Representatives seat. In 1990, he unsuccessfully ran for the U.S. Senate in Louisiana and came in second in a race to be that state’s governor in 1991. (Remarkably, he won over 670,000 votes, or more than half the white vote, in 1991.) He failed in another U.S. Senate bid in 1996 and in a U.S. House race in 1999.

His 1998 autobiography, *My Awakening: A Path to Racial Understanding*, and a second, 2004 book, *Jewish Supremacism*, have been the springboard for a series of speeches (along with energetic book-selling) that Duke has given around the world in the last 14 years. He boasts that they “have become two of the most influential and important books in the world.”

In 2002, Duke pleaded guilty to federal tax evasion and mail fraud — he had used hundreds of thousands in donations from movement sympathizers on luxury goods, home improvement and a life-long fondness for gambling.

Since finishing up his 15-month prison term, Duke has hawked his books, given paid lectures, gotten a “doctorate” from what the State Department characterizes as a Ukrainian “diploma mill,” and set up an “art” photography business selling his colorized picture-postcard snapshots of

Austria. What he and his latest group, the moribund European-American Unity and Rights Organization (EURO), have not done is accomplish much for the movement that Duke has claimed for so many years to lead.



Lou Engle, 59

KANSAS CITY, MO.

In recent years, thanks largely to his leadership of TheCall Ministries, Lou Engle has become one of the more prominent

players on the American religious right. A zealous opponent of abortion and LGBT rights, he has called homosexuality a “spirit of lawlessness,” suggested that it should be criminalized, and spoken at a highly controversial rally in Uganda where speakers backed a bill authorizing the death penalty for gay men and lesbians in some circumstances.

Engle is known for staging massive prayer rallies in cities around the globe since 2000 and is also a senior member of a radical Christian movement called the New Apostolic Reformation, which seeks to unite Protestants, vanquish demons, and evangelize the planet. At the same time, he has associated closely with several archconservative politicians, including Kansas Gov. Sam Brownback.

He’s also taken time out from his core issues to suggest that Muslims are “fueling the demonic realm” and in the thrall of “spiritual dark powers.” Last November, he led a huge and controversial Detroit prayer rally so that “the love of Jesus would break in on Muslims all across this area.”

After drawing widespread criticism from more moderate Christians and others, Engle has worked to improve his image. In 2010, before speaking at the rally in Uganda, he issued a statement

saying he did not support the death penalty for gay people. However, according to *The New York Times*, when he spoke he only “praised the country’s ‘courage’ and ‘righteousness’ in promoting the bill.”

Later, speaking to a reporter with *Religion Dispatches* magazine, he repeated that he did not support the death penalty for homosexuality — but said that his “main thing” was to prevent its legalization (homosexual conduct is illegal in Uganda, but not in the United States since the Supreme Court’s 2003 Lawrence decision). He suggested that there should be “some kind of restraint, a legal restraint and a punishment.” He added that the Ugandan anti-gay legislators merely wanted “to protect their society” and “were just wanting to do the right thing.”



Joseph Francis Farah, 57

CENTREVILLE, VA.

Conspiracy theory buffs need an endless supply of fuel to keep chugging along. And no one out there seems to provide more of

that than Joseph Farah, the archconservative and slightly mad publisher/editor of WorldNetDaily (WND). From obsessively attempting to debunk the legitimacy of President Obama’s birth certificate to stoking anti-Muslim fear that Shariah law is about to topple the Constitution, Farah is the supermarket tabloid publisher of the radical right.

Farah doesn’t limit his propagandizing to his apparently popular website. In recent years, the self-described Christian has branched out, publishing books and producing movies, even while regularly speaking at Tea Party events. Farah boasts that his WND book operation has produced a higher percentage of *New York Times* bestsellers “than any other publishing company in the U.S.” — a claim that some may dispute. The latest WND book, *The Harbinger: The Ancient Mystery That Holds the Secret of America’s Future*, suggests

parallels between ancient Israel and what’s occurring today in the United States — and an imminent judgment by God.

Farah’s name recognition jumped significantly when he was at the head of the “birther” pack, attacking the legality of the Obama presidency based on the theory that he wasn’t a legal U.S. citizen at birth. “My dream is that Barack Obama ... won’t be able to go to any city, any town, any hamlet in America without seeing signs that ask, ‘Where is the birth certifi-

“My dream is that Barack Obama won’t be able to go to any city, any town, any hamlet in America without seeing signs that ask, ‘Where is the birth certificate?’”

cate?”” Farah said in 2010 at a National Tea Party convention in Nashville, Tenn., where he shared the stage with former Alaska Gov. Sarah Palin.

Despite all his clamorous pot banging, it was not Farah but multimillionaire developer Donald Trump who ultimately became such a pain that President Obama released his “long-form” birth certificate last year. That didn’t satisfy Farah, who, along with his attack-dog writer Jerome Corsi, continues to insist Obama is no citizen.

Farah later traveled even further down the citizenship road, questioning the birth of Sen. Marco Rubio in early 2012, when the Florida Republican was mentioned as a possible vice-presidential candidate. “Rubio is not eligible,” Farah told Fox News host Sean Hannity.

Farah is so hard-line in certain views that he’s perfectly willing to turn on fellow ideologues of the far right. In 2010, when right-wing raver Ann Coulter agreed to speak at a gay GOP group’s event, he attacked her. In return, Coulter called Farah a “publicity whore” and “fake

Christian” — what may be some of the few truly accurate phrases to ever come out of Coulter’s mouth.



Bryan J. Fischer, 60

TUPELO, MISS.

Perhaps no other activist pushing an anti-LGBT agenda has spent more time pondering the physical act of gay sex — and creating an entirely fabricated universe of scary “facts” around the horrors he imagines — than Bryan Fischer, since 2009 the director of issue analysis for the American Family Association (AFA). Among the radical-right figures who specialize in vilifying gay people, the loquacious and baby-faced Fischer has no equal.

He graduated from Stanford University with a philosophy degree, but that education hasn’t stopped Fischer from claiming, for instance, that “[h]omosexuality gave us Adolph Hitler ... the Nazi war machine and six million dead Jews” — a complete falsehood, as any historian knows.

Fischer routinely claims “an overwhelming correlation between homosexual preference and pedophilia” — another lie, according to all the relevant scientific authorities. Recently, he astounded observers with his assertion that the HIV virus does not cause AIDS.

He has suggested that gay sex be recriminalized, insisting that “homosexual behavior” should be treated as a “threat to public health” and misrepresenting research from the Centers for Disease Control to imply that it had found that “homosexual behavior represents the same threat to public health that injection drug use does.”

Although he and the AFA focus heavily on attacks on LGBT people, Fischer doesn’t limit his vitriol to that. He has said that President Obama “nurtures a hatred

for the white man” and asserted that welfare incentivizes black “people who rut like rabbits.” He claims that non-Christian religions “have no First Amendment right to the free exercise of religion.” He has suggested that the best way to deal with promiscuity is to kill the promiscuous.

In spite of all this, the AFA — which the SPLC lists as a hate group because of its long-demonstrated propensity for defamatory falsehoods — has hardly blanched at Fischer’s tongue. The one exception was its yanking of a Fischer essay claiming that the “sexual immorality of Native Americans” was part of what made them “morally disqualified from sovereign control of American soil.”

Since then, the AFA has published a disclaimer with Fischer’s columns, suggesting that they are his opinions alone. It’s hard to imagine a more disingenuous move, however, from the \$20-million-a-year group that has given Fischer a platform, through his essays and his daily radio show on 145 AFA stations, to propagandize millions of Americans who may not know any better.



Frank Gaffney Jr., 59

LEESBURG, VA.

For most Americans, the House Un-American Activities Committee (H U A C) evokes thoughts of a dark time in this country’s history.

But Frank Gaffney Jr., the anti-Muslim movement’s most paranoid propagandist, is not most Americans. In 2011, he called on Congress to revive HUAC — this time around, to root out the Islamist operatives who, he claims, are well on their way to replacing America’s democracy with a totalitarian, Shariah-based caliphate.

Gaffney, who calls Islam “communism with a God” and has suggested that President Obama is a practicing Muslim, wasn’t always such a fringe character. He served in the Pentagon and in 1987 was nominated to serve as an assistant secretary of defense, although the Senate did

“Shariah-adherent Muslims are still obliged to engage in jihad. They are doing it through influence operations, the target set of which is comprehensive — government, law enforcement, intelligence agencies, the military, penal institutions, media think tanks, political entities, academic institutions.”

not confirm him. In 1988, he founded the Center for Security Policy (CSP), a hawkish but once-respectable think tank. As recently as in 2002, a prominent British newspaper listed him with Iraq invasion cheerleaders Paul Wolfowitz, Douglas Feith, and Richard Perle as one of the men “directing” then-President George W. Bush’s post 9/11 security doctrine.

Sometime between then and now, Gaffney seems to have snapped.

“When it is impracticable to engage in violence, Shariah-adherent Muslims are still obliged to engage in jihad through stealthy techniques or, in the words of the Muslim Brotherhood, ‘civilization jihad,’” he said in 2011. “They are doing it through influence operations, the target set of which is comprehensive — government, law enforcement, intelligence agencies, the military, penal institutions, media think tanks, political entities, academic institutions. And they are very aggressively targeting non-Muslim religious communities in the name of ecumenicalism.”

The sole evidence for this conspiracy theory is a 20-year-old document outlin-

ing a plan for such a takeover, which has since been debunked as the fantasy of a single Muslim Brotherhood member. But that doesn't matter to Gaffney, who sees "creeping Shariah" everywhere — even in the ranks of his erstwhile allies. For the past two years, he's been banned from the Conservative Political Action Conference due to his insistence that two of its organizers (Suhail Khan, who is Muslim, and tax-hating Republican Grover Norquist, whose wife is Palestinian-American) are Muslim Brotherhood agents. The group, Khan explained in 2011, "didn't want to be associated with a crazy bigot."

Yet Gaffney has hardly faded into the shadows. He's revered in hard-line anti-Muslim circles and writes for numerous far-right periodicals. Worst of all, some politicians have bought into his beliefs — most notably, U.S. Rep. Peter King (R-N.Y.), who has appeared on Gaffney's radio show and publicly repeated his baseless statistics and "facts," and who, in 2011, held his own HUAC-style hearings on the "radicalization" of American Muslims.



Pamela Geller, 53
NEW YORK, N.Y.

Pamela Geller knows she's frequently described as a racist, anti-Muslim bigot, and she sounds almost proud of that characterization.

Along with her looks — she once frolicked in the surf while wearing a bikini for a YouTube attack on Muslims — it's become her claim to fame, leading to speeches, news stories, endless Fox News appearances, and publicity for her Islam-bashing books. In a short time, she's become arguably the most visible Islamophobe in America.

Geller vaulted into the limelight in 2010 when she took over Stop Islamization of America (SIOA), almost immediately launching a public attack on a proposed New York Islamic center near the site of the 9/11 attacks. She remains

involved in SIOA since handing over operations to colleague Robert Spencer.

There is little Geller won't say. She has described President Obama as a "third worlder and a coward," a secret Muslim who "wants jihad to win." Her Atlas Shrugs blog said Obama is the "love child" of Malcolm X, was once involved with a "crack whore," and has a forged birth certificate and a mother, now deceased, who posed nude for pornographic pictures. There is nothing, of course, to any of this.

Geller, who is Jewish, mingles with European racists and fascists, and defends Serbian war criminals who slaughtered Muslims. But in an October 2011 appearance, she told an audience that she's only "painted as a racist, Islamophobic, anti-Muslim bigot" because her enemies want to silence her. "You are demonized, you're marginalized and you're rated radioactive," she complained.

She's up against a "leftist, Islamic alliance," Geller adds, blaming the media ("complicit and dangerous") for not spreading the word about a real holy war.

It's not only liberals, the media and Muslims who are Geller's enemies. This February, she had to fight to get a spot at the Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC) in Washington, D.C., presumably because she had become an embarrassment. Infuriated and defiant, she said that CPAC's "puppet-master" leaders had "abandoned conservative principles and morphed into some fleshy, ambiguous, compromised political machine doling out money and favors for cronies," while ignoring threats posed

by Islamic extremists. "I am doing what CPAC refuses to do," Geller wrote on Atlas Shrugs.

Still, while smiling at other descriptors, Geller insists she's no hatemonger: "There's no hate here. Listen. I'm a lover. Why am I doing this? I do it for art, for music, for love and for freedom, because I love this country."



Morris L. Gullett, 56
MANSFIELD, LA.

For almost a decade, neo-Nazi Morris Gullett has strived for one thing — to be officially recognized as the official, bone fide successor to the late

Aryan Nations founder Richard G. Butler.

But for a while, there was a problem — Gullett had a hard time wearing his Aryan Nations uniform while in jail garb. And as Gullett was cooling his heels in federal prison following Butler's 2004 death, others — ranging from August Kreis III to Gerald O'Brien and Paul Mullet — stepped forward to claim that they were the real successor. It's been a neo-Nazi turf war, thick with name-calling and accusations of informing, over the remnants of the once-mighty Aryan Nations, which was largely wrecked by a 2000 Southern Poverty Law Center lawsuit.

Emerging from prison in August 2010, Gullett wasted no time in setting up shop as the real Aryan Nations in Converse, La., and using the Internet for weekly "Sword of the Truth" sermons. He claims to be getting money from a charitable memorial trust supposedly set up by a former Klansman who died in 2003.

"I am the senior pastor at the Church of Jesus Christ Christian," Gullett says on his website, using the longstanding alternate name for Aryan Nations, adding that his group is the "most-feared and revered white supremacist organization the world has ever known." Like that claim, his assertion that his is the "fastest growing pro-white Christian organization in the world" is clearly ludicrous.

"There's no hate here. I'm a lover. I do it for art, for music, for love and for freedom, because I love this country."

What is true is Gulett's propensity for criminality.

After being arrested in 2005, he pleaded guilty to conspiracy to rob a bank and was sentenced to six years, finally getting out in 2010. But his record began long before. "Gulett has an extensive criminal history which includes shoplifting, aggravated assault, unauthorized use of a motor vehicle, homicide, felonious assault, possession of drugs and receiving stolen property," an FBI agent wrote in 2005.

That includes going to prison in 1997 for ramming a police car in Dayton, Ohio. When he got out, he and the late Harold Ray Redfeairn co-founded the



Michael Hill, 60
KILLEN, ALA.

Michael Hill is the face of modern-day Southern white nationalism. A former professor at a historically black Alabama college, he went in a

few short years from complaining about media treatment of the South to openly white supremacist calls for a new secession aimed at forming a theocracy ruled by white people.

Hill's League of the South (initially, the Southern League, until a baseball league of that name threatened to sue) was formed in 1994 by Hill and fellow intellectuals with heterodox views of the Civil War and slavery. But as Hill grew more radical, justifying slavery as "God-ordained," opposing interracial marriage, defending civil rights era segregationists and calling for a theocracy marked by feudal distinctions in legal status and rights for different classes of citizens, he was increasingly abandoned by academic fellow travelers.

That has only speeded Hill's radicalization.

Last summer, at the league's annual conference, Hill spoke in sometimes shockingly violent terms. "What would it take to get you to fight?" he asked, adding, "The mantra [that] violence, or the serious threat thereof, never settles anything is patently false. History shows that it indeed does settle many things."

Earlier, at a March 2011 league meeting in Georgia, he urged his followers to stock up on AK-47s, hollow-point bullets and tools to derail trains.

Hill describes the Civil War not as a battle over slavery, but the imposition by godless Yankees of a materialistic, capitalist industrial system on a South embodying the only surviving remnant of "orthodox" Christianity. He has decried the "evil genie of universal 'human rights,'" called egalitarianism a noxious

"Jacobin" doctrine, and railed against the country's "traitorous elite masters" for allowing America to be "overrun by hordes of non-white immigrants."

He has also refused to be intimidated by criticism: "[W]e must first rid ourselves of the fear of being called 'racists' and the other meaningless epithets they use against us. ... I am not ashamed to say that I prefer my own kind."

But that kind of open racism has not helped Hill, who has even ridiculed his one-time black students' names in E-mails to friends, or his league. In 2004, Hill's former mentor, constitutional historian Forrest McDonald, who attended the meeting that created the league in 1994, denounced him. McDonald told the *Intelligence Report* that Hill's racism had destroyed the group's legitimacy.

One result is that the league, which once claimed some 15,000 members, is a shadow of its former self, with an unknown number of members but one that likely is in the hundreds, not the thousands or even tens of thousands.



Alex E. Jones, 38
AUSTIN, TEXAS

Alex Jones knows how deep the rabbit hole goes.

Every week from his studio in Austin, Texas, he dives into red-faced tirades

exposing the forces that threaten to enslave all human life on the planet. The conspiracy always boils down to about the same thing: eugenics operations, the militarization of the police, a cabal of wealthy corporations and the United Nations involved in a fiendish plot to control the world.

Five days a week, online and on more than 60 radio stations nationwide, "The Alex Jones Show," along with a pair of websites he runs (Infowars.com and PrisonPlanet.com), serves as the tumultuous showcase for his overactive imagination — a worldview governed by logic-leaping deductions and heedless

"Heil victory.
Brethren, you know
what to do. Let's be
out there and be busy
about our
Father's work."

white supremacist Church of the Sons of YHVH in Missouri. Gulett and Redfeairn both visited Butler's Aryan Nation's compound in North Idaho, hoping he would anoint them as his successor. Redfeairn, a violent felon who once tried to murder a Dayton police officer by shooting him five times, died in 2003.

Gulett's racial hatred is visceral. In one podcast sermon — he practices Christian Identity, a pervasively racist and anti-Semitic theology — he said he would celebrate Black History Month "when every Negro becomes just that — history." And just as Butler did for three decades, Gulett closes all his sermons with a Nazi salute. "Heil victory," he shouts. "Brethren, you know what to do. Let's be out there and be busy about our Father's work."

pronouncements. His website is chock full of apocalyptic headlines and ads for products like “recession-proof coins” and manuals on *How to Survive Martial Law in America*. On the air, he’s given to stream-of-consciousness rants.

Influenced heavily by the conspiracy-minded John Birch Society, Jones ran unsuccessfully for a Texas House seat in 2000 as a Republican but said he doesn’t follow the platform of either of the two major parties. He has described his own politics as libertarian.

Jones has accused the federal government of involvement in the Oklahoma City bombing and the 9/11 attacks, said that the Branch Davidian cultists in Texas were purposely murdered by authorities, claimed that FEMA is secretly building concentration camps for liberty-loving citizens, and issued a series of videos with hair-raising, B horror-film titles. A sampling: “911: The Road to Tyranny,” “Police State 3: Total Enslavement,” “The Masters of Terror: Exposed,” “New World Order: Blueprint of Madmen” and “The Obama Deception: The Mask Comes Off.”

Although it hardly seems possible, Jones’ fecund imagination now seems to be sprouting even more conspiracy theories than before.

“My gut tells me this was a staged mind-control operation. The government employs geometric psychological-warfare experts that know exactly how to indirectly manipulate unstable people through the media.”

Last year, for example, after Jared Lee Loughner went on his January 2011 rampage in Tucson, Ariz., killing six and wounding U.S. Rep. Gabrielle Giffords, Jones told *Rolling Stone*: “This whole thing stinks to high heaven. ... My gut tells me this was a staged mind-control operation. The government employs geometric psychological-warfare experts that know exactly how to indirectly manipulate unstable people through the media.”

It’s simply a matter of finding the truth, Jones says. Or something like that.



Cliff Kincaid, 58
OWINGS, MD.

For more than 30 years, Cliff Kincaid has been pushing out conspiracy theories, demonizing propaganda and a series of falsehoods about LGBT people, Muslims,

Democrats and others — all as the editor of Accuracy in Media (AIM). But if there’s one thing Kincaid cannot be trusted on, it’s accuracy.

The notably humorless Kincaid embraces just about any theory that makes the “liberal” media and those it supposedly supports look bad. He says that President Obama has “well-documented socialist connections,” is the product of a “mysterious upbringing as a Muslim,” and may not have been born in this country. He claims that Hillary Clinton is a lesbian and that Clinton deputy White House counsel Vince Foster was murdered. He calls global warming a “fraudulent scheme.” The Roman Catholic Church, he asserts, has been hijacked by “Marxist elements” and is “facilitating the foreign invasion of the U.S.” by north-bound Latinos. He insists that the governments of Canada, the United States and Mexico have a secret pact to merge into a single entity — the much-feared North American Union.

At the same time, he also has appeared regularly on Fox News programs, on other

television networks, and on hate radio jock Michael Savage’s show.

Before joining AIM in 1978, Kincaid worked at the conservative *Human Events* magazine and, later, as a newsletter editor for Iran-Contra figure Oliver North at North’s Freedom Alliance. But his influence has risen since joining AIM, which is supported heavily by right-wing billionaire Richard Mellon Scaife.

Much of Kincaid’s relentless polemicizing in recent years has been aimed at gay people. He blames gay men for corrupting the military and angrily complains that “establishment journalists are aligned with academia” (“sexual perverts masquerading as scholars”) in supporting transgender people. He has staunchly supported the Ugandan “Kill the Gays” law — a proposal Kincaid says is merely “designed to send a message to ... the foreign homosexual lobby to keep their hands off Uganda’s families and kids.”

Most recently, Kincaid has jumped on the increasingly crowded anti-Muslim bandwagon. Last year, he was on a panel at a conference held by ACT! for America, an Islamophobic group, and also joined the board of directors of Stop the Islamization of Nations, run by hate-monger Pamela Geller (see profile above).

Despite his self-appointed role as media monitor, Kincaid often writes on the basis of pure speculation (were poems Obama wrote about his father *really* about a “Communist” mentor who was also a “sex pervert and a pothead”?) or fact-challenged “experts” who parrot his own preordained points of view.



Randal Lee Krager, 36
PISGAH, IOWA

Randal Krager looks the part. At 6-foot-2-inches and more than 240 pounds, with “FEAR” tattooed across his right knuckles and a swastika emblazoned on his thick neck, the

founder of Volksfront — arguably the most important racist skinhead group in

the country at the moment — is every inch a racist skinhead.

It began early, with Krager arrested at 15 in 1989, when he and other skins assaulted three teenagers in Portland, Ore., and punched a Latino girl in the face while shouting, “Why aren’t you white?” After leaving juvenile detention the next year, Krager attended the civil trial of White Aryan Resistance leader Tom Metzger, who was being sued by the Southern Poverty Law Center. He called Metzger “a cool guy ... one of the nicest guys you’d ever meet.”

By the time he turned 18, police reported having 28 encounters with him. That year, 1992, he was sentenced to 27 months in prison for punching a black man into a coma. In court, he yelled “fucking Jew pig!” at officials before being taken off to serve his time. In prison, he laid the groundwork for Volksfront, communicating with free-world skins and immediately forming the group upon his release.

But just weeks after getting out, Krager threatened a local anti-racist skinhead and was returned to prison for 14 months. He was freed again in 1995.

After years in the public limelight in Portland and the Pacific Northwest in the late 1990s, Volksfront went underground for a short time in 2001, citing pressure from police. When it resurfaced, Krager, with his long history of violence, amazed many by explicitly renouncing violence in a Volksfront statement.

But that seems to have been little more than a public relations ploy. In 2003, Volksfront’s Washington state leader, Kurtis William Monschke, joined three other skins in beating to death a homeless man in Tacoma with rocks and bats.

Since then, Volksfront has continued to grow despite the violence, reaching a total of 13 chapters in as many states in 2011. But Krager officially stepped down as leader in 2004, even though he still controlled it from the shadows. He never did explain that decision, although it probably helped him land a job in 2010

in Afghanistan with the International Security Assistance Force, a NATO affiliate working on security and rebuilding. Krager’s ties to Volksfront, not to mention his “FEAR” and swastika tattoos, apparently caused him no problems.



Alex Linder, **46**

KIRKSVILLE, MO.

Alex Linder, operator of the Vanguard News Network (VNN) website, is a foul-mouthed, woman-hating neo-Nazi who regularly advocates another Holocaust, saying “the correct policy toward the jews [sic] is to exterminate them.”

Founded in 2002, VNN is the second most important white supremacist website and forum after Stormfront.org (see Don Black profile, above), a rival that is frequently attacked by Linder. Linder despises Stormfront’s downplaying of racial slurs and Nazi symbolism, running an operation that instead is thick with name-calling, guttural racism, potty humor and untrammelled misogyny.

VNN’s motto is “No Jews. Just Right,” and it carries an archive of racist and anti-Semitic articles, links to Linder’s now-defunct *Aryan Alternative* newspaper, and podcasts from VNN Broadcasting. It has often posted internecine attacks on Stormfront and other racist groups from rivals in the movement.

Linder did not come to his views as a result of some deprived childhood. He was raised in a middle-class suburb, earned a bachelor’s degree from Pomona College in Claremont, Calif., and says he then worked for two lead-

ing media outlets in the nation’s capital. He left those jobs, he says, because they would not allow “racist satire of Jews and minorities,” and moved to Missouri in 1997.

Later, he joined the National Alliance, then the leading neo-Nazi group in the country. At one point, he considered moving to the group’s West Virginia compound to edit its magazine *National Vanguard*. But he did not, and years later he split with the group completely over its failure to help a member in serious legal trouble.

While most of Linder’s activism is limited to the Internet, he did lead a group of about 30 neo-Nazis in a 2007 “Rally Against Genocide” in Knoxville, Tenn., where a white couple had been murdered by three black assailants. (Officials said that the crime was not motivated by racial hatred, but Linder disagreed.) There, he was arrested for attacking a police officer and charged with resisting arrest and other crimes. He pleaded guilty to resisting arrest and got six months of probation.

In 2008, Linder and others began a similar campaign on behalf of a teenage shooting victim they described as a “pure-blooded” white. But they abandoned that with alacrity upon discovering that Daniel Cicciaro was half Puerto Rican.



Kevin MacDonald, **68**

LAGUNA HILLS, CALIF.

A one-time anti-Vietnam War activist and self-described flower child, Kevin MacDonald is an aca-

demic who has become the single most important ideological pillar of the contemporary neo-Nazi movement. His 1990s trilogy of books purporting to explain why Jews are driven to attempt to destroy Western societies is arguably the most important anti-Semitic work since Hitler’s *Mein Kampf*.

Born into a middle-class family with a police officer dad in Oshkosh, Wis.,

“The correct policy toward the jews is to exterminate them.”

MacDonald got a bachelor's in philosophy before earning a master's in biology and a doctorate in biobehavioral sciences at the University of Connecticut in 1981. From there, he launched his academic career, landing a job on the psychology faculty at California State University, Long Beach, where he still works today.

But he harbored an antipathy toward Jews that dated to his anti-war days, when he decided that Jews take over political and cultural movements and front them with unsuspecting Gentiles — just what he thought had happened to him.

MacDonald's trilogy, written at Long Beach, has little to do with Nazi race theories, which blamed Jews for introducing social vices and portrayed them as parasites preying on wholesome Aryans. Instead, he argues that Jews, who typically live as minorities in non-Jewish societies, engage in a "group evolutionary strategy" to undermine their host societies in order to out-compete Gentiles for resources. In effect, he argues that anti-Semitism, far from being an irrational hatred of Jews, is a logical response to Jewish success in societies dominated by other groups.

In 2000, MacDonald became a rare witness on behalf of anti-Semitic writer David Irving, who was engaged in an unsuccessful lawsuit against a scholar who had called him a Holocaust denier. MacDonald said that what Irving described as the "suppression" of Irving's books was "an example of Jewish tactics."

MacDonald flew under the radar for years. But after a major *Intelligence Report* exposé in 2007, his teaching duties were reduced and he was condemned by many of his colleagues, including those in his own psychology department.

Over the years, MacDonald increasingly has been praised by neo-Nazis like former Klan leader David Duke (see profile above). In October 2009, he began to officially return the love, joining as a director an openly racist party called the American Third Position (see also Virginia Abernethy profile above) that

also includes other key white supremacist leaders. Founded by racist skinheads, the group is led by a man who once sought to deport all black Americans.



**Jason
"Molotov"
Mitchell, 33**
WILMINGTON, N.C.

In advertising, everyone knows the most important group to reach is the 18-34 demographic. These days, 18- to 34-year-olds

even have their own evangelist, a pop culture-savvy Christian hardliner with the word "zealot" tattooed on his forearm and wrath emblazoned in his heart. His name is Jason "Molotov" Mitchell, he's 33 years old, and he's a self-declared "Christian Supremacist" who wants his co-religionists to shove aside "effeminated American Christianity" and start "advancing the Kingdom on earth."

That means abolishing homosexuality, subjugating women, and "crafting the body ... into a weapon for God and the Movement, ready and able to serve at any time" — in other words, unquestioning acceptance of draconian Old Testament law, and a willingness to impose it on others.

Mitchell looks like a hipster, but he reads the Bible like a Christian Reconstructionist, or one who seeks to impose biblical law on secular society. In a 2009 video blog for WorldNetDaily (WND), a far-right online publication (see also Joseph Farah profile above), he endorsed a Ugandan bill that would make homosexuality in many cases a capital offense. In 2011, he chided Christians who condemn Islamic Shariah law because it permits polygamy and the stoning of adulterers, noting that both are permitted in Christian Scripture.

"If the Bible doesn't condemn something but you do, that's not a biblical position, that's man-made religion," he lectured.

Mitchell, a former wedding videogra-

pher who says he came to Christianity after studying Buddhism, Islam and Hare Krishna, does not limit his commentary to religion. He's described U.S. Supreme Court Justice Sonia Sotomayor as an "anti-American racist," called the progressive Latino advocacy group La Raza "the tan Klan," and spread "birther" lies about President Obama.

It was a 2008 video about Obama that put Mitchell in the national spotlight. In his "Video Portrait of Barack Hussein Obama," he accused then-candidate Obama of being a racist, Marxist anti-Semite "disciplined" in "quasi-Christianity." The same year, an evangelical TV channel that had been hosting Mitchell's edgy "comedy" stopped working with him after he made and ate a cookie decorated with the face of Mohammad, violating the channel's promise not to denigrate other religions. But WND reportedly liked what it saw and has been working with him ever since.

Mitchell's wife also posts on WND, under the name "DJ Dolce." In 2010, she endorsed the thoroughly disproven theory that gay men were responsible for the Holocaust.

In early 2012, Mitchell released his first feature-length film, a pseudo-documentary set in a dystopian near future in which a group of "black power extremists" terrorize and murder abortion providers. "Gates of Hell," as the film is called, has been praised by leaders of the anti-gay Liberty Counsel and the anti-abortion group Operation Rescue.

With friends like those, Mitchell, who once lamented the "lost value of extremism," is doing his best to bring it back in vogue.



**Elmer
Stewart
Rhodes, 46**
BIG ARM, MONT.

With all the paranoia he peddles to the conspiracy class, it's hard to believe Stewart Rhodes once had a career shooting straight for the stratosphere.

But since retiring from the Army and in 2009 starting the Oath Keepers — a defiant “Patriot” organization of active military and police personnel who vow to uphold their oaths to the U.S. Constitution against all enemies, foreign, domestic and imagined — the Yale-educated lawyer has emerged as one of the primary intellectual fountainheads of the antigovernment right.

Under the defiant banner of “Not on our watch,” Rhodes has recruited thousands of politically disaffected men and women into the Oath Keepers. He has plied them with ideas of a tyrannical “New World Order” looming on the horizon, only to dismiss those worries as mere theoretical concerns when it is convenient to do so — typically, when trying to paint the group as mainstream in discussions with reporters. It’s doublespeak at its finest.

For example, he told MSNBC’s Chris Matthews that he wasn’t animated by conspiracy theories or fears.

But when speaking to radio conspiracist Alex Jones (see profile above), Rhodes touted the benefits of his new organization by playing to one of Jones’ key worries. “We know that if the day should come where a full-blown dictatorship would come, or tyranny ... it can happen [only] if those men, our brothers in arms, go along and comply with unconstitutional, unlawful orders. ... Imagine if we focus on the police and military. Game over for the New World Order,” Rhodes said.

A practicing attorney in Nevada, Rhodes left his legal practice in 2010 to move to the Big Sky State. He wasted no time involving himself with the growing local Patriot movement, which has been drawn to Montana for what constitutionalist preacher Chuck Baldwin (see profile above) has called “the Alamo of the 21st Century” — a last stand against a perceived dismantling of American freedoms.

The core of the Oath Keepers is its 10 “Orders We Will Not Obey.” The orders relate directly to Patriot fears of a government conspiracy — alleged plans to impose martial law, shuttle Americans

into concentration camps and so on. Rhodes has warned that the government is teetering on the brink and has encouraged residents in Flathead County, Mont., to begin forming citizen militias.

“It’s not that the iceberg is coming. ... We already hit the iceberg,” Rhodes was quoted saying during a speech after arriving in Montana. And how does that play out in one of the Ivy League’s most conspiratorial minds? He put it quite simply: “The Titanic is going down.”



Kyle Rogers, ***35***

SUMMERVILLE, S.C.

With a degree in computer engineering, a knack for polemics and some website savvy, Kyle Rogers has become a key player in the Council of Conservative

Citizens (CCC), the lineal descendant of the segregationist White Citizens Councils of the 1950s and 1960s. He joined, he told the *Intelligence Report* in 2006, after tiring of “the media telling us everything Southern and everything European is bad.”

Today, Rogers lives near Charleston, S.C., where he moved in 2004, and heads the local chapter of the CCC, which says in its “Statement of Principles” that it “oppose[s] all efforts to mix the races of mankind.” He is also on the group’s national board of directors, runs its website, and serves as its primary editor.

Rogers, who like many white supremacists is much taken with ancient Norse gods, last year began pushing his “Boycott Thor Campaign,” attacking Marvel Studios for casting a “sub-Saharan black man” as the Norse god Heimdall. Saying Marvel is known for “leftwing ideologies,” Rogers complained that Heimdall is actually “the progenitor of Europeans and referred to as ‘The Whitest of Gods.’”

In a similar vein, he has lately been writing in the CCC’s *Citizens Informer* about

Kennewick Man, a famous, ancient skeleton found in Washington state that he and others claim shows whites were here first, only to be slaughtered by Indians.

Rogers leads one of the most active CCC chapters in the country. It has held repeated rallies against undocumented workers at the state Capitol and hotly defended the Confederate battle flag. (Rogers told one reporter that the NAACP was “busing in welfare mothers” to demonstrate against the flag.) And it claims that while Islam cannot be criticized, Christianity is under assault (“[W]e are supposed to view Kwanza as equivalent to Christmas,” Rogers huffed angrily).

Rogers also has had something of a toehold in local politics, serving in 2007 as a delegate to the Charleston GOP county convention. He still urges CCC members to remind the party that it should be “standing up for whites.”

Rogers practices what he preaches. He has long advertised on the CCC website his online flag-selling business, Patriotic Flags, which for years has been selling a T-shirt featuring the unblinking slogan, “White Pride Worldwide.”



Malik Zulu ***Shabazz, 45***

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Whatever they might say privately about having a black man in the White House, few people these days would dare to go on camera and

call the president a “nigger.” But shouting into a camera a few months after the U.S. began supporting insurgents’ efforts to overthrow Libyan dictator Muammar Qaddafi, Malik Zulu Shabazz called him that and much worse.

“Whatever Barack Obama is doing, he represents the white man. He represents the ideology of the white man, he represents the policies of the white man, he represents the CIA set up, sabotage, lie on a African leader and bomb that man like he George Bush. He represents the white man. And his wife should leave the

nigger tonight. She should walk out and his beautiful daughters should walk out on this bamboozling, buck-dancing Tom,” Shabazz spat. “Only thing you see in Libya is just a big case of police brutality. We see the way they [police] team up on us and run us down all the time. ... Sometimes it’s a nigger police chief that’s in the lead. This time it’s a nigger police chief in the lead named Barack Obama.”

Such sentiments are no surprise from Shabazz, the attorney who in 2001 replaced the radically anti-Semitic, anti-white and anti-Catholic Khallid A. Muhammad as head of the New Black Panther Party (NBPP) after the latter’s sudden death. He has called for the death of “every goddamn Zionist in Israel,” insisted that world problems are caused “by the very nature of white people,” and advanced the theory, laid out by some black nationalists, that blacks, not Jews, are the descendants of the original Hebrews of Israel. (This theology, which is present in many black separatist organizations but varies markedly from group to group, is usually known as Black Hebrew Israelism.)

His rage over America’s involvement in Qaddafi’s overthrow stemmed from the fact that the Libyan dictator was a patron of the black separatist Nation of Islam (NOI), loaning the group \$3 million in 1972 to finance its Chicago headquarters. Shabazz himself was a NOI official for a time, but was ousted after he became an embarrassment even to that hard-line group. He continues to work with NOI on-and-off, and often echoes (and amplifies) the political positions of its leader, Louis Farrakhan.

When it suits his purposes, Shabazz has also been known to downplay his involvement with NBPP and identify himself instead as a representative of Black Lawyers for Justice, a group he founded in 1996. But in 2008, he affirmed his commitment to the group: “I will always be a part of the New Black Panther Party. ... I am not going to deny my family for anybody.”



Samuel Jared Taylor, 60

OAKTON, VA.

Jared Taylor is the cosmopolitan face of white supremacy, a Yale-educated, Japanese- and French-speaking intellectual

who in the last two decades has built the most important white nationalist think tank and publication in America.

Taylor founded the New Century Foundation in 1990, and the think tank began publishing its *American Renaissance* journal the next year. Although the journal focuses on alleged racial differences in intelligence and on eugenics, the now discredited “science” of breeding better humans, it has carefully avoided racial slurs even as it harps on the alleged “psychopathology” of black people.

The foundation also holds important biannual conferences that have been attended by a wide variety of activists, from well-known neo-Nazis like David Duke and Don Black (see profiles above) to well-heeled but racist academics. While Taylor rejects anti-Semitism — he once told Phil Donahue that Jews “look white to me” — he has allowed anti-Semites to attend the conferences. Still, a hot dispute on the matter broke out at the 2006 conference, with Duke insisting that conferees look at the real enemy (Jews) and an angry Jewish racist stalking out in response.

Despite the academic veneer, Taylor doesn’t mince words. In the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, he infamously wrote: “When blacks are left entirely to their own devices, Western civilization — any kind of civilization — disappears.” He has also said black people are “crime-prone,” “dissipated,” “pathological” and “deviant.”

Taylor describes himself as a “race realist,” arguing that racial diversity is “one of the most divisive forces on the planet.” He has characterized his “wealthy, powerful and respected” critics, including the

Southern Poverty Law Center, as politically correct totalitarians “whose job is to throttle free speech.”

Taylor has written several books. The first was 1992’s *Paved With Good Intentions: The Failure of Race Relations in Contemporary America*, followed by *The Real American Dilemma: Race, Immigration, and the Future of America* (1998) and, last year, *White Identity: Racial Consciousness in the 21st Century*.

Taylor has networked within the racist world effectively. He writes regularly for the racist anti-immigration website

“When blacks are left entirely to their own devices, Western civilization — any kind of civilization — disappears.”

VDARE and others, and interacts with other white nationalists around the country. He has worked with hate groups like the Council of Conservative Citizens and the National Policy Institute.

Speaking at the National Policy Institute last year, Taylor responded candidly when a black man got up to ask a question. “All we want,” Taylor told him, “is the freedom to associate only with our own kind, to not be forced to deal with you.”



James Timothy Turner, 55

OZARK, ALA.

The antigovernment “sovereign citizens” movement is chock-full of homemade prophets and half-baked historians who

traffick in alleged conspiracies against the Constitution. And then there’s James Timothy Turner.

With the wry and thin-lipped smile of a conman on the make, Turner is “president” of the Republic for the United States of America (RuSA; see also story, p. 16), probably the largest and most organized sovereign citizens group active in the United States today. But unlike small-time sovereigns who largely limit themselves to spouting bogus theories about how to get out of taxes and bankruptcy and traffic tickets, Turner has adopted a whole alternative history wherein the legitimate federal government went dormant after the Civil War. What exists in its place today, he says, is a “corporation” intent on forcing liberty-loving patriots into financial slavery.

Based in the southeastern Alabama town of Ozark, Turner burst onto the sovereign scene in 2007 with a series of seminars claiming he could help his clients get out of paying mortgages, credit cards and income tax bills using a series of sovereign tricks. He offered strategies using pseudo-legal declarations he coined “Freedom Documents,” and he had the folksy charm to sell it.

But with RuSA, Turner went a step further than his co-religionists, setting out to form a shadow government lying in wait for the day it would be needed. “We, the people of the United States of America, are the most powerful force on earth,” Turner said in a video posted online after RuSA was formed. “We’re more powerful than any government on earth. ... We are a nation of kings.”

RuSA emerged from the rubble of another group, the Guardians for the Free Republics, which raised alarms in 2010 by publicly demanding the resignation of all 50 state governors. Little came of its demands, naturally, and the Guardians collapsed within months of the declaration due to infighting. Turner alone pushed onward, selling the myth that the federal government was a sham.

The group’s gubernatorial demand, which prompted at least one statehouse to beef up security, was its first major public action. But it wasn’t the last. This

January, Turner filed a federal lawsuit in Alabama that accused President Obama, the governors of all 50 states, and the sheriffs of every one of America’s 3,131 counties of libeling him in their characterization of his sovereign beliefs.



**Michael
Brian
Vanderboegh,
59**
PINSON, ALA.

When he’s not talking about his love of the Constitution, his dislike of immigrants, or the need for armed citizen militias to battle a repressive federal government, Alabama “Patriot” leader Mike Vanderboegh has a thing about throwing bricks. Unfortunately, at least a few people are listening.

In 2010, after Congress passed President Obama’s health care reform bill, Vanderboegh used his Sipsey Street Irregulars blog to urge opponents to throw bricks through the windows of Democratic offices nationwide. “Break them NOW. Break them and run to break again. Break them under cover of night,” he wrote.

Thugs responded in several U.S. cities, including Wichita, Kan., Rochester, N.Y., and Tucson, Ariz., where bricks shattered the office windows of U.S. Rep. Gabrielle Giffords, a Democrat who was later shot in the head by a deranged gunman with no known ties to Vanderboegh. At least 10 Democrats in Congress reported harassment, vandalism or death threats. Vanderboegh was unapologetic, telling *The Washington Post* that the attacks were a legitimate warning to Democratic lawmakers that health care reform could lead to civil war. Throwing bricks, he said, “is both good manners and it’s also a moral duty to try to warn people.”

It wasn’t the first call for criminal violence from the man who led the Sons

of Liberty, an antigovernment militia, in the 1990s. In 2006, he urged people to throw bricks through the office windows of members of Congress who supported legislation giving undocumented immigrants the same rights as U.S. citizens.

In recent years, Vanderboegh was a founder of another Patriot group, THREE%ER, which takes its name from the theory that only 3% of American colonials actually fought the British. He also engaged in vigilante border patrols.

At the same time, he tried to portray himself as a moderate, denouncing neo-Nazis and posturing as a civic improver by leading attacks on a botched gun investigation by the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives. In that role, he has been regularly consulted as an expert by Fox News, which hasn’t bothered to mention his background as a militia leader or instigator of criminal brick-throwing attacks.

That’s especially remarkable given the arrests late last year of four members of a Georgia militia for allegedly planning to assassinate government officials, bomb federal buildings, and attack four cities with the deadly ricin toxin. Officials said they were inspired, in part, by *Absolved*, a recent online novel by Vanderboegh that portrays a small group of Americans who assassinate government officials.

That would be officials of the very same government, as it turns out, that sends Mike Vanderboegh, each and every month, a disability check for \$1,300.



**Pastor John
Weaver, 67**
FITZGERALD, GA.

A minister for more than four decades, John Weaver is a religious mainstay of the racist neo-Confederate movement and a man who has recently

become a leading proponent of training Christians for armed battle.

Weaver, who earned a bachelor’s in theology from Bob Jones University (which until 2000 banned interracial

dating), is the pastor of Freedom Baptist Ministries in Fitzgerald, Ga., and preaches weekly in Waycross, Ga., and Live Oak, Fla. But his interests go way beyond preaching.

For years, Weaver was a leading member of the Council of Conservative Citizens, a hate group that opposes interracial marriage and has described black people as a “retrograde species of humanity.” He also long served as chaplain to the Southern heritage group Sons of Confederate Veterans at a time when its leadership was largely controlled by racist extremists.

Weaver was much sought after by extremist groups. In March 2007, for instance, he spoke for five nights at South Pointe Baptist Church in Pelzer, S.C., at a conference sponsored by Christian Exodus. That group was working to get Christians in South

Carolina to secede and was led by Cory Burnell, himself a former member of the League of the South (LOS), a neo-secessionist hate group.

“John Weaver is the quintessential Southern preacher, bringing the whole counsel of God with practical application to every area of life,” Burnell said at the time. “He teaches the biblical doctrine of interposition as well as any man, and brings powerful illustrations from American history, with touching stories from the First and Second Wars for American independence.”

Regardless of whether or not “interposition” is “biblical,” it is a doctrine that was used by racist Southern state governments to defend slavery and, later, to try to “nullify” laws and court rulings against segregation. It is also one that the courts have repeatedly ruled unconstitutional.

In April 2011, Weaver made an appearance on “The Political Cesspool,” a racist radio program run by James Edwards out of Memphis, Tenn., that has featured a veritable “Who’s Who” of the radical right. Others on the show have included former Klan leaders, Holocaust deniers, neo-Nazis and fellow travelers.

Weaver has also taken up weapons in a big way. He recently became a certified instructor for Front Sight, a firearms training institute. At a Georgia LOS meeting in March 2011, he taught members to draw down on an enemy. He taught gun safety at the LOS national convention last July.

Also last year, Weaver spoke at the Church of Kaweah, a militant hate group based in California. Today, the church sells tapes of Weaver’s sermons and also features him in a church video entitled, “To Teach Them War.”



David Yerushalmi, 55

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

In 2007, David Yerushalmi urged the United States to declare “WAR AGAINST ISLAM and all Muslim faithful.”

When that didn’t happen, he did his best to start one himself.

Yerushalmi practices what he calls “lawfare”—a multi-platform attack on Muslims’ freedom, staged by pushing anti-Shariah bills in state legislatures and filing aggressive lawsuits against supposed enemies of free expression and America’s “Judeo-Christian” heritage.

So far, he’s been disturbingly successful. At least three states have passed laws based on his model “American Laws for American Courts” legislation, created for the explicit purpose of outlawing Islamic Shariah law. More states will consider it this year. In addition to serving as general counsel to Frank Gaffney’s (see profile above) paranoid anti-Muslim Center for Security Policy, he’s represented Pam Geller’s (see profile above) Stop Islamization of America (SIOA) and the Koran-burning Florida pastor Terry Jones.

Yerushalmi began his campaign in 2006 by founding the Society of Americans for National Existence (SANE), an anti-Muslim organization devoted to promoting his theory that Islam is inherently seditious and Shariah, or Islamic religious law, is a “criminal conspiracy to overthrow the U.S. govern-

ment.” He equates Shariah with Islamic radicalism so totally that he advocates criminalizing virtually any personal practice compliant with Shariah—in his view, only a Muslim who fully breaks with the customs of Shariah can be considered socially tolerable. Ideally, he would outlaw Islam and deport its adherents altogether.

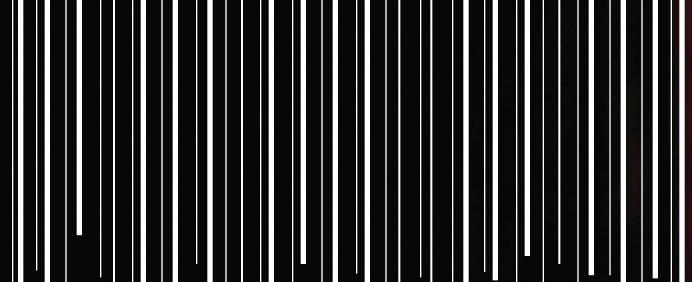
Muslims aren’t the only group with whom he has a bone to pick. Yerushalmi, an Orthodox Jew, also rails against liberal Jews and the “progressive elites” he says they influence. He’s described blacks as “the most murderous of peoples” and reportedly once called for undocumented immigrants to be placed in “special criminal camps,” detained for three years, and then deported.

Together with Robert Muike of the Thomas More Law Center, a Christian Right law firm with which he has repeatedly collaborated, Yerushalmi in early 2012 formed the American Freedom Law Center (AFLC). Touted on its website as “the first truly authentic Judeo-Christian public interest law firm,” AFLC’s declared mission is “to fight for faith and freedom by advancing and defending America’s Judeo-Christian heritage and moral foundation through litigation, education, and public policy program.” Within weeks of its creation, AFLC had filed a challenge to a federal health care mandate that would have required most employers to cover birth control and a “friend of the court” brief in defense of S.B.1070, Arizona’s draconian anti-immigrant law.

Geller, Islamophobia’s most vulgar mouthpiece, couldn’t be more thrilled. “This is great news and the dawning of a new era,” she said of Yerushalmi’s newest venture. “[G]oing on the offense against who would crush our freedoms.” ▲

Heidi Beirich, Ryan Lenz, Bill Morlin, Leah Nelson, Mark Potok and Janet Smith contributed to this story

Illustrations by Raúl Allén



CLOSING IN

Court records show federal officials may be moving against racist ideologue Tom Metzger in the aftermath of a major bombing trial

BY BILL MORLIN

Tom Metzger — a wily, iconic racist ideologue who has for years espoused “lone-wolf” terrorism — could soon find himself facing criminal charges filed by the federal government he’s excoriated for decades.

Federal investigators, fresh off a related mail-bombing conviction in Arizona, may be pressing for what could develop into a major Justice Department criminal case against “Terrible Tommy” Metzger, as he likes to call himself. Court records filed in three states show the investigators strongly suspect Metzger provided the Arizona bomber with explosive-making instructions, knowing they would be used in the commission of a crime of violence.

At 74, Metzger, who now lives in Warsaw, Ind., has “celebrity status” as the founder of White Aryan Resistance (WAR), court documents say, and is a dean of white supremacists. He’s the last vestige of a generation of revolutionary racist leaders in the United States that included the late Richard G. Butler of Aryan Nations and the late Robert Miles, a one-time Michigan Klan leader and convicted bomber. While those two and many other racist leaders were charged in various criminal cases over the past three decades, Metzger has managed to avoid any serious criminal charges in his 40-plus years of activism.

That may be about to change.

Court documents filed in Arizona, Illinois and Indiana and obtained by the *Intelligence Report* suggest that federal investigators with the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms & Explosives may now be building a case against Metzger that could be filed in any of several federal jurisdictions.

Metzger is accused in the court papers of providing bomb-making instructions to long-time

WAR associates Dennis and Daniel Mahon in a plot to send a mail bomb to the black man who was then the diversity officer for the city of Scottsdale, Ariz. Don Logan’s hands were maimed, and two colleagues were less seriously injured, when he opened a package containing a pipe bomb on Feb. 26, 2004, at his city office.

The Mahon twins — itinerant aircraft mechanics and well-known racist activists who have lived in Oklahoma, Arizona and Illinois — were indicted in 2009, five years after the attack on Logan. At the same time, agents raided Metzger’s Warsaw, Ind., home and seized computers and other items. Metzger was not arrested, and the results of the raid have not been disclosed. However, Metzger was recently described in open court as an “undicted co-conspirator.”

This Feb. 24, Daniel Mahon, 61, was acquitted of a single conspiracy count by a jury. But his identical twin brother, Dennis, was convicted of three felonies, including conspiracy, distribution of information about explosives, and using explosives to attack a building. That last conviction is apparently the “crime of violence” that officials need to pursue charges against Metzger.

Tom Atteberry, special agent in charge of the ATF’s Phoenix field division, encompassing the states of Arizona and New Mexico, said he couldn’t discuss the possibility of bringing such a charge. “But what I can tell you is, even though this [Mahon] trial is over, there are continuing leads being pursued throughout the United States,” Atteberry told the *Intelligence Report*. “ATF is fully committed to pursuing leads with vigor with our state and local partners.”

Reached at his Indiana home, Metzger denied that he had ever built a bomb, instructed anyone on how to build a bomb, or knew of Dennis Mahon’s involvement in the Logan attack. “I



don't know what they would build a case on," he said. "I've been the target of various investigations going back to the 1970s. Unless they come with an arrest warrant, I don't pay attention to what the feds are doing."

Metzger and Lone Wolves

Tom Metzger's racist activities go back to the 1970s, when he joined David Duke's Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, quickly rising to California state leader. He later split with Duke, who he accused of womanizing and other transgressions, and formed his own group to seek political office. After a failed run for Congress, he founded what would eventually be called the White Aryan Resistance.

WAR published a grotesquely racist tabloid, complete with animalistic portrayals of black people and thick with slurs and calls for violence. At the same time, however, Metzger's ideology was quite different than most on the racist right. He described himself as an anti-corporate leftist, a strong supporter of unions (for white people) and the working class. He applauded black racists, who he saw as standing up for their own people just as he was standing up for whites.

Metzger also pioneered the idea of using racist skinheads as the "shock troops" of the movement. Reaching out to such skins, he sent a trainer to Portland, Ore., in 1988 to encourage skinhead street violence against black people. Three weeks later, three skinheads murdered an Ethiopian student, resulting in criminal convictions but also a civil suit from the Southern Poverty Law Center. In the end, a jury returned a \$12.5 million verdict against Metzger, his son and WAR. Tom Metzger, who wrote after the murder that the killers had done their "civic duty," was forced to make monthly payments to the student's estate for the next 20 years.

Since that trial, Metzger has evolved into an ideologue and a cheerleader, rather than an activist leading street actions or building a group. He has spent much of that time encouraging "lone wolves" to attack the government and minorities and selling publications detailing weapons, bombs and paramilitary tactics.

Indeed, as one court document in the Mahon case points out, Metzger's web-



Dennis Mahon, who regularly associated with some of the most violent elements of the racist right, was convicted this year of sending a mail bomb that maimed the hands of Scottsdale, Ariz., official Don Logan. Now, that conviction may be helping investigators make another major case.

site reflects these efforts. "There are those like myself who have been out in the open for years with no real possibility of becoming deep cover Lone Wolves," he is quoted as saying. "Our job is primarily one of creating white propaganda, of being public information sources and for communicating to those in deep cover."

It's that very kind of relationship that may be at issue now.

Curiouser and Curiouser

Five months before the 2004 Scottsdale bombing, a man identifying himself as "Dennis Mahon of the White Aryan Resistance" called the city's diversity office and left a threatening message. The caller's number was later confirmed to be that of Dennis Mahon, and an agent who met Mahon repeatedly during the subsequent investigation recognized the voice on the call as Mahon's, court records say.

In early February 2004, Metzger and Dennis Mahon appeared together at Aryanfest 2004, a white power concert in Fountain Hills, Ariz., just three miles from Scottsdale. (The event was one of the last attended by Richard Butler, the Aryan Nations founder from Idaho who died that fall, on Sept. 8.)

Aryanfest attracted some fairly prominent press attention in the Phoenix area. Between Feb. 17 and Feb. 19, the *Phoenix*

New Times alternative newspaper and two other small local papers published a major *New Times* article entitled "Barbecue Nations" that mocked the participants, with a headline referring to "shaved-headed men hugging each other like they were at a gay pride picnic" and an unnamed law enforcement official describing Dennis Mahon as a "drunken fool."

The racists couldn't resist responding. Starting on Feb. 19 and continuing for the next two days, Mahon and Metzger separately contacted one of the article's authors by phone and E-mail. "Amusing article," Metzger wrote in one E-mail, court records in the Mahon case say. "If only you knew. But you will. lol TM."

On Feb. 21 — the same day that the reporter received a final phone call and a voicemail from Dennis Mahon — a pipe bomb, disguised in a cardboard box and addressed to Don Logan, was left in the Scottsdale library. It was routed through the city's internal mail system to the diversity office, where it arrived on Feb. 26. Logan opened it that day. The blast injured Logan, a secretary and another worker.

Records in the case against the Mahons say that ATF Special Agent Tristan Moreland located phone records showing a "series of calls between Mahon and Metzger just before and after the attempted contacts" with *New Times*.

Metzger's E-mail strongly suggests that he knew the bombing was about to occur, the ATF agent said in a court affidavit. Moreland said it was his "belief that Metzger foreshadowed the Logan bombing to this reporter in the email."

Metzger absolutely denied that. "I had no idea the Mahons were involved in something like this," he told the *Report*. "If I had known, I would have told them to stay the hell away from anything like that. If I'd known Dennis was involved in something like this, I would taken him outside and broken his legs."

In the immediate aftermath of the 2004 bombing, investigators focused on the Mahon brothers. The ATF recruited a female informant, a former stripper who

in early 2005 moved with an undercover ATF agent into a trailer park in Catossa, Okla., where the Mahons were then living. She flirted with the Mahons, at one point sending them two provocative pictures of herself, and sympathized with their views. Within days, they began to talk to her about various bombings.

In 2006, Metzger left Fallbrook, Calif., for Warsaw, Ind., where he moved into his mother's house after her death. Even then, three years before the Mahons' arrests, the investigation already was beginning to point to Metzger.

'I Won't Betray You'

In January 2008, a smitten Dennis Mahon allegedly told the female informant that he and his brother "have been bombing for the movement since the early 1980s and that Tom METZGER told them, 'If they (The MAHON's) want to go ahead and bomb a Synagogue or a Mexican restaurant go ahead, but that he (METZGER) doesn't want to know about it,'" according to an ATF affidavit filed in court.

"MAHON said that METZGER said that he will be the lightning bolt for it and take the heat, but that he just doesn't want to know about it. MAHON appeared to be telling the [informant] that he and his brother Daniel committed bombings on METZGER's and the movement's behalf, but that METZGER insulates himself by not having the specific knowledge of when and where."

Meanwhile, a federal judge authorized a wiretap of Metzger's telephone that was active from January until June 2008, court documents say. Eventually, investigators would surveil Metzger personally, monitor his website, and place a "mail cover" on his post office box. At one point, they even installed a camera that took pictures of Metzger as he picked up WAR mail at his post office box, court documents show.

On May 22, 2008, after finding partial DNA profiles on some of the Scottsdale bomb components, ATF agents with a court warrant swabbed the mouths of the Mahon brothers to see if they could obtain a match. Ultimately, they couldn't make the match, but their visit raised alarms. Two days later, testimony at the later Mahon trial would reveal, Dennis Mahon called his mentor, Metzger.

"I won't betray you, Tom," Mahon said over the tapped phone.

"I didn't think you would," Metzger replied.

In his comments to the *Report*, Metzger suggested that far from being in on the attack, he hardly even knew the case. "Who's this Logan anyway?" he said of the diversity officer who was maimed. "A nobody that I've never heard about."

After obtaining the swabs, investigators finally presented their evidence to a Phoenix grand jury. In June 2009, the Mahon brothers were indicted in a conspiracy, the indictment said, to "promote racial discord" and "teach the tactics of terrorism with the intent that others would commit violent acts on behalf of WAR."

Later that month, ATF agents raided the Mahon family residence in Davis Junction, Ill., about 10 miles south of Rockford, searching for bomb-making materials, instruction manuals and any related computer files. In an affidavit backing the search, the ATF described the Mahons as "closely associated" with Metzger and WAR for 20 years and noted that WAR promoted lone-wolf attacks.

At the same time, they searched Metzger's Indiana home. According to the affidavit supporting that search, agents were looking for information on how to manufacture bombs, evidence of manufacturing bombs, computers, and any documents relating to the 2004 attack on Don Logan. It said that investigators had developed "evidence suggesting that that MAHON brothers follow the advice and direction of TOM METZGER" when it comes to racist activities.

Making the Case

As interest in Metzger's possible role heated up, undercover ATF agents also ordered a number of books from Metzger's site — materials with names like *Terrible Tom's Guide: White Urban Survival*, *Combatives: Who, What, Why and When of Unconventional Warfare*, and *Total Resistance: Resisting the Iron Heel*.

Because ATF experts were able to recover enough forensic evidence from the 2004 mail bomb, including triggering components, they were able to accurately surmise what types of plans were used to build the device. Those plans looked similar to those described in books sold

by Metzger from his website.

The affidavit also said Metzger "regularly discusses acts of violence in the furtherance of his white supremacist goals" on his Internet radio show. It added: "Some of these acts included the use of small explosive devices to disrupt civil rights marches and the murder of judges and politicians. Although at times during these shows Metzger tells his listeners not to act violently, he and his guests often contradict themselves by telling the followers the opposite. They say things like, 'If there was ever a time for a white barbarian, it is now,' and that the commission of violence and murder is the only way things are going to change in this country."

The affidavit also spelled out the ATF's theory of Metzger's possible criminal culpability, saying the search was for evidence of "teaching or distributing material related to an explosive device with intent the teaching or material will be used to commit a Federal crime of violence and/or knowing that the person receiving such teaching or material intends to use [it in] ... a Federal crime of violence."

In January 2009, an undercover ATF agent wrote Metzger a letter saying he could "use a little instruction on the finer points of warfare." He also said that he was "thinking about waiting until its [sic] 120 [degrees] this summer and blowing the power grid or something like that." He included \$100. Within two weeks, Metzger had filled the request for three books. He made no comment about his customer's plans.

After the June 2009 raid and the arrests of the Mahons, things were quiet until the twins were finally put on trial early this year. Now, with the conviction of Dennis Mahon in a crime of violence, officials may be moving ahead again.

It's clear what federal law enforcement agents believe is really going on. In one affidavit, ATF agent Moreland says that he "believes Metzger is actively recruiting and training other persons to commit crimes on behalf of the white supremacist and anti-government movements." That's plain enough. What remains to be seen is if officials can make a case they feel confident bringing to a grand jury. ▲



‘Operation Blitzkrieg’

‘Anonymous,’ known for cyber-attacks on government websites, is now hacking neo-Nazi sites. And extremist fears are rising

BY MARILYN ELIAS ILLUSTRATION BY JIM AND NOMA BLISS

The Internet hacking collective known as Anonymous has declared “Operation Blitzkrieg” against neo-Nazi and other hate group websites this year, inflicting unprecedented damage on many of the sites and releasing an avalanche of personal information about supporters.

There’s been a clear uptick in Anonymous activities since last fall, an FBI spokesman told the *Intelligence Report*. And the amorphous international group is attracting more participants, adds Josh Shaul, chief technology officer at Application Security, Inc., a New

York database security software firm. “You see more posts and more people involved than ever,” reports Shaul, who studies Internet message boards where hacking plans are hatched by the group and its spinoffs.

Following an online warning last year that Operation Blitzkrieg would target neo-Nazi groups, a raft of actions just since January attests to this new direction.

One of the most significant websites disabled in February was Stormfront.org, the first and largest white nationalist site in the world with a claimed 240,000 registered members. Run by

former Ku Klux Klan leader Don Black, the multi-language, Florida-based forum teems with hateful propaganda about blacks, non-white immigrants, LGBT people and, above all, Jews. LulzFinancial, widely believed to be a spinoff of Anonymous, took credit for the attack on Stormfront.

Although the site was back up within a few days, many of its supporters may have lost their own anonymity: Anonymous revealed personal information of alleged members, publishing it all online and potentially scaring many away from this cyber-hive of hatred now that their

personal invisibility can no longer be guaranteed.

In case participants didn't get the message, a Stormfront regular warned online that if any supporter uses a real name, address or credit card number, "then you've handed the information over to them. You should be making donations with pre-paid debit cards only. ... You guys are being trolled, HARD and some jew [sic] somewhere is laughing his butt off."

'Humbling the Arrogant'

On the same day Stormfront was attacked, LulzFinancial disabled two websites run by the Topeka, Kan.-based Westboro Baptist Church, GodHatesFags.com and GodHatesAmerica.com. The church is best known for picketing the funerals of U.S. service members killed in Iraq and Afghanistan, with the rationale that their deaths are God's punishment for America's failure to sufficiently condemn homosexuality as a sin. Despite a small membership, the Westboro congregation has gained global publicity for its violently anti-gay views. As it did with Stormfront, Anonymous "doxed" church members—hack-speak for "documenting" their names, addresses and other personal information at public websites such as pastebin.com

Experts on the Anonymous group see LulzFinancial as a probable spinoff of the collective, which is leaderless and sometimes spawns breakout subgroups when interest grows in specific targets. In a statement released online the day Stormfront and Westboro were attacked, LulzFinancial said, "We are here for the greater good of mankind. We wish to expose the fraudulent and humble the arrogant among us."

It wasn't the first time so-called hacktivists have attacked Westboro. In an incident last year that still lives on YouTube, Westboro Church member Shirley Phelps-Roper and a man identified as affiliated with Anonymous were interviewed by syndicated radio and TV talk show host David Pakman. After Phelps-Roper defiantly denied that the group could shut off Westboro's message, the Anonymous participant said, "I have a surprise for you, Shirley." He then took down the group's websites dur-

ing the show, substituting a message from Anonymous, and Pakman confirmed the site defacement on-air.

In another attack on the hate front this year, Anonymous disabled the websites of the American Third Position (A3P), a California-based white supremacist group that aims to deport non-white immigrants and return the U.S. to white rule. It also hit sites owned by A3P presidential candidate Merlin Miller and James Kelso, the group's webmaster, including Kelso's WhiteNewsNow hate site.

Again, the release of private information about people who would generally much prefer to stay anonymous appeared more damaging than the temporary take-downs of sites. Anonymous published several thousand personal E-mails along with personal details of site visitors, their names, addresses and phone numbers, as well as forum messages.

In a mischievous kicker, Anonymous hacked the credit card of Kelso, who once worked for former KKK leader David Duke; under the Banner "Good Night, White Pride," the group claimed online that it had used Kelso's card to buy sex toys and make a donation to the anti-racist Anti-Defamation League. The ADL confirmed receipt of the donation. But in an E-mail to the *Report*, an ADL spokesman added: "While we understand that Anonymous was trying to be 'thoughtful' and arguably creative in sending ADL a donation, we do not support or encourage hacking and do not feel comfortable accepting the fruits of their illegal activity. We will return the donation."

Anonymous seemed to delight in mocking A3P's public persona as a relatively dignified hate group, what with leaders such as corporate attorney William D. Johnson and Kevin MacDonald, a psychology professor at California State University, Long Beach. In their online statement about the A3P hack, Anonymous spokesmen declared: "Although they try hard to maintain a professional public image to camouflage their vile racism, we're now airing all their dirty laundry all over the internet."

In other attacks on the far-right earlier this year, the hacktivist collective shut down the Web page of the Westland, Mich.-based American Nazi Party and

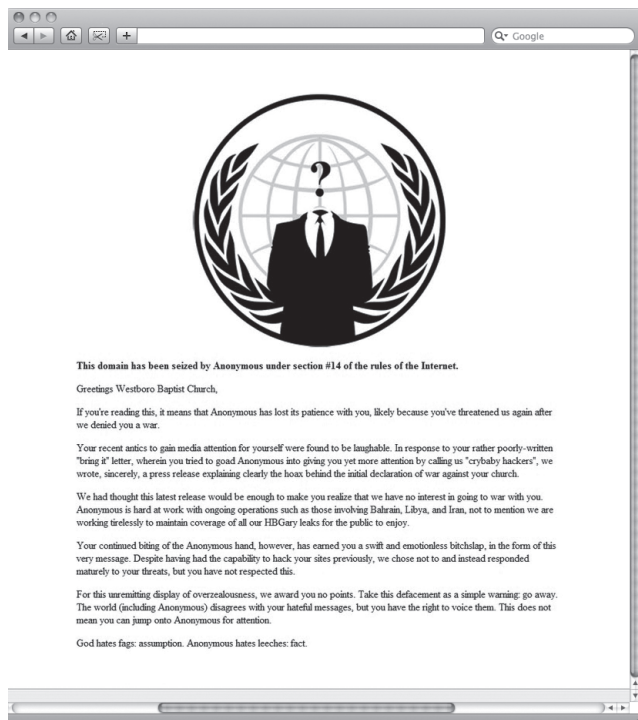
15 websites associated with the National Democratic Party (NDP), the major neo-fascist party in Germany. It also made public the identity of NDP supporters and donors, and dumped a huge trove of internal NDP E-mails onto the Internet.

Another Enemy

At the same time that it hit neo-Nazi sites hard this year, Anonymous has hacked into a number of government and law enforcement Web pages. It has shut down, for brief periods, pages of the CIA, the Department of Homeland Security and the Department of Justice, among other agencies. In a daring act that generated worldwide publicity, the anarchist collective hacked into a February conference call between the FBI and Scotland Yard in which investigators discussed two teenagers allegedly tied to Anonymous; the group posted a recording of the call online.

Most of the government hacks were meant to protest investigations of cyber-attacks and the prosecution of website owners practicing illegal Internet file-sharing. For example, in what it dubbed "Operation Payback," the group retaliated against the Department of Justice for shutting down Megaupload, the massive file-sharing site. On the same day it hacked the Department of Justice last January, Anonymous also brought down websites of several groups lobbying for anti-piracy legislation: the Motion Picture Association of America, the Recording Industry of America and Universal Music.

Although they disagree with one another on myriad issues, Anonymous participants share an unwavering commitment to the free flow of information online, says Gabriella Coleman, Wolfe Chair in Scientific and Technological Literacy at McGill University in Montreal. Coleman, an anthropologist, has spent the last four years studying Anonymous, interacting for countless hours in the group's online channels and, she says, building relationships with the planners and doers. It's impossible to tell exactly how many are in the group, as participation is fluid, she notes in a January article about the collective published by the online magazine, *Triple Canopy*. Coleman likens Anonymous to



Humiliated by hackers: Shirley Phelps-Roper, a leader of the notorious gay-bashing Westboro Baptist Church, told an on-air interviewer that Anonymous could not shut down the Church's sites. As she spoke, one of the sites was replaced with a taunting message (left) from the hackers.

"a hydra ... comprising numerous different networks and working groups that are often at odds with one another." Without offering any alternate agenda, the group seems to have "tapped into a deep disenchantment with the political status quo," suggests Coleman.

In addition to abhorrence of hate groups and Internet proprietary rights, Anonymous actions this year showed sympathy for immigrants and strong support for the Occupy Wall Street (OWS) movement.

A February takedown of Alabama government and law enforcement sites was a retaliatory strike against the brutal anti-immigrant law passed by that state. The law authorizes police to demand citizenship papers from adults, requires schools to check the immigration status of children and parents, and criminalizes certain business transactions with the undocumented.

Following an earlier hack, Anonymous in January released reams of private information—names, addresses, phone numbers and credit card data—of members of the California Statewide Law Enforcement Association, which is a

union. Anonymous leaders said they did so in retaliation for purportedly grisly prison conditions in the state and alleged police brutality during OWS protests.

The hacktivist group played a key role in spearheading and publicizing OWS protests last fall, notes Daryle Lamont Jenkins of One People's Project, a left-wing, anti-racist group. With its massive outreach on Twitter and in chat rooms, along with a dramatic video, Anonymous adopted the original call to street action from Adbusters, a little known, Vancouver-based magazine that set off the Occupy movement, and spread it worldwide. Anonymous participants also showed up en masse at many OWS sites wearing their signature Guy Fawkes masks.

What amazes so many is how such a shadowy, leaderless collective can manage to hack the CIA or a neo-Nazi site. The answer lies in a combination of vast outreach and cyber-sophistication—but not as much sophistication as you might think, says Josh Shaul, the Internet security expert.

The group's "digital sit-ins"—temporarily shutting down countless Web pages

in "denial of service" attacks — are very easy to bring off if many people have downloaded free software available on the Internet that allows them to cede control of their computer to another computer user. Participants active on Anonymous forums can, with a click, volunteer their computers to use in targeting certain websites during an attack. Other users, though, may be tricked into downloading the software, urged to click on something appealing, for example; they're recruited by "bot farmers" who, in effect, go out into cyberspace to find people and then take control of their computers for a targeted attack. During a coordinated website attack, all of these users (willingly or not) call up the same website, bombarding it with requests to get in, and the website crashes.

"If you've got the outreach, it's devilishly simple and inexpensive," says Shaul. "It's really about having the guts to use the software this way." Although Anonymous runs an online hacking school, most of its takedowns require more cyber "foot soldiers" than tech geniuses, Shaul explains. The big database dumps that release all kinds of personal information do require more skill, he adds, and fewer Anons are at this high level of tech savvy.

The recent upsurge in publicity sparked by Anonymous' increasing activities can sometimes leave the impression that the group sprouted suddenly out of nowhere. But its beginnings can be traced to a computer message board called 4Chan, created in 2003 by 15-year-old Christopher Poole in his suburban New York bedroom. People began to post photos and messages on his topic forums; since no name is required, many posted as "Anonymous." The site grew rapidly, buzzing with funny videos, adolescent "gotcha" pranks and raunchy language. Eventually, discussions turned toward politics, which ushered in the current era of Anonymous actions.

With its staunch opposition to government secrecy, the group also has lashed out against opponents of WikiLeaks, the free-speech website that has published millions of leaked government

documents. In December 2010, Anons launched “Operation Payback” by hacking PayPal, MasterCard and Visa because the companies refused to process donations to WikiLeaks.

The PayPal site defacement led to the largest FBI crackdown on alleged Anonymous hackers so far. Last July, 16 were arrested in the U.S., mostly for the PayPal action. Another five were arrested in March with the aid of an FBI informant, an alleged hacker with the Anonymous spinoff, LulzSec, who helped authorities gather evidence in return for a plea bargain. There also have been other arrests in the U.S., as well as Europe and South America.

The arrests have driven many Anonymous participants even further underground, onto obscure websites and into varied offshoot groups, experts say. Participants are tough to find, as they often work out of pirated servers, some overseas. But the FBI says it has a vigorous investigation under way. “It’s taken a fair amount of FBI resources over the last year,” a spokesman says.

Whither Anonymous?

Nobody knows exactly where Anonymous will strike next since participants embrace no single agenda but instead endorse the cybernetic civil disobedience they consider justified in the face of allegedly corrupt institutions. In a dramatic new documentary on the group, one supporter compares Anons to the all-American hero Huckleberry Finn, who resigned himself to jail and burning in hell rather than turn in his friend Jim, a slave. Another participant complains that credit card companies will process donations to the KKK and Westboro Baptist Church but not to WikiLeaks, a subverter of government secrecy. The documentary, “We Are Legion: The Story of the Hacktivists,” debuted at the Slamdance Film Festival in Park City, Utah, in January. Los Angeles filmmaker Brian Knappenberger hopes to take it into wider distribution this year.

So far, the hacktivists’ actions have been relatively limited, though by no means trivial. Striking terror into groups and people who fear great damage may be its greatest “achievement” so far, suggests Shaul. For example, he and a co-author had a book deal with a

major publisher that wanted the story of Anonymous. Shaul worked on it for many months, but, he says, the publisher cancelled the deal last Christmas Eve “for fear they’d be ruined. They were frightened that Anonymous would digitally rape and pillage their organization.”

He thinks Anons haven’t been particularly bad people but sees potential danger if they’re used in the future by malevolent tech wizards “to do stuff that’s a lot



“The fallout from this is going to be tremendous, a lot of people are going to lose their jobs.”

worse”—taking down a city’s power or water system, or State Department hacks that critically injure the U.S. Shaul is not alone in such fears. Gen. Keith Alexander, director of the National Security Agency, has warned in White House meetings that Anonymous hackers may be able to cause a limited power outage within a couple of years, according to a *Wall Street*

Journal report this February. Anonymous participants, however, called the report false fear-mongering.

NATO warned in a report last summer that Anons could hack into sensitive government, military and corporate files. (Shortly after the report became public, Anonymous hacked NATO.) And in January, FBI director Robert Mueller predicted that cyber attacks will become the No. 1 threat to the country, surpassing terrorism. His testimony before the Senate Select Intelligence Committee was affirmed by James Clapper, director of national intelligence, who said non-state hackers are becoming more active. Clapper singled out Anonymous and its spinoff, LulzSec.

Anonymous message board conversations and video warnings suggest a possible big release of secret government and corporate Web data in the fall of 2012 before Dec. 21, the date when the Mayan calendar ends and, some claim, the world along with it. Maybe it’s bluff, maybe not. But for those who’ve already suffered the attentions of Anonymous—in particular, cyber-Nazis who dread seeing their names and associations made public—the threat is already real enough.

“[T]he fallout from this is going to be tremendous,” one Stormfronter wrote after media reports about Canadian members having their identities made public, and “a lot of people are going to lose jobs.” Added another: “I tell you what mate if ANY telephone numbers that have been passed between my friends via my PM [private message] system start to get any threats there will be hell to pay.”

Some extremists were more optimistic. “Let’s see them get a WN [white nationalist] website with high security,” scoffed one Stormfront poster. But he or she may have been showing a little more bravado than justified.

“They did,” retorted “Sigfrid.” “People don’t seem to understand. People with great hacker abilities can get into any website. As I’ve stated before, if they can get into high security websites anywhere, like Microsoft, government websites, security websites, and even the FBI, CIA and the NSA, they can get into anything.” ▲

Evelyn Schlatter contributed to this report.

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 first quarter of 2012. Any additional listings can be found on the Intelligence Project's website at www.splcenter.org/get-informed/hate-incidents.

ARIZONA

Phoenix • Feb. 24, 2012

White supremacist Dennis Mahon, 61, was convicted of conspiracy to damage buildings and property by means of explosives; malicious damage to a building by means of explosives; and distribution of information related to explosives in connection with the 2004 bombing of a Scottsdale diversity office that injured the facility's black director. Mahon's twin brother, Daniel, was found not guilty of conspiracy to damage buildings and property by means of explosives.

ARKANSAS

Little Rock • Jan. 27, 2012

Jason Barnwell, 37, was sentenced to 20 years in prison for his role in firebombing the home of an interracial couple in 2011.

CALIFORNIA

Santa Barbara • Feb. 1, 2012

Curtis Martin, 25, pled no contest to first-degree attempted murder and a hate crime allegation for stabbing a male waiter in the neck in September 2010 because he thought the man was gay. He was sentenced to 26 years to life in prison.

FLORIDA

Hialeah • Jan. 2, 2012

Luis Alberto Gonzalez, 50, was charged with two counts of second-degree attempted murder and one count of falsely reporting a crime for allegedly trying to run down two black men and then falsely claiming they tried to rob him.

Palm Bay • February 16, 2012

Two 16-year-olds and a 15-year-old were charged with aggravated stalking with a hate crime enhancement after they allegedly used racial slurs and attacked and bullied an autistic teen on a school bus and then at a bus stop.

ILLINOIS

Chicago • Jan. 10, 2012

Three white teens allegedly put a noose around a 17-year-old black youth's neck and used racial epithets as they put a knife to his throat and threatened to kill him in December. Matthew Hermann, 18; a 17-year-old and a 16-year-old, were charged with felony counts of unlawful restraint and hate crime and misdemeanor battery.

MARYLAND

Brooklyn Park • Jan. 1, 2012

Racial and anti-gay slurs and the words "white power" were painted on a residence that was set afire. The house's occupants are an elderly white woman and her black male caregiver.

MICHIGAN

Grand Rapids • Feb. 10, 2012

Eric Pierson was charged with ethnic intimidation, assault with a deadly weapon and carrying a concealed weapon after he allegedly used racial slurs and threatened a black man with a knife in a store in December.

MISSISSIPPI

Jackson • March 21, 2012

Deryl Dedmon, a 19-year-old white man, pled guilty to murder and a hate crime charge for participating in beating James Anderson, a 47-year-old black man, then running him over with his truck in June 2011. Dedmon was sentenced to two concurrent life sentences in prison. A day later, Dedmon, Dylan Butler, 20; and John Aaron Rice, 19, all pled guilty in federal court to charges of conspiracy to commit a hate crime and committing a hate crime in connection with the incident.

MISSOURI

Kansas City • March 5, 2012

Two black 16-year-olds allegedly doused a 13-year-old white boy with gasoline and then set him

on fire, saying, "You get what you deserve, white boy."

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Norwalk • March 8, 2012

Emmanuel Montanez, 24, was charged with intimidation based on bigotry or race, first-degree threatening and breach of peace for allegedly threatening to kill a woman because she was Puerto Rican.

NEW JERSEY

Hackensack • Jan. 24, 2012

Anthony Graziano, 19, was charged with attempted murder and hate crimes in connection with the Jan. 3 firebombing of a synagogue in Paramus and the Jan. 11 firebombing of a synagogue in Rutherford. In March Aakash Dalal, 19, was also arrested in connection with the two firebombings. Dalal also is accused of spray-painting anti-Semitic and white supremacist graffiti at two temples in December.

NEW MEXICO

Santa Fe • Jan. 24, 2012

Paul Beebe, 27, and Jesse Sanford, 25, were both sentenced to prison for branding a swastika on the arm of disabled Navajo man in 2010. Beebe was sentenced to 8 1/2 years in prison and Sanford was sentenced to five years.

NEW YORK

Elmont • Jan. 3, 2012

Ray Lazier Lengend was charged with one count of arson as a hate crime, four counts of arson and five counts of criminal possession of a weapon for allegedly firebombing a convenience store, two residences in Queens, a home in Nassau County and an Islamic center on New Year's Day.

Rochester • Jan. 6, 2012

Jason Gambino, an 18-year-old high school student, was charged with felony stalking as a hate crime and harassment for alleg-

edly threatening another male student on a bus because of the youth's sexual orientation.

OHIO

Hilliard • Jan. 16, 2012

A residence occupied by the son of an Egyptian native was set afire. The house had been painted with anti-Arab and anti-Islamic slurs several months earlier.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Seneca • March 17, 2012

Between 15 and 20 black men allegedly used racial slurs and beat a white man leaving a restaurant. Teryn Robinson, 18; Tray Holland, 19; Justin Alexander, 20; Derick Williams, 22; Kiono Jones, 25, and Monrez Jones, 22 were charged with assault and battery by a mob.

Swansea • March 16, 2012

A cross was burned in the yard of a residence occupied by two black women.

TEXAS

Houston • Jan. 19, 2012

Brian Kerstetter, 32; Charles Cannon, 26; Joseph Staggs, 49, and Michael McLaughlin, 40, were charged with federal hate crimes for allegedly using racial slurs while they beat a black man at a bus stop in August.

UTAH

Salt Lake City • March 31, 2012

A 38-year-old woman allegedly yelled a racial epithet at three black female joggers and tried to hit them with her car.

WASHINGTON

Kendall • Feb. 19, 2012

William Scot Anderson, 47, was charged with two counts of felony assault and one count of malicious harassment for allegedly using racial slurs and threatening a black man with a machete, then attempting to run him over with his vehicle. ▲

The Old Man and The Sea

Rejecting democracy, a libertarian mogul invests in ocean-based nations — and a cure for aging

BY LEAH NELSON

PETER THIEL, THE FOUNDER OF PAYPAL, is sick of paying taxes, and he's not going to stand for it any more. Rather than unilaterally secede from the government and face the indignity of being hauled to court as a tax-defying "sovereign citizen," however, the super-rich hedge fund manager plans to start his own country.

Thiel's no dummy: He knows that all the land on earth is already controlled by some nation or another.

That's why he plans to establish his new country on the high seas. Thiel is an avid fan of seasteading, an ultra-libertarian concept in which "autonomous ocean communities" stationed in international waters would experiment with different forms of governance, competing for citizens' fealty and wealth.

"I no longer believe that freedom and democracy are compatible," Thiel wrote in a 2009 manifesto published by the libertarian Cato Institute. "Since 1920, the vast increase in welfare beneficiaries and the extension of the franchise to women — two constituencies that are notoriously tough for libertarians — have rendered the notion of 'capitalist democracy' into an oxymoron." Bemoaning the fate of the "smartest libertarians" who, he claims, were so bummed out by the state of capitalism that they "escaped not only to alcohol but beyond it," he outlined a vision of the future free from the quixotic desires of the poor, stupid, and X-chromosomed among us.

The driving ideal of PayPal, he wrote, was to create "a new world currency, free from all government control and dilution — the end of monetary sovereignty, as it were."

Seasteading, he continued, is merely another means of achieving freedom from government control.



Seasteading is the brainchild of Patri Friedman, a former Google software engineer whose grandfather, Milton Friedman, was the Nobel Prize-winning free market economist. In 2008, Thiel provided the seed money to found, along with Friedman, the Seasteading Institute, which according to its website "envision[s] a vibrant startup sector for governments."

"The world needs a place where those who wish to experiment with building new societies can go to test out their ideas," it says. "All land on Earth is already claimed, making the oceans humanity's next frontier."

In other words, seasteading would allow experimentation with all kinds of cool governments. Always wanted to live on an anarcho-syndicalist commune? How about a benevolent dictatorship? Or maybe your ideal is something like the Principality of Outer Baldonia, a now-defunct micro-nation off the coast of Nova Scotia whose declaration of independence endowed fishermen with inalienable rights including "the right to lie and be believed," and "the right of freedom from questioning, nagging,

shaving, interruption, women, taxes, politics, war, monologues, cant and inhibition." Outer Baldonia even had its own currency — the Tunar, named for a game fish abundant in its waters.

With seasteading, all this and more would be possible.

Thiel already is helping to fund one floating utopia — Blueseed, a proposed vessel to be anchored in international waters 12 miles off the coast of Silicon Valley. Blueseed, which plans to launch by early 2014, intends to circumvent U.S. immigration law and be a haven for "the boldest, brightest, and most talented tech entrepreneurs from around the world."

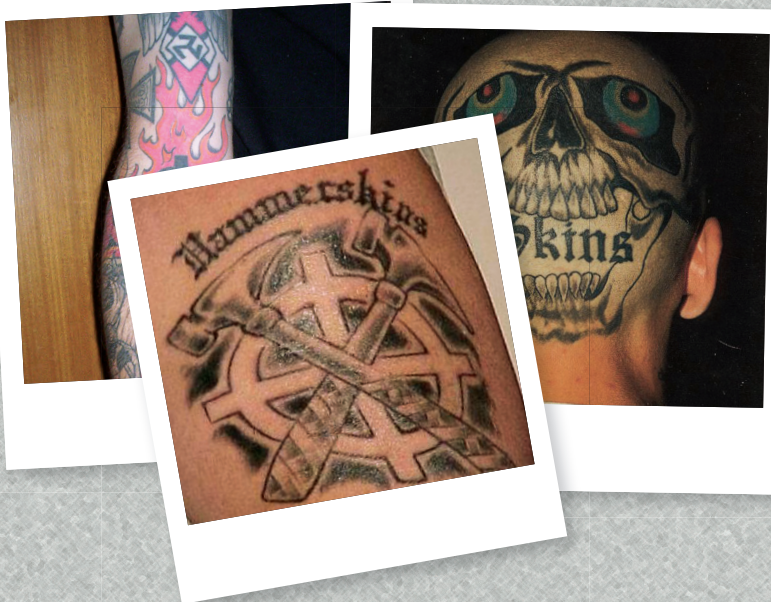
The Seasteading Institute has even bigger plans. Last November, it released a "location study" for larger, untethered "ship-based and large-scale city scenarios," which took into account the factors that would be required for more elaborate "autonomous ocean communities."

Seasteading isn't the only sci-fi idea Thiel has invested in. In 2009, the quirky libertarian pledged up to \$3.5 million to the Methuselah Foundation, a nonprofit group that funds research on "Strategies for Engineered Negligible Senescence" (SENS). In 2004, Aubrey de Grey, the foundation's gaunt and long-bearded founder, told the BBC he thinks the first person who will live to 1,000 could be 60 already.

At 44, having invested in avoiding both death and taxes, Thiel must be feeling ahead of the game. ▲

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